AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF GENDER DIFFERENTIATION

IN A MIDDLE SCHOOL

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ABSTRACT

This study examines facets of gender differentiation in a middle school. Utilizing an ethnographic methodology emphasis is placed upon the exploration of classroom interaction, inter-personal relations and participants' perceptual stances in order to explore how gender is implicated in the process of schooling. Although inquiries are located within a micro sociological context, the study is conducted against a backdrop of the socio-economic position of women and particular attention is accorded to the educational experience of girls and its implications for gender inequality at a structural level.

The research demonstrates gender differentiation to be a ubiquitous feature of school life both in terms of its more formal routines and rituals and in its informal relations at the interactive level. Conventional constructs of femininity and masculinity impinge upon teacher perceptions of, and interaction with pupils, with the result that girls' competencies are devalued, they are not subject to the same degree of educative rigour as boys and, consequently, are marginalized within the classroom. Various dimensions of teacher-pupil interaction are presented which elucidate the intricacies of such differentiation and which suggest how opportunities for enhancing pupils' self-esteem and facilitating the acquisition of participatory learning skills are distributed in favour of boys.

Certain preoccupations and predispositions are, moreover, presented by pupils and the inquiry elaborates how these are reciprocated with institutional arrangements and expectancies. In terms of school as a working environment, educative processes are demonstrated as potentially more anxiety provoking for girls and, in relation to school as a social milieu, friendship networks are organized on a hierarchical basis in response to the contingencies of subject settings. Thus girls engage in certain ameliorative strategies and it is maintained, that to the extent that the school colludes with these, femininity is fostered in a way which is, in the longer term, educationally disadvantaging for girls and, ultimately, socially and economically disadvantaging for women.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

KEY TO TRANSCRIPTS AND OBSERVATIONAL DATA

[   ]   Inserted background information

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R.J.   Rosalyn Jones

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CONTENTS

TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1   GENDER AND SCHOOLING : THE CASE FOR RESEARCH

The broader parameters of this study encompass a concern
with the educational experience of girls, how it
compares with that of boys and the implications of this
for the socio-economic position of women. More
specifically the thesis seeks to explicate the
interrelationship of gender[1] and schooling in order to
explore those processes which would appear to propel
pupils in particular directions for adult life. Emphasis
is placed upon interaction, inter-personal relations,
perceptual stances and the minutiae of school life as
they unfurl between pupils and between teachers and
pupils. It is taken as axiomatic throughout the inquiry
that school experience and educational outcome
constitute but one set of influences amongst many which
conspire to incline women and men towards certain roles
and economic statuses. Thus, the equally potent
constraints of, for example, social class and ethnicity
are acknowledged (Barton and Walker 1983, Gamarnikow et
al 1983, Walker and Barton 1983, Arnot 1985, Arnot and
Weiner 1987) but not explored. There are, similarly,
media other than educational ones through which
aspirations are distilled and prestige conferred

(Ardener 1978, Chetwynd and Hartnett 1978, Delamont 1980A, Oakley 1981, Whitelegg et al 1982) and, again these implicitly rather than explicitly inform the analysis.

It is the intention within this Introductory Chapter to provide a contextualizing framework within which the various issues which are pursued throughout the thesis may be located. Since the salient themes apposite to gender differentiation and schooling which emerge here are resumed and elaborated in relation to data which are explored in subsequent Chapters it is also intended that the Introduction should be comparatively succinct.

The discussion proceeds, therefore, with a consideration of the position of women in contemporary society evidenced, for instance, by their role in public and political life, their economic position and educational opportunities. In order to trace some of the ideological influences underpinning the persistence of gender based inequalities, which such a review indicates, the development of education for girls is viewed from a historical perspective. This demonstrates how overt educational formulas for responding to economic requirements on a class basis (Dyhouse 1977) have acceded to legislative requirements for equality of opportunity with the result that differential

expectations for girls and boys may now be enshrined rather more covertly within official statements and educational practice.[2] Whilst there would appear to be little justification for seeking to explore the differential educational experience of girls and boys in terms of ability or 'intellectual functioning' (Maccoby 1966), spheres of academic achievement do vary on the basis of gender. It is consequently germane to briefly consider the nature of these variations and their educational and, by implication, economic ramifications.

Whilst a sociological interest in such concerns of structure may be viewed as embracing the thesis in terms of its substantive orientation they are seldom subject to scrutiny within attempts to unravel educative processes as they occur within the classroom. Rather, priority has been accorded to elucidating the intricacies of gender differentiation as they are incarnated within the routines and rituals of school life. Schooling practices which fall within the remit of the micro-sociologist are consequently paramount.[3] On the basis of its methodological flexibility and potential for delving into the nuance of contextualized meanings and probing perceptual stances, an ethnographic orientation was envisaged for the research from its inception. This methodological impetus informs all facets of the inquiry and the Introduction continues with a consideration of the foci of the study as they

are organized throughout the various eight Chapters.
Finally, in order to foster some familiarity with the
institutional context of the study, the school which
hosted the research project - Kingston Dene Middle
School, is depicted briefly both in terms of its social
ecology and internal ethos.

1.1.1 The social and economic position of women

The image and ideology of women as defined primarily in
terms of their domesticity is both puissant and
pervasive (Barrett 1980, MacDonald 1980A, Hamilton 1978,
Eisenstein 1987). Even in comparatively recent
educational policy-making as Wolpe (1974) has
demonstrated, educationalists have tended to eschew the
'concrete facts' in favour of premising policy upon
their own assumptions regarding the nature of women's
employment. Women have always constituted an essential
section of the working population (Wolpe 1974, Arnot
1987) and a perusal of the empirical evidence quickly
dispels the myth of women's exclusive role as wives and
mothers. The nature of women's employment reflects,
however, expectancies of their responsibilities in these
spheres and the extent to which women contrive to fulfil
domestic and economic obligations.

The evidence clearly demonstrates that women continue to

be economically active[4] in low paid, low status, part-time employment. Recent data[5] indicate that of all part-time workers, 4,030 thousand are women and 434 thousand are men, conversely full-time employment comprises 11,104 thousand male employees in contrast to 5,002 thousand females. The long term trend[6] of women's increasing participation in the labour force reflects the greater number of married women seeking paid employment outside of the home with the result that married women now comprise 27% of the labour force.[7] The emphasis upon part-time employment here is reflected in the proportion of married women so employed - 24% compared with 8% of non-married women and only 2% of men.[8] As suggested, part-time employment accommodates women's dual responsibilities and this is particularly so for women with child-care responsibilities, 53% of whom also work outside of the home.[9] When women do return to work after a child-care related employment break, however, the prominent feature of their experience is a downward occupational mobility upon re-entry.[10]

One of the most salient economic trends over the past decade has been the decline of jobs within the manufacturing sector and a corresponding increase within service industries. The increase in part-time employment amongst women has accounted for much of the expansion in the latter since, apart from transport and

communication, this is where employment opportunities have emerged. As suggested, empirical evidence does much to counter popular conceptualizations of women as wives and mothers. Despite the attempts of advertizing and other media to present an image to the contrary less than 5%[11] of households comprise the idealized notion of the small nuclear family sustained purely by the employment of an economically active father. As Bruegel (1982) also observes since services are less vulnerable to recession than other sectors of employment, they have afforded women what might be regarded as a certain protection from unemployment during periods of economic decline. Such 'protection' is, however, based upon the cheapness of female labour (Bruegel 1982) upon which Equal Pay legislation has failed to make any real impact,[12] largely because of the segregation of the labour market on the basis of gender (MacDonald 1981, Beachey 1985).

The position of women within the economic sphere is, moreover, mirrored in political and public life where they are similarly excluded from positions of power and prestige. A review of the composition of the House of Commons, for example, demonstrates that during the post war era, until the last election, women M.P.s did not rise above 4.3%.[13] Indeed, after the 1983 Election there were actually fewer women elected to the House

than in 1945 even though the overall number of M.P.s increased during this period. In June 1987, 39 women M.P.s were returned out of a total of 627 which represents the highest percentage ever attained at 6.2%.[14] Significantly, the proportion of women who do manage to secure a seat is lower than the proportion who aspire to do so since fewer women are nominated for safe constituencies.[15] Despite variations on the basis of political party in terms of the election of women M.P.s, this nomination trend applies irrespective of party membership. Finally, having managed to gain access to this political arena, if the higher echelons are considered, it may be seen that, again since 1945, there have only been two occasions when there has been more than one woman Cabinet minister. On both occasions (1945 and 1974) the number rose to two! The present female representative within the Cabinet is, of course, the Prime Minister. Having perused the evidence it comes as no surprise that, in terms of the participation of women in government, Britain has the worst record of all countries in Western Europe.[15]

A popular interpretation of women's absence from the higher levels of political power has been referred to by Jacquette (1974) as 'insufficient masculinization'. According to this view, the 'problem' of female deviance from male norms of participation would be solved if only women were more like men and, as Oakley (1981) points

out this has the effect of locating the cause for non-participation with women themselves. The dismal trend which has been depicted for the House of Commons applies equally to the Lords, Local Government, appointments to Public Bodies by Government Departments, Professional Institutes and Trade Unions.[17] Whilst some successful women may tend towards the 'insufficient masculinization' hypothesis in accounts of their own advancement, the analysis fails, as Oakley maintains, to recognize the discriminatory practices which operate at every level in the political process in order to realize the general rule that 'where the power is, there women are not' (Stacey and Price 1980).[18] This is not to suggest, however, there has been <u>no</u> change in terms of some women attaining positions of prominence apart from the Prime Minister, two major trade unions for example now have women general secretaries (SOGAT '82 and A.U.T.), but that these reflect conspicuous exceptions rather than a change in trend in the position of women generally.

Within the context of an, albeit brief, consideration of the socio-economic position of women, it is undoubtedly pertinent to encompass the nature and availability of educational opportunities. However, since the remainder of the thesis is devoted to such an exploration, particularly in terms of the limitations upon girls

which are percolated through the para-curriculum,[19] at this juncture it suffices to note some of the restrictions which apply in terms of educational resourcing and provision. Byrne's (1975, 1978) analysis here, which reveals gender based resource inequalities in terms of finance, materials and staffing has yet to be refuted on the grounds of outdatedness. Indeed, the persistence of the conventional alliance between subject and gender means that girls continue to be educated in areas which have less economic currency than those of boys and which also attract a lower level of investment.

In relation to the higher levels of certification, whilst girls comprise over half the entrants for C.S.E. and 'O' Levels, at 'A' Level their participation falls to 47%[20] and fewer girls than boys obtain passes in three or more subjects which is a pre-requisite for entry into the traditional professions.[21] Similarly, whilst girls comprise a higher proportion of the student body within Further Education (although as Byrne 1978 observes the subjects studied do much to restrict rather than enhance girls employment opportunities), there are still fewer women undergraduates at university level.[22] Moreover, recent developments in general education policy may, as Acker (1986) posits, have a particularly damaging effect upon women since cuts have been implemented in areas where women are preponderant, for example, the arts and social sciences, teacher

training and adult education.

Whilst an examination of the socio-economic position of women in terms of the empirical evidence and 'concrete facts'[23] may constitute a revealing and necessary exercise, until some attempt is made to locate such information within a theoretical framework, endeavours to pursue further insights will be constrained. However, in deference to the objective of brevity which was established at the outset of the discussion, it is not possible within the present context to embark upon anything more detailed than an acknowledgment of the influences which underpin an understanding of the 'facts' throughout the thesis.

In general terms the subordination of women is understood from a Marxist perspective, with patriarchal relations sustaining a capitalist mode of production. It is a perspective which informs the work of femininist educationalists such as Wolpe (1974, 1978). Spender and Sarah (1980), Spender (1982), MacDonald (1980A, 1980B), Arnot (1983) and Clarricoates (1978, 1980), although with varying interpretations. A femininist analysis of Marxism has been required since there has been a tendency within analyses of patriarchy to conflate the subordination of women with class oppression generally and, the work of Engels (1972) may be cited as an

example within this context. The exploitation of women under capitalism, however, may be seen to constitute a distinct process, for while the objectification of men within industry takes the form of alienation, the effect of alienation upon women assumes a more oppressive form. As Foreman (1977) observes:-

> Men seek relief from their alienation through their relations with women; for women there is no relief. For these intimate relations are the ones that are the essential structures of her oppression.
>
> Foreman 1977, p. 102.

Whilst exploration of the mutual relevancies of Marxism and feminism has not been unproblematic and it is not the intention to delve into the intricacies of the debate here (Barrett 1980, for example, may be consulted for a clarification of these), a central tenet concerns the particular construction which is placed upon femininity. This may be summarized as women being defined by family relations and experiencing themselves as a response to the needs, particularly the emotional needs, of other people. Thus, when feminity is referred to throughout the thesis it may be seen to entail rather more than the 'culture of femininity' (McRobbie 1978) for it ultimately alludes to the particular location of women within the social relations of production.

Intrinsic to the delineation, moreover, of the separate

spheres of work and home is the sexual division of labour and, it is the evocation of the socio-economic arrangements underpinning this concept which, as suggested, are particularly discernable within the official stance towards girl's education (Wolpe 1974, 1978). With reference to the process of schooling in terms of the implementation of 'official thinking' the particular dynamics not only of gender, but also of social class are explored, for example, by MacDonald (1980B) and Scott (1980). As will be discussed shortly, the introduction of social class into the equation may be viewed as providing the principal constituents of the 'ideology of domesticity' and reference to the ideology throughout the thesis may be understood to embrace the Marxist construction of feminity, the sexual division of labour and the manner in which these interlace with social class. Finally, in so far as ideology is concerned, this is construed as functioning in the hegemonic sense elucidated by Gramsci (1971) and effective within the world of commonsense. The manner in which ideological hegemony may infiltrate girls' school experience is explored within the discussion of stereotypes and teacher typification of gender (Chapter 4, Section 4.2.4).

1.1.2 <u>Girls' education : historical imperatives</u>

The defining feature of the development of girls'

education during the Nineteenth Century may be viewed as the particular nexus between ideology, social class, femininity and ability (Marks 1976, Delamont 1978A and 1978B, Purvis 1983). As Hall (1978) observes, by the mid Nineteenth Century the domestic ideology which delineated separate spheres for men and women in which women were ensconced in the private sphere of the family, whilst men were located within the public world of work, was firmly entrenched within the dominant, bourgeois culture. Within this ideology the social construction of femininity came to be identified with domesticity (Purvis 1983), although the particular elaboration of femininity was class specific, leading Marks (1976) to comment:-

> ....it is fascinating to discover that their [girls] 'femininity', that supposedly biological and absolute characteristic, is dependent on the viewpoint of the observer; different social origins and intellectual abilities alter the meaning of 'femininity' which is thus not a fixed concept in educational thinking.
>
> Marks 1976, p. 180.

The particular coalescence of these factors resulted, for upper-middle class girls, in an educational emancipation from a home centred schooling designed to mature them into 'decorative, modest, marriageable beings'.[24] Similar priorities pervaded middle class society where the services of local day schools

supplanted the governess at the age of ten or so and, these in turn were superceded as select boarding schools became fashionable for young ladies aged between thirteen to seventeen. In the absence of any statutory inspectorate, so called 'educational' standards were deplorable (Marks 1976) with an emphasis upon nurturing delicate complexions and rote learning of the accomplishments. 'Learning' could be prolonged at finishing schools which were, as the Assistant Commissioner to the Schools Inquiry Commission 1867-8 commented, 'not so much an educational agent as a tribute which the parent pays to his own social position.'[25]

During the same period middle class boys were in receipt of a classical education, provided at public boarding schools, designed to mould character and, increasingly, enhance professional advancement. In contrast, schooling for working class children, undertaken sporadically by Dames, Sunday schools, industrial or British/National schools,[26] was preoccupied with civilizing the poor and improving their religious appreciation in order to secure social conformity and Christian compliance. To the extent that the requirements of gender were acknowledged within such arrangements, traditional crafts, particularly sewing for girls, augmented general instruction in the three R's.

By the end of the century, however, demands for enlightenment by middle class women and the emergence of social Darwinism with its philanthropic concern for the squalor of the working class condition, resulted in the reversal of this particular correlation between social class and the educational ideologies of pluralism and assimilation (Marks 1976). Anxieties over a labour force which was too unhealthy to conscript or work efficiently and, in relation to women, too undomesticated to recreate the bourgeoise family sanctury, culminated in the 1870 Education Act. This launched working class girls into a predominantly domestic curriculum and, yet, concern during the first part of the Twentieth Century with infant mortality exacerbated fears that there was still insufficient emphasis upon domestic training in elementary schools. As Dyhouse (1977) elucidates a practical training in home duties and housewifery gathered momentum in girls' secondary schools, but with the perception that such subjects were most suitable for less able pupils. Thus, ability was introduced into the educational equation of class and gender, with the result that official reference to the 'less able' and 'academically able' represented little more than legitimizing euphemisms for working class and middle class respectively.

In relation to the latter, the demographic imbalance

which resulted in a surplus of women within the population necessitated a reappraisal of the anomolous situation in which a significant number were inevitably placed. Marriage could no longer be relied upon to realize economic security and social status and, the 'problem' of single women and employment was instrumental in securing an acceptance of vocational education. The expedient of equipping women with vocational qualifications comprised, as Delamont (1980A) notes, two stages. The first consisted of founding good academic schools and the second, the provision of university education. The thrust towards the first dichotomized into what Delamont refers to as the uncompromising and separatist stance assumed by the educational pioneers. As the terms suggest, the former were uncompromising in their view that curricula should not be differentiated by gender, that girls were equally as capable as boys in pursuing rigorous courses and examinations. The latter ascribed to the view, however, that girls should undertake courses appropriate to future careers within the milieu of the 'female' professions. The endeavours of all reformers were, however, fraught with the 'bind of double conformity' which, as Delamont (1978A) suggests requires success in terms of both academic and feminine proficiencies. The juxtaposition of the contradictory expectations constitutes, moreover, an irreconcilable dilemma which

continues to plague girls today (Sharpe 1976, Delamont 1980A, Llewellyn 1980).

Whilst a perusal of the development of educational reform during the period under discussion may suggest a movement of some radical magnitude, the view that a potentially progressive movement was subverted by adherence to social class allegiances is convincingly posited by writers such as Delamont (1978A and 1978B), Dyhouse (1977 and 1981) and Purvis (1983). Tne failure of the middle class pioneers to address the issues of education for working class girls resulted, as Delamont (1978B) maintains, in a pyrrhic victory by the uncompromising campaigners:-

> Although they won access to male subjects for clever middle class and upper class girls, the inevitable narrowness of their social ideas prevented them from stopping separatist ideas dominating working class education.

Delamont 1978B, p. 166.

The repercussions of this pyrrhic victory are manifest in contemporary education provision since as Delamont continues, bright working class girls and all but the stupidest women from the upper strata are accommodated within sexually integrated curricular, whilst the majority of working class girls and inept members of the middle class are catered for on segregated courses.

The explicit alignment of social class and gender, as

previously suggested, was officially severed in 1943 with the Norwood Report and subsequent 1944 Education Act. As Wolpe (1974) has clearly demonstrated, however, and it is unnecessary to rehearse her now familiar analysis, the official ideology of the post war period disguised an obdurate deference on the part of policy makers to established assumptions regarding the nature of gender, social class and educability. In particular, an inclination towards the separatist view of schooling, denounced so rigorously by the uncompromising campaigners, may be traced within more recent developments. Incipient equal opportunities legislation in the mid 1970s prompted an investigation into curricular differences for girls and boys by H.M. Inspectorate, the results of which were published in Education Survey 21 (1975). The Survey discussed gender differentiation in school procedures at all educational levels and remarked, in particular, upon the extent of segregated curricular at the secondary level. Despite a serious consideration of gender stereotyping with implications for educational opportunities, the Survey nevertheless concludes:-

> Equal opportunities are not necessarily synonymous however with identical opportunities. Discriminatory treatment as between the sexes may indeed be to the advantage of both girls and boys. To the extent that this is so present practices may be expected to continue with the approval of those concerned.

> Education Survey 21, p. 20.

This separatist ideology was disseminated to schools in D.E.S. Circular 2/76 which functioned as a guide to the Sex Discrimination Act (1975). Again official advice embodied the view that equal opportunities do not necessarily imply the maintenance of a balance between the sexes, either within schools or particular classes. Such manoeuvrings on the issue of same or equivalent provision are rendered possible through the weak definition of discrimination under the 1975 Act and its failure to indicate whether segregation is discriminatory.[27] The trend of policy makers relying upon their own biases during this new era rather than consulting the evidence was thus continued, evidenced for example, by the 1977 Green Paper - Education in Schools which, ostensibly, precipitated the 'Great Debate' on curricular reform.

Despite a D.E.S. report published two years earlier[28] which clearly indicated the persistence of gender and social class inequalities in education, the Green Paper not only advanced the view that gender based differentiation was disappearing, but again that equal opportunities need not necessarily entail the same provision. The implications of this interpretation have been emphasised by educationalists such as Byrne (1978) and Arnot (1987) and the Equal Opportunities Commission,

noted for its cautious rather than campaigning stance, criticized the Green Paper within its own Consultative Document[29] for failing to address the issue of how girls should be prevented from curtailing career opportunities through conventional subject choice. The Commission unequivocally took the view that 'Section 22 of the Sex Discrimination Act must entail the _same_ provision' since equivalent educational provision constitutes the route to 'sexual stereotyping'.[30]

Having reviewed the historical imperatives which propelled girls' education in particular directions up until the introduction of legislative prescriptions for equality of opportunity, it is of interest to pursue the impact of the 1975 Act and the role of the Equal Opportunities Commission upon subsequent policy making. Such an exploration is resumed briefly within the conclusion to the thesis, where other recent developments and interventionist programmes in girls' education are also considered. At this juncture, however, it is pertinent to conclude the present discussion with a reiteration of the extent to which Nineteenth Century thinking concerning what constituted a suitable education for girls permeated the official educational ideology of the Twentieth Century. In particular, despite renewed official commitments to egalitarianism, the issues which were campaigned upon by the early pioneers still prove insidious and, girls

continue to be kept in thrall by the bind of double conformity.

1.1.3 Ability and achievement

Some gender differences in educational achievement have already been mentioned and within the context of an introduction to a study of girls' educational experience it is apposite to denote some of the issues within this large and occasionally controversial area. It is not proposed to delve into the particularly contentious arena of whether any differences between girls and boys in terms of ability or behaviour are innate or learned. Not only are such arguments rehearsed elsewhere,[31] but the thesis is predicated upon the view that differences are predominantly learned and that the school has a role in influencing any distinguishing features. The standard reference here is the apparently exhaustive work of Maccoby (1966, 1972) and Maccoby and Jacklin (1975). Their analysis of massive data in numerous spheres of cognition, perception and personality points overwhelmingly to the absence of any significant gender differences in intellectual ability and cognitive style.

Indeed, only three specific spheres of competence emerge in which differentials are apparent and even in relation to these there are some qualifications which must be

exerted upon their data.[32]   Verbal, visual-spatial and mathematical abilities appear distinguished in the commonly understood manner, with girls exceeding the performance of boys in the former and vice versa in the two latter categories.   Differences are not apparent during early childhood, but transpire in relation to verbal ability at about the age of eleven, with spatial and mathematical abilities diverging during adolescence. With reference to general intelligence, however, it seems that girls do have the advantage in tests given under the age of seven, although this gradually diminishes with the result, according to Maccoby and Jacklin, that in general terms the sexes do not differ consistently in tests of total or composite abilities.

Such results are generally consistent with data obtained from school based surveys and Douglas (1967), for example, demonstrates that while girls relinquish their superiority in overall verbal ability they retain their greater expertise in grammar, spelling and verbal ability throughout their school careers.   At the infant level it would also appear that girls are better readers than boys (Davie 1972).   In contrast, the parity in numeracy which is evident during the early years of schooling is eroded and boys advance, particularly in arithmetic ability, during the later stages.   There are, therefore, as Deem (1978) and Delamont (1980A) note some differences in the skills and aptitudes acquired by

girls and boys and, these are reflected in school performance.

At Kingston Dene Middle School achievement was formally assessed at the commencement of each school year when pupils were obliged to undertake a series of 'objective' Richmond Tests in Basic Skills and, at its conclusion when conventional subject examinations were held. Whilst results of the latter were utilized for practical purposes of setting pupils and monitoring progress, the former occupied a rather more ambiguous role. The Head Teacher indicated that in the absence of any Local Education Authority directive on the administration of attainment or intelligence tests, it was considered prudent and in the interest of pupils to compile an academic dossier on each individual in the event of its requirement by other schools or external agencies. Kingston Dene was not unusual in its assumption of the necessity for such testing or, in its use of the Richmond series to accomplish this (Taylor and Garson 1980). However, since the various components of the Tests did not in the view of the teachers correspond to the curriculum and with such procedures being viewed with some scepticism, the Richmond data proved of rather limited practical value.

In conjunction with exam results and course work

assessment, the Richmond results were, as part of the study, collated and analysed with a view to exploring any gender differences in achievement. The reasons why this transpired as one of the project's empirical cul-de-sacs and was not pursued are presented in the following Chapter. A very preliminary consideration of some of the computer based computations indicated, however, no gender based statistically significant trends in attainment. Some aggregated scores provided a useful guide to pupils' position vis-a-vis each other but, again there were no major clusterings of girls or boys at particular points within the range of attainment. Indeed, the most salient discrepancy in terms of academic competence occurred in an area which was not assessed (at least directly) and this concerned the presentation of school work, where girls demonstrated considerable expertise. This is discussed within the context of teacher perceptions of pupils' school work in Chapter 4.

The reasons for gender differences in educational performance, particularly those which manifest themselves in the later stages of schooling are both multitudinous and multifaceted and, are explored in various dimensions throughout the thesis. Two issues are salient within the present context, however, the first of which pertains to pupil confidence in their own intellectual ability and, the second, to the alignment

of subject and gender. In relation to the first, it would seem that girls have less confidence in their ability to succeed in challenging intellectual tasks. In terms of causal attributions for success and failure, girls appear to attribute failure to factors beyond their control, in particular insufficient ability and, consequently, lower their expectations for future success. Success is, in contrast attributed to good luck. Alternatively, boys are more likely to view any difficulties as the result of insufficient effort and any successes as the result of ability (Licht and Dweck 1987). As Licht and Dweck observe, the prognosis here for girls, particularly in relation to subjects such as mathematics looks gloomy and, yet achievement orientations appear open to modification through interventionist styles of teaching. The success of such procedures may, therefore, be regarded as encouraging since it is possible to make an impact upon actual achievement through seeking to re-direct the process of success and failure attribution.[33]

With reference to the second issue, a perusal of public examination results reveals the considerable extent to which girls, despite improvements in trends since the 1970s, remain ensconced within arts and language curricular. As previously suggested these have less potential in terms of future educational and employment

opportunities (Byrne 1978). In terms of under-representation at the school leaving stage, the worst record for girls occurs in technical drawing at 'O' level and for boys in cookery and domestic subjects at 'A' level.[34] Female school leavers are most successful in English, history and languages and, the only science subject in which they achieve the majority of passes is biology where they secure 64% at C.S.E. and 60% at 'A' level.[35] The comparative absence of girls in other scientific areas may be viewed as a continuation of Nineteenth Century thinking, whereby girls were discouraged from such curricular which were construed as 'unfeminine' (Dyhouse 1977). Nevertheless, upon leaving school girls are more successful than boys in achieving grade 1 C.S.E. and 'O' level passes - 42% compared with 35% respectively. Slightly more boys (18%), however, than girls (17%) leave school with 'A' levels, although concomitantly, more boys (48%) leave school with lower grade C.S.E.s or 'O' levels or no qualifications than girls (41%).[36]

If such a statistical summary appears somewhat indigestible it is possible to summarize attainment for one particular year[37] by indicating that girls have a rather higher pass rate than boys at C.S.E., a similar rate at 'O' level and a slightly lower rate at 'A' level. They perform better than boys in arts subjects and languages, but substantially less well in maths. and

computer studies.   With the last subject representing
the one 'scientific/technical' area where girls have not
in   recent   years   been   improving   their   share   of
examination passes.(38)

Interest   in the issue of girls under-representation   in
science   has as Kelly (1987) observes exploded since the
publication of her first book on the issue in   1981.(39)
At   this time 'solutions' to the 'problem' of girls   and
science   tended   to   be explored in terms   of   equipping
girls   to improve their performance in science   subjects
which defined the debate in terms of female   inadequacy.
The   masculinity,   history and structure of science as a
social   construction now tend to provide the   focus   for
analysis,   with   the implication that it is the   subject
and   curricular which should be modified rather than the
individuals pursuing it.   Nevertheless, explanations of
'underachievment'   which   as Kelly (1987) notes   is   now
most   acute   in   physics,   continue   to   refer   to   the
interactive   processes   within   which   sciences   are
communicated   as   prejudicing   girls'   achievement
opportunities.

The   contentions   of   Harding   (1980) regarding   the
detrimental   effect   of   mixed   classrooms   consequently
continue   to   be echoed since boys not   only   appear   to
detract attention from girls (Rennie 1987) but encourage

them into a stereotypical feminine response to the subject (Measor 1984). As Randall (1987) also observes the frequency of interaction may not necessarily imply that teachers are favourably predisposed towards their female pupils, since in her study[40] the teacher construed interaction with girls more negatively than that with boys. Thus, attempts to increase participation rates (Whyte 1984) may prove counter-productive if the nature of classroom encounters is not similarly subject to scrutiny.

Continued emphasis upon girls' achievment in this sphere may be seen to reflect, however, a relevant and necessary interest in the exclusion of women from positions of power and prestige and is linked to the earlier discussion of the position of women in society. A decade ago Byrne (1978), for example, pointed to the consequences of girls' confinement within certain spheres of the curriculum and, Kelly (1987) more recently makes essentially the same point that, as high status knowledge, scientific qualifications provide access to high status occupational and educational arenas. (It is something of an irony that at a time when 'new technology' threatens women's employment in particular (Breugel 1983), girls are under-represented in computer studies.[41])

As Kelly points out, however, pursuing this issue in

terms of power structures under capitalism and patriarchy seems to represent something of an unattractive proposition and, there is no development, for example, of the work of Saraga and Griffiths (1981) in her latest collection. It would seem in many ways that the underpinning historical developments of education for girls are enshrined in microcosm in this particular area of the curriculum. Here the separatist debate, the ideology of domesticity with its associated bind of double conformity and biological imperatives continue to provide the framework within which discussion is located, explanations sought and solutions propounded.

There are many educational conundrums, however, which require elucidation amongst which the issue of girls and science constitutes one facet. It may be seen that women occupy a subordinate socio-economic position and, in order to explicate the role of schooling in fostering certain predispositions amongst girls and in establishing particular aspirational parameters the requirement for further research in conjunction with serious policy responses is essential. This study seeks to address a particular configuration of girls' educational experiences and the implications of gender differentiation within these. It is hoped, therefore, that at least one dimension of the case for research

will be enhanced.

1.2 FOCUS AND PRESENTATION OF THE STUDY

The foregoing discussion has sought to establish the general concerns which both prompted and inform the present study. Whilst these emerge at specific stages within the exploration of gender differentiation they are not woven as explicit threads throughout the fabric of the analysis. Rather, as suggested, emphasis is placed upon elucidating the micro interactive processes which characterize classroom life. At this juncture, a glance at the internal structure and logic of the discourse as particular facets are presented and pursued may enhance an appreciation of the sequence of issues as they are considered throughout the thesis.

One of the more obdurate problems confronting qualitative researchers concerns the necessity for continuous endeavours to impose order upon data that defy precise classification within pre-defined analytic categories. Such methodological issues tend to accompany exploration of the substantive ones throughout inquiries, never quite resolving themselves to the satisfaction of the researcher. Establishing, however, what may be regarded as the foundations of any research is of paramount importance and consequently the following Chapter of the thesis is devoted to an

exploration of methodological practice and the related theoretical perspectives which guided empirical management of the research project. Drawing in particular upon the work of Burgess (1984A, 1984B, 1985A, 1985B, 1985C), Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Woods (1986) research experience within Kingston Dene Middle School is considered.

The pertinent issues here are securing access to the school, establishing oneself within it as a researcher, detailing the deployment of methodological techniques and, as an ethnographer considering some issues of validity, particularly the influence of the investigator upon phenomena observed. Whilst it proved inappropriate to explore the links between the macro issues previously discussed and the micro processes observed within the classroom, some theorizing which was originally envisaged with reference to this and which had an impact upon the conceptualization of the research project is also briefly presented. The work of Schutz (1971 and 1973) is consequently explored, particularly the construction of social reality within the world of commonsense and systems of relevance within this sphere.

The discussion then proceeds with a review of the official programme at Kingston Dene and this is pursued as something of an extension of the present Chapter

particularly the following section which seeks to portray something of the character of the school in a general sense. Chapter 3 is however, more specific in its focus and traces the impact of the reorganization of Kingston Dene to a middle school and the curricular developments which ensued. Two issues emerge in particular which are relevant to girls' educational experience and processes of gender differentiation.

The first concerns the de-segregation of pupils for all subjects upon the basis of gender and the outcome of what was regarded as something of an innovation is explored. As a result the view is posited that any progressive potential inherent in the initiative was undermined by the narrow conceptualization of 'de-segregation'. The second issue also involves the erosion of progressivism, but in one particular dimension of the curriculum - the integrated social sciences curriculum, Man : A Course of Study (M.A.C.O.S.). Whilst gender stereotyping was apparent within the other, more orthodox, curricular spheres, although to no greater extent than schools reported elsewhere (Scott 1980), M.A.C.O.S. appeared premised upon unexamined notions of gender as biologically pre-determined and as a consequence, some of the more overt stereotyping occurred within these ostensibly progressive lessons.

Whilst the consideration of some curricular issues is

predominantly located as suggested within the school's official programme, placing M.A.C.O.S. under scrutiny directs the study into the sphere of the para-curriculum (Hargreaves 1978) and this constitutes the arena for the remainder of the thesis. The ensuing two Chapters (4 and 5) seek to explore the perceptions and perspectives of teachers and pupils respectively, both in relation to the school and each other. With reference to the staff, the manner in which typifications of girls and boys result in certain constructs of femininity and masculinity being utilized as a basis for interaction with pupils is studied. The salient feature of teachers' perceptual stance would appear to be the extent to which both the behaviour and school work of girls is devalued. The work of Clarricoats (1978, 1980) and Spender (1982) is relevant within this context since they also observe the tendency for girls' competencies to be dismissed as teachers place a negative construction upon their role as pupils and academic achievements.

In particular it would seem that girls are perceived as always elusively beyond control, a phenomenon also explored by Davies (1984) and, deference to their sensitivities and sexuality may be seen to have implications for the realization of their academic potential since teachers appear reluctant to be as

rigorous with them as they would with boys. The role of stereotypes appears highly instrumental within teacher perceptions and resultant schooling practice and, the analysis at this juncture represents one of the occasions within the thesis where the exploration of micro and macro processes coalesce.

From the pupils' perspective school would appear to provide a social milieu in conjunction with a work environment. Peer relations are explored initially and, as Meyenn (1980A, 1980B) also observes gender is salient within the context of middle school friendship networks. Unlike the girls in Meyenn's study, however, the girls at Kingston Dene were almost regimental in the ordering of their friends and, the view is posed that a certain instrumentality was necessitated by the institutional arrangements of the school, particularly those relating to subject setting. Cross-sex relations also assume a distinct character and again, the school has an impact here since there would appear to be a correlation between the extent to which girls and boys will interact and the nature of the arena within school in which they may be required to do so. The focus then moves to school work, particularly in terms of subject preference and the distinguishing feature between girls and boys in this context pertains to the role of the teacher in influencing the preferences of girls. Teachers would appear to have a far greater capacity for provoking

anxiety amongst girls than boys at school and some further facets of school work and the formal assessment of these are presented in order to explore this view and, the implications for girls' educational achievement.

A substantial part of the thesis is subsequently devoted to the exploration of teacher-pupil interaction and the opportunity is taken to juxtapose the perceptual stance of participants with observational data regarding their actions. It is perhaps worth noting at this point that the mechanism for cross-referencing varying perspectives upon a particular issue throughout the entire discourse entails the utilization of foot notes. It is hoped that the generous use of this facility will enhance the cohesion of the numerous analytic themes which are pursued and presented for consideration. The data on gender differentiation within teacher-pupil relations are so extensive that two Chapters have been created in order to facilitate examination of the issues which emerged.

In the first, (Chapter 6) some facets of classroom control provide an organizing construct and in the second (Chapter 7) a range of rather more diverse interactive processes are subject to scrutiny. The substantial nature of inquiries into teacher-pupil

interaction is also attributable to the availability of numerous other interactive studies and theoretical perspectives within which to contextualize observations at Kingston Dene. Although it must be emphasised that within this vast arena[42] there is a paucity of research into the educational experience of girls.[43] As suggested at the commencement to the Introduction, other relevant data, studies and theoretical insights are integrated throughout the dissertation in order that they may be considered directly in relation to the experience of pupils at Kingston Dene.

Subsequent to the perusal of developments within classroom research the nature of teacher-pupil interaction at Kingston Dene is considered, particularly as suggested, the manner in which control is exerted by teachers. Two categories of control are suggested - the uneventful maintenance of order as lessons 'tick over' and, the rather more dramatic occasions when routine measures fail and disciplinary incidents occur. Within both spheres the greater confidence of boys is apparent and it is suggested that the tendency of teachers to interact more frequently with them enhances their assurance. The work of Stanworth (1983) is relevant within this context, since as she points out, the marginalization of girls within classroom interaction has implications for girls in terms of their self-esteem as pupils and also in terms of the realization of their

academic potential.

It is not simply the case, however, that the boys were uniformly ebullient whilst the girls were consistently reticent. One of the more deviant pupils within the class being studied was female and the nature of her activities and teacher perceptions of them are explored in relation to Shaw's (1977) concept of some pupils functioning as a negative reference for their peers. The particular problems which girls pose for teachers in terms of discipline and punishment are also examined in order to elucidate how teachers resolve their qualms concerning the relevance of physical strategies for girls. It is interesting that some of the more notable disciplinary incidents in terms of severity involved girls and such 'counter - instances' are examined in order to explore the implications for the class as a whole.

The converse to the control of behaviour through penalties and sanctions is the reinforcement of appropriate behaviour through rewards. The allocation of school tasks appeared instrumental for teachers here and the process was heavily contingent upon considerations of gender. Perhaps more significantly within this context, however, was the development of humour between teachers and boys. Humour has received

considerable attention within the sociology of classroom life (Woods 1979 and 1983B) as a strategy of control through the promotion of 'friendly' relations (Denscombe 1985). The implications for girls in terms of their exclusion from a significant facet of classroom interaction is again considered from the perspective of its educational repercussions.

The following Chapter (Chapter 7) on teacher-pupil interaction commences with an exploration of the processes entailed in oral work. The work of Spender (1980A and 1982) is pertinent to the inquiry at this point and, the experience of girls at Kingston Dene would appear to confirm the thrust of other studies (Stanworth 1983) which elucidate a distribution of opportunities for participation in oral learning in favour of boys. The process is not, however, one of an unproblematic reflection of teacher bias, for girls contrive to maintain a low profile within classroom discourse. It is the nature of the reciprocity between their expectations and those of the teachers which is of paramount importance for classroom oralcy since the nature of the compromise which is usually effected may prove disadvantageous to girls in the longer term.

Language is also considered from the perspective of its potential for conveying stereotypes and it is proposed that in conjunction with symbolic gestures of a physical

nature, modes of masculinity are established within which boys are expected to operate. The corollary of this involves the creation of a feminine mode for girls and similarly, language as a purveyor of cultural stereotypes which foster femininity is explored. Endeavours are made throughout the two Chapters concerning teacher-pupil interaction to explore differences within interactive processes in terms of relations between pupils of the same, in addition to the opposite sex. It would seem that the girls at Kingston Dene were less homogeneous on the basis of their gender than the boys and, consequently some attention is given to within sex differentiation and the implications of this for the girls concerned.

Finally - the conclusion. It may be construed as somewhat premature within an introduction to delineate the salient themes of a study's conclusion! At this juncture it is sufficient to indicate that an attempt is made within the conclusion to weave the various analytic strands which emerged during the course of the ethnography of gender differentiation, into a rather more cohesive statement of the implications of the research for girls' education and, more generally, the position of women.

1.3   KINGSTON DENE MIDDLE SCHOOL

The final part of this Introductory Chapter seeks as suggested to depict some of the main characteristics of the school within which the research was conducted. The study was located generally within the third year of the school, comprising one hundred and seventy two pupils and in particular, one class of thirty pupils aged eleven to twelve years. Again, the intention is to provide some contextualizing details since specificities of the school's salient features in terms of its curriculum, its participants and how it became involved in a research project of this nature, are explored within the ensuing Chapters.

It is perhaps germane to commence such a portrayal with a brief consideration of the school's history. Prior to 1972 Kingston Dene had been a secondary modern school and was reorganized as a middle school under the comprehensivization of the Local Education Authority. There is a diversity of historical interpretation underpinning why a three tier chronologically tripartite system of schooling was selected within this particular authority. Essentially, analyses pivot upon administrative convenience vis-a-vis educational reform and idealism. For an account of the political machinations which prompted the adoption of a 9-13

comprehensive middle school system the analysis of Sharp (1980) is both interesting and instructive. Three elements contributed to its introduction, the necessity to utilize existing buildings and to avoid selection through parental choice (as occurred under the Leicestershire Plan) and, the desire to avoid rendering high schools vulnerable to excessive specialization due to examination pressures. Sharp concludes that, 'negative constraints contributed as much as positive choices to the emergence of middle schools'[44] in the area in question.

In terms of educational philosophy, middle schools were intended to incorporate the best of primary school practice, notably its child-centred, progressive approach and, as Hargreaves (1986) notes these arguments were 'embraced and advanced with utmost sincerity'[45] by the L.E.A. within which Kingston Dene was located. Yet as he goes on to point out such justifications emerged _after_ the more expedient reasons for the adoption of the system detailed by Sharp. Perhaps most interestingly, however, a distinctive middle school ideology emerged which rendered the workings of the system indistinct, particularly the tensions inherent in the three tier model. The ideology was perpetuated to a large extent by administrators, advisers and head teachers, since the incumbents of such positions

commonly find themselves engaged in legitimating the system which they represent and, to which they are accountable, to both public and professional audiences (Hargreaves 1980A). It is not appropriate within the present context to digress any further with an inquiry into the ideological impetus of middle schools: the main contribution to this issue is provided by Hargreaves (1980A, 1986) and Hargreaves and Warwick (1978).[46]

Returning then to Kingston Dene. In terms of its physical dimensions, the school was purpose built as a secondary modern in 1964. The two storied concrete and glass construction was organized around a fairly large grassy quadrangle which accommodated a collection of rabbits, birds and other small animals. The school was attractively endowed with large playing fields and, although the fabric of the building appeared well used it was graffiti free. Facilities were good, including a gymnasium, a large hall with stage, separate dining room, a well equipped domestic science room, two large similarly well equipped science laboratories, a library, and art, metal and woodwork rooms comprising a distinct wing. A traditional design resulted in all classrooms opening off corridors and they were consequently self-contained units with rows of desks facing the blackboard in orthodox style, (although the first year rooms had a grouped desk formation). The school was generally

bright, spacious and well decorated with pupils' work, particularly art work in the main thoroughfares. The air of modernity, however, disguised a crumbling structure in need of repair and buckets, strategically placed to catch rainwater, were not an uncommon sight.

With reference to its neighbourhood and catchment area, Kingston Dene was regarded as an inner-city school, with the city in question constituting part of a major industrial conurbation. The school was located at the periphery of its community and at the intersection of two main roads which represented a symbolic as well as a physical barrier. Some privately owned housing to the North of the school, just the other side of one of the two roads and very visible, tended to confer upon it a deceptive air of affluence. Yet, virtually none of the children who lived in such close proximity attended the school. Kingston Dene pupils were drawn predominantly from neighbourhoods to the South, that is, nearer the city-centre and they lived in a mixture of privately rented, local authority and owner occupied accommodation, with the school's black pupils residing in a well established local ethnic minority community. The school enjoyed a good reputation with many parents selecting it for their children in preference to more conveniently situated establishments.

At the time of the study approximately six hundred and fifty pupils were on roll and this represented a declining school population which two to three years previously had totalled eight hundred. (Kingston Dene was nevertheless one of the largest middle schools in the Local Education Authority). Approximately forty per cent[47] of the pupils were black, predominantly Afro-Caribbean and Asian, although with small minorities of Greek Cypriots and Chinese. Within the third year, which comprised the focus of the study, the proportion of black pupils was forty two per cent. In terms of its social class composition, Kingston Dene was predominantly working class. Parental occupation details were ascertained from pupils in the third year class who were particularly involved in the research and these indicated that the majority of parents who were in paid employment outside of the home were predominantly employed within partly skilled manual work,[48] with the majority of mothers being described as housewives. Between thirty to forty per cent of pupils qualified for free school meals.

A teaching staff of thirty one provided the school with a very stable workforce, with many of the teachers remaining from the secondary modern era. Apart from the subject specialists within the sciences and crafts, the majority of staff were attached to one of the four year groupings and had responsibility for a particular class.

A conventional hierarchy in terms of gender pertained, with the positions of seniority being occupied by men. The Head, Deputy Head and three out of four Assistant Head Teachers[49] were male and the one exception here was the Head of Fourth Year who also occupied the position of Senior Mistress.[50] A good deal of institutional authority was invested in these positions particularly that of Deputy Head who assumed (with some gusto) the role of official disciplinarian and to whom pupils were despatched for punishments of a more spectacular nature. The school was thus typical in that the more junior posts were occupied by women.[51] Perhaps the most conventional portrayal of role models for pupils in this respect was enshrined in the circumstance of the Head Teacher and the school secretary being husband and wife.[52] The staff appeared enthusiastic and committed and this was reflected in the considerable number of teachers who were engaged in in-service training and further professional studies. The majority of teachers did not live locally, with the one notable exception of the sole ethnic minority teacher who was Afro-Caribbean and she lived in the same neighbourhood as many of the black pupils.

In terms of its institutional atmosphere, Kingston Dene appeared as well ordered, though not oppressively so.

Pupils were seldom left unsupervised within the building and, indeed, at specific points throughout the day (usually lesson changeover when movement around the school was at its peak), certain locations were policed. Furthermore, since boys tended to assume a higher profile than girls in contexts of control[53] and, since discipline tended to be exerted in a rather physical or 'macho' style, the school's atmosphere was occasionally characterized by what might be referred to as an institutionalized masculinity.

The impact of gender was also apparent in various other of the routines and rituals of school life. Whilst pupils were only officially segregated on this basis for P.E. and additionally within the fourth year for craft subjects,[54] an unofficial segregation pervaded other less formal organizational arrangements. Thus girls and boys were segregated in school records, class lists, registers and similar documentation. They were required to queue separately for lessons and to attend school assemblies similarly distinguished. Visits to the school doctor, dentist and other officials were organized on a boys or girls first basis and, occasionally within lessons, as Delamont (1980A) also notes, greater efforts were urged through reference to a gender based competition. The implications of this segregation are explored later in the thesis and, at this juncture it is sufficient to record the ubiquitous

nature of a gender inspired separatism within an ostensibly co-educational context.

It would seem prudent to curtail the contextualizing discussion here, for it appears that any further development of the issues threatens to intrude upon the province that has been established for subsequent Chapters. The Introduction has sought to provide a glimmer of the broader concerns which underpin the study and a glance at those issues which are probed in greater detail. The terms of reference have been elucidated and it is now appropriate to proceed with the ethnographic study of gender differentiation in a middle school.

FOOT NOTES

1. As Delamont (1980B) notes the term 'gender' should properly be used to refer to all the non-biological aspects of differences between males and females which separate 'masculine' from 'feminine' life styles (p.5). This is generally how it is used throughout this thesis, although occasionally where common usage of 'sex' to indicate male-female differences facilitates clarity this term is utilized. Davies (1985) also comments upon the distinction and she resolves potential confusion by using the terms interchangeably in 'the cause of clarity' rather than 'analytic device'. She indicates that she would choose 'interaction between the sexes', but 'the problems of gender....'(p. 95).

2. This tendency is elucidated specifically by Wolpe (1974) and in more general terms throughout the thesis.

3. The reasons underpinning this prioritization are considered in the following Chapter which explores theoretical perspectives and methodological practice, see Section 2.2.1.

4. The economically active population is made up of employees, members of H.M. Forces, the self-employed, those who are unemployed and seeking work (whether claiming social security benefits or not) and those who are on government schemes. Full-time students are counted as economically active if they are either working or actively seeking work and not prevented from starting work by the need to complete their education. (Social Trends No. 17, 1987, p. 69).

5. Throughout the Introduction the statistical data which are referred to have been obtained from the statistical compendium published by the E.O.C. - Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile 1986, H.M.S.O.(1987), the E.O.C.'s digest of statistics regarding women entitled 'The Fact About Women Is....' (1987) and the most recent edition of Social Trends - No. 17, 1987. The combination of sources thus provides a reasonably current statistical review. Recent data were utilized rather than those pertaining to 1979/80 when the research project was conducted since changes in trend have been minimal; it is consequently possible to discuss the study in terms of the current social and economic position of

women, thereby rendering it relevant within a contemporary context.

6. Social Trends No. 17 1987.

7. Department of Employment Gazette, 1985 figures cited in The Fact About Women Is...., E.O.C. 1987.

8. Social Trends No. 17 1987.

9. General Household Survey 1984, cited in The Fact About Women Is...., E.O.C. 1987.

10. Social Trends No. 17 1987.

11. 4.7% of households comprise a working husband, an economically inactive wife and exactly two dependent children, General Household Survey 1982, cited in Facts About Women, E.O.C. 1985.

12. Equal Pay Act (1970), implemented 1975.

13. Women and Men In Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987 - the level of 4.3% was reached in 1964 with the return of 28 women M.P.s.

14. Dod's General Election Supplement, 1987.

15. Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987.

16. Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987.

17. For supporting evidence here see Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile H.M.S.O. 1987.

18. Cited in Oakley (1981) p. 301.

19. The term 'para-curriculum' is suggested by Hargreaves (1978) as a more accurate description of the processes usually encompassed by the term 'hidden curriculum'. The notion is explored more fully in Chapter 3, Section 3.1.

20. Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987.

21. Social Trends No. 17 1987.

22. University Statistics Volume 1 Students and Staff D.E.S. 1984-5, cited in The Fact About Women Is....E.O.C. 1987.

23. As suggested earlier in the discussion this phrase was originally used by Wolpe (1974) to describe the empirical evidence contained within official statistics.

24. Dyhouse (1981) p.43.

25. Cited in Dyhouse (1981) p. 42.

26. Prior to 1870 such schools provided working class children with their main source of 'education'. Dame schools in particular constituted little more than a child-minding service (Turner 1978).

27. Discrimination is defined as 'less favourable treatment' and is also utilized within the 1976 Race Relations Act, although this does indicate that segregation is discriminatory.

28. Fifth Form Girls : Their Hopes For The Future, D.E.S., 1975.

29. Education In Schools : A Consultative Document, E.O.C. 1977.

30. ibid. p. 2.

31. See, for example, Oakley (1981) and Gray, J.A. (1981).

32. Notably that differences in maths. may reflect differences in spatial rather than arithmetic ability.

33. The role of such interventionist strategies will be considered more fully in the conclusion to the thesis.

34. 7.2% of female school leavers obtain an 'O' level in technical drawing and 1.4% of male leavers obtain cookery (or similar domestic subjects) at 'A' level (Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987).

35. Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987.

36. ibid.

37. As opposed to analysing results for all school leavers who may have obtained qualifications prior to the year in which they left school.

38. Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987.

39. The Missing Half (1981).

40. Randall's study encompassed science, C.D.T. and art lessons.

41. Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987.

42. See the discussion entitled 'From Interaction Analysis to Interpretive Case Study' in Chapter 6, Section 6.2.

43. See in particular the comments of Llewellyn (1980) within the above discussion, Chapter 6, Section 6.2.

44. Sharp (1980) p. 39.

45. Hargreaves (1986) p. 61.

46. This issue is also explored within the discussion of the curriculum at Kingston Dene in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.

47. These data were not routinely collated at Kingston Dene and this figure was provided by the Head Teacher. It appears fairly accurate since it is virtually the same percentage that occurred within the third year, details of which were collected for purposes of the study.

48. Parental occupation details were requested from the girls within formal interviews and ascertained from the boys during informal conversation. (The reasons for a more systematic exploration of some issues with girls are considered within the following Chapter). The classification of occupations provided by O.P.C.S. (1970) were used to code the data into social class. The occupations of girls' parents were as follows:-

Father's Job	Classification
Electrical supervisor	IIIM
Bottle Labeller	IV
Self Employed (odd jobs)	IV
Aeroplane Mechanic	IIIM
Glass Factory Worker	IV
Roofing Contractor	IV
Contractor	V
Drain Cleaner	V
Chef	IIIM
Unemployed (3 fathers)	-
Don't know (1 father)	-
(1 girl - no father)	-

Mother's Job	Classification
Housewife (8 mothers)	-
Printing Factory Worker	IIIM
Hospital Auxillary (3 mothers)	IV
Factory Worker	V
Don't know (1 mother)	-

As Oakley (1981) points out such classifications are unable to accommodate women's unpaid work within the home.

49. The Assistant Head Teachers were all Heads of school years and are referred to throughout the study as Head of X Year, since this is how they were referred to within the school.

50. The Head Teacher explained that he considered it necessary for a mixed school to have a Senior Mistress, although the position carried no scale points. The teacher in question was thus a scale 4 on the basis of her position as Head of Fourth Year.

51. A situation which still prevails within the teaching profession - see Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987.

52. See Appendix 7 where more background information on the school's staff is presented, including the breakdown of Burnham salary positions within the school.

53. See the discussion of controlling boys and girls in Chapter 6, Sections 6.4.1 and 6.4.2 respectively.

54. This issue is discussed more fully in Chapter 3 on the curriculum, Section 3.2.2.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1   INTRODUCTION

2.1.1 Framework for discussion

Now that the concerns and interests which comprise the
'foreshadowed problems'[1] from which this project was
conceived have been introduced, it is appropriate to
elucidate how the ethnographic study of gender
differentiation in a middle school proceeded in
practice. This Chapter accordingly seeks to detail the
methodological stance which was utilized in order to
explore the issue of gender and schooling and, to
outline the underpinning theoretical insights which
informed the methodology both in the field and during
the period of post fieldwork analysis. One feature of
the present study is the necessity to render an account,
not only of Kingston Dene Middle School in terms of the
research topic which was distilled from foreshadowed
problems, but also to document a parallel account of the
theoretical and empirical shifts in emphasis which
accompanied the research as it developed. Such shifts
are typical of ethnographic exploration (Hammersley and
Atkinson 1983, Burgess 1984A, Woods 1986) where
practical difficulties of securing and maintaining

access to the field (Hargreaves 1987), the generation of
grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1968) or the length
of the writing-up phase (Hargreaves 1987) may all
conspire to modify initial intentions.   Indeed, such
reflexivity (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Hammersley
1984A) may be viewed as one of the strengths of the
method and a major reason for its selection in the first
instance.[2]

The stimulus to ethnographic research may, as Hammersley
and Atkinson (1983) suggest, vary from the desire to
develop theories or test hypotheses to the probing of
political or practical problems. It can also transcend
both spheres. The present study, for example, emerged
as suggested, primarily from the latter, namely an
interest in the educational experience of girls
contextualized within a broader concern with the socio-
economic position of women. One of the principal
preoccupations during the early stages of the research
design was, however, the exploration of links between
the minutiae of classroom interaction and its
relationship to structure which was interpreted from a
Marxist perspective. The resolution of what transpired
as a dilemma within the ethnography will be considered
shortly. An interesting point, however, is that the
study followed what would now be regarded as a
characteristic pattern within educational ethnography.

Despite the prudent precaution of attempting to
elaborate and clarify the research problem through the
perusal of secondary sources[3] prior to the collection
of data (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983), whilst at the
same time seeking to avoid too close or early an
involvement with problems of an epistemological nature
(Gleeson and Mardle 1987), the research appeared to
gather its own momentum which required an adjustment on
behalf of the researcher rather than vice versa. Again,
this constitutes a familiar feature within a research
process which designates the researcher as the paramount
investigative medium (Bell and Newby 1977, Burgess
1984B, Walford 1987).

In tracing and explicating both the theoretical and
empirical flux which permeates the ethnography of gender
at Kingston Dene Middle School, the present discussion
comprises four main dimensions. The first, which
follows directly, seeks to provide some historical
perspective to the study which has extended, in terms of
time, beyond the originally envisaged timetable. Whilst
this part of the discussion is comparatively brief, it
is nevertheless considered relevant to acknowledge and
perhaps attempt some assessment of the impact of
developments in ethnographic research and the
educational experience of girls since the period of data
collection at Kingston Dene. Emanating from this are

the theoretical perspectives which guided the study from its inception to final compilation as a dissertation. Whilst it is pertinent to elucidate the influences which facilitated the delineation of the scope, texture and presentation of the study, the exploration of theory, particularly in terms of the synthesis between micro and macro sociological approaches does not emerge as a salient theme within the ethnographic analysis of gender. Again the deliberations underpinning this diminution in emphasis upon such theoretical issues require detailing.

The discussion then proceeds with a consideration of those issues which are perhaps more closely identifiable as the methodological problematics which confront the ethnographer and constitutes a subject upon which guidelines are now available for potential field workers (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Burgess 1984A, Woods 1986). Within this context empirical concerns such as gaining access to the field, establishing field relations, making and implementing pragmatic decisions regarding which particular research techniques to utilize all necessitate explanation, as do the assumptions which informed any such decision making in the field. Another important facet here is the period of post field work analysis and how the luxury of a more reflective phase may eventually determine the nature of

the completed version of the ethnography.

Two processes in particular appear synonymous with this concluding phase, the final honing and interpretation of data which are selected for presentation and the actual writing of the ethnography. Whilst it is possible to detect a slight tendency for these to be discussed as distinct processes (Delamont 1984, Burgess 1984A), in practice, at least in so far as the present study is concerned and this also concurs with Hargreaves' (1987) views, interpretation and writing are closely intertwined so that, as Woods (1986) and Walford (1987) similarly observe, a strong temptation to prolong the process of analysis must be resisted in order for any account to be rendered at all.[4] Such difficulties and the manner of their resolution are considered towards the end of the discourse on methodology. Some issues of validity are explored in conclusion and in particular the influence of the researcher upon the entire ethnographic exercise.

2.1.2 The ethnography : historical developments

If, during periods of observation ethnographers are plagued by the 'elsewhere syndrome' (Woods 1986),[5] then during post fieldwork analysis and writing up, it is possible to suggest that an equally pernicious sense of foreboding is produced by what might be referred to

as the 'by-passed syndrome'. This tends to prompt the feeling that, however genuine the reasons for the lapse in time between data collection and thesis presentation, the academic world has moved on thus rendering the project out of date. In relation to the ethnography of gender differentiation at Kingston Dene, the period of full-time, funded[6] research was as follows:-

Academic Year	Activity
1978/79	Elaboration of research problem, perusal of secondary sources, pre-fieldwork preparation, negotiating access and preliminary observational work.
1979/80	In the field at Kingston Dene.
1980/81	Coding, transcription, analysis and statistical analysis.[7]

Whilst, as Hargreaves (1987) points out, ten years for the completion of an ethnography is not uncommon, in relation to the present study there have been two major spheres of development since the fieldwork at Kingston Dene which necessarily impinge upon the exploration of gender and the methods deployed in so doing.

The first concerns the methodological developments which have occurred within ethnographic research and the second, the progress made within the exploration of various facets of gender, schooling and equal opportunities for girls. With reference to the former, the present researcher was more fortunate than Delamont (1984) in having access to some British school

ethnographies and in devising and conducting the research project subsequent to the paradigm shift within the sociology of education.[8] It may be argued, however, that the real expansion of ethnographic work in schools, expositions on the methodological techniques involved and the theoretical impetus for these occurred after 1979/80 when data for this study were collected at Kingston Dene. Thus, whilst there were some 'blueprints' (Delamont 1984) which could be utilized for general guidance[9] and some Open University course materials[10] which may now be regarded as the precursor to much that has developed since, in a practical sense there were few recognized guidelines which could be acknowledged as establishing good ethnographic practice and from a theoretical perspective educational ethnography had only tentatively been explored.

The pertinent question is, of course, how if at all, does this affect the present study? There would appear to be two issues here. The first concerns the validity of the ethnography conducted at Kingston Dene in an empirical sense. Have subsequent developments within ethnographic research and the greater sophistication of available literature within this arena resulted in a retrospective evaluation of the study which suggests that it was poorly conducted by more recently established standards? The answer to this, as the

remainder of the Chapter will hopefully demonstrate, is substantially, no. This is not to suggest that if the exercise were to be repeated certain facets would not be changed. Rather, it is to suggest, that many of the features which are now discussed and recommended as standard practice within ethnographic research[11] were incorporated into the Kingston Dene study.

The second issue is of a rather more theoretical nature and concerns the potential problem raised by Delamont (1984) of collecting data within one frame of reference and writing it up in another. Such a shift of perspective may be problematic since the researcher has usually focused upon issues and personnel relevant to the first framework and lacks insight on different questions. Hargreaves (1987), however, takes issue with what he refers to as Delamont's 'contentious claim', eloquently asserting instead that a failure to confront alternative theories which provide a better explanation of one's data or to deny the possibility that new and more enlightened theoretical explanations may cause a shift in theoretical allegiances:-

> all this seems to me a position which
> can be sustained only by the most
> single-minded and inflexible of
> educational researchers.

> Hargreaves 1987 p. 33.

Whilst, despite the spectre of the syndrome of being by-passed, it is considered that in many ways recent

developments in ethnographic research and studies into gender and schooling have served to enhance rather than detract from the Kingston Dene study, it would seem that Delamont (1984) may have a point. For whilst it seems entirely legitimate to subject theory to the creative rigours proposed by Hargreaves (1987), given that a central tenet of ethnographic research is the portrayal of particular contexts as they appear to participants, there would seem to be a possibility of placing in jeopardy the integrity of data if they are similarly subjected to such constant theoretical extrapolation. This is not to suggest that it is inappropriate to apply new theoretical perspectives, but that they should be applied sensitively and with due regard to what information was requested from research participants or the situations in which they were observed.

This time-lag tension discussed by Delamont and Hargreaves has not, however, presented a problem within the present context largely because the interpretational and analytic manipulations which may have prompted a lack of fit between theory and data have, as suggested, transpired as less salient than originally anticipated. The availability of a more recent literature, particularly on girls' education, has moreover, provided the opportunity on occasions to utilize the Kingston Dene data comparatively. It is germane at this point to address these developments within the sphere of gender

differentiation within educational processes in order to consider, as indicated above, their impact upon the relevance of the experience of girls at Kingston Dene.

Perhaps the first observation that should be made here and it is one that is reiterated throughout the thesis, is that the amount of research into girls' education during the past decade, particularly full scale qualitative studies which could be juxtaposed to the work of, for example, Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Willis (1977), Woods (1979), Corrigan (1979) or Ball (1981) is disappointingly small. Nevertheless, the data collection at Kingston Dene either pre-dated or occurred simultaneous with the publication of some of the more notable studies in this area. For example, the work of Spender (1980A, 1982), Spender and Sarah (1980), Deem (1980, 1984), Delamont (1980A, 1980B), Stanworth (1983). At the time, therefore, it was only possible to refer to a more limited range of relevant research, for instance Delamont (1973), Fuller (1978), Byrne (1978), Deem (1978), Adams and Laurikietis (1976), Sharpe (1976), Lobban (1976), Lambart (1976) and some American work such as Frazer and Sadker (1973). It would seem, however, that a major ethnography of girls' schooling which penetrates the mainstream of British sociology of education and which enjoys the same academic prestige as the aforementioned studies of boys' school experience is

still awaited.[12]

In terms of gender differentiation, therefore, the by-passed syndrome is possibly rather less in evidence than on the issue of methodological maturity. There is, however, one area of the research which may be quite different if the project were to be replicated in schools today. This concerns the awareness on the part of teachers of gender and equal opportunities as an educational issue. As suggested later in the thesis,[13] issues raised by the research at Kingston Dene were unfamiliar to the school staff. In view of the role of the Equal Opportunities Commission, projects such as Girls into Science and Technology (GIST - documented by Whyte 1987, Kelly et al 1987), conferences such as Girl Friendly Schooling (the main papers of which appear in the book of the same name edited by Whyte et al 1985) and the endeavours of Local Authority Equal Opportunities Units, it is possible to speculate that the contemporary situation is one of greater awareness. What is open to conjecture, however, is the extent to which an awareness of the issues (if it is current in schools) has resulted in changed classroom practices both in terms of teaching and inter-personal relations. On this most important of issues, the more recent school studies [14] would appear to suggest that the observations at Kingston Dene would be depressingly familiar to researchers entering the field at the

present time.

2.2   THEORETICAL INFLUENCES

2.2.1 Decision making : some choices in relation to theory and data.

In exploring the theoretical influences which have informed and guided the research into gender differentiation it is not the intention to peruse various sociological approaches or philosophical positions with a view to tracing the impact and implications of each upon the study. Rather, what is proposed is a rather more succinct account of why theoretical perspectives have been managed in a particular way throughout the thesis, followed by a brief consideration of some of the more salient of these. The research into gender was devised shortly after what is generally regarded as a theoretical hiatus within the sociology of education and during the stimulating period which ensued.[15] Whilst it may appear that there is something of a theoretical lacuna within the thesis this is attributable to some decision making regarding the balance to be achieved between the analysis of theory and data rather than a reflection of it having been conceived within a theoretical vacuum. On the contrary, the project was strongly influenced by the

intense theoretical debate which characterized the 1970s and is located within the phenomenological part of it.

A shift in emphasis occurred, however, which had its inception during the period of fieldwork but which was crystalized during the subsequent process of analysis and writing up. This involved relinquishing an initial objective of encompassing and synthesising empirical and theoretical concerns in favour of a detailed exploration of the data. The paramount criterion informing this re-direction essentially hinged upon an evaluation of whether, within the expectancies and confines of an academic thesis, both spheres of inquiry - the data and the synthesis of this with theoretical perspectives at the structural level - could be adequately explored and explained. Even though the arbiters of academic discourse may be more indulgent in terms of length than the publishers of books,[16] it was concluded that it would not be possible to do justice to the ethnographic data and the very large and complex issue of synthesis between micro and macro sociology.

Indeed, some significant aspects of the data have been excised in order to facilitate the analysis of those which have been selected for discussion and such omissions will be considered later in the thesis. There was also the additional consideration that whilst the

level of theoretical activity at the time of the research was particularly healthy, little had been produced in empirical terms[17] and the view was consequently taken that the project might make a more useful contribution in relation to rectifying this imbalance.

Whilst theoretical deliberations and possibilities have been condensed they do, nevertheless, emerge occasionally throughout the thesis.[18] In order that they may be understood in relation to the implicit theoretical guidelines of the thesis it is appropriate to review, very briefly, some early directions and subsequent developments. In particular, methodological inspiration had initially been sought from phenomenology and symbolic interactionism. The conflation of these by Berger and Luckman (1971) had precipitated an earlier introduction to the work of Schutz (1971, 1973) and Mead as elucidated by Blumer (1966). The influence of symbolic interactionism is particularly apparent within the discussion of teacher-pupil relations and classroom interaction in Chapters 6 and 7. Here the negotiation which occurs between teachers and pupils is examined in order to explore gender differentiation within the daily 'give and take' of classroom life wherein everyday realities are constantly defined and redefined.[19] In terms of their potentiality for investigating linkages

between micro and macro concerns, however, some of the Schutzian (1971, 1973) concepts were perceived as most interesting.

2.2.2 Phenomenological possibilities

The issue of how taken for granted assumptions are incarnated in social interaction (particularly those regarding what constitutes appropriate gender behaviour) and the manner in which individuals endeavour to come to terms with the world was regarded as a fertile area for analysis. From a phenomenological perspective all interpretations are founded upon a stock of previous experiences, our own and those handed down by parents and teachers and, which function in the form of 'knowledge at hand' as a scheme of reference. Experience and perceptions of feminine behaviour within contemporary society are, therefore, influenced by traditional conceptions pertaining to the role of women who, as demonstrated in the Introductory Chapter occupy a subordinate socio-economic position.

The nature of relations with other people is expounded by Schutz in his thesis on the reciprocity of perspectives which entails the two idealizations of the 'interchangeability of standpoints' and 'the congruency of systems of relevance'. By the operation of these constructs of commonsense thinking it is assumed that

the sector of the world taken for granted by one individual is similarly taken for granted by the person with whom communication is sought. Variations may exist, however, between pupils and teachers in the type of behaviour they take for granted as appropriate and which influence the nature of inter-personal relations in the classroom. Such differences may, in turn, be implicated in the approval of certain modes of behaviour which then become established as more suitable than others. That there was such a disparity between the teacher and one third year girl[20] in particular at Kingston Dene would appear to be supported by the data which are explored later in the thesis. In brief, the lack of reciprocity within this relationship and the consequences of this for the pupil concerned, functioned to reinforce the assumptions which were shared between the teacher and the majority of pupils regarding appropriate gender behaviour.

Various communicative devices are denoted by Schutz which assist individuals in their attempts to interpret meanings and communicate with each other. Thus, 'marks', 'indications', 'signs' and 'symbols' are all utilized in making assessments of what events are relevant or typical. The first two act as subjective reminders in this respect, whilst signs demonstrate in a physical way in face-to-face relationships that particular meanings have been comprehended, for example,

smiling or blushing. The most important device according to Schutz are symbols since these permit transcendence into other realms of meaning which may not have been personally experienced. Thus, pupils may 'know' a certain amount about the world of work, for example, and may make decisions about future jobs on the basis of information acquired in various ways but employment does not yet constitute part of their commensense world and until it does the relationship between them and it remains symbolic. It was considered that such an understanding of communication had a good deal to contribute to the analysis of non-verbal communication which is presented later in the thesis.[21] Much of what transpired between teachers and pupils, particularly in the sphere of discipline, was based upon gestures which were rendered potent by the subjective reminders intrinsic to them. Similarly, pupils also interacted non-verbally, and in particular, cross-sex relations were notable for their ritualized strategies of avoidance which typified relations between girls and boys under certain circumstances.[22]

Such perceptual stances are, however, influenced not only by the individuals biographically determined situation, but also by multiple membership of social subgroups, such as family, age, sex and occupational divisions. These determine the classification of what

it is necessary and worthwhile to communicate and
variations exist on the basis of age, sex, occupation
and so on. Thinking itself is directed by the 'interest
at hand' which establishes which problems and areas
require solving through thought or action. The
requisite knowledge for each problematic area
encountered is organized into zones of relevance and
Schutz (1973) distinguishes between relevances which are
intrinsic and imposed. It is possible to suggest that
this distinction in Schutzian analysis may be utilized
to locate interactive processes within a more embracing
structural framework. Intrinsic relevances refer to the
ordering of knowledge which occurs when an individual
elects to solve a particular problem or pursue a
particular course of action. Once the interest is
created it determines the system of relevance intrinsic
to it. However, Schutz also acknowledges that
individuals are not in complete control of the
circumstances in which they find themselves. Imposed
upon people as relevant are situations and events which
do not emerge from selected interests and which
individuals have little power to manipulate other than
by transforming that which is imposed into an intrinsic
relevance.

In relation to the structural position of women, they
are defined within a capitalist political economy
primarily in terms of their domesticity and associated

feminine graces. Ideological influences may be viewed as persuading women of the relevance of a particular construction of femininity (Winship 1978, MacDonald 1980A) and stereotypes (Perkins 1979) are implicated in a constant process of reaffirmation. The notion may, therefore, be ventured that certain relevances are imposed upon women and, in so far as these are internalized and acted upon, the imposed relevance is converted to an intrinsic one. With reference to the educational experience of girls at Kingston Dene, one particular instance of this would appear to be apparent in the data and entailed the girls utilizing their femininity in order to manipulate the teacher. The mechanics of this are elaborated within the discussion of girls being assertive.[23]

At the same time as this observation prompted an incursion into the phenomenological concept of systems of relevance, the Gramscian (1971) analysis of commonsense was also considered a fertile area of inquiry in order to augment an understanding of the implications of such a process of internalization. As suggested in the Introduction it is not possible to attempt anything but the briefest of allusions to the analytic potential here. This relates to the manner in which commensense perceptions are shaped by hegemonic influences which serve to implicate individuals in their

own subordination through the uncritical absorption of a system of ideas, attitudes and beliefs which are supportive of the established order and consequently sustain the dominant class. For Gramsci, intellectuals are responsible for the dispersion of such ideas and they are defined not merely in terms of the nature of intellectual activity (which is engaged in by everyone), but as that group who within specific historical epochs organize social hegemony. Thus, within civil society consensus is achieved through the active consent of subordinate classes.

Inherent in commonsense perceptions about the world is thus an ideological dimension which fosters the conditions of illusion. Education is posited by Gramsci as instrumental in this process since schooling transmits those ideas which are reinforced by social forces and the ideology generated by these penetrates that which is taken for granted in day to day activity. More specifically, it is possible to conjecture that the ideology of femininity permeates preconceptions concerning gender which reflect the generally unquestioned modes of behaviour deemed appropriate for men and women, boys and girls. Hence, within commonsense typifications of behaviour, ideological influences are apparent and this may be posited as implicated in the consensus between teachers at Kingston Dene over what constituted typical behaviours and traits

of pupils on the basis of gender.[24]

This part of the discussion on theoretical perspectives was consciously and advisedly entitled 'phenomenological possibilities' for, in essence, little more than the potential of certain concepts have been elucidated. It is considered appropriate that they should be reported, however, since they were influential during the period of data collection and, indeed, emerge as suggested, at various points throughout the dissertation. It is likely, moreover, that they do implicitly inform the nature of the discourse in terms of its emphases and omissions.

It seems to be the fate of phenomenology to be utilized in this somewhat eclectic manner. Other researchers have also extracted and applied specifics of the Schutzian position (for example Hargreaves et al 1975, Edwards and Furlong 1978, Ball 1984, Pollard 1984), with the result that there appear to be few expositions which present a theoretically cohesive phenomenological analysis and even fewer which manage the linkages to structural concerns. (The present discussion is not presented as an exception in this respect). Indeed, it may be as Gleeson and Mardle (1987) suggest that embarking upon such a course 'often represents little more than a search for the elusive pot of gold at the

rainbow's end'.[25]

The difficulties have not, however, deflected all theoreticians (or researchers) from the task. As A. Hargreaves (1985) points out, what has come to be regarded as the 'micro-macro problem' has been addressed in a general way by writers such as Giddens (1976 and 1979) and Habermas (1976), yet whilst there is considerable awareness of the problem within the sociology of education there are few attempts to connect the small scale school studies and explorations of the 'system'. Indeed, not only did there appear to be an initial reluctance to explore the problem empirically, but also an animosity between those engaged in analysis within the separate spheres. Thus, whilst phenomenological approaches to qualitative work in school became tarnished as a result of what was perceived as a structural or political naivity, those engaged in the latter were accused of seeking theoretical kudos without getting their hands dirty with research (D. Hargreaves 1986).

As suggested, however, sociologists of education such as Sharp and Green (1975) and Willis (1977) have attempted empirical linkages and A. Hargreaves (1980, 1985) and Hammersley (1980, 1986) have persisted with the search for the elusive 'pot of gold' in more theoretical terms. Since it is the objective at this juncture to adhere to

the previously stated intention of not becoming too immersed in the micro-macro problem, their arguments will not be rehearsed or elaborated within the present context. It is worth emphasising that the 'problem' remains ripe for further exploration and analysis.

2.3 KINGSTON DENE MIDDLE SCHOOL : IN THE FIELD

2.3.1 Gaining access and other issues

It would seem that gaining access to the field in ethnographic research represents something of a precarious business. It may be negotiated through the 'Hierarchy of Consent'[26] embodied within Local Education Authority bureaucracies either successfully (Fuller 1978) or with rather unexpected results (Hammersley 1984B),[27] through influential informal contacts (Hargreaves 1987), direct approaches to individual schools (Delamont 1984), the synthesis of a teaching post with a research role (Pollard 1885) or subject to vetting, through the good fortune of an invitation (Burgess 1985D). Similarly, despite an awareness that access to schools should ideally be dictated by a clear research question distilled from foreshadowed problems, in practice it would appear that investigative spheres may be determined by the exigencies of gaining and sustaining access within the

field (Hargreaves 1987, Hammersley 1984B).

In terms of the present study the research problem of how girls' educational experience relates to the socio-economic position of women was considered in relation to two principal empirical questions. Firstly, should exclusive focus be accorded to one school on the assumption that more profound insights might emerge in this way or should the advantages of a comparative approach be sought through work in two schools? Secondly, should girls only be encompassed by the research in order to explore their educational experience in depth and, at the same time counterbalance existing studies into boys' schooling or should a mixed group be embraced by the research in order to investigate gender differentiation? A further uncertainty concerned the educational level at which the research should be projected, although there was a very slight preference here on behalf of the researcher to focus upon some stage at the secondary level.[28] One issue of a practical nature had been determined prior to gaining access to a school and this pertained to length of time in the field where it had been decided to devote one year of the research project to data collection.[29]

Simultaneous with much pondering upon these issues and the manner of their resolution was an increasing sense of urgency associated with selecting a school, or

schools, for the second year of the study. Whilst it
was considered desirable that a priority be placed upon
securing schools which would satisfy the general
requirements of the research problem, it was also
recognized that decisions of a pragmatic nature may
ultimately resolve the two empirical questions outlined.
In the event previous contacts[30] within the Department
of Sociology at the University proved fruitful since a
community based study of schooling was being
contemplated involving a neighbouring Local Education
Authority and with a particular interest in the middle
years of schooling. Whilst few substantive issues had
been crystalized formal contact with the Education
Authority had been initiated and it appeared of mutual
benefit that I could focus upon girls' education and the
position of women in the local community, whilst a
fellow research student could pursue other issues
including transfer to and experience at high school.
This would also permit the initiator of the project[31]
to focus upon research within the community. As a
consequence seeking the consent of the relevant
hierarchy was embarked upon in earnest in May 1979.[32]

In brief, this initially entailed a visit to two middle
schools (half a day in each) during May 1979 followed by
a formal meeting in June with the Authority's primary
adviser, science adviser and general school adviser. The

purpose of this meeting was for myself and fellow research student to outline the nature of our research interests and discuss how these could be accommodated within some ideas expressed by the Chief Education Officer.[33] Moreover, that the advisers could brief the Chief Education Officer of developments and secure his approval for us working within the schools visited. In retrospect it is also apparent that the initial school visits had been organized in order that the Head Teachers could appraise us in addition to the ostensible reason of permitting us to become acquainted with the locality and its schools. - A precaution on the part of potential host schools also experienced by Burgess (1985D).

The meeting evidently went well since it was followed by a day's visit to one of the middle schools previously contacted. The adviser who had accompanied us, outlined to the Head Teacher that should the research proposals currently before the Chief Education officer be accepted, then the two researchers would be returning to conduct some longer term observational work. The Head Teacher must have consented to this since I was invited back to the school pending the decision of the Chief Education Officer and spent a further three days engaged in observational work during July 1979.

Whilst negotiations had appeared amicable, in terms of

securing access for the start of the next school year (i.e. September 1979), the situation was far from satisfactory. The Chief Education Officer provided no indication of when he would make his decision and should he have decided against the research project there would have been no time to re-commence negotiations within a different Local Education Authority. As a consequence the matter was discussed with my supervisor (shortly after the meeting with the advisers at the beginning of June) who offered to use his own contacts in order to secure a school for the study of girls education. He had previously supervised a middle school Head Teacher for a higher degree who was reputed to be sympathetic to research, keenly interested in broader educational issues and, furthermore, was an active member of the recently formed Middle Schools Research Group.[34] As with Hargreaves (1987) I was appreciative of the offer of assistance which circumvented the 'Hierarchy of Consent', and as a result, I made an appointment to see the Head Teacher of Kingston Dene Middle School on June 18th, 1979.

At this meeting I outlined my interest in girls' education, how this translated into a research programme and indicated that I would like to spend three days per week[35] in the school for the entire year which, I acknowledged, entailed a considerable commitment on the

part of the school. Whilst the Head Teacher asked some
general questions about my views on girls' education he
was more specifically interested in the methodological
intentions of the study. It was explained early on in
the interview that I was not a teacher and that, in any
event, like Fuller (1987) this was a role I would have
been reluctant to adopt since it may have entailed the
pupils identifying me as an authority figure which, had
caused problems for Hargreaves(1967) and Lacey (1970)
for example. It was envisaged that the research would
proceed on the basis, predominantly, of observation and
interviewing and the Head Teacher, who was amenable from
the outset,[36] suggested that I assist in the library
and school office during the early days of the research
in order to provide me with some sort of role within the
school. The meeting, which had not lasted much longer
than half an hour, was concluded by the Head Teacher
granting access to the school on the understanding that
I would negotiate entry to classes with individual
teachers. It was agreed that I should return during the
first week of the school year in order to finalize
arrangements, which would also give the Head Teacher the
opportunity to discuss the project with the school
staff.

Securing access entails, however, rather more than
crossing the physical threshold of a particular
institution (Woods 1986). Entry is also required into

less tangible subcultural worlds for which different approaches are required with individuals at different levels in the organization, and access may be viewed therefore, as an on-going issue involving negotiation and re-negotiation (Burgess 1984A). During the second visit to Kingston Dene most of the empirical uncertainties previously outlined were resolved, thus placing in temporary abeyance the issue of whether to focus exclusively upon girls or to include boys within the study in order to explore gender differentiation. This was attributable to clearer ideas, which had been established on the basis of the type of 'sampling' (Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) I wished to implement in terms of time and space.

Whilst there was no preference in relation to age range within the middle years of schooling, it was agreed that the three days per week could be any three days, thus permitting involvement in the entire school week. It was requested, moreover, that I should be assigned to one particular class in order to forge reasonably familiar relationships with the pupils and their teachers. The Head Teacher eliminated the first and fourth years on the basis that the former were absorbed in settling into the school and the latter in leaving it. The Head of Third Year and his class were determined upon as the most suitable candidates for study, since the teacher

concerned was interested in educational research and had just completed an M.Ed. (under the guidance of my supervisor!).

On this occasion the Head Teacher took the opportunity to detail the advantages which he perceived for the school in hosting a research project. These entailed having an 'intelligent adult' about the school who was not a teacher with whom the pupils would come into contact and having an 'objective eye' focused upon the school's practices. He was fully sympathetic to my wanting to develop a non-teaching role since he understood this would jeopardize my 'neutrality' but that, nevertheless, I could be of assistance in listening to children read and getting involved in their project work. (No mention this time of the library or office duties). I was more than willing to agree to this since as Bates (1984) also observes, it is difficult for non-teaching researchers to be entirely unconscious of not 'earning their passage'.

This second meeting with the Head Teacher was much more discursive than the first and occupied most of the morning. The development of the school, its curriculum, organization and community were discussed and I was also invited to join a meeting with a parent who was seeking a place for his child at the school. I left Kingston Dene on this occasion in the knowledge that when I

returned later in the week, it would not only be to meet the class teacher and pupils with whom I would be working, but to commence the ethnography 'proper'.

2.3.2 Researcher role and field relations

A perusal of ethnographic school accounts reveals a wide range of interesting and entertaining roles which researchers have managed to carve for themselves. These range from honorary pupil (Fuller 1984), actual pupil (Llewellyn 1980), pet gerbil (Davies 1980), a lurking presence (Delamont 1984) part-time teacher (Burgess 1985D), teacher turned lecturer/researcher (Beynon 1984), interested non-judgemental observer (King 1984), fellow member of the 'old boy network' (Walford 1987A) to what Beynon (1984) refers to as the "now-familiar ethnographic persona of 'naive student'".[37]

A major problematic for the school ethnographer revolves around the 'to-teach-or-not-to-teach ' conundrum. For while, as suggested, there is a temptation to be of assistance or enhance one's credibility with teachers (Beynon 1984), or ease transition into the field, as Ball (1984) points out, the adoption of teaching duties tends merely to place a different set of demands upon the researcher's skills. Closely associated with this is the balance which is sought between participation

with no observation or observation with no participation
(Bell 1969), although there would appear to be an
increasing tendency for this to be resolved in favour of
the latter (Woods 1986). The age, sex and ethnicity of
the researcher are also highly instrumental in
researcher role management (Hammersley and Atkinson
1983) and as Delamont (1984) and Measor (1985) observe,
presentation of self in terms of appearance is also
influential in gaining acceptance and establishing
identity. The style adopted at Kingston Dene was one
which might be described as 'smart casual'. This served
to distinguish me, for the pupils benefit, from the
majority of teachers without offending anyone's sense of
propriety.

Perhaps the most fundamental issue confronting
ethnographic researchers, however, is the extent to
which they elect to reveal the real nature of their
inquiries - both to teachers and pupils. As the
discussion of access thus far suggests, within the
present study 'gatekeepers' (Burgess 1984A) were
informed of the purpose of the research and such a
stance reflected not only the personal preference of the
researcher but also a methodological preference in terms
of the research. The meeting with the Head of Third
Year and teacher of class 3/5 followed a similar pattern
to those with the Head Teacher and, it was Mr. Ford who
transpired as a central figure within the project,

particularly during the early phase, functioning as gatekeeper, sponsor and key informant (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Burgess 1984A, Woods 1986). Through him access was acquired to the Kingston Dene staff, particularly the third year teachers and also, crucially to a class of pupils. It was fortuitous that the setting and grouping arrangements within the third year resulted in the opportunity to observe a much larger number of pupils in various classroom contexts.[38]

The research at Kingston Dene proceeded on a cautious, incremental basis and with every opportunity taken to explain the purpose of the study. Such opportunities were consciously exploited in order to foster the trust which as Woods (1986) emphasises, is so essential to demonstrating one's own integrity and worth, and at the same time, to opening up avenues of information. In empirical terms this meant confining initial observational work to Mr. Ford's lessons and establishing relations with other teachers during breaktimes and during chance encounters in the staffroom when collating various sources of documentary information.

That I was not a teacher emerged as advantageous since this appeared to reduce the perceived threat of any professional judgements being cast and, having

ascertained this, it was a view I sought to promote. My research role did not quite approximate the 'naive student', however, since previous research experience meant that I had some credentials in terms of conducting research.[39]   I think perhaps I was eventually categorized as the school's 'resident researcher', particularly by the third year staff with whom I had most contact, although there were some teachers with whom I seldom came into contact and for these I must have remained something of an enigma.

There are now numerous accounts of how school researchers eased themselves into the field (Woods 1986, Burgess 1984B and 1985A).   In common with Beynon (1984) my continued presence at Kingston Dene served to enhance credibility for not only did I monitor my demands very carefully, like him, I benefitted in comparison with a previous researcher who had visited the school, distributed some questionnaires and made only one further visit to collect them.[40] In order to secure access to all of class 3/5's lessons, it was necessary to negotiate with thirteen teachers.[41] As suggested, this was accomplished on an incremental basis commencing with the most amenable whilst continuing to build relations with those who appeared more dubious.   The approach appeared successful, for I was not refused entry by any of the staff who took third year lessons and by the Summer Term (during which I frequently spent

a full week at the school) I was able to move freely between classes.

It must also be acknowledged that my good fortune here was very much attributable to the positive 'sponsor' role developed by Mr. Ford. During the first few days of the research, he ensured that I was introduced to the more senior members of the school's hierarchy in order that I could explain the project and thereby avoid offending any key personnel. He also ensured that I joined and contributed to the coffee fund in the appropriate manner and during breaktimes whilst he might accompany me into the staffroom, he endeavoured to sit elsewhere in order that I could meet other members of staff on my own terms (and at the same time presumably obtain some relief from me!). He also provided considerable information on the school, its routines, curriculum and who I should contact in order to discuss particular issues since most of the teachers at Kingston Dene had specific areas of responsibility.[42] Such assistance must inevitably have eroded Mr. Ford's own time and yet the burden of responsibility diminished as I forged relationships with other staff and gradually asserted a more independent research role. It would, I think, be a fair assessment to say that by the second term, Mr. Ford could confidently assume that I knew what I was doing and where I was going without having to

check that I was not at what might have appeared to be a 'loose end'.

Perhaps as a consequence of developing the role of 'resident researcher', it was never requested that I engaged in any assistant teacher, library or office duties. The sum total of my practical contribution to the school, and for which I volunteered, consisted of making the sandwiches for the third year pupils' Christmas party, accompanying the third years on two school trips[43] and 'minding' a few classes towards the end of the school year when a group of third years and their teachers went on a school holiday. My principal activities comprised, therefore, of non-participant observation, interviewing and other associated research tasks.[44] As Woods (1986) notes this has the advantages of avoiding role conflict and 'going native', although the term is something of a misnomer since I certainly did not feel 'non-participant' and as Woods suggests 'involved observer' seems a more appropriate description. It is possible to feel quite deeply involved in school life without having a formal role within it (Woods 1986) and whilst it is only possible to speculate upon the extent to which staff considered me 'involved', I was included in staffroom conversations, informed of articles read or television programmes seen on girls education, challenged to the odd game of badminton and invited along to social occasions.[45]

All this, however, concerns the staff and much of my involvement also emerged from time spent with the pupils. After consultation, it was agreed that Mr. Ford would not introduce me formally to class 3/5. I was reluctant to engage in such formalities preferring to chat to pupils informally and he was confident that I would be inundated with inquiries concerning who I was and what I was doing and this transpired to be the case. Pupils guessed that I was a student teacher and initially were not really clear about the designation 'researcher' who wanted to 'find out about how the school worked'. As with Fuller (1984) I did not want to feel under any constraints with pupils induced through lying about my research. Yet with younger pupils, the explanation as advanced to the staff ran the risk of not being understood. I persevered nevertheless, with talking about who was friendly with who, how particular lessons progressed, how the school was organized, what went on in the playground and similar generalities.

In the event my novelty value was short-lived and the girls in particular quickly demonstrated a much greater interest in whether I was married, could I drive, did I have a car, where did I live, where did I buy my earrings, shoes, jumper from and what was my first name. My willingness to reveal such details facilitated their

perception of me as a non-teaching adult and my similar interest in them accomplished much in terms of fostering relations.

As Measor (1985) also notes relations with girls were easier to establish, for the boys either assumed or sensed that I was making an effort to engage them in conversations about football, for example. However, unlike Measor, during the more formal tape recorded interviews I found the boys on most issues extremely talkative. This was perhaps because I waited some time before formally interviewing the boys, by which stage I had established some rapport with them, and moreover, they were rather pleased that I was taking a particular interest in them in addition to the girls.[46] Both girls and boys were extremely co-operative with the research, arriving punctually for interviews, informing me in advance if arrangements needed to be altered, reminding me of classroom changes and chasing each other up if they saw me, tape-recorder at the ready, waiting at what became the recognized rendezvous for the next interviewee. I was seldom in the playground for long before someone would turn up just for a chat. During lessons they usually confined conversational exchanges to the beginning and the end and rarely requested information to assist them with their work. This was perhaps attributable to my emphasis upon not being a teacher, so it was assumed I would not know the answer

anyway. Like Bates (1984) if I sensed that I was being appealed to in this way I usually feigned an air of abstraction or utter absorption in my fieldnotes.

In terms of field relations there remains one issue which has been alluded to, but which possibly requires further consideration and this concerns relations with the girls and the outcome of the research regarding its focus in this respect. As suggested, relations were initially easier to establish with the girls and although Ball (1984) objects, there is a strong case for asserting that this was due to a 'shared femininity'. As Porter (1984) and Scott (1985) also suggest in relation to interviewing adults, men, particularly those in positions of seniority are far more likely than women to assert their authority over young, female researchers. At Kingston Dene, the empirical question of whether to focus upon the girls exclusively was resolved by the observational work where a good deal of the grounded theorizing emerged from comparative data.

As a result, it was decided to explore the same basic issues with girls and boys during interviews, but at the same time to take the opportunity to explore certain issues in greater depth with the girls, and indeed, introduce some topics which may have transpired to be of interest only with the girls.[47] The girls were

consequently interviewed on three occasions in varying configurations[48] and the boys once. In writing the data up the emphasis emerged upon gender differentiation, although as with Davies (1984) the practice has been adopted of using girls as the comparative baseline. It seems pertinent to comment upon this substantive problematic within the present context since its resolution emerged as field relations and observational work were developed.

A final point which may be relevant here concerns the issue of to what extent research by women into girls and women represents feminist research for which new methodologies should be devised. Again the debate has been aired since the field work at Kingston Dene, notably by Roberts (1981) and also the E.O.C. (1986). Whilst feminist concerns initially prompted an interest in conducting research of this nature, the research study was not at any point presented as a feminist project. Measor's (1985) experience in this respect which blocked research possibilities with certain teachers provides some support for the view that it may, in any event, have been imprudent to frame the research within a feminist context in so far as access was concerned. Many of the teachers did, however, assume purely on the basis of the research topic that I would be interested in 'women's issues' and, only one (not directly involved with the research) placed a pejorative

construction upon this and remarked that "they must be giving Ph.D's away with cornflakes these days".

In retrospect, as Davies (1985) also notes, in not allocating the girls a more active role in the research an opportunity may have been missed in allowing them to define and pursue issues of relevance. Some comfort may be gleaned, however, from the manner in which formal and informal discussions were developed, whereby the practice advocated by Oakley (1981) of preparedness to divulge information about oneself, particularly if requested by respondents, in a reciprocal relationship was generally, if inadvertently adopted. Whether this qualifies, albeit partially, as a feminist research style is very much open to debate.

2.3.3 Ethnographic techniques

Commensurate with the 'involved observer' role referred to above, other ethnographic techniques were used to augment this stance throughout the year, notably informal discussion and interviews. A fairly typical day would comprise, therefore, of accompanying class 3/5 into lessons during the morning and afternoon and, interviewing pupils at lunchtime. It was never requested that pupils be released from lessons for the purpose of interviewing, although this facility was extended to me during the Summer Term. Teachers

occasionally found it more convenient to be interviewed during 'free' periods and interviews were accordingly held throughout the day in preference to the mid-day break. In terms of accommodation for interviews I was fortunate to be offered a small resource room, leading off the domestic science lab. which was quiet, private and informal. The teachers tended to elect, however, their own classrooms or the staff work-room. When I was not in the midst of a series of interviews these parts of the day would be spent rather more informally in the playground or staffroom. For observational work I usually occupied a position at the rear of the classroom in order to be as inconspicuous as possible, although precise positioning depended very much on the physical lay-out of the room. The opportunity was taken to change location, walk around and possibly talk to pupils only when this constituted a feature of the lesson anyway, for instance, in the Design and Make subjects, experimental work in science and group work in Enquiry Based Learning. Observational and interviewing activity throughout the year may be summarized as follows:-

Month/Year		Activity
September	1979	Observational work commenced.
October/November	1979	Observational work increased.
December	1979	Interviewd Head Teacher. Interviewed girls.
January-February	1980	Observation continued.
February	1980	Interviewed Head of Third Year.
March-April	1980	Interviewed girls.
May-June	1980	Interviewed boys.
June	1980	Interviewed Third Year staff.
June-July	1980	Interviewed girls.
July	1980	Interviewed Head Teacher.

Various other research activities were interspersed throughout this timetable and these will be considered shortly.

A ubiquitous notebook featured prominently for recording observations and accounts of conversations and as with Beynon (1984) and his tape recorder, the notebook proved quite a prop during the early weeks of the study, for it seemed to signify that I was 'doing research'. In the majority of lessons I was quite explicit about recording events as they occurred which meant, in effect, that I appeared to be scribbling for most of the time. A small number of teachers did, however, appear uncomfortable with this perhaps, as Woods (1985) notes they thought I was 'spying' and I consequently restricted note-taking to a few key words and wrote the lesson up as soon as possible afterwards. Whilst teachers and pupils occasionally asked what I wrote down, no one requested to read the notebook and with due regard to preserving confidentiality about incidents involving specific individuals, I was as frank as possible about the nature of my observations.

As previously suggested, the criterion for the sampling of particular lessons was to observe the entire timetable of class 3/5 and to the extent that this was accomplished by the Summer Term the sampling was

'intentional, systematic and theoretically guided' (Woods 1986 p. 43). The impossibility of recording literally everything during periods of observation further necessitates as Woods (1986) notes sampling within the observational process. Having eschewed the use of any systematic techniques, the operative criteria here are less easy to categorize. Whilst I was constantly on the alert for differences in the behaviour of girls and boys, how they interacted between themselves and with each other, who they were friendly with and in particular how teachers interacted with them, these were never crystalized into a formula which permitted selective observation and consequently systematized note taking. Indeed, it appeared that there were few classroom processes where pupils were not differentiated on the basis of gender, either in terms of differences between girls and boys or between pupils of the same sex. [49]

The grounded theorizing approach proved useful on one level for focusing upon certain features and these formed the basis of further exploration during interviews. But events were never consequently ignored or omitted because they were deemed irrelevant to emerging concepts or theories. Thus it would seem that I was involved in two research processes simultaneously, grounded theorizing and to a lesser extent 'dredging', [50] whereby incidents or events were

recorded even if, at the time, they seemed of doubtful value in terms of the central theme of the research.

Two particular ethnographic techniques assisted with reflecting upon the observational data, however, and thereby averted the possibility of getting lost at sea.[51] These entailed a daily perusal of the fieldnotes in order to check clarity of meaning and to record events which it had not proved possible to document at the time and, secondly a weekly summarizing of events and inherent themes which functioned as a field work diary. In relation to the former it had originally been intended to re-work the notes on a daily basis in order to ensure that no recalled events were lost. It eventually transpired, however, that the fieldnotes were very comprehensive and that essentially I was only re-writing the notes in neater handwriting so, apart from making any necessary additions, this re-writing process was dispensed with during the second term unless the notes were particularly illegible.

The fieldnotes are also presented throughout the dissertation as they were recorded in the field with no attempt to 'sanitise' them through the removal of abbreviations or improvements to punctuation and grammar. The daily reflection was of particular benefit since as Woods (1986) comments 'the next day's events

will soon be crowding in on those memories, promoting confusion and possible loss of important data'[52]   The notes were also clearly dated and filed in box files - one for each term of the research project.

In terms of the 'summary of week'[53] or research diary this took the form of a personal memo to myself in which especially interesting phenomena, salient themes and potential sources of inquiry were noted.   Reminders to embark upon the next phase of the research were also recorded and these tended to focus upon the continuing negotiation of access to lessons and the necessity to commence the next series of interviews.   Ideas for analysis were also tentatively recorded and in a sense the grounded theorizing commenced in these weekly deliberations since possible issues for observation were noted in addition to areas which could be pursued either formally in interviews or informally during conversation.

An assessment of my research role was also encompassed within these weekly commentaries, where the state of field relations were documented with the necessity to focus, for example, upon a particular teacher or group of pupils or, the impact which my presence may have had in particular lessons.   In brief, the diary functioned as a system of checks and balances in order to avoid the sorts of 'sampling bias' reported by Burgess (1982),

Bell (1984) and Hammersley (1984A). Moreover, whilst they were not consciously construed in such grandiose terms at the time, these personal memos also constituted what Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) refer to as 'that sort of internal dialogue, or thinking aloud, that is the essence of reflexive ethnography'.[54]

A distinction has been made within the discussion of ethnographic techniques thus far between informal conversation and formal interviews. The intention has been, however, to distinguish between the contexts in which data were collected rather than to imply that some sort of major shift in research style occurred during discussions which were organized on an individual or group basis, with the assistance of a schedule and which were tape recorded. On the contrary whilst these were more formal than casual conversations in the playground or staffroom, I nevertheless endeavoured to maintain an air of informality and proceed at a leisurely pace on a 'conversational' basis (Burgess 1984A).

Whilst schedules were devised upon which to base interviews (these are presented in Appendices 1-3), questions were utilized rather more as a series of prompts or aid memoire (Burgess 1984A) and since I knew them by heart, obvious reference to them throughout discussion was minimal. Neither teachers or pupils

objected to the tape recorder and any inhibitions appeared to subside very quickly. The confidential nature of the occasion was indicated and it tended to be the pupils who sought to breach this through requests to listen to particular teachers on tape, or more commonly, their friends. They seemed to appreciate the emphasis upon confidentiality, however, when it was suggested that they would not like it if I let other people hear their tapes, particularly the teachers! Hearing themselves played back seemed to suffice and also caused a good deal of mirth.

The general approach to interviewing appears to share much in common with the stance utilized by Measor (1985) and documented in greater detail by Woods (1986) and Burgess (1984A). The time which each interview consumed was usually a good indicator of how 'conversational' it transpired to be, with staff interviews ranging from half an hour to two hours (spread over more than one occassion), although with an average length of three quarters to a full hour. With pupils, length of time was contingent upon whether I saw them in groups or individually and individual interviews with both girls and boys ranged from twenty to forty minutes.

The purpose of interviewing the girls individually and subsequently in groups and pairs of their own choice was to establish a milieu in which they felt comfortable and

able to assume some control (Burgess 1984A) and thereby render more meaningful and interesting data. However, whilst the support of a group may enhance confidence so that issues are raised or situations described which otherwise would not be (Woods 1986), they may also become too relaxed and indulgent with one or two individuals dominating. I attempted to avert this through limiting groups to four and at Kingston Dene the main disadvantage of the group interview was its sheer length, up to two hours, which had implications for transcription.[55] The interviews with pairs worked best, possibly because this represented the basis of friendships amongst the girls at Kingston Dene[56] and provided for a more convivial and intimate atmosphere. Given that subjects of a more personal nature were raised during the third interview the creation of such an atmosphere was of some consequence.

Whilst the research was in progress the accumulation of tape recorded data precluded the possibility of maintaining up-to-date transcripts. As with other sources of data, however, recordings require reflection and evaluation (Woods 1986) and this was catered for during compilation of the weekly diary. Otherwise the tapes were dated and filed for transcription and analysis at a later date. In terms of validating the tape recorded accounts (and other data) the principal

technique utilized was to ascertain similar information within different contexts and from different individuals. Thus, issues raised formally were also discussed informally, information of a factual kind, for example, details on the curriculum, were cross-referenced against documentary sources, and perhaps most importantly, perceptions of behaviour and inter-personal relations were focused upon during observational work. Consequently, on some occasions accounts were verified, whilst on others discrepancies emerged. In relation to the latter for instance, the girls' insistence that they <u>never</u> associated with boys during lessons and rarely in other circumstances.[57]

Essentially, I was engaged in a process of triangulation whereby information obtained in one situation was pursued in another and where, in particular, a strong reciprocity was developed between observational and interview techniques. In contrast to the triangulation of Hargreaves et al (1975) or Edwards and Furlong (1978), the method deployed at Kingston Dene was perhaps rather informal. Since leaving the field, however, the process appears to have become more ascendant within ethnographic research (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Burgess 1984A, Woods 1986, Galton and Willcocks 1983), although the basic validatory techniques did inform and guide the course of the study.

With reference to the utilization of other ethnographic techniques at Kingston Dene, whilst there was some attempt to tape record entire lessons, further data on the school and its pupils were obtained through reference to and collation of documentary sources of information. Attempts to augment observations of lessons with recordings proved less than satisfactory, mainly because of inadequate equipment. The tape recorder with which I was equipped for interviews was not sufficiently sensitive to record all contributions to a lesson and, furthermore, tape recordings cannot embrace all the non-verbal communications which characterize classroom life. (Nevertheless, nine lessons were recorded, six of which were double periods, representing approximately nine hours of transcript). Recorded data have been usefully applied on one occasion within the thesis, however, where it corroborates observational data concerning the frequency of teacher contact with pupils on the basis of gender during oral work.[58]

In so far as documentary sources of information were concerned, Kingston Dene had much to offer for, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) point out, educational settings represent locales 'where literate social activity is of some social significance' and they emphasise that, 'there is nothing to be gained, and much to be lost, by representing a culture as if it were an

essentially oral tradition'.[59] Throughout the year I consulted and collated a wide variety of documentary materials including, for all third year pupils, the results of their Richmond Tests and examinations which were administered during the first and third terms respectively, pupils personal records, school reports, curricular materials, school texts, examples of pupils work, books in the class, school and staff libraries, noticeboard details, class timetables and a map of the school and its neighbourhood. Whilst a great deal of information, representing a literate culture, was accumulated however, a comparatively small amount features in the final ethnographic account. Curricular materials and school texts emerge within the exploration of the official curriculum (Chapter 3) and pupils written work is considered in the discussion of teacher perceptions of work in Chapter 4, although limitations of time and space precluded the inclusion of any specimens of work.

The major omission of the entire ethnography, however, is the analysis of achievement on the basis of gender which was conducted with reference to the results mentioned above. Richmond test and examination scores for all the 172 third year pupils were entered onto computer (dating back for three years for the Richmond results) and analysed on the basis of gender and ethnicity with the use of Statistical Package for the

Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.).[60] Course work results for class 3/5 throughout the year were similarly processed. Literally hundreds of results were generated and whilst learning how to use a mainframe computer and S.P.S.S. was massively time consuming, without the investment of considerably more time, the data cannot be adquately explored and this section has consequently been excised. As Hargreaves (1987) laments in relation to the cuts he was forced to make in converting a Ph.D. thesis into a book:-

> And [the cuts], like major surgery
> without anaesthetic, they hurt!
> Every nip and tuck felt like the
> removal of some vital organ.
>
> A. Hargreaves 1987, p. 39.

Other less painful, although significant deletions, encompassed the out of school pursuits of pupils, future aspirations of girls in terms of employment and domesticity and, as previously suggested, the theoretic exploration of the micro-macro problem. The idea was also entertained of contributing to the middle school debate, but the analysis here never advanced sufficiently for any particularly creative contribution and its omission is thus of lesser consequence for the thesis and exploration of the central theme.

2.3.4 Post field work analysis and writing-up

At the conclusion of field work the ethnographer is in

possession of much data which, as Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) observe, are organized chronologically but not conceptually and some segmentation of the fieldnotes is required. Initial categorization, which may commence during the course of the research, may be conducted on a relatively descriptive basis although there is, according to Hammersley and Atkinson, typically a shift towards more analytic categories as theory develops. Whilst there now appears to be an abundance of practical advice relating to the process of analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Burgess 1984A, Woods 1986) I can recall leaving Kingston Dene feeling quite daunted by the oceanic quantity of data which the study had generated and in some ways I have never quite stopped swimming in it. In retrospect the process of speculative analysis denoted by Woods (1986) had commenced within the weekly summarizing or diarizing of events and this facilitated a reasonably smooth transition to classifying and coding. Here, with the observational and lesson transcript data I 'coded the record' simultaneous with the production of an 'analytic index' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983).

Empirically this was accomplished by reading the data several times whilst scanning for emergent categories to which I had been sensitized by the research diary. A list of categories was thus constructed - some thirty

three in total - some of which had sub-categories. These encompassed teacher and pupil comments, observations of inter-personal relations, interaction and various other facets of school life (see Appendix 4). Each page of the fieldnotes were then numbered (803 in total) and I proceeded to indicate in the margins, next to particular incidents the numbers which related to particular data categories. On some pages there were relatively few numbers, whilst on others there would be clusters as incidents transversed more than one analytic segment. An A4 ring binder was then compiled which was subdivided into the thirty three categories and within each division the date, page and line number were recorded for every coded incident in addition to a cross-reference number if the event was located within more than one category.

This process was laborious in the extreme, yet it permitted very easy retrieval of the data which in turn facilitated the writing-up process. The only addition which was made to this system during preliminary analytic drafts, when regular reference was made to the fieldnotes was the placement of a 'C' next to some entries to indicate a counter-instance to the general trend.

Lesson transcripts were subject to the same process, although at a later date, due to the sheer time it took

to transcribe the interview and lesson tapes. Whilst as Woods (1986) notes a quick turn around of this data is useful whilst in the field and salient issues were recorded on a weekly basis at Kingston Dene, during the immediate post fieldwork period every tape was fully transcribed - a process which took a heavy toll on both time and patience. In retrospect a more selective approach should have been adopted with this task as recommended by Woods (1986).

Having secured the full interview account, however, there appeared little necessity to devote further time to a sophisticated codification of responses. As a consequence, headings, which corresponded to some of the observational categories were entered in the margins and the actual transcript had to be retrieved for purposes of consultation rather than an analytic index. This fortunately transpired to be not particularly irksome or time consuming since, unlike the observational data, it proved comparatively easy to locate views on specific issues within a transcript which loosely followed a particular sequence of subjects. Perhaps, like Delamont (1984) there was some reliance upon memory here. Also as with Delamont (1984) and indeed, commensurate with the ethnographic tradition, pseudonyms were used in order to preserve anonymity. This comprised, however, of rather more than a random assignation of alternative

names.   As Burgess (1984A) comments names have a symbolic value and consequently I endeavoured to introduce some measure of correspondence between real names and their anonymity preserving equivalents.

If the transition from speculative analysis to codification had been relatively unproblematic, refining the analysis in preparation for 'writing-up' transpired as a rather more discomposed affair. Concepts were formulated in conjunction with the refinement of speculative theories into more formal ones and although no established typologies or models appeared particularly useful for providing some 'purchase on the data', a reciprocity was developed between the discovery of indicators and the conceptualization of analytic categories.   The main problematic was, however, the termination of this 'stage' in order that writing could commence.   Indeed as previously suggested[61] continuous development or application of new theories during the process of writing-up may be regarded as a relatively healthy procedure.   Yet the empirical difference between a continuous creative use of developments within the sociological sphere or the exploration of a paradigm shift and endeavours to improve upon the 'fit' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983 p. 185) between the development of constructs or indicators and analysis remains indistinct.

Thematic divisions within the analysis were devised, however, and writing-up commenced. A further difficulty of a practical nature emerged at this stage and is echoed throughout the thesis, particularly where observational data are discussed. This concerns the selection of data for inclusion in the analysis to illustrate points and support hypotheses, and in particular, the number of examples which are required for such purposes. This presented a more baffling issue than, for example, the separation of narration and analysis (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). Perhaps in relation to the former, distance from the data was enhanced through significant periods of time away from it, and in terms of the latter, as previously suggested, a major part of the theorizing which would have posed problems of integration has been reduced.

A process of what might be termed 'reductive drafting' was engaged upon and this entailed the construction of draft Chapters and a minimal pruning of the data. It was considered important, however, that any selection of data should be conducted on a random basis in order to avert the possibility of researcher bias in terms of extracting the most dramatic or entertaining incidents for discussion. For purposes of drafting at this stage the analytic index proved useful since examples could be selected without reference to the observational

fieldnotes. The first draft chapters were saturated with data since up to half of available examples were included from the larger categories (for example, discipline and punishment) and all the examples from smaller ones (for instance, the impact of teacher age and gender).

This technique was also applied to lesson transcripts, but could not be employed in relation to interview data since an analytic index had not been compiled for these. This problem was resolved at the first draft stage by the inclusion of responses from all pupils and teachers on particular issues. The second and third stage in this process of drafting entailed reducing the data and this was accomplished by editing every second or third[62] illustration until an appropriate number of examples remained.

The question which still requires addressing, however, pertains to, what constitutes an 'appropriate' number of examples for illustrative and hypotheses confirming purposes? Criteria here were difficult to establish and essentially the judgement of the researcher emerges as paramount in conjunction with the 'independent' opinion of the research project supervisor. The management of data was essentially influenced by pragmatic considerations relating to the size and scope of the thesis in its entirety.

2.3.5 Validity : some outstanding issues

Whilst the mode of production of this thesis has been explored and its ethnographic intricacies scrutinized and exposed, there remain three particular issues which require some discussion. In deference to the length of the Chapter thus far, however, the intention is to acknowledge rather than to analyse them. These encompass the typicality and generalizability of the ethnography at Kingston Dene and the influence which the researcher may have had upon the phenomena observed.

In relation. to the first, as an institution Kingston Dene appeared typical in some of its features and untypical in others. It is possible to suggest that this combination characterizes all schools to some degree thus permitting ascriptions of typicality and uniqueness simultaneously. The pupils at Kingston Dene were typical of inner-city schools and the official programme presented to them was typical of middle school curricular.[63] The school was perhaps unusual in its Head Teacher, but whilst Head Teachers represent powerful influences within their establishments,[64] their influence cannot infiltrate every occurrence and thereby render the educative process unrepresentative. Closely allied to this is the issue of external

validity, and it is possible to claim here, that the
inclusion of data from other studies throughout the
thesis suggests that much of the analysis is, indeed,
generalizable.

It is not the intention to argue, however, for the
credentials of this thesis on the basis of such
criteria. The purpose of ethnography is not to emulate
quantitative research and justify or confirm results on
the basis of such concepts as reliability and validity.
The internal validity of ethnographic research is
perhaps of more importance and as the foregoing
discussion suggests techniques were utilized in order to
enhance this. As Woods (1986) indicates there are two
stances towards ethnographic research in this respect,
the 'idiographic' and the 'nomothetic'. Whilst the
former seeks to reveal inner processes and eschews
statistical assessment, the latter through contrastive
techniques, inclines towards generalizing and
comparisons, frequency and distribution. As Woods
observes, however, the two approaches are not mutually
exclusive and the ethnography of Kingston Dene may be
perceived as embracing facets of both. What is
ultimately required, as Davies (1985) maintains, is a
'bank' of ethnographic accounts which could demonstrate
how flexible people are in response to and exerting
influence over particular settings.

Finally, amidst the paraphernalia of ethnographic research, the impact of the researcher, through whom all techniques are filtered must be considered in terms of possible changes in behaviour and practice which may have been prompted by the researcher's presence. Research role and field relations have been considered from the perspective of the researcher and it is, therefore, appropriate to consider such issues from the teachers perspective. All the third year staff were asked during formal interviews[65] to what extent did they consider that I had affected them or the pupils in any way. The broad view which emerged was that the pupils were influenced not at all and in relation to themselves, an early 'awareness' of my presence had eventually evaporated. This was attributed to them 'getting used' to me since I was in the school for a considerable period of time and, to the hectic nature of classroom life which absorbed their energies elsewhere. The following comments illustrate the point:-

Mr.   No, no, nobody even asked why you were there
Murdoch   which surprised me.

* * * *

Mr.   Well I think in the early days I felt a bit
Newcombe   nervous. You know, obviously someone's in
            the classroom, you tend to be er, a bit
            nervous thinking 'are they passing judgement
            on me', or 'are they assessing what I'm
            saying'. But eventually I just got used to
            it and thought 'oh, blow it, it'll do, it'll
            never get down to the boss!'.

* * * *

Mrs. Morecroft	I don't think so, no, no, you tend to sit at at the back in here, I don't know about other classes .... and they [the pupils] probably forget you're here. .... I try to ignore you. And I won't alter my lessons for anybody, well most of the time, there have been rare occasions when I've altered something when somebody's coming in but it's very, very rare, it's got to be something special. So I mean, you know, you take me as you find me. I don't think, consciously, I don't alter what I say or do. Subconsciously, I can't say, but consciously I try not to.

Two members of staff did, however, indicate that they were conscious of the researcher presence, but maintained that this consciousness applied to any other adult who entered the classroom whilst they were teaching:-

Mr. Taylor	Well, because when I'm the only adult there they're the class, as soon as another adult comes in, no matter who it is, it seems to alter that relationship somehow. Yeah, it's very difficult to explain really, but I suppose if you're being watched it will affect you .... It's as if sometimes the special relationships, you know, the camaraderie that you may have with certain members or the class as a whole, has to go.

The Head of Third Year and teacher of class 3/5 who, as previously suggested, occupied a particular role within the research was, however, requested to provide a more considered response to the ethnography. Even after departure from the field I continued to place demands on Mr. Ford's time through the request for feedback on many of the issues raised within this Chapter. For example, influence of the researcher upon teachers and pupils,

advantages and disadvantages of the project to the school and how the in-put of information on gender differentiation was used by the staff who were aware of it. During March of the year following the ethnography (March 1981) I received a report from Mr. Ford entitled 'Responding to a Participant Researcher' and it makes extremely pertinent and interesting reading. It is, however, over two thousand words in length which precludes its inclusion, in full, within the thesis and consequently some of the more salient points are extracted for consideration.

In general terms the advantages of working with a school based researcher were perceived to outweigh the disadvantages and, were summarized by Mr. Ford as:-

  i Teachers who work closely with the researcher are brought into discussions of research design and relevant literature - widening their professional experience.

 ii These teachers then act alongside the researcher as a nucleus for promoting, among other teachers, the virtues of research and study as a means of widening their own professional experience.

iii The research findings influence directly and indirectly the curriculum and organization of the school.

In addition Mr. Ford denotes as beneficial the contacts which I had with other researchers engaged in middle school research and the interchange which occurred between these and some of the school staff which otherwise would not have been possible. Indeed, both he and the Head Teacher considered that closer links

between schools and academic institutions should be fostered. For Mr. Ford, moreover, the project provided an opportunity for him to develop his role as staff tutor which he described as follows:-

> As staff-tutor, with responsibility for in-service work, I saw the research as a possible input for raising the level of professional understanding and awareness among the staff. It had the ingredients for developing a more purposeful relationship between the theoretical concerns of the university and the practical applications of the school.

The report also provides a glimpse into the machinations which occurred at Kingston Dene, particularly during the negotiation of access. The Head Teacher (Mr. Bevan) appeared to have discussed the research with Mr. Ford prior to consulting a senior staff committee:-

> When Mr. Bevan asked me to help in the project I raised a couple of issues about the way the researcher would need to handle staff relationships in order to gain their confidence and support. He and I spoke about this at length and he outlined the anticipated research design to a senior staff committee meeting in order to emphasise his support for the project and dispel any fears teachers might have. He also agreed with me that the personality and diplomacy of Ros would be an important factor in gaining teacher co-operation.

Particularly instructive here is the revelation that whilst circumventing the 'Hierarchy of Consent' through informal contacts may appear attractive to the researcher, it may exploit a feeling of obligation on the part of the research sponsor:-

> I suppose this interest [in the research once it had been explained] stemmed from work I myself had recently completed at the University under the same supervising tutor. I did feel obliged to help because of the assistance I had received from him when preparing my study.

In terms of directly influencing the participants, Mr. Ford suggests that my impact upon the pupils was negligible:-

> The children soon forgot any inhibitions they might have had about her sitting in on my lessons. They were obviously curious at first but this soon faded. I do not think her presence changed their behaviour at all.

In relation to the teachers, however, it would seem that however much the researcher would have it otherwise sensitivities are sharpened. Mr. Ford indicates that staff awareness of my presence and their 'relief' when I was not there increased toward the end of the research. This coincides with the period during which I started to discuss the data with some of the staff since they were aware that I had presented a paper on the research at a conference on middle schools. Mr. Ford describes the researcher influence thus:-

> ....I began to realize I dealt with boys in a class discussion situation in a more forceful way than I did with girls. There were also many other situations where I reinforced male and female stereotyping by praising the girls for sensible quiet behaviour....Towards the end of the research period I was very conscious of approaches I took when dealing with boys and girls.

Whilst Mr. Ford represented a teacher for whom the

merits of research off-set its demerits, the most acutely experienced disadvantage was that of having one's awareness sensitized to an issue which had previously been unconscious:-

> Initially I taught without being aware of my different approaches to the different sexes, but as the weeks went by I found I began to react to the feedback Ros was supplying on teacher attitudes.

Thus, it would seem that raised awareness results in a certain tension or strain. However, it is perhaps worth noting in conclusion the extent to which Mr. Ford's report suggests that (given a break) staff most closely involved with the project may have been amenable to pursuing some of the research results in terms of their own teaching. It is consequently with a sense of regret that I now review what may have appeared as an abrupt termination of the research in view of the commitment which was devoted to it by several individuals.

2.4 SUMMARY

The exploration of the methodological and theoretical perspectives which underpin the ethnography of gender at Kingston Dene Middle School has, necessarily encompassed, not only a wide range of empirical concerns and theoretical ponderings, but has also sought to elucidate the various twists and turns that accompany any investigation which is essentially reflexive in

nature (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Hammersley 1984A). If the study appears to be thwarted at points due to methodological inexactitudes, then these may be attributed largely to the developments which have occurred in the reporting of ethnographies and methodological biographies (Burgess 1984B, Walford 1987) since the completion of the field work in 1980. A perusal of the literature here would appear to suggest, however, that the idiosyncracies are mercifully few (Burgess 1984A, Woods 1986).

The other major area where the study may appear vulnerable to the 'by-passed syndrome' is in relation to the issue of gender. The problem of outdatedness would not appear to be so acute in terms of the processes which are unravelled in classroom interaction and inter-personal relations. But current levels of awareness amongst teachers in an era where equal opportunities have acquired some prominence as an issue, may be more sophisticated than those which characterized the Kingston Dene staff at the time of the research. Heightened sensitivities do not, however, necessarily prompt changes in classroom practice and more recent studies into gender and schooling would appear to suggest that sexism, stereotyping and differentiation prove obdurate (Mahoney 1985, Weiner 1985, Kelly 1987).

In seeking to explore the research question of how educative processes, in so far as girls are concerned, link to the socio-economic position of women, an early aspiration for the project had been to render some contribution to the micro-macro problem (Hargreaves 1985). A dilemma emerged here, however, during the period of post field work analysis. For it soon became apparent that an adequate exploration of the data could not be conducted within the scope of the dissertation in addition to similarly adequate endeavours to relate this to structure. In view of the other principal intention of elucidating the minutiae of interactive processes and the investment of time and effort in obtaining data in order to accomplish this, priority has been accorded to a presentation and analysis of data.

Immersion in the field also facilitated the resolution of another issue within the elaboration of the research problem and this concerned the extent to which the educational experience of boys should be incorporated into an ethnographic account of girls' schooling. Classroom observation and perusal of the fieldnotes propelled the research in a comparative direction and, as a consequence the focus of the study shifted to gender differentiation. The decision making process in respect to these issues, however, should not be taken to imply that the research is without a theoretical framework. Early theoretical influences upon the

project and, in particular the perceived potential of some phenomenological concepts and how these could be synthesised with a Gramscian analysis of hegemony and commonsense are presented briefly in order to elucidate the theoretical impetus of the ethnography.

The Chapter then proceeds with a review of the field work in terms of empirical methodology and the utilization of specific ethnographic techniques. Whilst this forms the larger part of the discourse, much of the elaboration is at a descriptive level in order to clarify the practicalities of conducting research at Kingston Dene. Suffice to indicate within the present context that the review pivots upon five main issues - gaining access to the field, researcher role and field relations, specific techniques, post field work analysis and writing up and, briefly the question of validity. Whilst, as suggested, ethnographers now have access to much useful advice (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Burgess 1984A and 1984B, Woods 1986, Walford 1987), dissociating particular dimensions of the analytic process seems problematic. Determining and applying, for example, distinctions between speculative analysis, concept formation, theorizing and writing up. It appears quite possible to engage in such activities simultaneously. Moreover, the requirement to document and explain particular actions and decisions, where a

sequential approach is adopted in order to facilitate clarity, has the effect of creating a rather deceptive facade of orderliness. This is not to suggest that the ethnography of gender differentiation at Kingston Dene was excessively chaotic, but that order descended upon the analysis and writing-up at a later rather than earlier stage.

Finally, one of the most important issues for ethnographers is the extent to which their presence modifies the naturalness of the research setting, with consequent implications for the validity of data. Despite the variety of precautions which may be taken in this respect, researcher presence would inevitably appear to have some influence upon those being researched and this prompts some researchers to adopt a covert approach (Llewellyn 1980). This, however, generates as many ethical problems as it solves some methodological ones (Burgess 1984A and 1985D). At Kingston Dene, a fair assessment[66] of this issue would appear to suggest that the influence of the researcher was minimized as far as was possible given the particular nature of the research. What might be viewed as an increased level of triangulation, however, would seem to imply a corresponding sensitization of teacher awareness of the issues being investigated in addition to the person conducting the investigation.

FOOT NOTES

1. The term 'foreshadowed problems' was originally used by Malinowski (1922) and is elaborated by Hammersley and Atkinson (1983).

2. As suggested within the Introductory Chapter, this did constitute one reason for its selection in the present study, in addition to what was considered to be its scope and sensitivity for observing the minutiae of classroom interaction and inter-personal relations.

3. As indicated later in this Chapter and throughout the study, these were limited in relation to the subject of gender and schooling.

4. Within the present study this was experienced most keenly within the analysis of observational data and the point is also elucidated at the commencement of the analysis within Chapter 6.

5. Woods (1986) p. 46. It may seem to the ethnographer that the really important action is happening 'elsewhere', yet however much the research programme is changed to try and detect it, it always tantalizingly moves on.

6. The research was funded on a full-time basis for three years by the Social Science Research Council, now the Social and Economic Research Council.

7. A computerized statistical analysis was conducted upon third year pupils Richmond Test and other school test results in order to analyse achievement on the basis of gender. The analysis does not feature within the written-up study and the reasons for this are considered later in the Chapter.

8. The shift was announced at the 1970 B.S.A. Conference (Brown 1973) cited in Delamont (1984).

9. For example, Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Willis (1977), to a lesser extent Lambart (1976) and Delamont's own study (1973).

10. For example, The Ethnography of the School, Block II The Process of Schooling, Educational Studies : A Second Level Course, E202 School and Society, Open University Press 1977 and Making Sense of Data, Block 6, Social Sciences : A Third Level

Course, D.E.304, Research Methods in Education and
the Social Sciences, Open University Press 1979.

11. The systematic indexing of fieldnotes, for
example, maintaining a 'diary' of the research,
some method of triangulation (Hammersley and
Atkinson 1983, Burgess 1984A, Woods 1986).

12. As Spender (1982) points out there are
difficulties for women, particularly feminist,
researchers in getting their studies published.
She cites the work of Clarricoats (1978, 1980) as
an example of research into gender and schooling
which has taken a considerable time to enter the
mainstream of sociology of education.

13. See the discussion of teacher perspectives in
Chapter 4, Section 4.2 and of the curriculum in
Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2.

14. For example, Mahony (1985), Weiner (1985) and Lees
(1987).

15. See Whitty (1985) for example, and the discussion
of teacher-pupil relations within the present
study Chapter 6, Section 6.2.

16. A circumstance suggested by Hargreaves (1987).

17. A point made, for example, by Karabel and Halsey
(1977).

18. For example, in the discussion of stereotypes and
their ideological role within Chapter 4, Section
4.2.4.

19. Delamont (1983A).

20. See the discussion of Gloria, for example, in
Chapter 6, Sections 6.3.6 and 6.4.2.

21. See the discussion of language and gesture within
Chapter 7, Section 7.3.

22. See the discussion of cross-sex pupil relations
and the rituals of separation in Chapter 5,
Section 5.2.4.

23. See Chapter 7, Section 7.4.

24. See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

25. Gleeson and Mardle (1987) p. 123.

26. Dingwall (1981) cited in Hargreaves (1987) p. 21.

27. M. Hammersley was redirected back to the same school by the L.E.A. which he had left due to what he perceived in some despair as the collapse of the project.

28. It was tentatively considered that it might be rather more possible to explore links between gender, schooling and women's socio-economic position with older girls.

29. Not only was one year in the field regarded as consistent with ethnographic school practice, it was also considered that this would be an appropriate balance within the three year research timescale.

30. The researcher had studied for an M.A. within the Department two years previously.

31. A member of staff within the Department of Sociology.

32. An informal lunch had been held at the University during the previous November between the interested parties (including myself) in order to explore the research possibilities.

33. These encompassed:-

    A   An in-depth look at -

        i curriculum content for pupils at particular
          age levels e.g. 9 and 11 years,
       ii number of teachers involved with particular
          pupils and actual teacher/pupil contact at
          particular age levels.

    B   The nature of work offered for 13 year
         olds in 9-13, 11-16/18, 12-16/18 schools.

    C   Following 11 year olds through from
         primary to secondary school.

34. See Hargreaves (1986) for a brief account of this Group.

35. The brief periods of time spent within the two neighbouring L.E.A. middle schools facilitated making a request for three days per week. In addition it was considered that at least two days would be required for reflection and continuous organization of the research and that the school may also require some respite from me.

36. This may be attributable to my supervisor vouching for my credentials and the confidence which the Head Teacher had that he would not permit an 'expose' or other exploitation of the school.

37. Beynon (1984) p. 41.

38. The setting and grouping arrangements are presented within the discussion of the curriculum in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.

39. Prior to the research project I had been a Research Associate with the Department of Education at the University of Manchester, working on a project concerned with the relationship between theory and practice in teacher education.

40. I was acquainted with this research student and whilst such instrumentality seems uncharacteristic, this was how it appeared to some of the staff.

41. The members of staff concerned are detailed in Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1.

42. These are outlined in Appendix 7.

43. One to a factory pig farm which was also an activity/leisure park and the other to an international food exhibition in a local city.

44. These are discussed later in the Chapter.

45. The staff Christmas dinner and the third year end of school year meal - both evening functions.

46. Evidenced by the cheer which the boys gave when I requested them to stay back one break time in order to organize some interviews. During interviews, one issue about which the boys were not so talkative was the subject of who they were friendly with and socialized with at school - the reasons for this are considered in the discussion of peer relations in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.2.

47. It is possible to suggest, in relation to this decision, that while I was prepared to be guided by the grounded theory, I was not prepared to be dictated to by it and consequently kept my options open. A perusal of the interview schedules in Appendix 1 indicates which issues were pursued with the girls.

48. For the first interview the girls were seen individually, for the second in groups and the third in pairs.

49. See Chapter 7, Section 7.5 on teacher-pupil relations and within sex differentiation.

50. A term used by Hammersley (1984A) p. 57.

51. A sea related metaphor developed from Hammersley (1984A) p. 62.

52. Woods (1986) p. 45.

53. At the time this diary or personal memo was entitled 'Summary of X Week of Research'.

54. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) p. 165.

55. These are discussed later in the Chapter.

56. See the discussion of girls friendship networks in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.

57. See the discussion of cross-sex relations in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3 and 5.2.4.

58. See the discussion of oral work in Chapter 7, Section 7.2 and the transcript in Appendix 9.

59. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) p. 143.

60. Statistical Package For The Social Sciences, 2nd Edition, Nie, N. H., Hull, C.H., Jenkins, J.G., Steinbrenner, K. and Bent, D. H. (1970) McGraw-Hill Book Company.

61. Section 2.1.2 of this Chapter.

62. Depending upon the assessment of how many extracts were required for inclusion.

63. See the discussion of the National Survey of Middle School Curricular in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.

64. See Chapter 3, Section 3.2 on the role of the Head Teacher at Kingston Dene during its conversion to a middle school.

65. See the Interview Schedule in Appendix 3D.

66.   Based upon discussion with staff and also a judgement that it would have been extremely difficult for teachers to sustain an artificial role in view of the length of the research project. Observations were recorded, moreover, where it appeared that teachers or pupils were reacting or responding to the researcher during lessons and, for both, only a small number of incidents were noted.

CHAPTER 3

SOME CURRICULAR ISSUES AT KINGSTON DENE MIDDLE SCHOOL

3.1   INTRODUCTION

In many respects the present Chapter may be regarded as
an extension of the Introduction to the ethnography of
gender differentiation at Kingston Dene Middle   School,
although it seeks to consider certain issues with a
greater   degree   of specificity than   is   generally
customary within introductory remarks.   Its   primary
purpose is to elucidate further background information
apposite to the school which, it is envisaged, will
afford an insight into the nature of schooling within
which subsequent facets of the study are contextualized.
The distinguishing feature of this Chapter in relation
to the Introduction is its focus upon certain features
of the school's official programme.   Similarly, it is
also   this   particular emphasis which   renders   it
distinctive vis-a-vis the larger part of the   inquiry
which is concerned with what has become known   as   the
hidden   curriculum.

It is not the intention here to delve into the analytic
intricacies of what constitutes the hidden as opposed to
official curriculum.   Indeed the sociological conundrum,
from whom is the hidden curriculum now hidden, has been

pondered upon by Hargreaves (1978). As an alternative to what has become a rather inexact phrase, he proposes that the term para-curriculum might be more appropriately utilized to refer to that which is taught and learned alongside the formal or official curriculum. Although various interpretive approaches have elucidated what the para-curriculum imparts, as Hargreaves points out, how this is accomplished is only partially understood and, it is hoped that in so far as gender differentiation is concerned, the present study effects a contribution in this area.

The current discussion is, however, primarily located within the sphere of the formal curriculum, or, to be more precise, certain dimensions of it which, as suggested, interface with themes which are explored later in the thesis. Since the Kingston Dene curriculum did not, in its entirety,[1] constitute one of the major preoccupations of the research, it is not intended to probe the massive literature which has been generated in this area of academic inquiry. Such reviews of the curriculum, its development, practical application and selection criteria are available elsewhere and, perhaps some of the more relevant to the theoretical orientation of this study are those of Whitty (1985), Goodson and Ball (1984) and Hammersley and Hargreaves (1983).

The interests of this Chapter may be viewed, therefore, as comparatively exclusive and the foci are essentially twofold. Firstly, to consider the curricular changes which were implemented during the transition of Kingston Dene from secondary modern to middle school and, to explore the implications of what was regarded[2] as an innovatory period for girls and boys. Secondly, to consider the curriculum which did transpire in terms of its propensity for gender stereotyping. The salient theme to emerge in relation to the former is the de-segregation of pupils on the basis of gender within all areas of the curriculum and this will be considered initially. In relation to the latter, one sphere of the curriculum emerges as particularly interesting and this concerns the introduction at Kingston Dene of what was perceived[3] as a progressive measure – the implementation of an integrated curriculum for the social sciences. Within this context, where the curriculum in action is explored, the distinction between the formal and para-curriculum becomes somewhat blurred and the discussion encompasses, briefly, both spheres.

In order to pursue these areas of inquiry the views of the Head Teacher and third year staff, which were ascertained during formal interviews, are utilized most extensively.[4] In particular, the recollections of the Head Teacher are used to establish the thinking which

underpinned curricular developments during the transitionary phase to middle school and, the views of the third year staff[5] are presented as practitioners of the curriculum which emerged after a period of considerable staff consultation and curricular deliberations. Whilst not all of the Kingston Dene staff necessarily shared the views of the Head Teacher on the advantages of middle schooling, they did respect his position as an active theoretician within the wider middle school movement and, those who were at the school during the change of status concurred with his interpretation of events regarding the practicalities of re-organization.[6] With regard to discussions within the second part of the Chapter relating to stereotyping, particularly within the integrated social sciences curriculum, teacher perspectives are augmented by observational data from the lessons in question.

3.2 CURRICULAR DEVELOPMENTS

3.2.1 The six point programme

That head teachers have an influential role in determining the ambience and ethos of their schools constitutes a view which has common credence (Rutter et al 1979, HMI 1979, HMI 1983 - 9-13 Middle School Survey). However, as Hargreaves (1986) points out, the

quality and impact of a head's leadership is very much contingent upon the kind and quality of teaching staff and this is particularly the case during periods of educational re-organization, 'when the pursuit of new educational purposes must be achieved, in the main, with the staff resources available in local pools of teaching labour'.[7] At Kingston Dene many of the existing secondary modern staff elected to remain at the school[8] and the Head Teacher had the task of mobilizing a committed, though, in his own view, apprehensive, staff into a new era of curriculum design and development. The rhetoric of middle schooling purports that such schools are uniquely placed to extend the best of primary techniques upwards, unfettered by the constraints of preparation for employment effected principally through public examinations (Burrows 1978, Blyth and Derricott 1977, Blyth 1980). This view, or ideology (Hargreaves and Warwick 1978, Hargreaves 1986), prevailed at Kingston Dene, as the following remarks of the Head Teacher illustrate. Initially, the reasons why the Head embraced the opportunity to become a middle school head, when a high school headship would have been available to him, are considered:-

Mr. Bevan ....I was dissatisfied with my role, or my interpretation of my role as a Head Teacher of a secondary school, er, in that I found the school had to conform to externalities. .... There were pressures which were pushing, have pushed, and indeed, er in my experience which is thirty years now, have always been in that case of seeing secondary education

> at a licencing institution. Licensing in
> the sense that it is preparing children
> for employment or for further or higher
> education on the basis of what they have
> done in schools. ....Well I certainly
> feel under less constraints of this kind,
> there are always constraints ....Er, but
> they pale into somewhat insignificance
> alongside the massive constraints that
> er, my judgement is, that secondary
> schools do labour under.

In the absence of such constraints it was considered
that the middle school could pursue the following
objective:-

Mr. Bevan   ....We are untrammelled by this up to the age
of thirteen. Er, and we can concentrate
upon that range of teaching and learning
activities which I think are important in
the support of the development of
rationality, er, the development of basic
skills, the development of intellectual
skills, the development of language.use
and, the broadly general interpretation
to children of the world in time, in
place, to an understanding for them of
their society and the place that they can
take in it.

The translation of these principles into curriculum
practice was further underpinned by a Piagetian model of
child development. The age of transfer between schools
under a conventional two tier system at the age of
eleven was considered to entail an undesirable
discontinuity in the transition from concrete to formal
operations. An attempt was made, therefore, at Kingston
Dene to provide pupils with a curriculum which embodied
a more flexible transition between the two stages as the
Head elaborates:-

Mr. Bevan   ....I should say again that it will be more

> rather than less the case that er,
> children in middle schools would benefit
> if we operate their schooling on the
> basis of what they can in Piagetian terms
> concretely assimilate. Yes indeed, which
> is not the same thing as saying that we
> can't expect formal operations from them,
> of course we can, and we can expect
> formal operations from children younger
> than middle school age.

To the extent that Mr. Bevan represented the principal philosopher and architect of the re-conceptualized middle school curriculum, the machinery through which his ideas were transformed into practice comprised four main components. These were, regular year school meetings, subject based curriculum development groups, a senior staff committee and a young teachers group. The latter eventually escalated into a Teachers Forum due to the interest generated amongst the staff generally. The committee structure was designed so that all teachers, irrespective of scale or seniority, had the opportunity to contribute to the curriculum development process. With the exception of the Teachers Forum, the structure was still operational during the research project, although meeting less frequently than prior to re-organization.

The curriculum which emerged at Kingston Dene in response to its debut as a middle school, influenced by the insights of the Head Teacher and consultations with the staff, pivoted upon six core elements and these

encompassed[9]:-

i   Study Skills

These were intended to consolidate basic skills in literacy and numeracy in conjunction with the development of further academic competencies in areas such as - spelling, sentence construction, note-taking, summarizing, presenting information, oral skills, computation, manipulation of materials, measurement techniques and the use of tools and instruments.

ii Specialist Subject Elements

Comprehension of some subjects was perceived to be contingent upon a schematic progress through topics involving increasing degrees of complexity. Whilst this was not regarded to imply the necessity for a particular teaching method, it was considered to necessitate the services of a specialist teacher. Consequently, maths., modern languages and, from the third year, science, were organized accordingly.

iii Enquiry Based Learning (E.B.L.)

This reflected the timetable name for the integrated social sciences curriculum which was intended to promote pupil discovery within pre-defined parameters. The subject was taught initially as a generic facet of the curriculum and eventually with reference to traditional

suject distinctions.

iv   Design and Make (D and M)

D and M represented a craft programme wherein woodwork, cookery, needlecraft and art were pursued in accordance with enquiry based methods.

v   Physical Activity

Initially referred to as 'Studio - G'(Studio. - Games), this was conceived as a broad based physical education linking dance, gymnastics, mime, drama, movement and music, in addition to conventional school sports.

vi   Special Interests

These were designed to enable pupils to select, from a range of options, an activity or subject as a particular interest and pursue this with the support rather than the direction of the teacher.

This six dimensional curriculum translated in the third year at Kingston Dene into the timetable presented in Table 1 overleaf. This represents the actual timetable of the research class - class 3/5.

As the timetable[10] for class 3/5 suggests, the major components of the curriculum, which had been devised during the school's transitory period from secondary

TABLE 1

TIMETABLE : CLASS 3/5

TIME	9.00 - 9.20	9.20 - 9.55	9.55 - 10.30	BREAK	10.45 - 11.20	11.20 - 11.55	11.55 - 1.10	1.10 - 1.45	1.45 - 2.20	2.20 - 2.55	2.55 - 3.30
PERIOD	REG & ASSEM	1	2		3	4		5	6	7	8
MONDAY		EBL	FRENCH	BREAK	ENGLISH	ENGLISH TA	DINNER AND REGISTRATION	LD FO	PE	MATHS	MATHS
TUESDAY		MATHS	DESIGN		AND MAKE	FRENCH		EBL	EBL	ENGLISH	LD TA
WEDNESDAY		EBL	EBL		MATHS	FRENCH		SCIENCE	SCIENCE	SPECIAL INTERESTS	SPECIAL INTERESTS
THURSDAY		FRENCH	PE		MATHS	ENGLISH FO		ENGLISH FO	DESIGN AND MAKE	DESIGN AND MAKE	DESIGN AND MAKE
FRIDAY		MATHS	ENGLISH FO		EBL	EBL		FRENCH	MATHS	GENERAL PURPOSE	GENERAL PURPOSE

KEY

TA - MR TAYLOR
FO - MR FORD
REG - REGISTRATION
ASSEM - ASSEMBLY

SCHOOL ASSEMBLY - TUESDAY & THURSDAY
THIRD YEAR ASSEMBLY - AS REQUIRED & FRIDAY

modern to middle, proved enduring. The main casualty had been Studio - G which was superceded by conventional games when the specialist music teacher left shortly after re-organization. The principal addition was Language Development which had been introduced in response to teacher concern over pupils competency in this area which was compounded by the publication of the Bullock Report (1975). Language Development represented the most recent curricular innovation at Kingston Dene and was still being developed and nurtured as such during the research project.[11] The integrated social science curriculum (Enquiry Based Learning) had originally been based on Schools Council curriculum materials, but these were later replaced by the progressive (Whitty 1985) Brunerian, Man : A Course of Study (MACOS). Thus out of a total of forty, thirty five minute lessons, third year pupils were presented with seven periods of maths. and E.B.L. respectively, six periods of English and Design and Make - also respectively, four of French (or General Studies) and, two each in Language Development, Physical Education, Science, General Purpose (discretionary period for completing homework, reading or similar assignments) and Special Interests (predominantly team games).

Whilst the secondary modern school legacy was still in evidence at Kingston Dene, not only, as previously suggested, in terms of its facilities, but also in its

subject specialists,[12] in much of its curricular
provision, according to the National Survey of Middle
Schools (1980), it functioned as a fairly typical
example of its type. The survey indicates that slightly
under half of middle schools (45%) reported the use of
team teaching, which locates Kingston Dene amongst the
majority of schools who did not utilize this approach.
Half presented the humanities in some form of integrated
programme of study, 76.7% taught a foreign language and
77.3% taught science in the third year, with specialist
teachers in 49.9% and 48.8% of schools respectively.
Similarly, the restriction of setting on the basis of
ability within the third year at Kingston Dene to maths.
and French was consistent with national trends wherein
73.1% and 50.6% of schools setted for these subjects
respectively. For English, the majority of schools
utilized mixed ability groupings, although within the
fourth year differentiation on the basis of ability
increased from 43.2% to 48.7%.

Again, the fourth year arrangements at Kingston Dene
were consonant with this pattern, although third year
English was taught on a mixed ability basis. The
adoption within the fourth year of a rather more
conventional approach to the subject reflected the
deployment within the year of the school's rather more
traditional teachers and where greater emphasis was

accorded to the preparation of pupils for high school. The following extract from fieldnotes illustrates the rationale as expressed by a member of the fourth year staff for setting for English within the fourth year at Kingston Dene:-

Dinner Time 15.5.80.	[Conversation in staff work room with the Senior Mistress and Head of fourth year] ....She went on to say that English is set as well as maths. - "I don't know what your feelings are about streaming but I think you can't teach some subjects without it." She said when children come up to 4th year their English is poor.- Implying because they don't stream in the third year. She said the kids are given an NFER test in Oct/Nov and again at the start of Summer term and all children show a marked improvement.

The restriction of setting to two subjects (maths. and French) within the third year did not imply, however, that pupils spent only a small proportion of their time organized into ability based groupings. The two subjects constituted eleven periods per week or 27.5% of the total timetable. The assumption, therefore, that middle schools foster what is regarded as the best of primary school practice does not necessarily mean that the principles of secondary level schooling are without influence. As Hargreaves (1986) demonstrates on the basis of a comparison between the H.M.I. surveys of secondary schools (1979) and of middle schools (1983), almost as many middle schools set their pupils for maths, English and science at 12+ as do secondary schools one year later at 13+.

Moreover, when data from the H.M.I's separate appendix (1980) to the secondary school survey regarding maths. are contrasted with the results of the national middle school survey (Taylor and Garson 1982), it transpires that at the top end of the middle range, many more 9-13 schools are setting pupils for maths. at the ages of eleven and twelve than are secondary schools at the same stage. It would also seem that the third year of middle schooling is the crucial year for the introduction of secondary school customs resulting in a sharp break rather than a smooth transition in ability grouping practice (Taylor and Garson 1982, HMI 1983, Meyenn and Tickle 1980). As Hargreaves (1986) comments:-

> These figures for setting in middle schools and secondary schools respectively offer substantial support for the argument that secondary-based conventions and pressures influence important areas of middle school practice greatly in the higher years and in doing so help perpetuate the long standing division between primary and secondary education at age 11.

> Hargreaves 1986, p. 106.

At Kingston Dene the ability related setting for maths. and French was augmented by what might be referred to as subject specialism setting and, again, this specialist pattern of organization appeared entirely typical of middle schools in general. In their 9-13 survey, H.M.I. (1983) report that while only 12.5% of schools had a

mainly specialist pattern of organization in their second year, by the third year 64.6% had adopted such a pattern. Within the third year at Kingston Dene, pupils were in receipt of the services of specialist teachers for Design and Make, Physical Education, science, English, Language Development and to a lesser extent Special Interests.[13] For English and Language Development the specialism was comparatively weak in so far as classes 3/5 and 3/2[14] were concerned in consisting of the class teachers dividing these lessons on an equal basis in order that the language and literature dimensions of the subject could be taken by staff with the relative strengths in these areas. Thus, the only subjects that third year pupils pursued as a class with their class teacher were Enquiry Based Learning and General Purpose, which comprised 22.5% of the timetable. Consequently, pupils had some lessons as a class, but not in the company of their class teacher (science and English) and, other lessons with their class teacher but not as a class, for example, Language Development, French and maths. From a methodological perspective, as suggested in the previous Chapter, such setting arrangements facilitated observation of all third year pupils in addition to those of the research class.

Prior to a consideration of the views of third year

staff upon the middle school curriculum,[15] it is worth noting that of the three modes of setting denoted by Hargreaves (1986), (principled, mismatch and residual), principled setting prevailed at Kingston Dene. The school's secondary modern antecedents resulted in the endowment of specialist staff which minimized the necessity for mismatched setting and there were only two lessons which necessitated any residual setting. The first of these encompassed those pupils who were considered unsuitable for French and as a result they were timetabled for 'General Studies'[16] with the Deputy Head Teacher. The second appeared to occur less regularly and was contingent upon the numbers of pupils within P.E. If these became excessive, the Deputy Head Teacher was again deployed to take small groups for music.[17]

The views of the third year staff on setting arrangements at Kingston Dene were ascertained[18] and a consensus emerged that the balance achieved within the year was appropriate. The following observations of staff, however, pertain more generally to the middle school curriculum and its aims and objectives, which teachers were requested to comment upon in general terms and in relation to their own subject. As the remarks demonstrate, the thinking of the third year teachers was broadly consistent with that of the Head Teacher, whereby the desirability of the provision of a general

education which improved upon basic skills and
encompassed a 'social' dimension was emphasised:-

Mr. Ford   Finding out through enquiry, about themselves
            and about knowledge in general. And so,
            central to it, as far as I understand is that
            if we work through say social studies, as the
            means by which they can enquire and develop
            their enquiry nature about themselves, other
            people, about the world .... Er and then the
            other areas are that they, they need to
            maintain, a development in their basic
            skills. So in other words you've got basic
            literacy, numeracy that have got to be
            continued.

                        * * * *

Mr.Edwards Well some sort of social education. And er,
            certainly looking at other societies from the
            point of view of how they live and
            comparisons with our own .... it's not so
            much as, what exactly they should know as to,
            they should have knowledge about finding out
            certain areas of knowledge.

                        * * * *

Mr.Taylor   ....I would hope that they would have some
            confidence in themselves, in their ability to
            express themselves in their own language ....
            some are still lacking the basic skills, you
            like them to have the basic skills when they
            move up.

                        * * * *

Mr.   ....And these are obviously literacy,
Griffiths   numeracy and the basic skills in manipulation
            er, these I think coupled with an ability and
            a knowledge of how to use reference books er,
            would cover this aspect.

With respect to the issue of gender differentiation at
Kingston Dene Middle School, the re-developed curriculum
may be viewed as having at least one significant, direct
impact upon the school lives of girls and boys and,

another rather more indirect consequence for their school experience. Indirectly it is possible to suggest that the setting arrangements within the third year were implicated in pupil strategies in the sphere of peer group organization. That the institutional arrangements of schools do influence the social organization of pupils and their response to schooling is widely acknowledged (Hargreaves 1967, Lacey 1970, Ball 1981, Lambert 1976), although much less is known about the nature of any differences between girls and boys within this context (Delamont 1980B, Davies 1984). At Kingston Dene, girls' friendship networks were quite distinct from those of boys as they contrived to incorporate the changes imposed by multiple class and set membership through the establishment of 'contingency'[19] friends. This issue is, however, explored more fully in Chapter 5, where pupil experience of school constitutes the basis of discussion. In relation to the more immediate effect of curriculum development upon girls and boys, Kingston Dene commenced life as a middle school with a curriculum which was entirely de-segregated on the basis of gender and this particular facet of the curriculum is considered in the following section.

3.2.2 The de-segregated curriculum

It must be remembered that as a secondary modern, Kingston Dene had been co-educational and the subjects

eligible for de-segregation on the basis of gender during re-organization were the craft subjects and Physical Education. Whilst the implications of gender for schooling were not conceived in any wider terms than these, despite the radical re-examination to which the curriculum was exposed, such developments nevertheless pre-dated the legal requirements for such adjustments under the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. It is possible that what could be construed as a comparatively curtailed initiative in respect to the educational opportunities for girls and boys was attributable, at least in so far as the craft subjects were concerned, to the location of change exclusively within the personal sphere. As a consequence the rationale for the de-segregation tended to be perceived in terms of the utility to boys of cookery and, as the comments below suggest, the wider applicability and transferability of skills acquired in the technical crafts (Byrne 1978) remained unacknowledged. The initial remarks are those of the Head Teacher in his explanation of how this particular curricular change emerged:-

Mr. Bevan   ....this would be in a meeting of what we called boys crafts and girls crafts in those days, where we asked did we really see the need to separate boys and girls for these crafts - the answer came out - well no not really, let's just have a look and see what happens. Er, we took it from there, it has never been seriously questioned .... I mean the vast majority of boys going on to employment, go into kinds of work which are just as far removed from woodwork, metalwork, technical drawing, domestic science,

needlework as they are from history, geography, whatever, you know...And I drew on my own experience - if I can be allowed to here, you know. I'm totally hopeless, if I had to fend for myself er, I should suffer a very severe drop in my standard of living. I think that there is this bonus for both of them [girls and boys] in so far as the commonplace things of living a life, concerned with doing things, you know.

* * * *

Miss Williams (cookery teacher)

....I think it's important, just as an important subject for boys as girls. They don't realize how, just the little things that they do, catch on, through three years. Like being able to make something for themselves so that if they're left on their own they can do it.

All the third year class teachers were in favour of the school's undifferentiated Design and Make programme. It was considered, "just too old fashioned these days not to [mix girls and boys]" and necessary, "Because the range of skills needs to be learnt by everybody in todays society" and, "It's not to get a job as a tailor or sewing, that's not necessarily it, but it does help on the practical side to get on later".[20] In contrast, the demise of Studio - G as a de-segregated physical education programme upon the departure of the specialist music teacher appeared to prompt a reversion to the traditionally segregated curriculum with which the staff felt more comfortable. There was possibly an added incentive for the school here since it had a good record of achievement in both City and County-wide sports competitions.[21] The possibility of

integrating team games or athletics was never seriously countenanced since, according to the Head Teacher, "when we get into major games, there is this unavoidable distinction between girls and boys P.E.". The girls sports teacher did not reject the notion entirely but maintained that mixed games were "feasible if they're brought up with it right from the very beginning".

The obdurate nature of segregated P.E. is reflected by Blyth and Derricott (1977) in their discussion of the formal organization of middle schools. They maintain that middle schools have contributed considerably to the building of a 'unisex' curriculum and that "It is only in P.E. in the strict sense that the need for differentiation in sex-roles is felt and fostered".[22] As Delamont (1980B) points out, however, segregating the sexes for sport today has two sets of implications. Firstly, women in sport or, in certain sports, are believed to be 'masculine' or unattractive, which as she points out is a legacy from the Nineteenth Century when any physical exertion by women[23] was deemed unladylike. Secondly, the participation of women in sport may be felt to 'endanger the virility, masculinity and comradeship'[24] of men. There is, moreover, a symbolic value in boys games which, as Delamont goes on to report, is clearly apparent in the school ethnographies of Lacey (1970), Hargreaves (1967) and Woods (1979). It is this symbolic value of camaraderie

which may also be implicated in the instrumentality of sport in welding boys peer networks. As demonstrated in the discussion later in the thesis,[25] boys appeared able to sustain friendships with all other boys on the basis of shared interests and such shared interests revolved almost exclusively around sport.

Resuming the exploration of the Design and Make programme, it was interesting that in the fourth year at Kingston Dene, the craft curriculum reverted to its former practice of segregation. The explanation for this was elucidated by the Head Teacher as follows:-

Mr. Bevan ....And this [segregation] for very real reasons, the main reason - that we have to transfer these children to high schools at the end of their fourth year here and we know the kind of regime that they will have to face, have to confront when they get there. We know that this will be a highly specialized examination oriented system, where boys will be hived off to woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing and the girls will be hived off to domestic science, needlecraft. Almost without exception. Now we think that it is in the childrens' best interest if we begin to prepare them, if we do prepare them for what life is going to be like after transfer.

Regarding the issue of segregation within the fourth year, however, the views of the staff concerned were not quite so congruent with those of their Head. Only the sewing teacher justified subject appropriate single sex groupings in terms of the demands of the high school:-

Mrs. Spencer	....I wouldn't have boys in a needlework[26] group not just because they would break the machines but....I know what the high schools want because we've had meetings with high schools, they're going through to an exam, and I know the boys aren't likely to go through to a needlework exam. Not really.

The firmly held views of Mrs. Spencer on this issue were recognized and acknowledged by her colleagues:-

Mrs. Cooper	....it's [fourth year segregation] really because of the needlework and the cooking - the woodwork, well not so much the woodwork, but because the needlework, Gwen tends to do garments in the fourth year. And you know, you couldn't have the lads sewing shirts and anyway, I don't think they'd have the skill to sew suits. So really all the groups have to be arranged accordingly.

Even the Head Teacher expanded his explanation of the reasoning behind gender specific fourth year crafts with the remark that, "I don't think Mrs. Spencer would mind my saying that she wasn't wild about the idea [of de-segregation] in the first place". Thus, an official recognition of the impending transfer to high school, in conjunction with (unofficial) practical problems in one part of the Design and Make programme resulted in a reversion to orthodox arrangements for girls and boys within this sphere of the curriculum.

It is possible to suggest, however, that such a reversion may have served to confirm for girls and boys conventional associations between the craft subjects and gender. Within the third year the boys were already of

the view that sewing in particular constituted an unsuitable activity for them since it was imcompatible with their perceptions of masculinity.[27] Furthermore, within the segregated fourth year classes, different facets of the craft subjects were pursued and this may be seen to imply that within the de-segregated third year curriculum pupils were not exposed to what teachers tacitly classified as the 'real' components of their particular specialisms. The comments below illustrate the type of adjustments which were made for single-sex as opposed to mixed groupings:-

Miss Williams ....they [fourth year girls] tend to do more difficult things, because they've got that little bit of edge on being able to cope with something on their own a little bit better ....And the girls tend to have, especially when I've got them on their own, they tend to, I tend to try them with a few more, slightly more difficult things.

* * * *

Mr.Blythe Physically, I don't think the girls are strong enough to cope with say an hour and a half, two hours, sawing and filing of metal. As I think I said yesterday the kids are starting to mature round about thirteen and obviously the girls are getting a little bit more feminine and trying to get a little bit more lady-like.

In sewing, the teacher introduced garment making as opposed to sewing crafts with girls in the fourth year and, in art, perhaps the most gender neutral subject, work with fabrics was taken to a more advanced level with girls:-

Mrs.Cooper Well I probably concentrate more on fabric crafts, collage, where it perhaps required them to use a needle.

It may be seen, therefore, that while the issue of de-segregation on the basis of gender emerged during the curriculum review period at Kingston Dene, this tended to be interpreted very much in terms of securing the presence of girls and boys within specific lessons in order that neither were deprived of certain practical information for personal adult life, rather than in terms of an examination underpinning both the content of the craft and wider curriculum in relation to gender. The early abandonment in physical education of the innovatory Studio - G without any further endeavours to organize some mixed games demonstrates the potency of gender divisions within this area of the curriculum. Such divisions proved puissant and persistent even in an arena where the curriculum was being subject to scrutiny and extensively revised within a climate of change. During the seven years which had elapsed since re-organization and the research period, the implications of curricular provision in so far as gender was concerned never re-emerged for review. At the time of the study, Language Development and some experimentation with ability based groupings in the second year were regarded as the current innovations. Thus, having enjoyed a very brief moment of attention, albeit in a

comparatively confined way, the curriculum at Kingston Dene was not subject to further scrutiny in terms of its impact upon educational opportunities for girls and boys.

The consideration of de-segregated curricular thus far has focused not only upon the experiences at Kingston Dene, but has also been implicitly premised upon the desirability of eliminating gender distinctions within a co-educational context. There is, however, a more fundamental debate regarding the issue of co-education and it is perhaps pertinent to juxtapose the salient threads of this against the foregoing discussion. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the comparatively recent trend towards co-education has been the absence of any substantial educational debate despite, as Weinberg (1981) notes, the disappearance of many single-sex schools during the post war period. Byrne (1978) also makes the point that co-education uncritically accompanied comprehensivization and, to the extent that the issue was given any thought at all, the presumed advantages were construed in social terms and these consisted of girls having a civilizing influence upon boys.

The work of Dale (1969, 1971 and 1974) is also inevitably cited in this context since, as almost <u>the</u>

major investigator of the relative merits and demerits of co-educational as opposed to single-sex schooling, his final position in favour of co-education pivots exclusively upon social criteria. When these are examined,[29] it is hardly surprising that Dale's three volume study has been condemned by feminist researchers[30] since as Arnot (1983) points out, 'for Dale, the advantage of mixed schools can be found precisely in their reproduction of life in a bisexual hetrosexual world, in which men dominate and women learn to complement and subordinate themselves to men.'[31] His work, as Shaw (1980) also contends, falls very much into the liberal tradition whereby the superior academic achievements of boys (as representatives of an already advantaged group) in co-educational as opposed to single-sex schools, are equated with the collective good and the conflict of interest which may exist on the basis of gender is disguised.

This conflict of interest in the co-educational context is multifaceted and may be seen to comprise, briefly: the absence of women in authority as role models for girls (Byrne 1978), a lack of facilities in schools which were previously single-sex girls schools (Shaw 1980), the failure of girls to pursue scientific and technical subjects (Kelly 1981 and 1987), the sexual harassment of girls and female teachers (Mahony 1985, Lees 1987, Jones 1985), the marginalization of girls in

classroom interaction (Spender 1982) and the general underevaluation of girls as pupils in mixed classrooms (Stanworth 1983). The feminist response to this situation essentially enshrines three positions, delineated by Arnot (1983) as the liberal reformist, conservative and radical perspectives. It is not proposed to elaborate upon these here,[32] other than to indicate the 'solutions' advocated within each arena.

The first perspective supports compensatory education for girls in single-sex classes within mixed institutions, whilst the remaining two both support a return to single-sex schooling, although from contrasting perspectives. The conservative view espouses the special role of women as wives and mothers which can be more appreciably celebrated and imbibed within the single-sex milieu, while the radical alternative perceives single-sex schools as an environment where girls are not exposed to the patriarchal relations of domination detailed above. Arnot laments, however, the absence of an adequate class analysis which characterizes all three perspectives, since this severely circumscribes their potentiality for effecting real change. As she asserts:-

> What the three perspectives offer
> are ways to change the _form_ of
> reproduction of gender relations:
> they do not challenge the _causes_
> of what it is that is reproduced.
> In other words, they focus on

> changing the modality of transmission
> of gender relations without changing
> <u>what</u> should be reproduced. We do not
> surely want to change the nature of
> 'femininity' as a concept but rather
> to abolish it as a social construct
> into which children are socialized.
> (Original emphasis)
>
> Arnot 1983, p. 87.

In order to pursue the exploration of how constructs of
femininity and masculinity were presented at Kingston
Dene Middle School, it is appropriate to resume the
discussion of the school's curriculum, although with a
re-direction of emphasis towards the content of the
curriculum as opposed to the organization of pupils
within it.

3.3 GENDER STEREOTYPING AND THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

3.3.1 <u>Written materials : some general concerns</u>

The official curriculum, particularly those facets which
present role models to pupils through images of social
organization and gender relations, has been demonstrated
by many researchers to legitimize the status quo (Deem
1978, Spender 1982, Spender and Sarah 1980, Sutherland
1981, Arnot 1980 and Delamont 1980B). Indeed, Delamont
(1983B) has consistently argued that the curriculum goes
rather further than this to the extent that schools
present pupils with a more conservative[33] and out-of-
date view of gender roles than they encounter elsewhere.

One of the mechanisms by which this is accomplished is through the presentation of outmoded role models, 'emphasising males as breadwinners and females as unemployed housewives'.[34] Such models, as Delamont suggests, are enshrined in the context of the curriculum in terms of 'syllabuses, textbooks, worksheets, exam papers and other written materials'.[35] Delamont's work (1980B and 1983B) may be perused with a view to examining some of the more explicit instances of gender stereotyping and, indeed, the majority of researchers who embark upon such explorations of the curriculum appear to have little difficulty in illustrating their findings, for example:-

> Look at the pictures of the clothes the Romans wore. Would they be easy for your mother to wash if you were a Roman?
>
> Buswell 1981[36]

* * * *

> Your brother and his friend are arriving home for breakfast after walking all night on a sponsored walk. Iron his shirt that you have previously washed, and press a pair of trousers ready for him to change into. Cook and serve a substantial breakfast for them, including toast.
>
> CSE Housecraft paper exam question, Deem 1978, p. 45.

* * * *

[Written on blackboard for pupils to start work]

        BOYS   GIRLS

Design a football strip   Design some sportswear

                                Sewing lesson
                                Kingston Dene
                                4.12.79.

The official curriculum at Kingston Dene did not appear untypical in terms of its portrayal of constructs of femininity and masculinity and, one facet in particular will be reviewed subsequent to the present consideration of some of the issues underpinning stereotypical subject content. As previously suggested,[37] part of the explanation for sexist curricula may as Delamont maintains (1984A and 1983B) be attributed to the bind of double conformity. Whilst as suggested in the Introduction this constituted a strategy for the Nineteenth Century pioneers of women's education in order to secure an education at all, Delamont contends that since 1945 double conformity has become an end in itself. This would account for the near obsession in some schools with rules concerning girls appearance and behaviour. Such a process is apparent in Llewellyn's (1980) study of working class, lower stream, secondary modern school girls where staff maintained an emphasis upon the appropriate requirements for feminine behaviour having abandoned any academic aspirations for the girls concerned. As Delamont asserts:-

> What was once a strategy for middle-class, clever women, has become an end in itself for the non-academic, working-class girl. Double conformity has been transmuted.

> Delamont 1983B, p. 103.

Such a transmutation may not, however, be understood solely as the result of some accidental historical perversion. As Scott (1980) emphasises:-

> Sexism in the curriculum cannot be eliminated easily because it is not a superficial overlay, a result of mere ignorance and oversight. Sexism is integral to our society, necessary to our system, and advantageous for men. It occurs at every level of experience within schools and serves a purpose.

> Scott 1980, p. 97.

An elucidation of this 'purpose' would entail entering into the arena of the interrelationship between the curriculum and contemporary culture, the role of ideology and the function of schooling. As previously declared and explained the invitation to such an excursus must, within the present context, be declined, for the chosen, discrete, sphere of inquiry concerns how, empirically, gender stereotypes are presented to pupils via the curriculum. The essential core of an explanation, however, revolves around the reproduction of gender relations under capitalism and patriarchy and penetrating and interesting analyses may be referred to elsewhere,[38] although the work of Scott (1980) and

(Arnot 1983, MacDonald 1980B) are particularly pertinent
here.

Both authors identify essentially the same three
features which define the presentation of women within
school texts. The first enshrines women's invisibility,
for women simply do not appear at all, either in terms
of visual images or their contribution to the subject in
question. One of the most blatant examples of this may
be found in the sphere of scientific, mathematical and
technical curricular (Kelly 1981, 1987, Samuel 1983A,
1983B). The second concerns what Scott (1980) denotes
as the derogation of women, whereby women are relegated
to a subordinate or ornamental role. MacDonald (1980B)
classifies under this the low status jobs and narrow
occupational range to which women are assigned and, as
Lobban (1976) has so clearly demonstrated, exposure to
this starts at a relatively young age in children's
reading schemes at the primary level. Thirdly, there is
the overwhelming emphasis upon women's domesticity. As
MacDonald points out, the assumption appears to be that
women have never left the home and if they have, it must
have been unwillingly.[39] This corresponds to Scott's
notion of women as insignificant and she maintains that
such books, which treat women inadequately, are the most
common genre.

Scott (1980) proceeds to analyse the curriculum on a subject basis in order to illustrate how texts convey stereotypical gender relations to pupils, and content analyses of this type clearly illustrate the conservatism which underpins school texts. One of the more comprehensive reviews is provided in a collection of papers by Whyld (1983) in which virtually every school subject is scrutinized. Similarly, the interlaced issues of gender and race are examined within the collection of papers edited by Weiner and Arnot (1987) and, as suggested, science curricular have been explored in considerable detail by Kelly and her colleagues (1981 and 1987). None of the analyses appears to be able to entirely exonerate any of the texts commonly used within schools.

As indicated earlier, the Kingston Dene curriculum appeared unexceptional in this respect. The 'En Avant' French course featured the activities of the Léon family in a stereotypical manner with a very domesticated Madame Léon, which, as Sutherland (1981) points out, such courses are highly prone to do. Similarly, the inhabitants of 'Rodway Road', the maths. course used with Set 3, were located within a domestic or employment sphere on the basis of gender, and stereotypical activities were utilized to illustrate mathematical principles. Whilst it would be possible to proceed through third year school texts and produce similar

examples for each subject, a systematic content analysis was not applied at the time of the study and it is not considered relevant as previously suggested to conduct one retrospectively. Details of school texts are, however, presented for information in Appendix 5 and the one subject which did emerge as distinctive during the research is considered separately below.

3.3.2 Man : A Course of Study

The integrated social science curriculum utilized within the third year at Kingston Dene was, as indicated earlier within the discussion of the school's six point curricular programme, [40] based upon Bruner's 'Man : A Course of Study'. The curriculum package distinguished itself as warranting particular attention for two principal and interrelated reasons. It was, firstly, regarded as progressive and innovative by the school which, as the only local user of the package, consequently tended to regard itself in the same vein. Secondly, regular observation of MACOS revealed the progressivism, certainly in so far as the content of the package was concerned as, arguably, little more than a facade. In terms of the portrayal of gender relations it is possible to suggest that MACOS prompted a more explicit and conservative expression of gender roles than any other area of the curriculum.

In seeking to explore the Brunerian question, 'What makes man human?',[41] the second year MACOS curriculum at Kingston Dene, where the package was introduced through the study of the salmon and herring gull, was consolidated during the third year through focusing upon baboons and the Netsilik Eskimo. Concepts such as dominance, co-operation, inter-dependance, division of labour and the family were discussed and elucidated with reference to the social organization of baboon and Eskimo life. Exploration of the former was scheduled from the start of the school year to the end of November and of the latter from December to the end of the Summer term. Considerable emphasis was attributed to the teaching and learning methods associated with MACOS and the programming of the subject within the school's timetable as Enquiry Based Learning reflected priorities in this area. The package was extensively resourced with data sheets, pamphlets, anthropological note-books, games, films and other background texts.[42] One of the second year staff had received specialized training[43] on the implementation of the package and had special responsibility for the MACOS curriculum within the second and third years. An explanation of the aims and objectives of MACOS as utilized at Kingston Dene was distributed to all teachers of the subject and this is presented in Appendix 6.

In so far as Bruner's (1960) intentions for the course are concerned five pivotal elements are presented as underpinning the fundamental question relating to humanity and these comprise : tool making, language, social organization, child rearing and man's drive to explain and represent his world. The structure within which the course content is elaborated is perceived as crucial to realizing the aims of the package and Bruner makes four claims for the importance of structure[44]: i) understanding fundamentals makes a subject more comprehensible; ii) organizing knowledge in terms of principles and ideas aids memory; iii) mastery of general principles is the basis for transfer of training and; iv) emphasis on fundamentals reduces the gap between 'elementary' and 'advanced' knowledge in a field.

It is not proposed to explore Bruner's theoretical perspectives on MACOS and the process of education here, but, apart from reservations concerning certain facets of the course which will be considered shortly, one conspicuous contradiction does protrude as immediately salient. In view of the importance attached by Bruner to language as the key for understanding social organization and humanity, the linguistic sexism[45] inherent in MACOS and Bruner's elucidation of it certainly reflects some of the thinking underpinning the

course, the specificities of which are discussed below. The exclusion of women in this manner within MACOS is also commented upon by Whyld (1983). The extent of linguistic sexism within school texts has been demonstrated by Buswell (1981) and the tendency of pupils not to perceive the terms 'man' or 'he' as encompassing female and male genders is discussed by Spender (1980A, 1982). Having made the point, however, it is not considered appropriate to develop it any further within the present context since the issue of language is examined later in the thesis in relation to the nature of oral work within classroom interaction.[46]

Proceeding briefly onto teacher perspectives[47] of MACOS at Kingston Dene, the third year class teachers, all of whom taught MACOS, were in favour of the curriculum package and, perceived distinct advantages in terms of its emphasis upon pupil enquiry, oral work, social relevance and the integration of pupil experience. The following comments are illustrative:-

Mr.Taylor   ....a lot of questions may be related to
             their own lives ....every one of them can
             give their own answers, their own ideas
             ....it's very wide in the kind of work that
             comes out of it, it's not just written.

★ ★ ★ ★

Mr. Ford   ....About man, about how society works which
             has been a neglected area. .... So that they
             become better prepared individuals to er,
             cope with work, work in schools and also life
             after. And at the age of thirteen, nine to
             thirteen, when children are firming up on
             their values and er, moral beliefs, it's an
             opportunity I think to get away from the
             purely subject centred curriculum.

                         * * * *

Miss   ....I think as far as later life is concerned
Lister   this is of far more use, getting them to
             realize the problems and advantages, you
             know, of human life.   ....It gets the
             children into discussion,   it gets them
             talking, it brings them out.

The course was not, however, considered to be without

its disadvantages and these related principally to the

monotony of focusing only upon two themes. There was

common agreement on this lack of variety and the

prevailing view was summarized by Mrs. Ross as follows:-

Mrs. Ross   The content I think goes on too long in each
             thing.   It can be very boring.   Starts off
             alright 'cos there's a short section on
             salmon and a short section on the herring
             gull, by this year you get sick to death of
             baboons and Eskimos.

Prior to a consideration of the presentation of gender

relations within MACOS, it is perhaps worth noting that

the course is also vulnerable to criticism on the basis

of what might be referred to as its cultural bias. The

presentation of a hierarchical interpretation of animal

and human societies, with a linear progression from the

'simple' society of salmon, through the herring gull and

baboon to Eskimos may be seen to imply a value judgement on stages of development. Within this, it is possible to suggest, that Western civilization is tacitly assumed to represent the apex of cultural advancement. In an otherwise enthusiastic evaluation of MACOS, Hanley et al (1975) concede that a tendency towards ethnocentrism is stimulated amongst children on an emotional level. So that, for example, whilst attempts are made to establish links between pupil experience and Netsilik life in terms of feelings for family and friends, particular issues such as infanticide, senilicide, animal slaughter and the eating of fish eyes provoke abhorence. Consideration of differing standards may become submerged, therefore, in the emotional response of a culturally relative position, where survival and the Netsilik magic and spirit belief system are perceived as primitive in terms of Western science.

This certainly seemed to be the case at Kingston Dene. Films of seals being killed, caribou being culled and Netsilik children eating raw fish eyes stimulated a repugnance amongst the pupils of class 3/5. Such responses were, however, differentiated on the basis of gender. The girls would squirm and be excessively squeamish during such films, whilst the boys would laugh and crack jokes about, "where's the chips?" and "slush puppies". No attempts were made to counter or discuss such responses which tended to be accepted as a

'natural' reaction from girls and boys. This may be seen as consistent with the fostering of a feminine stance amongst the girls and, in contrast, a macho one amongst the boys which corresponded to the constructs of femininity and masculinity which prevailed at the school.[48] Thus, as suggested by Jones (1972), MACOS fails to explore the type of emotional responses which are generated by exposure to unfamiliar cultural practices. The focus upon cognitive skills and curriculum materials is actually developed to the detriment of emotional reactions and pedagogy. Whilst Jones acknowledges that guidance in teaching could avert this, in its absence pupils are not made aware of the culturally elitist implications of the data. Within these, different standards and priorities tend to be perceived as a less 'civilized' or 'developed' adaptation to the social and geographic environment.

Notwithstanding some of the more explicit scenes from Netsilik life, pupils did consider E.B.L. to be reasonably enjoyable. As suggested within the discussion of pupils subject preference later in the thesis,[49] E.B.L. was ranked fourth by both girls and boys. From the boys perspective part of the attraction could be attributed to the emphasis upon oral work - "In E.B.L. you've got chance to speak."[50] Indeed, such an observation was particularly apposite in so far as the

boys were concerned since opportunities for oral participation tended to be distributed in their favour.[51] The staff, moreover, did tend to perceive boys as more forthcoming in class discussion[52] and, as the field-note below illustrates this was particularly noticeable in E.B.L.

Staffroom 25.9.79. Mr.Taylor ....T [Mr.Taylor] said he felt boys did tend to do well in E.B.L., they're more confident about discussing the ideas openly. Said he felt the girls were often thinking, "Cut the cackle and let's get down to the writing". Whereas the boys were quite happy not to write, 'cos they didn't like writing so much.

Similarly, the point was also made by the class teacher for 3/5 (Mr. Ford), that methods of assessment in E.B.L.[53] permitted pupils who were not so competent within the written component of school work to demonstrate their abilities in alternative ways:-

Staffroom 18.9.79. Mr. Ford ....According to Mr. F., G.P., S.I. and E.B.L.(54) all give the non-academic or poor writers a chance to shine. He cited the example of Jack who is very good orally in E.B.L., but whose written work is poor. Conventional lessons and methods of assessment would indicate Jack as well below average, yet in the special methods of assessment in E.B.L., he gets a good mark and his good points are formally recognized.

Inequalities in the distribution of oral learning opportunities are, as suggested, explored subsequently. It remains sufficient here, therefore, to make the point briefly that, since girls do not participate equally in oral class work, they may be disadvantaged in any method

of assessment wherein such competencies are formally evaluated.[55] Perhaps even more significantly they learn, as Stanworth (1983) maintains, that the contributions of boys are valued more highly than their own, which also has implications for their self-esteem as pupils.

With regard to the content of school texts, three schemes have been presented[56] which reflect the manner in which women and gender relations are portrayed. According to these, women are either invisible, made subordinate - particularly in the occupational sphere or, alternatively defined in terms of their domesticity. A perusal of the MACOS materials and the type of discussion they prompted makes it possible to suggest that the curricular package may be located within the third classification, but with an added dimension to this which relates to an interpretation of such gender relations as biologically determined. Thus, because it is <u>natural</u>, female baboons present themselves for mating at particular times of the year, give birth to and rear infant baboons and generally comprise the more caring and peaceable members of the baboon troop. Male baboons learn how to defend the troop, establish their dominance through demonstrations of aggression over all the females and as many males as possible, hunt for and provide food and generally seek to assert themselves as leaders. The course then proceeds with an examination

of the Netsilik community wherein women are selected for marriage, give birth to and rear children, make all the clothes and animal skin shelters and cook food. The male Netsilik hunt for and provide the food, build igloos and make the crucial decisions regarding when and where to move in a nomadic society.

Whilst it is the aim of MACOS to utilize such data for comparative purposes, it appeared that the wealth of information which required assimilation in conjunction with the momentum that this generated, precluded the possibility of analysing familiar social arrangements in anything like the detail accorded to the baboon and Netsilik. As a result the tacit implication underpinning the course would, as suggested, appear to be that the natural practices of 'primitive' communities become more developed in 'advanced' societies. Thus, the basic survival strategies of subsistence living are implicitly presented as constituting the essentials of contemporary custom and social mores. With regard to gender, this may be seen to have the effect of suggesting that inherent in prevailing gender roles and sexual division of labour is some biological imperative. These may be perceived to explain gender differences rather than the historical and socio-economic development of particular societies.

Moreover, as the E.B.L. observational data presented below suggest, when a comparative stance was assumed, there was a tendency for parallels between the familiar and unfamiliar, not to be drawn with reference to what pupils experienced personally, but between what were assumed to constitute the typical or usual social arrangements paramount in the wider society. Such generalizations characteristically pivot upon stereotypes and, as suggested later in the thesis,[57] stereotypes function as powerful persuaders of what constitutes 'normal' practice. As Delamont (1983B) also asserts, when attempts are made to elucidate the curriculum with reference to pupil experience, frequently in explanatory digressions, there is a tendency for gender stereotypes not only to be evoked but also presented as desirable.[58] Consequently, MACOS, more than other areas of the curriculum at Kingston Dene realized a potentiality for conveying to pupils a view of the sexual division of labour and gender roles as inevitable and biologically pre-ordained. Since E.B.L. lessons tended to be discursive the following illustrations of this point also tend to be correspondingly lengthy:-

28.9.79.   ....Do female baboons go on the look out?
(59)
          Satnam, Graham, Scott and Mark....mostly boys
          saying things like the female baboons stay in
          the middle [of the troop] to look after the
          infants. - Mr. F., "Why?" Another male pupil
          says because male baboons are bigger....After
          a few minutes of this, Mr. F., comes to
          Trevor who says the males go on the look out

because "Sir he's the man". ....The rest of the class then take Trevor's lead and start to answer in terms of it being the mans job. At last Vickie comes out with what Mr. F., has been waiting for -"Sir because the females haven't got the canine teeth for fighting".

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

7.12.79.   (Film - Netsilik at the Weir)

....Mr. F., "What things do you understand from the film?"

Mark -   "The women stayed at home."

Stacy and Rachel -"They had to eat fish 'cos there was nothing else and they didn't waste anything."

....Mr. F. -   "Who could tell me why the mother didn't help the father fishing?"

Scott -   "She had to get things ready for the fish."

Charanjit -   "She had to look after the boy."

In the next example, it may be seen that a good opportunity emerged within the class discussion for the teacher to explore the issue of gender and current employment patterns. The opportunity was not exploited, however, and as suggested, the massive detail of MACOS appeared to militate against its own intention of encouraging comparative analyses:-

4.3.80.   (Lesson on caribou hunting)

....Mr. F., "What can we learn from this story about Eskimo families?"

Scott - "The families share meat between themselves."

Mr. F - "So?"

Scott - "You only get the bad bits if you're not family."

[A discussion ensues about blood being thicker than water]

....Mr. F tries to relate this to their own families, he asks Stacy who earns the food in her house and who is dependant on <u>him</u>. [emphasis added] Stacy says her dad and they're all dependant on him. Gloria says she's dependant "On me Mam". Mr. F doesn't develop the theme.

It is possible to suggest, therefore, that the constraints imposed by the content and style of MACOS left little room for pedagogic manoeuvre. Indeed, there was only one occasion observed where an attempt was made to present an alternative interpretation to that offered by the course:-

3.10.79. ....F "Why are male baboons tough? Why don't male and female baboons play together?"

Pupils - some quiet whispering, general uncertainty. F tells the class to discuss the question for a few minutes. Approx. three mins. later he repeats the question and asks another related to work done in the previous lesson.
F.   - "Why don't girls play rough?"
Trevor - "Sir because they can't stand it, Sir."
F.   - "Both the Susans in this class could flatten Michael."

The class laughs. Pupils named look embarrassed.

F.   - "But he can be a tough little diamond."

Nothing said to ease the girls embarrassment. F. continues in his attempt to pose a counter definition by describing an imaginary island in the South Pacific.

> F.　　　　- "On this island there is a tribe where the women boss the men about, where the women hunt and the men stop at home with the kids, the women were stronger."
>
> All this said by F. who is smiling and the class laugh at an idea they seem to find absurd.

In a situation where the teacher was attempting to pose an alternative scenario, traditional stereotypes were arguably reaffirmed. The phrase "tough little diamond" placated the injured feelings of a rather small boy and at the same time discounted the idea that the two girls could "flatten him". The girls were not similarly placated for the suggestion that they were rather large, but the notion was conveyed that they would be highly unlikely to participate in such 'rough' behaviour. Concomitantly, the use of colloquial terms such as "boss the men about" and "stay at home with the kids" in conjunction with a more jocular manner than usual, resulted in the intended meaning of the illustration being thwarted. Instead, the implausibility of such a life-style was conveyed to and understood by the class. The potency of language in communicating rather more than the literal meaning of the words used is also explored within the discussion of teacher-pupil relations at a later stage within the thesis. Here, language and accompanying gestures are explored in order to elucidate how particular constructions of femininity

and masculinity were transmitted within classroom interaction.[60]

Finally, it is appropriate to consider the impact of MACOS upon the perceptions of third year pupils at Kingston Dene. Whilst pupils did hold very conventional views of gender roles and the sexual division of labour,[61] these clearly cannot be attributed to the influence of one school subject. Occasionally, however, pupils would refer to the course and its biological imperative in order to support their own views on a particular issue. Consequently whilst no causal relationship can be claimed between MACOS and pupils conservatism, it is possible to contend that what was a supposedly progressive (Whitty 1985, Whyld 1983) curriculum package accomplished little in terms of encouraging pupils to enquire into gender relations or disabuse them of some of their own orthodoxies in this area. The following examples illustrate the point. The first is taken from one of the girls' E.B.L. exercise books and the second is a short extract from an interview with one of the boys:-

28.1.80.   (Looking through E.B.L. exercise books in
            Fieldnotes response to the question - How
            is our life like or, how would we survive
            like the Netsilik? Rachel has written.)
            If there were no jobs I would do the cooking
            like my mother and boys would take after
            their father and fish and hunt.

* * * *

```
Graham        [getting a good job] to me is very important,
              'cos  it means you've got a better chance  of
              looking after your wife,  if I do get married
              ....To  me  it's the man's job to look  after
              your  wife and children,  but your wife stays
              at home and does the housework and, you know.
RJ            Why d'you think that Graham?
Graham        'Cos my mum does it.
RJ            Yes.
Graham        And it's the man's job to go out and hunt for
              food, like in E.B.L.
RJ            Mm.
Graham        And the women prepares it.  And that to me is
              like going out for a job, giving the money to
              the  woman,  the woman goes out and gets  the
              food from the shop and prepares it.
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* * * *

3.4   SUMMARY

The foregoing discussion of some curricular issues at

Kingston Dene Middle School has sought to provide some

contextualizing details to themes which are explored

subsequently in the thesis.   Whilst these are located

within the para-curriculum (Hargreaves 1978),   the

present exploration has concerned itself primarily with

the school's formal programme or, to be more precise,

certain dimensions of it which impinged upon the

educational experience of girls and boys in particular

ways.   The Chapter consequently revolves around two

central issues and associated themes which emerged as

salient.   In brief, these pertain to the curricular

changes which occurred during the school's transition to

middle school with an accompanying extension of co-

education to all subjects and, secondly, to the specific

introduction of a progressive integrated social science programme which appeared as more conservative it its content in terms of gender roles and relations than some of the ostensibly more traditional spheres of the curriculum.

After a period of reappraisal and review the curriculum which emerged at Kingston Dene was not dissimilar to and, indeed, was typical of those developed elsewhere for pupils of the middle years of schooling (HMI 1983, Taylor and Garson 1982). This is perhaps not surprising when the secondary modern school legacy is considered - a teaching staff with certain specialist skills[62] and a building designed for rather more orthodox subject and pedagogic arrangements. It may also be reflective of the tendency within the new middle school movement towards an optimistic rhetoric regarding the unique role of middle schools rather than the development of a radical educational alternative (Hargreaves 1986). Within the climate of innovation which pervaded the transitionary phase the curriculum was de-segregated on the basis of gender and this pre-dated the requirements of any legal obligations which came into force three years later.[63]

In practice the de-segregation affected two curricular areas and resulted in girls and boys pursuing together those subjects where connotations of gender prove

particularly obdurate, i.e. the craft curriculum and physical education. At Kingston Dene the data suggest that because the extension of co-education was conceived in such narrow terms, the opportunity for subjecting the issue of gender, with its equal opportunities implications, to the same degree of scrutiny which applied in other curricular areas was missed. (As suggested within the Introductory Chaptor, it is perhaps rather more unlikely that the wider implications of gender would be so disregarded in schools today, or, that if this looked likely, the omission would pass entirely unremarked.)

The apparent failure at Kingston Dene to attempt little more than ensuring that girls and boys occupied the same physical space may also be seen to explain why mixed physical education was abandoned entirely at a comparatively early stage and why even within the co-educational craft programme curricular topics were selected on the basis of what was appropriate for a mixed group.[64] The experience within both subject areas illustrates the puissant nature of gender stereotypes within the curriculum and the assumptions which were operative and which contributed to the comparative absence of analysis in relation to gender throughout the curriculum may be regarded as a microcosm of the wider debate concerning the relative merits and

de-merits of co-education as opposed to single-sex
schooling. Here, as an accompaniment to
comprehensivization, co-education has almost superceded
single-sex provision and, yet, the educational service
provided in mixed classrooms would seem to place girls
at a disadvantage (Shaw 1980, Spender 1982, Deem 1978,
Arnot 1983).[65]

With regard to the content of the curriculum,
particularly as it is conveyed through school texts, the
major part of the provision at Kingston Dene would again
appear to be fairly typical. (Scott 1980, Whyld 1983).
The portrayal of women and gender relations in school
texts has been elucidated as either invisible,
subordinate (particularly occupationally) or domestic
(MacDonald 1980B, Scott 1980). Whilst the curriculum
was not subject to a rigorous and systematic content
analysis, a perusal of third year texts did little to
dispel the notion that materials at Kingston Dene were
in any way unusual. One subject did transpire as
exceptional, however, and it is something of an irony
that the subject in question was perceived as
progressive and innovatory within the school.

The integrated social sciences curriculum was based upon
Bruner's 'Man : A Course of Study'. Whilst its enquiry
based learning methods may have had something to commend
them,[66] the portrayal of gender relations and the

sexual division of labour appeared premised upon biological determinism. The course permitted little time for an exploration of pupils' lives in anything like the same depth accorded to baboons and Netsilik Eskimos. Consequently, the comparative analyses which constitute a central feature of the rationale underpinning the curriculum package, tended to evoke a stereotypical view of contemporary social arrangements. Pupils were not only denied, therefore, the opportunity to contribute comprehensively from their own experience, but were exposed in MACOS, rather more than in most lessons, to an interpretation of gender roles based upon the experience of animals and 'primitives',[67] arranged in accordance with certain principles because they are 'natural'. Thus, it is possible to conclude that, in the absence of any discussion of the socio-economic considerations which underpin social organization and, it would seem that within social studies this would constitute a legitimate area of enquiry, pupils appeared to be encouraged towards the view that not only are gender roles distinct and untransferable, but that such arrangements are biologically pre-ordained.

FOOT NOTES

1. Whilst certain facets of the curriculum were
    explored because they emerged as salient during
    the study, it was not the intention of the
    research project to conduct a systematic analysis
    of the official curriculum in terms of its
    development, its representation and transmission
    of culture, links with the community, association
    with first and high schools or its content through
    the application, for example, of content analysis
    or semiology.

2. The re-organization of the school from secondary
    modern to middle and the related curriculum review
    were generally regarded as innovatory by both the
    Head Teacher and the school's staff, irrespective
    of views concerning the desirability of the
    change.

3. Particularly by the second and third year staff
    where the full MACOS programme was implemented.

4. The Interview Schedules used for tape recorded
    discussion with the Head Teacher, Head of Third
    Year and other third year staff are presented in
    Appendix 3.

5. As indicated in the following Chapter which
    focuses upon the Kingston Dene teachers, 'third
    year staff' refers not only to the six class
    teachers, but also the other specialist teachers
    who taught within the third year, totalling
    thirteen teachers, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1.

6. A view conveyed to the researcher during informal
    discussion throughout the year.

7. Hargreaves (1986), p. 137.

8. Information relating to teachers length of service
    at Kingston Dene is presented in Appendix 7. Staff
    with seven or more years service were clearly
    teachers at the school when it was a secondary
    modern. The staff profile is also discussed in
    Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1, where it is pointed out
    that 17 members of staff were at the school prior
    to reorganization.

9. Details of the six point curriculum were derived
    from old background papers of the Head Teacher in
    addition to conversations with him.

10. The timetables of the other five third year classes were essentially similar and each class had its timetable displayed on a large chart within the classroom.

11. As part of the Language Development initiative, pupils were required to read for at least one period of English per week and during registration periods. Pupil views on this reading activity are presented in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2.

12. See Chapter 4, Section 4.1.1 for information on which particular staff were specialists, also Appendix 7.

13. The majority of Special Interests were games related and were consequently supervised by the specialist P.E. teachers, although in order to provide more variety some of the third year class teachers also led sporting activities during Special Interests. During the Summer Term the Special Interest options were:- drama, cookery, rounders, cricket and other outdoor sports notably softball.

14. This arrangement was a 'local' one agreed between the members of staff concerned.

15. See in particular questions 3 and 4 in the Interview Schedule for third year staff in Appendix 3D.

16. General Studies represented the 'official' title for lessons involving pupils who did not study French. It was not referred to as such in the class's timetable (see Table 1) and the researcher only realized that the 'non-French' group took 'General Studies' when she read the end of year school reports. All the pupils, irrespective of whether they took French or not, referred to these designated periods as 'French'. General Studies as they are commonly understood were not pursued, however, the lessons more closely resembled English Language.

17. Music consisted mainly of singing practice around the piano in 3/5's classroom.

18. See in particular question 6 in the Interview Schedule for third year staff in Appendix 3D. All staff responded to this with reference to the setting arrangements at Kingston Dene.

19. This concept isk explored more fully in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.

20. First, second and third comments by Mr. Edwards, Mrs. Ross and Mr. Taylor respectively.

21. The school was also proud of the fact that one of its old boys had recently played for the City's football team in the First Division.

22. Blyth and Derricott (1977), p. 68.

23. More specifically, middle class women.

24. Delamont (1980B) p. 96.

25. See Chapter 5, Section 5.2.2.

26. The teacher distinguished between needlework which consisted of making garments and sewing crafts which comprised collage, pictures, small felt artefacts and similar items.

27. Boys views on this are presented in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.2.

28. See also the earlier comment of the Head Teacher that since the discussion of boys crafts and girls crafts the issue had never seriously 'been questioned'.

29. Dale maintains that in mixed schools girls render boys more amenable to discipline, the obsession with academic work is reduced, pupils are less anxious, there is less bullying, male and female staff contribute to a broader understanding of problems, 'normal' life is reproduced, girls are less catty, boys are less aggressive and generally co-education leads to greater happiness since it is a less 'unnatural' or 'distorted' educational experience.

30. Such as, for example, Deem (1978 and 1984), Shaw (1980), Arnot (1983), Spender (1982) and Spender and Sarah (1980).

31. Arnot (1983) p. 83.

32. For a fuller account see Arnot (1983) pp. 84 - 87.

33. Delamont defines conservative within this context to mean that schools are treating males and females as much more differently than the outside world does. While the sexes may be differentiated in the wider society, schools are more rigid in

their enforcement. Delamont (1983B) pp. 93 - 94.
This point is also made in the discussion of the
allocation of tasks and errands in Chapter 6,
Section 6.5.

34. Delamont (1983B) p. 94.

35. Delamont (1983B) p. 96.

36. Cited in Delamont (1983B) p. 97.

37. See the discussion of the historical developments
in girls education in Chapter 1, Section 1.1.2.

38. See, for example, Barrett (1980), Kuhn and Wolpe
(1978) and Hamilton (1978) and Eisenstein (1987).

39. MacDonald (1980B), p. 42.

40 The six point programme is outlined in Section
3.2.1 of this Chapter.

41. Posed by Bruner in The Process of Education, 1960.

42. The MACOS curriculum materials are listed in
Appendix 5B.

43. A training course for schools contemplating the
introduction of MACOS had been available at the
University of East Anglia at the time that the
integrated social sciences curriculum was under
review at Kingston Dene. A second year teacher
with special responsibility in this area had
attended.

44. Bruner (1960), summarized by Golby et al (1975),
p. 444.

45. A term used by Clarricoats (1978) and Mahony
(1985), for a fuller discussion see Chapter 7,
Section 7.2 regarding oral work.

46. Chapter 7, Section 7.2.

47. These were elicited during interviews with the
third year staff, see in particular question 5 in
the teachers Interview Schedule, Appendix 3D.

48. This issue is discussed within the exploration of
teacher-pupil relations in Chapters 6 and 7, see
in particular Sections 6.4 and 7.3 on discipline
and, language and gesture respectively.

49. Chapter 5, Section 5.5.

50. Remark made by Jack during the formal interview with him.

51. The relevant discussion here is presented in Chapter 7, Section 7.2 on Oral Work.

52. This constituted one reason for teachers preferring boys, see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3.

53. A special method for evaluating pupil performance in E.B.L. had been devised at Kingston Dene whereby a grade of A to E was awarded to each pupil under the following headings and sub-headings:-

Can Pupil

Find information/Use reference books/Communicate verbally/Communicate non-verbally/Generalize/Form hypotheses/Apply concepts.

Has Pupil

Curiosity/Willingness to co-operate/Open-mindedness/Empathy.

Has Pupil a Concept of

Continuity-change/Causality/Similarity-difference/Values and beliefs/Authority/Communication.

54. G.P. - General Purpose, S.I. - Special Interests and E.B.L. - Enquiry Based Learning.

55. No statistically significant differences in achievement were established within the third year at Kingston Dene, see Section 1.1.3 of Chapter 1. This does not suggest, however, that the cumulative effect of verbal passivity is not implicated in future achievement. See Section 7.2 of Chapter 7 for a fuller discussion of this issue.

56. See Section 3.3.1 of this Chapter.

57. Stereotypes are discussed within the context of teacher typifications of pupils, see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.4.

58. For example, the comment of the teacher in Clarricoats (1980) study upon discovering that a male pupil had helped his mother bake a cake over the weekend:-

The teacher despairs "Couldn't you play
football or something?"

Cited in Delamont (1983B), p. 94.

59.   All the E.B.L. lessons were taken by Mr. Ford. The
        usual practice of providing details of the teacher
        next to data extracts is, therefore, temporarily
        discontinued within this Section.

60.   See Chapter 7, Section 7.3.

61.   Evidenced for example, by their contributions to
        discussion in E.B.L. lessons and also, amongst the
        girls in particular, their views on their future
        roles and responsibilities as adults, which were
        discussed in the third interview - See Appendix
        1, Interview Schedule 1C.

62.   See the staff profile of Kingston Dene in
        Appendix 7.

63.   Kingston Dene was reorganized as a middle school
        in 1972 i.e. three years prior to the Sex
        Discrimination Act 1975.

64.   The point here, is that when pupils were
        segregated on the basis of gender within the
        fourth year craft curriculum, different skills
        were imparted to the single-sex groups.

65.   This is not to suggest that all these authors
        advocate a return to single-sex schooling. Whilst
        they all advocate change, strategies for promoting
        this vary.

66.   The teachers at Kingston Dene valued the pupil
        initiated enquiry aspects of MACOS and the role of
        learning assisted rather than directed by the
        teacher. To what extent this actually occurred is
        open to discussion, Atkinson and Delamont (1977)
        for example, provide some interesting insights
        into guided discovery instruction. In addition
        the co-operation between pupils which the course
        was also intended to promote did not occur between
        girls and boys. Cross-sex relations are discussed
        in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3 and 5.2.4.

67.   As Jones (1972) maintains MACOS is also culturally
        elitist.

CHAPTER 4

THE TEACHERS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS OF PUPIL BEHAVIOUR AND SCHOOL WORK

4.1   INTRODUCTION

Some acquaintance has already been made with the staff of Kingston Dene Middle School, both very generally within the Introductory Chapter and, more specificially within the previous Chapter where their views on certain facets of the curriculum were considered.   The focus of the present discussion is upon perceptions of pupils, particularly whether the third year teachers perceived any differences between girls and boys either in relation to their behaviour or their work.[1]   Whilst this provided a subject for informal discussion with staff throughout the year, the principal data which are utilized were obtained during the rather more formal tape recorded interviews, which both confirmed and elaborated views elicited in less formal circumstances.[2]   As Hartley (1980) also observes in relation to the teachers in his study,[3] prior to finding themselves included in a research project into gender and schooling, the subject did not constitute an issue which had otherwise impressed itself upon Kingston Dene staff as educationally significant, although, as

previously suggested,[4] the curriculum had been de-segregated on the basis of gender during the school's change of status from secondary modern to middle.[5]

The exploration of teacher perceptions of girls and boys within the same classroom context entails, as Davies (1984) points out, two interrelated themes: whether the sexes do display different behaviour and/or whether teachers are operating on expectations or rules for 'typical' behaviour for each sex.[6] It is the second issue which is of central concern to the present Chapter which, as suggested, seeks to ascertain how teachers typify pupils and, moreover, to probe how cultural stereotypes may influence such typifications.[7] In order to pursue these issues, teacher typifications of pupil behaviour are considered initially in conjunction with the manner in which teachers perceived their own response to girls and boys in specific spheres such as discipline and the allocation of responsibility to pupils for the execution of routine school business.[8] Closely associated with the exploration of typifications of pupil behaviour is the issue of teacher preference for pupils on the basis of gender and this is explored prior to delving into the manner in which stereotypes may impinge upon the process of typification. Davies (1984) suggests that when teachers are forced to differentiate between the sexes for a researcher they

fall back onto cultural stereotypes rather than particular experiences and that this may explain the apparent disjuncture between their accounts and the empirical findings of some observational studies.[9]

On the basis of the Kingston Dene data, however, it would seem that the mutuality between the two processes may be slightly more complex than this and, a consideration of the reciprocity between typifications and stereotypes (which entail an ideological dimension) is incorporated into the analysis before proceeding with the exploration of school work. It is perhaps apposite at this juncture to comment upon this particular section of the Chapter and its location in terms of the thesis as a whole. In a sense, this entails providing a reminder of an earlier reference within the Introductory Chapter regarding the presentation of particular issues at specific points throughout the dissertation. As suggested, major theoretical themes are encompassed within the second Chapter which explores methodological and theoretical considerations. However, at certain points throughout the thesis, it becomes appropriate to examine some of the substantive issues in relation to the overall theoretical framework and consequently, some theorizing is interspersed throughout what is predominantly (although not exclusively) an exploration of empirical data.

The analysis of stereotyping, with its associated discussion of ideology, represents such an instance, since the process of typification, in so far as the analysis of gender is concerned, could not be adequately explored without reference to the wider issues. For this reason, a section which might otherwise appear as something of a theoretical digression has been incorporated and, indeed, its inclusion at this point[10] facilitates an understanding of the concept of stereotyping which re-emerges at various occasions throughout the review of gender differentiation at Kingston Dene.

Returning to the issue of school work, the most salient feature to emerge from the enquiry into school work was the divergence which was perceived between presentation and content. This related rather differently to girls and boys and the implications of this are considered with reference to the variance in esteem which appeared to inhere in teacher assumptions regarding pupils intellectuality which underpinned evaluations of school work. Since the salient theme to emerge from the exploration of school work was quite discrete, the discussion is correspondingly rather more succinct than the analysis of behaviour. Hartley (1980) also notes that the teachers in his study were more discursive regarding pupil behaviour. Following on from this, the

discussion endeavours to consider the two principal themes of the Chapter in unison, through an exploration of the possible ramifications of typifications of behaviour for school work and, in particular, the consequences of this for the educational experience of girls. The discourse commences briefly, however, with some further introduction to the teachers who were most closely involved with the research project and whose views from the basis of the current Chapter.

4.1.1 Kingston Dene Third Year : the teachers

The teachers most clearly identifiable as comprising the 'third year staff' at Kingston Dene were, not surprisingly, the six class teachers, although other staff did have regular contact with third year pupils and these will be considered shortly.[11] In structural terms, the year was headed by a teacher on Burnham salary scale 4 (Mr. Ford) who was also the teacher for class 3/5, the pupils of which comprised the main participants in the research project. Mr. Ford was also the Staff Tutor at Kingston Dene, a position which he regarded as primarily responsible for enhancing the professionalism of teachers.[12] The Head of Year was understudied unofficially in this position by a colleague on salary scale 3 who also held particular responsibility for MACOS and the administration of Richmond Tests within the year and the development of

audio-visual aids for the school. Two other staff occupied spheres of special responsibility - Miss Lister as the Head of P.E. on a scale 3 and, Mr. Edwards on scale 2, who undertook specific duties in relation to the development of English for the year. As indicated in the discussion of the curriculum within the previous Chapter, certain facets of the third year timetable were taught on the basis of ability groupings and, as a consequence, there was a limited degree of subject specialism amongst the third year class teachers. French and maths., for instance, were the particular domain of the teacher for class 3/3 (Mrs. Ross), and Mr. Taylor and Mr. Murdoch also took French and maths. respectively. Similarly, one of the more recent curricular innovations - Language Development - was monitored by Mr. Edwards (who had particular responsibility for English) assisted by Mr. Taylor. In short every member of staff and, this applied throughout the school generally, held particular responsibility for at least one area within the curriculum.

The third year teachers were also typical of the school staff generally in terms of pursuing further qualifications with, at the time of the research, two members enrolled upon courses and two having recently completed further studies. Between the six class teachers, length of service at Kingston Dene ranged from

four to sixteen years, with two members of staff (Taylor
and Murdoch) joining the school straight from college
and two who had taught at the school when it was a
secondary modern (Lister and Edwards). Of the six
staff, two were women and, in terms of age, the profile
was comparatively youthful, ranging from mid-twenties to
late thirties, with Messrs. Taylor and Murdoch at the
more junior end of the spectrum and Mr. Ford and Miss
Lister at the more senior. A summary of these
background details is presented in Table 2 below.

Other staff encountered on a regular basis by third year
pupils, and who were consequently interviewed, were the
full-time subject specialists, most notably the two
science teachers and the four members of the Design and
Make team. The availability of subject specialists at
Kingston Dene reflected, as suggested in the discussion
of the curriculum within the previous Chapter, the
school's earlier status as a secondary modern. Of the
thirty-one teaching staff at Kingston Dene, seventeen
had taught at the school prior to its reorganization as
a middle school and the staff tended to continue with
their particular specialisms, either as class teachers
with specific areas of responsibility within the
curriculum or as exclusively specialist teachers.
Mrs. Morecroft fell within the latter category and
represented, in her fifties, one of the older members of
school staff. She headed science at Kingston Dene,

TABLE 2

THIRD YEAR STAFF PROFILE

Name	Sex	Salary Scale	Special Responsibility For	Years Service at Kingston Dene*	Further Studies	Teacher For Class
Ford	M	4	Head of Third Year. Staff Tutor	5	M. Ed. (Completed)	3/5
Lister	F	3	Head of P.E.	16	-	3/1
Taylor	M	3	Unofficial deputy Head of Third Year. Richmond Tests. Audio-Visual Aids.	7	O.U. Reading Course (Completed)	3/2
Ross	F	1	-	7	Diploma in the teaching of maths. (In progress)	3/3
Edwards	M	2	English	11	B. Ed. (In progress)	3/4
Murdoch	M	1	-	4	-	3/6

Key

M - Male
F - Female
* - Years service at Kingston Dene Middle School at time of research project.

assisted by a younger male colleague, in his twenties on salary scale 2. Of the Design and Make team, class 3/5 in particular were familiar with the sewing teacher (Mrs. Spencer) who substituted for the class teacher on occasions when he was engaged upon duties entailing special responsibility. Ages within the team ranged from early twenties (the probationary cookery teacher), through the woodwork teacher in his late twenties to the remaining staff (art and sewing) who were both in their early forties.

Two further staff were regularly involved with the third year. Mr. Griffiths the Deputy Head Teacher and the school's official disciplinarian was in his late fifties and took General Studies and music.[13] Secondly, and to a lesser extent, Mr. Harris, who took the boys for P.E. and as a maths. specialist for the third and fourth years very occasionally provided cover when staff were absent. The Head Teacher (Mr. Bevan) sustained contact with the pupils when they used the school library (at least weekly) through the expedient of working from the library which was situated outside his office. Details of these other members of staff are again summarized in Appendix 7, where similar data for all the Kingston Dene personnel are presented.

4.2   TEACHER TYPIFICATIONS OF PUPIL BEHAVIOUR

4.2.1 Constructs of femininity and masculinity

On the basis of her research into four quite distinct primary schools, Clarricoats (1980) demonstrates how, despite similarities in teacher perceptions of appropriate feminine and masculine behaviour, significant differences also emerged in relation to what was construed as gender deviation and conformity. She attributes this to the 'ecological' factors which pertain to individual schools, 'i.e. the value structure of the school in relation to community values'.[14] At Kingston Dene, although as suggested the issue of gender was not on either the third year or school's educational agenda, teachers appeared to respond very readily to queries concerning girls and boys and, moreover, distinguished their behaviour with apparent ease,[15] which, as Clarricoats also observes, tends to betray the classification of children according to their sex. While subtle differences in gender ascriptions may vary according to the socio-economic circumstances of the school, the typical gender characteristics detailed by teachers at Kingston Dene were remarkably similar to those delineated by Clarricoats[16] and the following comments of third year staff[17] are illustrative:-

Mr. Taylor   Girls are, seem quieter generally, they seem
             to work harder for longer periods.   Boys
             don't seem to.

                        * * * *

Mrs.   I think girls at this age and probably most
Morecroft   ages actually are more responsible.

                        * * * *

Mr.Edwards   Uhm, yeah, I think boys tend to get into
             trouble for more fussy behaviour, er sort of
             flicking pellet type of behaviour.   Whereas
             girls may be more subtle about it. Try and,
           . I don't know what you'd call it, not
             emotional blackmail, but they would try and
             push the situation in a more subtle way.

                        * * * *

Mrs.Cooper   Well I think the boys are more noisy.
             They're m ore ebullient if you like. But I
             think they're more open with it I think the
             girl's misbehaviour is more devious.   And
             it's more vicious if you like and it's more
             spiteful. You know, I think if the lads
             misbehave they're just making a noise and
             being a general nuisance whereas girls can
             disrupt lessons in more devious ways. More
             personal thing between you and them.

A high degree of consistency emerged between teachers,

not only in terms of their perception of gender

differences, but also in terms of the nature of these

differences.   In short, girls were typified as quiet,

well behaved and responsible, yet at the same time as

sulky and devious, whilst boys were typically

regarded as noisy and poorly behaved and

simultaneously as direct and good humoured.   A

summary of characteristics regarded as typically

feminine and masculine is presented in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3

TEACHER PERCEPTIONS OF TYPICAL GENDER CHARACTERISTICS

GIRLS	BOYS
Quiet	Ebullient
Industrious	Noisy
Concentrate better and longer	Mess around
Better behaved	Cheeky nuisances
More responsive	Boisterous
Calm the boys	Young in manner
Mature	Aggressive
Responsible	Physical
Sensible	Childish
Sensitive	Boyish
Adolescent	Pre-adolescent
* * * *	* * * *
Spiteful	Good sense of humour
Clannish	Open
Tittle-tattle	Direct
Stirrers	Lively
Vicious	
Cunning	
Subversive	
Sulky	
Moody	
Vociferous	
Easily offended	

These were obtained from interview transcripts and
represent those descriptions of gender traits which were
used repeatedly by teachers who, as the Table suggests,
utilized a larger range of terms to describe girls. The
first part of each list reflects the initial comments of
staff in relation to pupil behaviour and the latter the
qualifying statements which emerged subsequently as the
discussion continued.

Three teachers did not concur with the prevailing perception of typical behaviour, although even here there was agreement that boys were inclined towards disruption more frequently than girls. Qualitative differences in the misbehaviour were, however, not always perceived. As one teacher remarked, "They're both very sly about it".[18] Interestingly, as suggested, there was a tendency for the girls to be described initially in terms of qualities which were positively valued, with boys emerging as the more problematic pupils in comparisons. Yet, as discussion continued and the notion of misbehaviour entered into deliberations, male behaviour emerged as the most highly valued. As Mrs. Cooper above intimated, boys might be noisy and a nuisance, but they were considered to be more 'open' with it. Thus, whilst boys may have exhibited fewer positively regarded qualities than girls, as suggested in the second part of the list detailed in Table 3 above, these appeared to negate the less desirable traits which were initially presented by teachers as typical and which are detailed in the first part of the Table. The less numerous positive characteristics were, moreover, perceived as definitive of classroom relations with boys. In contrast, the more comprehensive highly esteemed feminine traits which feature in the first part of the list pertaining to

girls in Table 3 did not similarly function to enhance the general perception of girls behaviour amongst teachers. The apparent contradiction which is inherent in these typifications is encapsulated in the following comment where, although girls were presented as less violent than boys, the propensity for violence was perceived as greater amongst girls:-

Mrs.
Spencer

....Because if they're well behaved they're well behaved and if they're the ones who like disturbing then the girls and boys can be just as noisy, they can be just as violent. In fact, I think towards a woman, I think the girls are more violent. I don't think a lad would hit me back, I've been hit back by a lad, but not so much as girls would get to ....I was going to say I think perhaps the girls turn out more violent. I know boys are, but you know, they stand down against me, I don't think they've been bad quite so often as the girls....it's just that the boys are noisier with it, they've got bigger bodies to throw about and louder voices. The girls are background noise....you always get the odd girl but boys are the naughtiest I would have thought.

The gist of the teacher's meaning here is perhaps most appositely summed up by Davies (1984) in her discussion of girls deviance, 'When she was good she was very very good, and when she was bad she was horrid'.[19] As she points out, however, 'either girls are seen to present less of a problem on the whole than boys, or the girls that are difficult prove in the end to be more intractable than their male counterparts'.[20] Whilst

girls' deviance at Kingston Dene is discussed subsequently within the thesis,[21] the observational data would appear to support the view that although there were fewer indisciplined girls than boys, those who were perceived as deviant presented particular problems for staff. The imputation of deviance to girls was also based on different criteria to that for boys. Although only one fight occurred between the girls of class 3/5 throughout the year, the example of girls fighting was commonly cited in confirmation of teacher assertions that whilst the incidence of female misbehaviour was lower, when it did occur it was intrinsically worse than the male equivalent:-

Mr.   ....Er when it comes to any quarrels in the
Griffiths   playground, particularly with fighting I find
             that girls are very much more vicious, er,
             and very much more savage towards one another
             than ever any two boys would be. A boy would
             be content to punch or kick, a girl will
             attempt to scratch, swing on hair, bite and
             things of this nature.

Notwithstanding the implied superiority of punching and kicking over hair pulling or scratching, physical behaviour amongst girls was viewed with utmost disapprobation and, as the one girls fight demonstrated, sanctions were much more severe than those applied to boys in similar circumstances.[22] As one teacher remarked:-

Mrs. Ross   ....we're always more shocked by girls having
             a physical fight, it's rarer, I mean boys
             scuffle about and you do tend to accept it as
             part of their role play, you accept that boys

> are rougher. A boy might push somebody else
> but if a girl does it you tend to be a bit
> sharp about it.

The possibility of excessively unruly behaviour being directed against teachers raises the issue of whether teacher sex was in any way implicated in pupils' response towards staff. Whilst this issue is discussed more fully within the exploration of teacher-pupil relations in Chapter 6 (Section 6.4.1), it is perhaps of interest to note within the present context that the observational data did not confirm Mrs. Spencer's view, cited above, that boys would defer to women in such classroom encounters. While the matriarchal role (Davies 1984) was considered to function in this way at Gladstone High, at Kingston Dene since the main threat to classroom discipline was posed by boys who were regarded as amenable to physical punishment, (and teacher views on this will be considered shortly), effective control, as Dale (1969) also observes, tended to be perceived as vested primarily with the male staff. The institutional arrangements of the school for dealing with indiscipline or any associated problems also served to reinforce this view, although this is not to suggest that disciplining girls was regarded as entirely unproblematic amongst the male staff at Kingston Dene.

The somewhat paradoxical perception of girls as simultaneously less and yet more problematic than boys

appears, as previously suggested, not always to be contingent upon classroom experience (Davies 1984, Lobban 1978, Clarricoates 1980). It would appear, however, that this apparent contradiction, particularly in relation to classroom control, tends to gain momentum in respect to older girls whose developing sexuality may be perceived to render usual disciplinary techniques inappropriate (Davies 1984). At the primary level the typification of girls and boys seems to be consonant with the characteristics denoted in the first part of the list in Table 3 above (Hartley 1978 and 1980, Douglas 1967, Douglas et al 1968 and Ingleby and Cooper 1974). Furthermore, in respect to girls, it would seem that such behaviour is construed as appropriately feminine and commensurate with the educational expectations expressed at this level, which may be implicated in girls good academic performance (Sharpe 1976, Deem 1978). The primary school teachers in Clarricoates (1980) study provided some indication that girls' behaviour comprised a synthesis of desirable and undesirable traits, although the extent of the contrast and the pervasive nature of those characteristics deemed undesirable, appeared rather less influential in terms of the overall assessment of girls' behaviour.

It is possible to conjecture that the negative perception of girls and what might be regarded as a lack of esteem for the more well regarded aspects of their

school behaviour is reminiscent of the devaluation which similarly tended to occur in relation to their work and which is considered in the second part of the present Chapter. This, as Spender (1982) suggests, reflects the subordinate position of women in society generally and is further implicated in the issue of teacher preference for pupils on the basis of gender. The issue of preference is explored subsequent to the following discussion of teachers response to pupils within certain facets of classroom interaction.

4.2.2 Gender differences : the teachers' response

The foregoing discussion has sought to elucidate how teachers typified pupil behaviour on the basis of gender with resulting constructs of femininity and masculinity which were clearly divergent. How such constructs may influence classroom interaction and teacher-pupil relations at Kingston Dene forms the basis of discussion in Chapters 6 and 7. The present discourse continues with an exploration of how teachers perceived the manner in which considerations of gender could have impinged upon their relations with and responses to pupils. The teachers in Clarricoates' (1980) study were apparently quite emphatic that they did not treat girls and boys any differently, although when questioned on why they segregated girls and boys, for example, 'stock' answers

relating to administrative convenience were usually supplied. In contrast, the majority of teachers at Kingston Dene considered that in some circumstances they did distinguish pupils on the basis of gender. An awareness of such differentiation tended to occur particularly in the sphere of control and the third year staff frequently raised the necessity for a distinct response to girls and boys without the prompting allowed for on the Interview Schedule.[23] The issue of pupil sexuality similarly emerged within this context. The other area of differentiation which is briefly considered - the allocation of responsibility to pupils in the form of requests for tasks and errands - was, in contrast, usually introduced by the researcher.[24]

Closely associated with the suitability of physical sanctions for misdemeaning pupils within the context of classroom control was the perception of girls as rather more sensitive pupils than boys, which also influenced the methods selected by teachers in order to exercise discipline and administer punishments. Staff had, therefore, to reconcile their view of girls as less robust than boys without undermining strategies for control which tended to be based upon the assumed availability of punishments underpinned by a physical dimension. The following remarks illustrate these interrelated concerns:-

Mr. Edwards	Er, I think, you know, a man could [use corporal punishment], I think it depends upon whether it's a man or a woman. And er, a man may be more severe with boys and let things pass that girls do....You feel as if you don't want to upset them [girls]. But with a boy it doesn't matter so much 'cos they seem to get over it a bit more quickly.

* * * *

Mr.Ford	Basically because I'm a man and I can deal with them [boys] in the end I can come down and clobber them one....I'm sure that physical presence has got a lot to do with it. 'Cos I'm bigger, bigger build and I could in the end come and clobber them. Though I don't want to. That is always there - a presence. ....But they, as I said a bad girl can cause, well certainly cause me far more problems than a naughty boy. 'Cos I can handle naughty boys 'cos I'm a man and it's easy.

In an explanation of why boys appeared to accept such mechanisms of control Mr. Ford went on to remark, "they don't mind. I mean they might think it - but they don't mind because it's part of the set up".[25] Such views essentially echo those of the male teachers in Davies (1984) study, where the sex of the teacher in disciplinary situations also emerged as significant. At Gladstone High, however, female staff appeared to consider that they had more room for manoeuvre with girls because they could be uninhibitedly strict or sensitive as the situation demanded. In contrast, the women teachers at Kingston Dene tended to share some of the wariness of their male colleagues in dealing with girls as the following comment suggests:-

Mrs. Ross   ....it's the physical thing and mm, probably
             altogether stricter with the boys than
             necessary, I mean you can stand and shout at
             a boy a lot more, their temper tends to
             dissolve a lot quicker anyway and so, I mean,
             I can think of times when, far more often
             when I've ended up, having told a girl off,
             ended up with my arm around her comforting
             her because they got upset more easily.

Conversely, the issue of whether women teachers had

access to the same strategies as men when dealing with

boys produced rather more divided opinions amongst the

female staff, although as the above comments by Mr. Ford

and Mr. Edwards suggest, they perceived a physical

response towards boys as exclusively the prerogative of

the male staff. The remarks below suggest otherwise,

however, where three difference stances are reflected.

The first concurs with that of the men teachers in that

physicality is associated with masculinity, the second

indicates that women teachers do have the same access to

corporal punishment as men in controlling boys, while

the third suggests that the teacher would not

differentiate between pupils on the basis of gender and,

if necessary, physical sanctions would be applied to

both:-

Mrs.   ....They're not frightened of me, in general
Spencer   they're not frightened of women, let's put it
             that way....I mean men teachers find it
             easier to teach - certainly. Children are
             frightened more of men. It's the physical
             size they've got, they have a louder voice
             and a firmer hand.

                      * * * *

Mrs.Ross   ....You tend to get a bit more muttering and
              answering back from girls and I sometimes
              wonder whether it's to do with the fact that
              they're only going to get words, the boy you
              know, all the boys know that I won't have any
              hesitation in thumping them in the back if
              necessary.

                          * * * *

Mrs.   ....I think I try, I try to anyway, make the
Morecroft   punishment fit the crime. You know, if it's
              something severe and I feel like slapping
              them, er,....you know I will, it doesn't
              matter whether it's a boy or a girl.   I will
              shout at them regardless of sex or I will
              give them extra work to do, make them stay in
              after school or dinner time, whatever, I
              don't think I differ there.

Mrs. Morecroft was the only teacher to maintain that she

would use corporal punishment with girls if necessary.

During observations of science lessons the necessity

never arose, but it was apparent that she was prepared

to be equally severe with girls in terms of verbal

admonishments.[26]   It is possible to suggest that

teacher age in addition to sex was also implicated in

the   development of this particular style.   Women

teachers did not have any anxieties about physical

contact with pupils being misconstrued and seniority had

something of a distancing effect with the result that a

rather more matronly or maternal role could be assumed

within the classroom.   The corresponding role for men

teachers is, as Davies (1984) also posits, the 'safe'

familial one of uncle or grandfather. At Kingston Dene,

the Deputy Head Teacher (Mr. Griffiths) appeared to have

perfected this which he described in the following terms:-

Mr. Griffiths   ....If you get an awkward one like that I can usually laugh them out of it by all sorts of - one would think silly behaviour if another adult was watching sort of thing. I would go along and chuff a girl under the chin and say, "Come on let's have a smile for uncle" and you'll get a foul look but if I persisted eventually they can't resist, they will come round.

Whilst there was not a sufficient age range within the third year staff at Kingston Dene to hazard any generalizations concerning the combined effects of teacher age and sex, the younger male staff did seem alert to the possibility that their cross-sex interactions might in Davies (1984) words be 'sexualized'[27] and the following comments are illustrative:-

Mr. Ford   ....Well girls you can't do the same [hit them] or you don't do it purely because it might be a laugh, but then somebody might say, might just be in that sort of mood and say, you know, Mr. Ford touched me doing this. ....Particularly if you're telling girls off or if you've got a problem girl, you certainly don't take them into a room and talk to them quietly without anybody being there. If you've got something to say, you always make it open....

* * * *

Mr. Newcombe   Well I wouldn't slap a girl round the behind with the flat of my hand whereas I would with a boy. That's the last thing I'd do to a girl.

Despite such caution, however, in some circumstances,

particularly where fraternization (Denscombe 1985, Woods 1983A) strategies were utilized in order to maintain congenial teacher-pupil relations, the younger male staff engaged in mildly flirtatious behaviour with girls. Whilst the observational data pertaining to this is discussed in Chapter 7,[27] the following comments illustrate, firstly, the awareness of male teachers of the greater maturity of girls and, secondly, the recognition by one of the women teachers that flirting did occur between her male colleagues and girls:-

Mr.Taylor   Er girls always seem older to me....They are, yes. They seem, er, you have to alter your approach 'cos if you're talking to adolescents you've really got to be careful.

* * * *

Mrs.Ross   It had never occurred to me before that there were differences between the sexes, particularly to do with the staff, I'm aware of that now, there are certain things which er, there is a sort of flirtation between, some of the girls try a different tack with the men teachers than they would with you. Less so with the boys because they're younger in attitude....I did have that when I was teaching in secondary school....I was hardly older than them anyway. Er, (pause) yes, I mean girls are trying out their attractiveness to see if it works, have crushes on the teachers. I might be wrong but I don't think boys of this age have crushes.

A final dimension of girls sexuality which is referred to within similar research is that which is turned against girls for purposes of control (Mahony 1985, Davies 1984). In this context it would seem that the

issue of girls sexuality is raised by teachers in a pejorative sense and slurs cast upon their behaviour and morality. As Davies reports, the 'wenches' in her study were called 'common', 'prostitutes', 'sluts' and other similar insults.[29] Since the third year girls at Kingston Dene were on what might be termed the brink of adolescent sexuality it is probable that they were still too young for such methods to have any relevance, although their growing awareness of the opposite sex was used insensitively in other aspects of control.[30] By the fourth year, however, it is possible that the more mature 12-13 year olds were starting to become vulnerable to social control exercised from a 'moral' perspective. Indeed, on one occasion, a member of the Design and Make team recounted how she had sent a fourth year girl to the Deputy Head Teacher for disciplining because of her use of obscene language. Apparently, the girl had been told to improve herself or she would find herself "pushing a pram before long".

Although not observed or reported at Kingston Dene, it seems that sexuality may also be manipulated by boys in a reversal of initiative, whereby female staff are subject to humiliation on the basis of their gender (Mahony 1985, Walkerdine 1987). That such harassment can occur in school, where authority and control are vested institutionally with the teacher, testifies to the power which accrues to males in society, even when

they are only of nursery school age as in Walkerdine's study.

Proceeding very briefly onto the allocation of responsibility to pupils for purposes of obtaining assistance with routine school business, such requests for porterage, cupboard tidying and going to the local shop appeared to be determined solely on the basis of gender, as the following remarks suggest:-

Mr. Newcombe	Yeah, if it's a matter of going to the shops I would tend to use a girl rather than a boy. If it was something like carrying animal feed I'd use a boy rather than girls. ....So I tend to use the girls for domestic chores and boys for physical chores.
RJ	Why?
Mr. Newcombe	Well, obviously because they tend to be a bit stronger than the girls.

<p align="center">* * * *</p>

Miss Lister	Well I have tended to choose girls, you know, responsible jobs, going to the office for things, but carrying books, I often choose boys to take books back, fetching and carrying.

Pupils were, therefore, assumed to be competent in areas conventionally associated with their gender and, if they were not, it is possible to suggest that practice would soon rectify any omissions.[31] Five members of staff maintained that this constituted one area where they did not distinguish boys and girls, but selected the most responsible pupils. Given, however, that teachers perceived girls as most responsible, it would seem that

the differentiation on the basis of gender occurred indirectly. Pupils were consequently presented with constructs of femininity and masculinity within the most routine aspects of school life. Pupils were thus constantly reminded of the relevance of certain forms of behaviour in comparatively simple requests for assistance which were based on an orthodox sexual division of labour. Similarly, in inter-personal relations with teachers, strategies of control were also practiced in accordance with assumptions regarding the toughness or sensitivity of pupils which were construed in conventional gender terms.

4.2.3 Girls, boys and teacher preferences

It has already been demonstrated that although teachers were unable to cite as many positive as negative male characteristics, the rarer qualities were nevertheless perceived as definitive of relations with boys since their inclination towards 'openess' negated the other, more irksome, tendencies. Indeed, the phenomenon of teacher preference for boys is now well documented (Clarricoats 1978, Ricks and Pyke 1973, Hartley 1980, Davies 1973 and 1984 and Spender 1982). The third year staff at Kingston Dene were not exceptional in this respect and their preferences were based in general terms upon the criteria denoted by Ricks and Pyke (1973), that males are 'more outspoken, active, willing

to exchange ideas, open, honest and easier to talk to'.[32] The only reason for teachers preferring female students in Ricks and Pyke's study is that girls were considered easier to discipline.

Similarly, at Kingston Dene the two members of staff who did indicate a preference for girls did so, not as a result of any particular qualities which girls displayed as pupils, but because single-sex groups in sewing and P.E. meant that the subject could be pursued more effectively. A further five teachers expressed a greater appreciation of boys, but nevertheless favoured mixed classes since it was considered that girls and boys worked better together and, in particular, that the girls had a calming effect upon boys. As Mr. Ford remarked, "they do add a calming dimension to the boys there's no doubt about that". Again, girls were not valued for themselves but for rendering the boys more acceptable as pupils. The remaining staff, approximately half of the third year teachers, preferred boys for the reasons suggested by Ricks and Pyke cited above.

There did appear to be, however, some elements of the preference which were related to the sex of the teacher. Women teachers favoured boys because of their sense of humour and absence of malice, whereas the male staff

preferred boys due to an assumed affinity on the basis of gender. The following comments illustrate the point:-

Mr.Taylor ....Well I suppose with boys it's, I probably share the same interests as them, if it's football or cricket and er, I take teams anyway. And I suppose there's more of that familiarity with boys in that respect.

* * * *

Mr.
Edwards ....I feel that I understand better what makes boys do things, having been a boy myself you know.

* * * *

Mrs. Ross I think it's because boys of this age are a great deal easier to handle. And the little girls but the older ones are far more difficult to handle. You've got to be wary of offending them and all this. I tend to find boys have a much better sense of humour, you can have a joke with them or a laugh with them, they don't really mind half as much or they get over it more quickly. ....you might decide to say something to them [girls] in September and they might have it in for you for the rest of the year. Just decide they don't like you. Boys rarely behave like that.

Within the classroom situation the observational data did tend to support the views expressed here that boys were more predisposed to such convivial relations with teachers. It must be emphasised, however, that this was largely due to the opportunities which were extended to them for such participation in classroom life. (This issue is explored in the discussion of lessons 'ticking over', the development of humour and the nature of oral work within teacher-pupil relations in Chapter 6,

Sections 6.3 and 6.6 and, Chapter 7, Section 7.2 respectively). There may consequently be something of a self-fulfilling prophesy in operation here since constant involvement with teachers in interactive processes tends to enhance the confidence and self-esteem of the pupils concerned. That pupils engaged in this way tend to be boys and that confidence may be positively implicated in academic achievement is also remarked upon by Stanworth (1983) and Licht and Dweck (1987). A discussion of the ramifications of teacher perceptions and preferences of pupils is resumed later within the present Chapter and developed more fully within the analysis of classroom interaction and teacher-pupil relations in Chapter 6.

4.2.4 <u>Typifications and stereotypes</u>

Within the foregoing analysis the notion of typifications has been utilized in order to explore how teachers perceive girls and boys and thereby promote certain constructs of femininity and masculinity. The use of this phenomenological concept is not new within school studies such as the present one and, as Woods (1983A) notes, two interpretations of typing tend to be applied. The first is comparatively elaborate and entails various stages in the process of typification such as the three phase model utilized by Hargreaves et al (1975), comprising speculation, elaboration and

verification of pupil behaviour. Alternatively, there is what Woods refers to as the more static, stereotypical mode which becomes operative 'when the teacher considers pupils en masse which means, for most teachers, most of their time'.[33] Within the present study there is evidence to suggest that it is this latter usage which applies to girls in particular[34] and Stanworth (1983) also demonstrates that the teachers in her study hardly knew their female students as individuals at all. It is possible to maintain that an 'en masse' understanding of girls on the basis of typifications of gender, which are influenced by cultural stereotypes, constitutes an important medium through which girls are known and understood by teachers at school.

In relation to cultural stereotypes it is perhaps appropriate at this juncture to consider what is meant by the term and to probe the common understanding which implies that they enshrine some neutral cluster of ideas whose function is the elucidation of the behaviour of particular groups in some shorthand or abbreviated form. In her critique of this standard social psychological view of stereotypes Perkins (1979) presents an alternative analysis of stereotypes encompassing their ideological function, which is pertinent to and usefully augments the present discussion on typifications of

gender. Perkins' reconceptualization of stereotypes pivots upon the refutation of such concepts as essentially simple, erroneous, based on indirect or second hand experience and resistant to change. In particular, it is the nature of their invalidity which is relevant to the present discussion, since inherent in this lies the explanation of their ideological role. Stereotypes are presented by Perkins as evaluative concepts concerning status and role and as such are central to interpreting and evaluating social groups - including one's own.

Definition of oneself as a member of a group is essential to the socialization process and an important element of social control. As Perkins elucidates, oppressed groups pose particular problems of control and definition since socialization necessitates the absorption of the stereotype into self-definitions. This necessitates the internalization of contrary value orientations and, therefore, self-definitions require constant reinforcing. Stereotypes are particularly strong when they have to operate as conceptual resolutions of such contradictions. It is this resolution that is the real location of their peculiar inaccuracy. What actually occurs, according to Perkins, is that the stereotype describes an effect which is then evaluated and inverted so that it becomes a cause which is then used to explain the phenomenon of which it is

actually a description.

An example may clarify the point. One of the stereotypes pertaining to women concerns their inability to concentrate on one issue at a time and their scattiness which comprises the illogical female stereotype. Perkins argues that this relates to a mode of thinking which is essential to a housewife's job - the capability to keep shifting attention back and forth in order to accommodate the various activities which require attention - cooking, cleaning, child-rearing and so on. What the stereotype does is to identify this feature of a woman's job situation, place a negative evaluation on it, and then establish it as an innate female characteristic, thus inverting its status so that it becomes cause rather than effect - a process synonymous with ideology.

Indeed, the socialization of women is particularly problematic due to their institutionalized intimacy and supposed equality with men and thus, numerous, unyielding stereotypes are engendered to reconcile the contradictions inherent in their socio-economic position. The strength of the stereotype resides in its apparent validity but actual distortion and it is this peculiar synthesis of simplicity, complexity and differentiation which distinguishes stereotypes from

other typifications. Differentiation is achieved
through the simultaneous application of seemingly
contradictory stereotypes, for example, "dumb blonde"
versus "cunning minx". As Perkins emphasises, although
stereotypes may operate primarily in the world of
commonsense, their structural reinforcement, for
example, in legislation and the ideological function
which they fulfil, makes it imperative to extend the
analysis beyond this sphere.

A key question thus becomes, what are the ramifications
of the particular nature of stereotypes for
typifications of gender within the hidden curriculum?
Although necessarily analytically distinct, empirically,
typifications and stereotypes are finely interwoven, so
that the recipes for comprehending the behaviour of
others, for example, teachers making sense of pupil
action in school, may be interpreted through recourse to
a stereotyped image of that particular pupil. For
girls, stereotyped versions of the adult female role are
evoked. Since these are frequently differentiated, the
typifications which they inform also appear
contradictory as suggested by the list of gender traits
detailed in Table 3 above. Furthermore, actual
variations in behaviour exhibited in the classroom tend
to become submerged in perceptions which are construed
with reference to prevailing stereotypes. That pupil
behaviour is interpreted with reference to conceptions

of adult roles is portrayed in the following remark:-

Mr. Ford   There's, you know, girls are much more
           subdued than boys. They tend to have a role,
           a role like women, you know, they mirror the
           female role, they're quiet they don't like a
           lot of fuss, they tend to be very careful in
           their work....

The alternative stereotyped view of women is expounded

by the same teacher thus:-

Mr. Ford   A bad girl can tend to be more troublesome.
           Because they've usually got more lip than
           boys and tend to, you know, women have got a
           way with words and tend to be more
           vociferous....

As Spender (1980A and 1982) suggests, the prominence of

this particular stereotype may be responsible for

detracting attention from the verbal passivity of girls

in classrooms and, women in society and this view is

explored more fully within the discussion of oral work

later in the thesis.[35]

Similarly, whilst the constraints upon male staff within

the arena of classroom control have been considered in

terms of the sexualization (Davies 1984) of male

teacher-female pupil relations, it is possible that a

stereotyped view of femininity may also have been

implicated in the reluctance to apply physical sanctions

to girls as the following comment would seem to imply:-

Mr.Blythe I don't know, it's just my upbringing I
           suppose, it's nothing to do with teaching....
           Well it's difficult, you see (laughs) as I
           say my whole outlook on life is that ladies
           are ladies and men can be devils. I suppose
           the punishment should fit the crime in all
           cases really.

The operative stereotype here refers to the prevailing double standard of sexual mores whereby women are supposed to preserve their sexual purity while men are not. The typification of femininity which emanates from this entails, as previously suggested, the view of girls as more sensitive than boys which may function to preclude them from the more robust aspects of classroom life.[36]

The thrust of Perkins' (1979) analysis in relation to stereotypes and also that of Spender in relation to language (1980A) and girls' experience of schooling (1982) is that the negative portrayal of women and devaluation of their achievements is central to the oppression of women. Returning to the particular experience of girls at Kingston Dene Middle School, it is now germane to move from the discussion of typifications of pupils behaviour in order to proceed with teacher perceptions of school work. Having considered the role of cultural stereotypes in influencing constructs of feminine and masculine behaviour, it will be possible to ascertain whether such constructs have any relevance in terms of teacher evaluation of pupils' work.

4.3   TEACHER PERCEPTIONS OF PUPILS SCHOOL WORK

The response of teachers to queries pertaining to gender

differences in school work focused almost exclusively
upon written work. This is perhaps not surprising in
view of the centrality of the written tradition within
education and, as Dunsbee and Ford (1980) emphasise,
writing represents <u>the</u> paramount mode of learning in
schools. Britton et al (1975) similarly maintain that
writing constitutes the major vehicle and, in some
circumstances, the only vehicle of communication between
pupils and teachers . It would seem that junior school
pupils may spend as much as thirty per cent of their
time engaged upon this particular activity (Galton et al
1980) and both teachers and pupils appear to tacitly
acknowledge the function of writing as a mechanism of
both assessment and control (Barnes 1976). In perusing
the Kingston Dene interview data on this issue, it
became apparent that not only did teachers equate work
with written work, but a further distinction emerged
between the presentation and content of pupils written
endeavours.

In relation to the presentation of work, the superiority
of the girls was asserted unanimously by the third year
staff. Examples of pupils work collected throughout the
school year confirmed this view, although limitations
upon time and space preclude the inclusion of some
examples here for inspection and discussion. The
present emphasis is, moreover, upon teacher perceptions

of difference. In terms of content, however, there was less consistency between teacher responses. Four staff maintained that the content of girls' work was better than that of boys, seven believed it to be about the same and two indicated that the gender difference favoured boys. Whilst the infant school teachers in Hartley's study drew the same distinction as the Kingston Dene staff between pupil behaviour and work, in relation to the latter their discussion appears to have focused upon ability, either in general terms or more specifically in relation to particular cognitive tasks, with the boys perceived as less 'bright' than the girls. The third year teachers at Kingston Dene refrained from assessments of this nature, focusing instead, as suggested, upon the content - presentation dichotomy and the following remarks illustrate the varied response in relation to the former:-

Mr. Murdoch	Yes. Generally, the work of the boys seems to be more superficial. They would be satisfied with covering the main point of an issue rather than going into some depth about it. Whereas the girls tend to be more meticulous, in depth of work and presentation as well.

<p align="center">* * * *</p>

Mr. Edwards	Girls tend to be careful in presentation and appearance of work. The content is probably just about the same.

<p align="center">* * * *</p>

Mrs. Morecroft	....Girls tend to be neater in their books. But they also tend to be less thoughtful, less perceptive in the sciences. ....They tend to write something <u>down</u> rather than get to the nitty gritty of what it's about.

No correlation emerged between such evaluations and the particular school subject in question. Mrs. Morecroft's colleague in the sciences, for example, maintained that no gender based differences were apparent for the third year age range.[37] Three out of the four Design and Make team similarly indicated no differences between girls and boys in the content of work, although the cookery teacher believed the girls to be more efficient in their approach to cooking:-

Miss Williams	....even though the end results are pretty much the same, the boys are a bit sillier, you know, just generally not quite as efficient as the girls.

The art teacher also elucidated differing strengths and weaknesses on the basis of gender, but concluded that in overall terms these cancelled each other out. The boys, for example, were held to be more imaginative and less inhibited in expressing their ideas in paints, whereas the girls were regarded as more advanced in representational art. Whilst the woodwork teacher maintained a parity at the third year level in this subject, by the fourth year the increasing femininity of girls was perceived to hinder progress and the boys considered as more enthusiastic, "The lads always seem eager enough to have a second go". Only the sewing teacher was unequivocal in positing girls as more adept in all aspects of the subject:-

Mrs.
Spencer   There are some boys who do neater work than the girls. But on the whole the neatest, most imaginative work would probably come from the girls.

In relation to the third year class teachers, three asserted girls work as the more advanced, two maintained no differences and one that the boys could demonstrate in their work, "more advanced thinking". The girls were regarded as stopping short of this, "They've done the work, it looks good. But it's lacking just a bit".[38]

The majority of third year staff at Kingston Dene posited, therefore, either the greater competence of girls within the content of school work or no differences between girls and boys at all. Despite this, however, there was a tendency to attribute such achievement to the girls desire for praise from the teacher rather than to any intrinsic interest in the work or intellectual capabilities. Their superiority in presentation was similarly construed as designed to please the teacher as opposed to a greater ability in these skills. The remarks below illustrate the point:-

Mrs. Ross   ....girls are more affected by what you say and praise, they like to be praised and that's why they tend to be neater.

* * * *

Mr. Ford   ....They've got a more careful approach to the tidyness of their whole work. Tend to do things in a more thought out way. ....They like to get praised....they're quite satisfied so long as they get praise for what they do.

* * * *

Mrs.   I think they [the girls] like to write
Morecroft   something nice for Miss.

Just as girls behaviour, as previously demonstrated, was

perceived less appreciatively than that of boys, even

though teachers were able to specify more positive

behavioural characteristics relating to girls, any

superiority in their work was subject to a similar

devaluation. Clarricoats (1978) also reports the same

phenomenon, despite the fact that in her study the girls

were more successful than boys in most subjects. As she

maintains:-

> But although girls in primary schools
> are successful, they still lose out.
> What they really succeed in is
> conformity to institutional expect-
> ations and diligence in achieving
> them. This is seen as underlying
> their academic achievement; in short
> teachers do not   perceive girls as
> being 'positively' intelligent.

Clarricoats 1978, p.358.

At the same time the teachers in Clarricoats study

devoted more time to the boys and selected curricular

topics of particular interest to them in order to

promote their achievement (and to facilitate classroom

control).[39]

Spender (1982) also addresses this issue of the

presentation of school work and demonstrates how the

same piece of work is evaluated differently by teachers

if they are informed of the sex of the author. On the

basis of her research into values which emerge from teachers marking criteria she maintains that untidy and poorly prepared work that is believed to be produced by a girl is penalized, whereas similar work, if thought to be produced by a boy, is not and may actually be praised. As she suggests, 'It is often not the work itself which is being evaluated - but the sex, and according to our beliefs one sex is superior to the other.'[40] At Kingston Dene both girls and boys were exhorted to neatness in their written work within lessons, although the girls work tended to be utilized by teachers as the benchmark of acceptability. They were consequently praised when they maintained their usual standards of written presentation and criticized when they did not, as the following extracts from classroom observational data illustrate:-

Maths   [Mr. Ford to Michelle]
3.10.79.   Don't do that it looks scruffy doesn't it?
Mr. Ford

                    * * * *

English   ...."That's not a very neat start to your
4.10.79.   book is it?" [Mr. Ford to Mark]
Mr. Ford
                    Mr. F looks at Jane's work and the first
                    thing he remarks upon is how neat it is
                    compared to Mark's.

                    * * * *

General   [In emphasising the importance of good
Studies   writing and neatness to the class
30.1.80.   Mr. Griffiths says -]
Mr.   "Take Jill, I could frame every page of
Griffiths   Jill's book. Gloria also works neatly, but
                    she's usually so busy wandering around she
                    doesn't get much done."

Thus, despite performing in accordance with teacher requirements in relation to the presentation of their work and, indeed, according to some teachers out-performing the boys in terms of its content, the girls were not perceived by teachers as particularly rewarding pupils or as making good academic progress. Such a devaluation may be perceived not only, as previously indicated, as closely allied to similar typifications of behaviour, but also as implicated in the manner in which teachers interact with girls in the classroom. As Stanworth (1983) maintains the esteem in which teachers held the girls in her study was reflected in their very minimal efforts to even become acquainted with them. Similarly, the tendency of teachers at Kingston Dene to relate to girls 'en masse' was commented upon in the earlier discussion of stereotypes. There are some closely associated themes here which require further consideration and the following Section endeavours to explore them in terms of the nature of their interrelationship in order to enhance the review of girls educational experience, particularly the possible impact of teacher typifications of gender upon school work. The exploration is deliberately brief since it preceeds a more detailed inquiry in Chapters 6 and 7 into teacher-pupil relations, but which have as their focus observational data rather than the teachers perceptual stance.

4.4 TEACHER TYPIFICATIONS OF GENDER : IMPLICATIONS FOR SCHOOL WORK

The discussion thus far has attempted to demonstrate not only that gender does impinge upon teacher typifications of pupils, but also how such typifications would appear to prompt a differentiated teacher response towards pupils and furthermore may influence preferences for teaching girls or boys. The impact of cultural stereotypes upon typifications has also been considered and it has been suggested that the pernicious devaluation of women which underpins these would also appear to encompass perceptions of pupils' work. It is the intention within the present context, as indicated above, to examine some specific typifications of pupils and to explore how these may be implicated in school work with possible consequences for academic achievement. There are four particular typifications expounded by the third year staff which seem particularly significant in relation to certain facets of school work and these are:-

    i   girls' sensitivity
   ii   boys' indiscipline
  iii   boys' openess
   iv   presentation of school work

With reference, firstly, to girls' sensitivity, whilst this in itself was not interpreted in a pejorative sense

by teachers, the other characteristics with which it was associated tended to be so construed and these included girls as sulky, moody and easily offended (see Table 3, Section 4.2.1 above). Within the emergent construct of femininity, therefore, girls were regarded as typically more easily upset and prone to offence than boys, particuarly, as Davies (1984) also notes, within disciplinary encounters. As a result teachers seemed hesitant of being as rigorous with the girls within the process of teaching and learning. Thus whilst the boys tended to be urged to greater levels of achievement, particularly in the context of admonishments for work which was of an unacceptable standard, there was a certain reluctance to push or encourage girls in the same way.[41] The following comments are illustrative:-

Mr. Ford   ....I mean you don't push girls probably as much as you could do. I think I'm reasonably forceful with some of them, but you see there's no come back. Some girls, you tell them, you know, do something more and they'll do that more - whereas the boys, say Jack or Trevor you'll shout at them and it won't make any difference so you have to go in with even bigger guns.

$$* \quad * \quad * \quad *$$

Mrs. Ross   Er, there are ones who you're wary of because, you know, they might blow up. I've got a fourth year at the moment, she probably gets away with things, she's not naughty or anything like that, she's not anti-social, she's quite quiet, but she's known to have a temper and if she comes in and I know she's in a bad mood I wouldn't push her as hard as I might somebody else.

The perceived tendency for girls to be obliging, as

indicated in the first extract, would appear, therefore, to incur a lower level of involvement from the teacher, whereas boys apparent unconcern necessarily demands attention. The perception of boys as potentially disruptive, yet amenable to control, suggests that teachers do tend to focus a disproportionate amount of their time upon boys' work. This is consistent with the findings of both the early North American, Interaction Analysis style studies[42] and the more recent qualitative research of Clarricoats (1978 and 1980) and Spender (1982). In contrast, girls were perceived as rather unpredictable and teachers consequently appeared to defer to their 'sensitivity'. What may be regarded as a strategy of circumspection may also entail the desire of teachers not to embarrass girls by being 'forceful'. The girls themselves were emphatic in their horror at being selected to participate publicly in class.[43] Yet, in having such a regard for this delicacy, prompted by a waryness that girls might 'blow up', teachers as Stanworth (1983) also maintains, may tend to perform an educational disservice for girls in the longer term by not providing them with practice in the participative skills necessary to learning in a competitive classroom environment. Also, in not enhancing their confidence through esteeming them as pupils by placing a value on their potential contributions.

The converse of the typification of girls as sensitive was the typification of boys as indisciplined, variously referred to as their aggression, ebullience, noise and cheek.[44] Some of the reactive measures adopted by teachers in order to deal with this have been considered and others are examined within the context of classroom interaction.[45] It was possible to discern, however, some pro-active strategies which may also influence the process of learning. As mentioned earlier in the Chapter, the teachers in Clarricoats' (1978) study selected curricular topics on the basis of what they perceived would capture the interest of boys and thereby avert disruption. The third year staff at Kingston Dene did not have the same degree of discretion in this sense,[46] but attempts were made to enliven particular subjects through small demonstrations in which boys were usually selected as assistants.[47] In addition to such specific measures, there appeared to be a somewhat more generalized accommodation of boys through an adjustment of teaching style at a very basic level of communication. The following comment illustrates how one teacher perceived this in relation to her own teaching:-

Mrs.   I think perhaps in my own teaching, you know,
Cooper   the way I communicate with them, I probably
                am different with the boys than I am with the
                girls. Not as a deliberate thing but tend to
                jolly the lads along because er, they behave
                better if you sort of, you know, keep on
                their wave length and jolly them along.

> Whereas the girls you can, if you offer them
> encouragement, you know, it's reinforcement
> and er, of what they're actually doing.... I
> feel that if er, I suppose really if I, you
> know, admitted it, sort of keeping on the
> right side, not that I'm pandering to them,
> but you know what I mean, it's easier to work
> with them if you jolly them along.

Girls it would seem were marginalized within such teacher conceptualizations of how learning could be promoted within the classroom and even the presence of indisciplined girls did not prompt such an adjustment to pedagogic style. This is possibly because the majority of girls were not inclined towards disruption even if they were bored and those who did contravene teacher expectations of appropriate behaviour were responded to rather differently to disruptive boys. (The control of girls is discussed later in the thesis within Chapter 6, Section 6.4.2). As Spender (1982) comments in relation to a teacher who documents his own failure to interest the girls in a consideration of war:-

> They rarely seek to impose their
> dissatisfaction on the whole class
> but will elect to withdraw in a
> variety of unostentatious ways.
> Girls may not wish to talk about
> war as John Elliot found out, but
> at least they are less likely to
> create chaos if required to endure
> it.

> Spender 1982, p. 152.

Whilst the boys may have been typified as disruptive with consequent problems for classroom control, their

inclinations in this respect were ameliorated by the parallel typification of their behaviour as more open and direct which rendered punishment unproblematic. Associated with this typification was boys' lively pupil style and good sense of humour. These appeared to have a direct impact not only upon the frequency of interaction which boys experienced with teachers, but also the nature of inter-personal relations within which such interaction occurred. As the observational data in Chapters 6 and 7 suggest, boys were engaged in a higher level of contact with teachers during lessons and had extended to them more opportunities for participating in the oral dimension of school work.

The twin themes of assumed affinity with boys, particularly on behalf of the male staff and the perceived superiority of their humour, arguably facilitated in the establishment of a learning arena wherein girls tended to be located at the periphery. Their role in the development of classroom humour was confined to that of an appreciative audience and, again, the projection of humour at boys possibly constituted another variant of staff seeking to secure and sustain control of the class on an integrative basis (Woods 1983B). The corresponding neglect of girls, however, may have deleterious repercussions for their academic achievement since it may result in fewer questions being posed about their work and problems encountered because

they become accustomed to working with less help from the teacher (Deem 1978, Davies 1984).

It would seem, therefore, that various facets of teacher typifications of boys coalesce with the result that their confidence is enhanced (Stanworth 1983, Licht and Dweck 1987) and the classroom becomes a more congenial environment for them. They certainly had fewer inhibitions than girls over participating in class and fewer anxieties over being reproved should their participation contravene acceptable classroom mores.[48] It is possible to suggest, therefore, that in the same way that a reciprocity of perspective is promoted within the classroom on the basis of teacher perceptions of ability (Keddie 1971), a similar reciprocity may be developed on the basis of gender and in which boys, as opposed to the academically talented, are favoured. In view of this it is hardly surprising that boys had the confidence to respond to teacher questions, risk engaging staff in humorous banter and, in a 'direct' and 'open' manner, "come up with the ideas in class discussion".[49]

The fourth and final typification of pupil behaviour to be considered concerns the presentational aspect of pupils work and, in particular, the emphasis upon neatness as it pertained to girls. As suggested,

teachers urged pupils towards a high standard of neatness and this constituted one area where girls emerged favourably in comparison with boys, although no particular value was attributed to their achievement and, indeed, by some staff it was regarded more as a vice than a virtue. It is possible to contend, however, that girls tended to be encouraged into something of a goal displacement in relation to their work to the extent that they concentrated upon form to the detriment of content.

Certainly, the paraphernalia which the girls possessed in order to enhance the appearance of their work and their preoccupation with exercise book covers[50] would seem to confirm such a predilection. On occasions teachers seemed aware of such a prioritization and issued time limits for the completion of a particular exercise. In one such instance Mr. Ford, the 3/5 class teacher, requested that a piece of work in E.B.L. be illustrated with a "quick sketch" and to one of the girls he directed the comment, "And I mean a sketch not an oil painting."[51] The crucial question which this gender difference in school work poses is why do girls perform well in presentation and respond effectively to school requirements in this respect?

It is possible to suggest that the answer, or at least part of the answer, may be related to the way in which

girls are socialized into placing a good deal of emphasis upon their own appearance. Thus girls' concern with the appearance of school work and the books within which it is presented may be seen to represent an extension of the importance which girls are socialized into attributing to their own presentation of self. As Belotti (1975) emphasises, the early socialization of girls on this dimension serves to indicate that evaluations of the person are based on appearance. Within an educational context Delamont (1980A and 1980B) presents a range of data which suggests that in schools girls are urged to consider the cleanliness and attraction of their personal appearance.

At Kingston Dene, this process was evident in the response of teachers to the one girl who failed to exhibit the conventional trappings of femininity and was consequently penalized for her non-conformity.[52] This interpretation is also consistent with De Beauvoir's (1972) elucidation of alterity whereby women experience themselves as a response to the needs of others. The phenomenon is also evident in Oakley's (1974) analysis of housework, wherein the home becomes an extension of the housewife and success is judged on how it appears to others. Similarly, at school girls may learn that their work may be evaluated on the basis of its appearance and at Kingston Dene girls enjoyed those lessons which

entailed an emphasis upon writing.[53]

It may be regarded as somewhat ironic then that this response, which would seem to be effective during the early years of schooling,[54] is eventually judged as inadequate as teachers start to utilize other criteria of academic capability and even devalue the competencies which girls have acquired in this area. It would appear that in the ready application of a dichotomy between presentation and content, teachers tend to divert attention away from skills at which boys compare unfavourably with girls. Even where teachers do acknowledge girls' higher academic achievement (Clarricoats 1978, Hartley 1980), this may be negated, as previously suggested, by teachers in their interpretation of it as little more than conformity to institutional requirements of the school. As a consequence, the perception of girls' work as neat, in conjunction with the tendency of teachers to foster this as a desirable work related skill and, apply standards of acceptability more diligently to girls, may serve to propel girls down an educational cul-de-sac as opposed to a real avenue of learning.

4.5   SUMMARY

If it were possible to summarize the exploratory thrust of this Chapter in one particularly pertinent statement

or query, the relevant question, phrased most succinctly, would be - 'How do teachers regard the behaviour and work of girls and boys?' The discussion is consequently premised upon teachers' perceptual stance regarding gender differences and the manner in which they responded to these. Similarly, if it were possible to summarize the results of such an exploration in one telling caption, reference could again be appositely made to the old rhyme cited by Davies (1984) at the commencement of her analysis of girls' deviance that 'When she was good she was very, very good and when she was bad she was horrid.'[55] For the quintessential finding amongst the thirteen third year staff at Kingston Dene Middle School would appear to be that while teachers did perceive positive qualities and achievements of girls these were virtually always undermined by a countervailing set of characteristics and competencies which were viewed negatively and posited as paramount.

Thus, in distinguishing between pupils work and behaviour, the constructs of femininity and masculinity which emerged from the latter enshrined more highly regarded behavioural characteristics amongst girls and yet these appeared to be diminished for the teachers by the fewer, although more influential, traits of boys.[56] Girls may have been seen as quiet,

conscientious and hard working but such qualities were negated by their potential for moodiness, spite and cunning. In contrast the boys were considered to actually present teachers with problems of control, but the perception of them as open and direct appeared to minimize the impact of the less desirable traits. Boys were consequently regarded as amenable to discipline, particularly punishments of a physical nature, but since girls were not they seemed to be regarded as remaining elusively beyond control. The concern of male staff in particular over a misconstrued 'sexualization' (Davies 1984) of any physical contact with girls, which served to undermine the basis of their authority, was also implicated in the perception of girls as problematic.

The analysis of behaviour is conducted in terms of teachers engaging in a process of typification, whereby staff familiarize themselves with pupils and it is suggested that teachers acquaint themselves with girls 'en masse' or collectively, whereas boys are known individually.[57] This is consonant with the work of Stanworth (1983) and may facilitate an explanation of how the typification of girls appears fraught with contradictions. The typification of positive facets of girls behaviour which appear to be cancelled by a parallel set of typifications negatively construed by teachers may be interpreted as influenced by cultural stereotypes which function at an ideological level.

Perkins' (1979) analysis of stereotypes is utilized in order to elucidate how the contradictions of women's oppression are resolved in a patriarchal - capitalist society : the devaluation of women within this context constitutes a perspective also applied by Clarricoates (1978 and 1980) and Spender (1982) in an attempt to explain the negative view which pervades teacher perceptions of girls and why, consequently, boys are favoured as pupils.

Teacher typifications of girls and boys were also implicated in the evaluation of school work, where a dichotomy emerged between presentation and content. Again, the greater competence of girls in one sphere (presentation) appeared insufficient to inspire amongst teachers an appreciation of girls' capabilities. On the contrary, presentational skills were attributed to the desire of girls to please the teacher and thereby obtain praise, rather than to an efficient response on the part of girls to teacher exhortations for neatness. As Clarricoates (1978) similarly observes, girls are merely perceived as responding to the institutional requirements of the school as opposed to displaying any positive intelligence.

Finally, the exploration of teacher typifications of behaviour and school work addresses the issue of how

specific typifications may impinge upon pupils' experience of schooling, particularly in relation to the ramifications for girls' academic achievement. It would seem that the wariness with which teachers regarded girls in conjunction with an assumed affinity with boys and a higher level of interaction prompted by boys' indiscipline may be implicated in the fostering of an enhanced reciprocity of perspective between teachers and their male pupils. It is proposed that this functions in much the same way as that observed by Keddie (1971) between teachers and those pupils perceived to be academically able. Instead of ability, however, gender becomes the determining criterion in interaction with the result that boys were engaged in humorous repartee, were extended greater opportunity for participation in oral work, and were generally encouraged to perform as pupils with confidence. Such typifications are consistent with the trends observed by Stanworth (1983) in her study where girls were scarcely known by staff within the classroom and were also reflected in the observational data at Kingston Dene.[58]

For girls, therefore, it is possible to suggest that the perceptual emphasis upon boys serves to locate them at the periphery of classroom life where opportunities for work related inquiries are minimized and consequently they become accustomed to working with minimal assistance (Deem 1978, Davies 1984). Perhaps the most

damaging typification for girls, however, is that the one area in which they are perceived to perform creditably (the presentation of work) is not only discounted by teachers, but the ostensible value placed upon neatness, evidenced by teacher requests for neat work, may serve to distract girls from according adequate attention to its content. Girls are socialized into being evaluated on the basis of their appearance (Belotti 1975, Delamont 1980A and 1980B), yet the diligent application of this criterion for success at school may have serious repercussions for the realization of their academic potential.

FOOT NOTES

1. This distinction was introduced into the teachers
    Interview Schedule on the basis of the manner in
    which staff discussed pupils informally. As
    Hartley (1980) also observes, however, in relation
    to maintaining the distinction within his own
    research into sex differences in the infant
    school, work and behaviour are not mutually
    exclusive. A well behaved pupil may, as Rist
    (1970) suggests, be erroneously defined by a
    teacher as a bright pupil.

2. The Interview Schedule used as a basis for
    discussion with the majority of third year staff
    is presented in Appendix 3D. The schedules used
    with the Head Teacher and Head of Third Year are
    presented in Appendices 3A, B and C respectively.

3. See Hartley (1980) p. 94.

4. See Section 3.2 of the previous Chapter
    (Chapter 3) on the Curriculum at Kingston Dene.

5. There is no contradiction here. Whilst the Design
    and Make programme had been de-segregated on the
    basis of sex at a time of major curricular
    innovations seven years previously, this did not
    result in theissue of gender stereotyping or
    differentiation being adopted as a policy issue of
    on-going concern within the school or, even less
    formally, as an interest amongst teachers. The
    related issue of whether this is typical of
    current thinking in schools is discussed in
    Chapter 1.

6. Davies (1984) p. 138.

7. The first theme denoted by Davies (1984) is
    pursued within the discussion of teacher-pupil
    relations within classroom interaction in Chapters
    6 and 7.

8. Classroom observational data in relation to these
    themes are considered in Sections 6.4 and 6.5 of
    Chapter 6 respectively.

9. For example Lobban (1978), Clarricoats (1978 and
    1980).

10. Section 4.2.4.

11. The thirteen teaching staff who were interviewed comprised the six class teachers, two science staff, the Design and Make team (four teachers) and the Deputy Head Teacher. As suggested in the previous Chapter interview based discussions with the Head Teacher covered slightly different issues - see the Interview Schedule in Appendices 3 A and B.

12. A view expressed by Mr. Ford during his interview when questioned on his role as staff tutor and also in his report on participating in the research project see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5.

13. As indicated in Chapter 3 on the curriculum the only third year pupils who took 'General Studies' were those who were considered unable to study French. Music, which comprised singing, was organized intermittently in order to relieve numbers in P.E. In terms of the role of the Deputy Head Teacher as the schools 'official disciplinarian' disruptive pupils were referred to him if they proved particularly difficult during lessons for misdemeanours considered especially reprehensible (girls fighting for example - see the incident outlined later in this Chapter - Section 4.2.1) or, for the administration of corporal punishment.

14. Clarricoats (1980) p. 28.

15. Possibly because as Clarricoats (1980) suggests gender is used by teachers to organize pupils on a regular sustained basis.

16. See Clarricoats (1980) p. 39.

17. Reference to the 'third year staff' encompasses those thirteen teachers detailed in foot note 11 above.

18. Cited from the interview with Miss Lister.

19. Davies (1984) p. 1.

20. Davies (1984) p. 1.

21. In Chapter 6, Sections 6.4.2 and 6.4.3.

22. The two girls in question were members of class 3/5 (Margaret and Carole). Both were sent to the Deputy Head Teacher for admonishment and this was followed up by a further disciplinary meeting with

the Head of Third Year and class teacher for 3/5 (Mr. Ford). Both were removed from lessons in order that these measures could be taken swiftly and Carole was threatened with the removal of her recently obtained accommodation (an award for particularly good work, effort and behaviour, presented to pupils on a termly basis).

23. See question 9 of the teachers Interview Schedule in Appendix 3D.

24. This item was indicated on the basis of the observation of school and classroom life, see Section 6.5 of Chapter 6.

25. Boys were expected to operate within a tough, macho style and this is discussed more fully within Section 6.4 of Chapter 6 on discipline and punishment and in Section 7.3 of Chapter 7 on language and gesture.

26. See the incident dated 23.1.80. in Section 6.4.3 of Chapter 6.

27. Davies (1984) p. 85.

28. See Section 7.4.

29. Davies (1984) p. 37 and p. 184.

30. For example, making girls and boys sit next to each other as a punishment, see Section 6.4.4 of Chapter 6 and Section 5.2.4 of Chapter 5.

31. This point is also made within the discussion of the allocation of tasks and errands, Section 6.5 of Chapter 6.

32. Ricks and Pyke (1973 p. 30.

33. Woods (1983A) p. 50.

34. See the discussion of lessons ticking over in Section 6.3 of Chapter 6 where the tendency of teachers to avoid addressing girls directly by name is outlined.

35. See Section 7.2 of Chapter 7.

36. The perceived sensitivity of girls emerged during the discussion of pupil behaviour with teachers and is included in Table 3, Section 4.2.1 as one of the typically female traits.

37. Achievement within the third year at Kingston Dene

is considered in the Introductory Chapter (Chapter
1, Section 1.1.3).

38. Mr. Taylor, class teacher for 3/2.

39. The selection of curricular topics as a means of
facilitating the classroom control of boys is
discussed more fully in Chapter 6, Section 6.4.

40. Spender 1982, p. 79.

41. See the discussion of this emphasis within the
exploration of teacher-pupil relations in Chapter
6, Sections 6.2 and 6.4.

42. These early North American, Interaction Analysis
based studies of sex differences in teacher-pupil
contacts are considered in Section 6.2 of Chapter
6.

43. See the discussion of oral work in Chapter 7,
Section 7.2.

44. See Table 3 in this Chapter, Section 4.2.1.

45. For example, the management of pupil seating
arrangements by teachers and the application of
cross-sex seating arrangements as a punitive
measure - see Sections 6.3.4 and 6.4.4 of Chapter
6.

46. The general issue of boys' disruption is discussed
in Chapter 6, Section 6.4.1.

47. See Section 6.6 on humour within teacher-pupil
relations in Chapter 6.

48. Boys' views on contributing orally in class
are discussed in Chapter 7, Section 7.2.1 and on
being admonished, for example, for failure to
complete homework in Chapter 5, Section 5.6.

49. Cited from the interviews with Mrs. Ross, class
teacher for class 3/3.

50. A point also relevant to the discussion of cross-
sex pupil relations - see Section 5.4 of Chapter
5.

51. Extract from fieldnotes - E.B.L., 26.3.80.,
Mr. Ford.

52. The girl in question was Margaret. For further
details see the discussion of friendship networks
in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1 and of controlling

girls in Chapter 6, Section 6.4.2.

53. See the discussion of pupils' subject preference in Chapter 5, Section 5.5 where it is also noted that boys enjoyed those subjects which did not entail much writing.

54. At the primary level girls are more successful than boys in most subjects, particularly in reading, writing, English and spelling, Douglas (1967), Clarricoats (1978), Sharpe (1976), Delamont (1980A and 1980B).

55. Davies (1984) p. 1, also cited at the beginning the present Chapter, see Section 4.2.1.

56. See Table 3 in Section 4.2.1 above.

57. See also the discussion of this in the exploration of lessons ticking over in Chapter 6, Section 6.3.

58. The observational data are examined as previously indicated in Chapters 6 and 7.

CHAPTER 5

THE PUPILS : PEER RELATIONS AND SUBJECT PREFERENCE

5.1   INTRODUCTION

Having reviewed the institutional nature of Kingston
Dene Middle School, outlined its curricular provision
and considered teacher perpectives on these and other
factors pertinent to the inquiry into gender
differentiation, it is timely to explore the views of
the recipients of schooling within the third year at
Kingston Dene. This exploration forms the basis of the
present Chapter which focuses predominantly upon two
issues. Firstly, pupil perspectives of peer group
relations and secondly, pupil perceptions of school,
particularly the curriculum which is discussed primarily
in terms of subject preference. In relation to the
first area of concern, the respective friendship
networks of girls and boys are considered and this is
followed by an exploration of cross-sex pupil relations.
It would appear that girls and boys only interact with
each other in very particular circumstances and the
nature of these particularities are explored in
conjunction with the role of the school in nurturing
them.

The discussion then proceeds with a brief review of pupils' general orientation towards school prior to a more detailed examination of subject preferences and the reasons underpinning these. Associated themes are also pursued where they emerged as salient during the fieldwork or germane to the specific issue of gender differentiation under consideration. Most notably the role or impact of the school upon the elaboration of pupil relations and, similarly, the influence of the teacher with reference to subject preference. Towards the conclusion of the Chapter attention is accorded briefly to some aspects of school work which appeared to prompt a certain amount of anxiety amongst pupils, particularly the girls and which related to specific facets of work such as homework and assessment of performance.

The practice, established in previous Chapters (and pursued in subsequent ones), of incorporating the observations and insights of other relevant research into the discussion as it proceeds is adopted within the present context, although data on girls' friendship networks or gender differences in peer group relations are limited. Similarly, the orientation of girls to schooling has not provided an investigative arena of comparable scope to that of boys. The point made by Davies (1984) regarding this inbalance in studies of

pupil behaviour applies equally to analyses of school
life from the pupils' persepective. Thus the existing
field of knowledge about sex differences in pupil
behaviour constitutes not so much a field:-

> more an ecological sanctuary of
> variously sprouting and neglected
> branches. Information has admittedly
> to be gleaned from two major and very
> different sources : first, comparative
> surveys of schools or local authorit-
> ies, and secondly, investigation into
> teachers' perceptions and interaction
> with pupils in classrooms. It
> becomes an exercise in creative
> landscape gardening to blend these
> two growth areas into something
> approaching a 'field'.

> Davies 1984, p. 133.

In order to acquire some insight into the experience of
Kingston Dene from the perspective of pupils in class
3/5, interview data are utilized most extensively,
although, where appropriate, issues are pursued and the
analysis augmented through the inclusion of
observational data. As previously mentioned in the
discussion of methodology (Chapter 2) a series of three
interviews were held with the girls and one with the
boys. Questions of relevance[1] to the exploration of
friendship groups and school subjects were, however,
posed to all pupils, although certain themes were
pursued more extensively with the girls either because
they emerged as issues from classroom observation or
were raised by the girls themselves.[2] In order to
clarify which particular responses are being presented

from the girls, interview sequence is indicated in conjunction with each data extract. [3] Whilst class 3/5 has already been briefly introduced as multiracial and as comprising an even balance of girls and boys, it is appropriate to provide some further details on the pupils prior to a consideration of their views on certain facets of school and classroom life.

5.1.1 Who are class 3/5 ?

At the commencement of the school year class 3/5 consisted of twenty eight pupils with, as suggested, an equal number of girls and boys. As the school year progressed, however, various arrivals and departures resulted in the class comprising, for most of the year, a membership of thirty, with boys in a majority of two. [4] The sex and ethnic origin [5] profile of the class is presented in Table 4 below:-

TABLE 4

SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN OF CLASS 3/5

ETHNIC ORIGIN	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Asian	1	2	3
Afro-Caribbean	3	5	8
Greek Cypriot	1	0	1
White British	7	9	16
Eastern European	2	0	2
Total Pupils	14	16	30

Whilst the class was fairly typical of the third year in terms of its size and ethnic composition, it was untypical in its balanced sex ratio since all the other classes comprised more girls than boys. Indeed, within the third year in its entirety girls outnumbered boys by one hundred and two to seventy. A summary of the sex and ethnic origin of all third year pupils at Kingston Dene (including class 3/5) is presented in Appendix 8A, whilst an individual breakdown of class 3/5 on the same basis is contained within Appendix 8B. As a final brief point, it is perhaps worth contextualizing such details of sex and ethnic origin against a background of social class. As discussed within the Introductory Chapter on the basis of parental occupation, the pupils of class 3/5 were from working class families, ranging between classifications III (Manual) to V (Unskilled) on the O.P.C.S. scale.[6]

5.2 'TWO'S COMPANY' - PEER GROUPS AND FRIENDSHIP NETWORKS

5.2.1 The girls

Explorations into the patterns and practices of female friendship may be less extensive than those pertaining to boys, but the available data supports the view that there would appear to be little commonality between the

sexes in terms of their peer group formations and friendship networks. As Meyenn (1980A) observes in relation to his own study into middle school peer networks this prevents 'anything but the broadest of generalizations when discussing pupil peer networks as a unitary category'.[7] Girls, it would seem, are inclined to organize themselves into smaller, more intimate groups than boys (Blythe 1960, Blyth and Derricott 1977) and sub-cultural propensities within these towards a counter school stance are much less in evidence (Brown 1972, Meyenn 1980B). Even where girls do express disaffection with school and a withdrawal from its academic rationales, this may be accomplished without the support or solidarity of a clearly identifiable group or sub-culture (Davies 1984, Llewellyn 1980). Alternatively, where such girls groups do exist they are not necessarily associated with a poor standard of academic achievement (Lambart 1976, Fuller 1980).[8]

The notion that girls operate within a 'best friend' syndrome is demonstrated in some adolescent contexts (McRobbie 1978) and yet within school such exclusivity is not always apparent. Again 'The Sisterhood' (Lambart 1976) did not function on this basis and similarly the girls in Meyenn's research (1980A and 1980B) found the idea of a particular attachment to one friend somewhat bizarre. One group did, however, countenance the

possibility of a shift in this direction in the future
(associated with the transfer to high school) and this
is compatible with the view of McRobbie and Garber
(1976) that the 'twosome' arrangment may be most
convenient for the development of interests in teenage
culture which can be pursued inside the home. In the
middle school studied by Pollard (1984), however, both
types of friendship network were in evidence, with an
interlocking formation of trios and pairs expressing a
'joker' adjustment to school, whilst 'goodies' and
'gangs' tended towards a more clearly identifiable group
formation. Although Pollard is primarily concerned with
how pupils cope at school and peer groups are considered
as a reflection of this, the juxtaposition of both types
of social organization represent an interesting
adaptation to school life, traces of which were also
discernable at Kingston Dene.[9]

Both Meyenn and Pollard utilize sociometric techniques
in order to plot peer group relationships and this
customary approach would have been possible on the basis
of questions posed to the pupils of class 3/5 about
their friends.[10] Having conducted the interviews,
however, and pondered the resultant data, the
possibility of applying the technique was eschewed
because it was considered that the sociograms would have
failed to illustrate two of the more interesting themes

to emerge from the data. The first concerns the difference between girls and boys in terms of their response to discussing friends. The girls were quite comfortable and appeared familiar with the introduction of friends as a topic for conversation, whilst to the boys it seemed comparatively strange. The second relates to the manner in which girls ordered their friends in terms of preference, so that while choices may have been reciprocated, the priority or status accorded to those choices may not. An attempt will be made, therefore, to outline the friendship networks of class 3/5 through the presentation of data which reflects these characteristics.

Within the class there were two girls groups each comprising four members. Friendship within the groups varied in terms of cross relationships between all group members with the first group to be considered forming the most cohesive of the two. Stacy, Julie, Rachel and Sue began the school year in carefully planned proximity (see Table 5 below for seating arrangements). Due to the teacher moving two disruptive boys closer to his desk, however, Sue and Rachel were re-located to the other side of the classroom. This had the effect of dislocating the two 'best friends' in the group (Stacy and Rachel)[11] who, as Stacy volunteered, had deliberately elected not to sit next to each other:-

I1   Oh since the first year me, Rachel, Sue and Julie have always been friendly. Me and Rachel used to sit next to each other last year, but I was always getting told off for talking, we <u>both</u> talked but it was always me who got told off.   So this year we decided that me and Julie should sit next to each other and Sue and Rachel. Because me and Julie can get on with our work.

The girls required little or no prompting to be discursive regarding the reasons underpinning friendship choice and what transpired as the closely related issue of seating arrangements. Similarly, it was seldom necessary to pursue the main question - "Who would you say you are most friendly with at school?" with the supplementaries provided on the Interview Schedule.[12] Whether or not the seating strategy mentioned by Stacy was effective,[13] it does reflect not only a positive orientation towards school work, but also a common preoccupation amongst the girls of avoiding any publicity in the classroom which censure would inevitably entail.[14] The girls in Stacy's group were thus conscientious and academically inclined; socially they were mature, responsible, fashion conscious and in Stacy encompassed the form's most sophisticated trend setter.

The second group comprised Vickie, Susan, Jane and Sharon. In terms of their social poise and positive attitude towards school, the group was in many respects

similar to Stacy et al. The main distinguishing feature, however, related to Vickie and Susan's status as two of the most able pupils academically,[15] whilst Sharon and Jane enjoyed a similar reputation for their sporting interests and achievements. Again, considerations of school work influenced seating arrangemnts as the following remark by Vickie illustrates:-

I1   Well Jane, she's always asking me questions. Susan just does it by herself and lets me do it by myself. I remember in't second year we had four on our table and there were me working away and them three just chatting. They wouldn't let me get on. So this year me and Susan went on our own table.

The group was, however, less cohesive in terms of the reciprocity of friendship choice, with Sharon in particular nominating a number of girls in other classes in preference to Susan and Vickie after Jane.[15] This reflects not only her membership of a network, the majority of whom were not pupils in class 3/5, but also raises the issue of the impact of the first school in determining friends. This emerged when Sharon was questioned on why most of her friends were in other third year classes:-

I1   Oh we used to go to primary school together. Er, I've been friendly with Jane, Susan and Vickie since I was in the first years. And Anita since we were at primary school. [and] Alison, Kate, Olwyn, Vanessa, Martha, that's about it. We used to go to the same school.

Sharon was not unusual in referring to the enduring

nature of friendships initiated at the previous school, indeed almost all the friendships with pupils in other classes had been established in this way. The opportunity for sustaining such networks at Kingston Dene was enhanced not only through team sport involvement (which was clearly year based), but also the subject setting arrangements which transversed class boundaries. In addition, the composition of third year classes had been determined at the start of the second year and consequently, during the first year, members of class 3/5 had been in the same class as friends in other third year classes. Friendships were also sustained through out of school contact and there was considerable overlap between inside and outside of school networks.

It is possible to suggest, however, that the matter of maintaining friendships was not simply the result of available opportunities to do so. In order to avoid being isolated and without a seating partner within the various third year subject set permutations at Kingston Dene, a range of friends were required within other classes. As B. Davies (1984) observes in her study of pupil friendship, being isolated creates a feeling of vulnerability and she introduces the notion of contingency friends who are utilized when best friends are unavailable in order to avoid this. The organizational arrangements at Kingston Dene necessitated a similar approach and the manner in which

girls could prioritize their friends within class 3/5 and also nominate friends in other classes is consistent with such a contingency strategy. Friendships were nurtured and maintained through the management of seating arrangements and much manoeuvring occurred in securing requisite partners. That such planning could be thwarted by the teacher has already been indicated and the changes which were implemented over the school year by the teacher in respect to seating arrangements are presented in Tables 5 and 6 below.

Initially pupils were permitted to select their own seating partners, although these choices were increasingly eroded during the course of the school year. There certainly appeared to be more continuity between seating partners and friends than the girls in Turner's (1983) study who had friends only for particular lessons. From the teachers' perspective the preoccupation of pupils over their class partners provided a convenient strategy of classroom control and the negotiations which emerged in relation to this are discussed in Section 6.3.4 of Chapter 6 which explores teacher-pupil interaction.

B. Davies also suggests that only the more advantaged pupils have the luxury of contingency friends and to a certain extent this appeared to be the case at Kingston

TABLE 5

SEATING ARRANGEMENTS IN CLASS 3/5 AT THE START OF THE

SCHOOL YEAR _____

```
┌────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                                                            │
│                  Classroom Front                           │
│                                                            │
│        Door                              Piano             │
│                                                            │
│                                                            │
│          ·           MR. FORD'S DESK                       │
│                                                            │
│                                                            │
│                   Jennifer      Assim      ┌ Margaret ┐    │
│        Gloria      Charanjit     Graham    │ Carole   │    │
│                                            └──────────┘    │
│                    ┌─────────┐                             │
│                    │ Rachel  │             Joe             │
│        ─────       │ Sue     │   Luther    Scott           │
│                    │         │                             │
│      L             │         │                             │
│      O             │ Stacy   │   ┌──────┐  Peter       W   │
│      C  Jack       │ Julie   │   │Susan │  Garth       I   │
│      K             └─────────┘   │Vickie│              N   │
│      E ┌────┐                    │      │              D   │
│      R │Tony│                    │      │  Trevor      O   │
│      S │Mark│        ─────       │Jane  │  Michael     W   │
│        └────┘                    │Sharon│              S   │
│                                  └──────┘                  │
│                                            Satnam          │
│        ─────        ─────        Linton    George          │
│                                                            │
│                  Classroom Rear                            │
│                                                            │
└────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Key
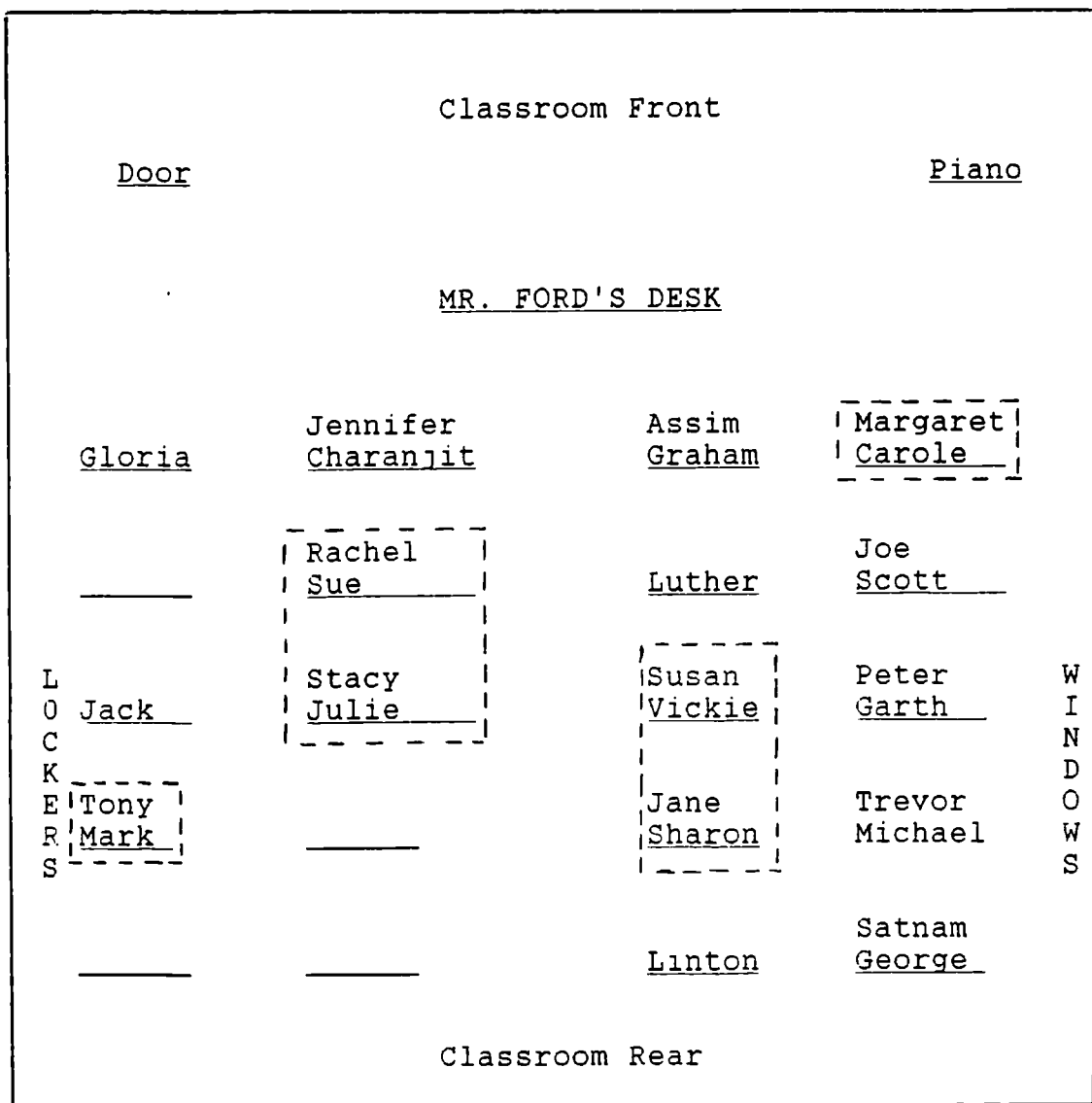
- - - -   Reciprocated friendships

_____   Double desks

TABLE 6

SEATING ARRANGEMENTS IN CLASS 3/5 AT THE END OF THE

SCHOOL YEAR

```
                        Classroom Front

      Door                                   Piano


                      MR. FORD'S DESK


                 Jennifer
      Mark       Charanjit      Gloria      Clive


      Paul       Trevor         Assim
      Graham     Michael        Luther      Margaret

L                ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐                              W
O     Scott      │Stacy    │    ┌ ─ ─ ─ ┐                 I
C                │Julie    │    │Vickie │   Jack          N
K                └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘    │       │                 D
E                Nina           │Jane   │   ┌ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┐   O
R     Peter      Carole         │Sharon │   │Rachel   │   W
S                               └ ─ ─ ─ ┘   │Sue      │   S
                                            └ ─ ─ ─ ─ ┘

                                            Satnam
      _____    Garth          Linton      George


                        Classroom Rear
```

Key

- - - -   Reciprocated friendships

_____   Double desks

Dene, although here such instrumentality was not paramount in friendship choice but is posited as one consideration amongst others within the context of the school. The remaining girls of class 3/5 were not members of any identifiable group, either within the class or any other third year class. Rather, they comprised a series of twosomes with a low level of reciprocated friendship choice. Despite this, however, the tendency for selected friends to be mentioned in order of preference was still apparent. The comments by Charanjit and Jennifer are typical:-

Charanjit
I1   Rajinda, then er Dora, she's in class 3/1 as
            well ....and then Helen.

                            * * * *

Jennifer
I1   My friend called Janet, then Susan and next
            Marie.

Nina and Charanjit nominated each other as friends, although whilst Charanjit emerged as Nina's first choice friend, she was Charanjit's third. Nina also named her twin sister, from whom she was virtually inseparable and only the deliberate ploy of the school in placing them in different classes prompted them to socialize with other girls at all. Due to Nina's late arrival at the start of the school year, [17] Nina and Charanjit did not sit next to each other with the exception of Enquiry Based Learning lessons where the class was usually requested to organize itself into groups. Charanjit and

Jennifer were seating partners (see Tables 5 and 6 above) although neither featured as a reciprocated friend of the other. Given that both girls indicated that their main friends were in other classes and with Jennifer this was exclusively so, it is possible to suggest that the two paired off as a contingency in preference to sitting alone, since, at the start of term there were thirteen girls in the class and this fate had to befall at least one of them.

In the event Gloria occupied the lone position, a circumstance which was maintained by the teacher throughout the year, despite consistent attempts by Gloria to foil him.[18] Gloria represented the class' most extrovert pupil and yet whilst popular in a general sense,[19] was the friend of no one in particular. She named Vickie and Susan as her friends in class 3/5, although this was not reciprocated and four girls in other third year classes. Finally, as in Ball's (1981) study, there were two social isolates in class 3/5 - Margaret and Carole. Whilst they named only each other as friends within the class, they were the only girls to break the taboo of nominating friends within a lower school year. Both girls, but particularly Margaret,[20] were ostracised by all other third year pupils and thus the development of friends within the second year (where some kudos would accrue to them as older girls) provided

an opportunity for social group activities. Their
unpopularity was almost certainly due to an obvious lack
of personal hygiene and unkempt appearance, as one of
the other girls remarked:-

I1   They stink.   Know what I mean. They're mucky and
      everybody knows that.

There is some similarity between Margaret and the girl
(Diane) described by Llewellyn (1980) who was also
discredited on every dimension that was important to the
other girls.   Namely her academic incompetence, non-
conformity in terms of both classroom behaviour and
adolescent culture, rough in terms of working class
respectability and engaged in unfeminine behaviour such
as taking the lead in relation to boys. Whilst Margaret
and Carole commenced the school year at Kingston Dene as
seating partners - interestingly, at a few desks removed
from the other girls - as the Tables above illustrate,
Margaret was eventually designated to sit on her own,
thus confirming her status as something of an outcast.

In terms of relations between the various girls'
friendship networks in class 3/5, there was rather less
interaction between the two groups of girls than between
the series of pairs. This was possibly attributable to
the self-sufficiency which group membership conferred.
For when pupils were required to form themselves into
groups or consult with each other for some work related

purpose (usually in Enquiry Based Learning), the girls in groups simply joined forces with each other. In contrast, the twosomes had to seek each other out, negotiate group membership, and avoidance of Margaret and Carole prompted considerable tactical manoeuvrings on such occasions.

Similarly, under less formal circumstances, perhaps during lesson change-over or late arrival of the teacher, the girls in groups fraternized with each other, whilst the girls in pairs, released from the obligation of group membership, talked to their partners. Only Gloria appeared to socialize widely, unhindered by the restrictions of group or pair membership.[21] It is also of interest, although the implications cannot be explored within the present context, that with the exception of Sharon, the black girls in class 3/5 were members of friendship pairs. Not only was Sharon a member of one of the 3/5 groups, she also participated in a larger network of third year girls, many of whom were black and who formed the basis of the school's third year sports teams.

The most distinguishing feature between the grouped and paired girls irrespective of ethnicity, however, pertained to academic competence and sophistication in terms of fashion and experimentation with other paraphernalia of teenage culture.[22] As suggested,

Stacy's group and Vickie's group were not only fashion consious and socially mature, they were also diligent and academically inclined. In contrast, the other girls had not embarked upon the activities of adolescence and were amongst class 3/5's lower achieving pupils.[23] The only exception to this trend was Carole, who was academically able yet, socially, comparatively immature.[24] This particular correlation is reminiscent of that observed by Brown (1972) between streamed classes in a girls school and, also by Douglas et al (1968), where early maturity, fashion consciousness and high ability were mutually inclusive.

A rather more manipulative stance towards teenage culture was, however, observed by Ball (1981) on the basis of band membership and associated pro or anti school orientation. The lower banded girls at Beachside Comprehensive displayed a more extreme immersion in fashion/pop culture as an alternative mode for the expression of individuality and sophistication. In contrast the higher band girls demonstrated similar interests but contrived to combine these with school values largely by confining the expression of such interests within limits acceptable to the school. At Kingston Dene the 3/5 girls, as in Meyenn's (1980B) study, were all positively oriented towards school[25] and even the two girls who emerged as the most

indisciplined (Gloria and Margaret) could not be described as resisting school in terms of the adoption of a counter school stance.[26]

The 3/5 girls did, however, seek to manage the vicissitudes of school life through the organization of friendship networks. As suggested, the strategy for accomplishing this relied more upon the management of contingency friends than, for example, constant endeavouring to preserve the group which preoccupied the girls in Meyenn's (1980B) study or, re-organizing into different cliques on the basis of similar interests or hobbies as observed by Delamont (1983A). Similarly, whilst the girls at Kingston Dene re-aligned into different groups on the basis of setting arrangements, these did not have the fluidity of Furlong's (1976) interaction sets. The girls had clearly designated friends in other third year classes who could be relied upon to meet the contingencies of setted or grouped subjects. Such arrangements were not flexible or accidental and girls would sit alone if contingency friends were absent from school rather than join an alternative group - a facility which may not have been available either because teacher approval had to be obtained for any re-seating[27] or because other groups were not so accommodating.

In any event the concept of the interaction set has

since been rejected by Furlong (1985) as too culturally nihilistic, a position which emerged from his desire to incorporate subtlety into the analysis of how pupils define and cope with classroom situations.[28] Moreover, as Davies (1984) also points out, that the pupils in Furlong's study were girls seems to have entirely escaped his attention and, the implications of gender are consequently unexplored in favour of pursuing the analysis vis-a-vis the observations of Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970).

The variability of pupil peer groups and friendship networks, which is apparent from a brief perusal of work in this area, is arguably due as Davies (1984) purports, to the status of the school, whether it is single-sex or co-educational and whether or not pupils are streamed or banded on the basis of ability. When these criteria are also considered with reference to ethnicity there would seem to be implications for pupil response 'to allow for a different interaction between previous cultural socialization and immediate definition of the situation.'[29] For girls, the presence of boys would seem to propel them into a feminine role exhibited through a comparatively early interest in teenage culture. Thus, behaviour and interests which are construed as unfeminine are proscribed[30] and at Kingston Dene it is possible to suggest that the third

year girls were in something of a transitory phase, with some embarking upon adolescent concerns whilst others retained the interests of childhood. The more advanced girls in this respect appeared to socialize in groups, although with a clear delineation of friendship status, whilst the less socially mature associated in twosomes. All the girls, however, appeared to be developing an awareness of their sexuality and as will be discussed more fully shortly, this would seem to be implicated in the aversion to cross-sex friendships. Prior to such a consideration, however, it is apposite to explore the nature of peer group relations amongs the boys.

5.2.2 The boys

Perhaps the first point that requires reiterating in relation to discussions with the boys of class 3/5 about their friends concerns their greater hesitancy with the notion of friends as a conversational subject. Their answers tended not only to be briefer on this issue,[31] but also imbued with something of a 'self evident' quality as the majority of boys initially designated other boys in general terms as their friends and Scott's response, for example, was typical:-

RJ   Who would you say you are most friendly with at school?

Scott   Me friends that I play with in't playground, mainly they're boys out of 3/5.

With further prompting,[32] however, the tendency emerged amongst the boys for a small group comprising Linton, Luther and Garth (all black boys) to be referred to by the majority of boys as friends and also by each other. Discounting the reciprocity between the three of them, ten out of the thirteen remaining boys all mentioned at least one of them. This could be construed to confer some sort of popular leadership upon the three boys in question, yet whilst they clearly constituted a focus for other boys they were not in any sense ring-leaders in terms of instigating or controlling either a pro or anti-school sub-group. Only two other boys reciprocated each other as friends (Tony and Mark) and as the seating arrangements at the start of the school year indicate (see Table 5 above) they did select each other as partners in class. There was no such correlation either at the commencement or conclusion of the school year amongst the other boys between seating partner and friendship choice. It is possible to suggest that in so far as the boys perceived other boys as friends, seating arrangements did not constitute an issue or priority in the same manner as it did for girls.

In general terms, therefore, the boys did appear more homogeneous than the girls. Distinctions on the basis of social maturity reflected in an interest in teenage

culture, for example, were much less in evidence. Only three boys (Trevor, Michael and to a lesser extent Garth) displayed any interest in the accoutrements of the pop and fashion world, although here, the association between social sophistication and academic ability was not apparent. Indeed, in the case of Trevor the reverse correlation was emerging and this is commensurate with the observations of other studies of male peer groups, notably Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970).

There was, however, a unifying interest which absorbed the majority of boys and which may also have accounted for the popularity of Garth, Linton and Luther. There was no similar preoccupation identifiable amongst the girls which could be indulged at school and provide peer group solidarity and cohesion. This particular interest was sport. As enthusiasts, both inside and outside of school, Garth et al provided a focus for whatever game was seasonal. The other 3/5 boys, if not active participants, demonstrated some interest in sporting activities by adopting (or being relegated to) peripheral positions as fielders. Scott and George, for example, as plump and unathletic boys appeared content with such positions since this enabled a passive interest in whatever game was in progress, but one which nevertheless functioned to maintain them as members of the network. Only one boy (David) declared a dislike of

all things sporty, preferring instead to read and pursue other more studious hobbies.[33] The following comments are illustrative:-

Graham	Er, well there's Linton and Luther and I mean, that er group of people, you know.
RJ	You're friendly with them all?
Graham	Yeah.

* * * *

George	Satnam, Linton, Luther, Michael and all the rest.

* * * *

Clive	Oh, er, Scott, but he's away, but I've got a lot of friends, Garth's one and some that I just mess about with, play with, the boys.

* * * *

RJ	At break and dinner times what sorts of games do you play?
Luther	Hot rice, cricket, football.
RJ	And out of those what do you enjoy doing the most?
Luther	Football.

* * * *

Linton	Mostly cricket and football.
RJ	Do you prefer one to the other?
Linton	No.

Indeed, both the friendship network and consuming interest in sport amongst the third year boys at Kingston Dene closely paralleled the middle school boys described by Meyenn (1980A). In his study the class appeared to constitute both the basis and parameters of boys' peer groups and perhaps the only difference in this respect is that, as with the girls at Kingston Dene, the boys still maintained some first school relationships outside of class 3/5.

Another issue on which distinctions on the basis of gender appeared minimal concerned the reasons why pupils selected or remained friendly with particular individuals.[34] The pupils at Kingston Dene were not exceptional in this respect, referring to qualities of loyalty, sharing similar interests and 'having a laugh' (Meyenn 1980A, Pollard 1984, Delamont 1983A, Woods 1979, Davies 1984), although, for girls, loyalty tended to imply constancy, whereas for boys it implied having a co-defender in the face of physical adversity. It is not the intention, however, to probe such rationales in any depth, but to indicate how, within the slightly different context of reasons for friendship choice, the tendency of the girls to rank friends again emerged as salient:-

Garth   Well some people don't like the kind of games I like, so if I'm playing cricket, well I go with someone that can play cricket and they like it.

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Trevor   'Cos they're good friends, 'cos say if a load of kids was fighting yer they would 'elp.

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Luther   'Cos they're funny.

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Rachel   It's somebody to play with and have good
I1   fun ..... A sense of humour, things like that.

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Susan   ....And Vickie and I go to her house
I1   sometimes. But I only started going there because I had a friend that lived near me and

we fell out, so Vickie said, 'cos I live the
furthest away, 'cos them two lived near each
other and Cathy does an' all and so they said
why don't we play together on a night.

                    * * * *

Susan   ....Me and Dawn used to play Gestapo, you
I1   know, where you've got to get the letter off
            them, with Dawn and that lot. But they left
            me out and they just went off.   So I
            thought, "Well I'm friends with Rachel and
            Stacy most", so I went back with them.

                    * * * *

Jane   ....You see my best friend left before this
I1   year so I play with them now.

                    * * * *

Julie   ....Because they're my best friends.

In exploring reasons for friendships the instrumental

concern of the girls in organizing a contingency network

is apparent, particularly in circumstances where friends

'fall out' or desert each other.   Such occurrences,

mentioned in particular by Sue and Susan above, are

reminiscent of the girls described by Meyenn (1980B),

although here in-fighting and the breaking and repairing

of friendships on a within group basis, appeared as a

constant and prominent feature of peer group life.   At

Kingston Dene the girls appeared to deal with this

eventuality in a different manner with the best friend

rather than the group emerging as a primary

consideration.   This is perhaps to be expected in a

context where group membership was less pronounced than

in Meyenn's study. The corollary of who pupils regarded

as friends and the reasons underpinning this is the issue of who pupils would not consider as suitable candidates for friendship. The discussion proceeds, therefore, with a consideration of who pupils declined to associate with either for purposes of acquiring classroom seating partners or for more leisurely pursuits at break and dinner times.

5.2.3 Undesirable acquaintances : cross-sex relations

In the exploration[35] of who pupils did not wish to mix with at school, the respective prejudices of girls and boys were readily revealed as certain groups were unhesitatingly posed as irksome. For the boys, who appeared to find this a rather easier subject for discussion, it was other boys who threatened or bullied them as the following comments suggest:-

Linton	This boy called Geoff.
RJ	What's wrong with him - why wouldn't you want to be friendly with him?
Linton	Because any time he says 'ello 'e's got ter 'it yer.

<center>* * * *</center>

Scott	Well people that go round thinking that they own't place and bossing everyone about.

<center>* * * *</center>

Luther	People who just go around swearing and all that.

<center>* * * *</center>

Satnam	Sometimes, some bullies and the girls maybe.

For the girls it was quite simply and unequivocally, the boys who should be avoided, or perhaps, more accurately, to be seen to be avoided, and again the following remarks are illustrative:-

Stacy   The boys.

RJ   Why don't you like sitting next to or playing with the boys?

Stacy   Oh well, they just play football and they're

I1   rough. They're a bit silly too. I don't know really, they're just horrible.

* * * *

Sue   Well they're always fighting and got a bad

I1   personality. You know, always swearing and that lot .... But if Sir says sit next to them, I would you know, but otherwise I'd just sit near me friend.

* * * *

Vickie   They're too rough. (pause) They're just horrible .... I try not to [sit next to them] unless teacher puts me near 'em.

RJ   What d'you think when the teacher does put you near them?

Vickie   Oh no! I just move away!

I1

* * * *

Margaret   Everyone shames you up if you sit near a lad.

I1

* * * *

Rachel   You get shown up if you sit next to boys.

RJ   Who by?

Rachel   I don't like sitting next to boys because it's nice to sit next to your friends.

RJ   Why aren't you friendly with any of the boys?

Rachel   I don't really like them. Because they're always on about football and things like that .... Well I do [sit next to boys] if you get put there. But I usually sit next to my friends.

RJ   What d'you think if you are put next to a boy? Does it bother you?

Rachel   Yeah! I pull the desk over.

I1

* * * *

```
Jennifer    The boys.
RJ          Why?
Jennifer    The girls might laugh at you.
RJ          Why d'you think the girls would laugh?
Jennifer    I don't know.  Because the boys sit with boys
I1          and the girls with girls.
```

* * * *

```
Jane        You  just  feel funny and everyone teases you
I1          and says "Oh now!" or somemat like that  know
            what I mean?
```

The single-sex nature of peer groups amongst children of the age range in question constitutes a well recognized phenomenon (for example Blyth 1960; Blyth and Derricott 1977; Meyenn 1980A;   Delamont 1980A;   Newson, Newson, Richardson and Scaife 1978; Measor and Woods 1983; Ball 1981).   Whilst the role of the school in terms of its institutional segregation of pupils in amplifying the cross-sex relational divide has been considered,[36] it would seem that there has been little exploration of such relations from the pupils' perspective.   More interest would appear to be generated on the subject with reference to older teenagers and young people, particularly the literature on youth culture,   although here, perceptions of sexual relations are presented predominantly   from   the   male   perspective   (Hall and Jefferson 1976, Willis 1977).

Whilst Meyenn (1980A) considers relationships between middle school girls and boys, only the boys views are explored on friendships with the opposite sex, where

tentative links were being forged with the 'science lab girls'. In general terms, however, the boys were either oblivious to or, somewhat frightened of,[37] their female counterparts. At Kingston Dene the boys also appeared largely oblivious to the girls and it is possible to suggest that this is reflected in their response to queries on who they did not wish to associate with. Here, in contrast to the girls, members of the opposite sex were not the first group to spring to mind, with the exception of Satnam who, as indicated above, mentioned 'some bullies and the girls maybe'. When questioned, however, on relations with girls[38] the boys were generally disdainful as the following comments suggest:-

RJ	Do you ever sit next to or play with the the girls at break and dinner times?
Scott	Well I go 'ome for dinner, but not much, but if I 'ave to.
RJ	Why don't you like sitting next to girls, why haven't you got friendly with the girls d'you think?
Scott	Well, yeah, but they show you up and everybody starts laughing at you and making fun so it's not worth it.

* * * *

Tony	No.
RJ	Why's that?
Tony	Don't like girls.
RJ	Why not?
Tony	All they do is play girls' games.
RJ	What do you think are girls' games as different from boys' games then?
Tony	They're just for girls - like skipping.

* * * *

George   Well I always play with boys 'cos girls are
always playing skipping and things like that.

* * * *

Paul   Well they don't do the same things as boys -
not as adventurous you know.

This initial impression portrayed by the pupils of a total cross-sex interactional void was not, however, entirely corroborated by the observational data. The seating arrangements of girls and boys, particularly those adopted prior to teacher interference, when viewed in conjunction with their more obvious endeavours to avoid each other (which will be considered shortly) did tend to create an aura of separatism. Yet closer acquaintance with school life and scrutiny of the field notes suggested certain occasions where cross-sex interaction did occur. In the playground, for instance, girls and boys could be observed to combine to participate in some ball games,[39] although more commonly they engaged in teasing or provocative disruption of each others games. Interestingly, this somewhat stylized mode of interaction appeared to be gaining momemtum, whilst joint games were remembered by pupils as an occurrence of the previous Summer or as an out of school activity. Further probing on the issue revealed a distinction between the acceptability of cross-sex relations during play as opposed to association during lessons and the views of both girls

and boys were commensurate on this:-

Garth   Sometimes play with them, but not sit next to
            them.

* * * *

Luther   Few times.
RJ   When do you?
Luther   When there's nothing else to play.
RJ   What sorts of games would you play with the
            girls?
Luther   They always play rounders.
RJ   And how about when you sit next to people in
            lessons?
Luther   I don't like sitting next to girls.

* * * *

Jane   I used to yeah.
RJ   What did you play?
Jane   Gestapo. That was the main one.
RJ   When was this?
Jane   Last year in the Summer. - When the football
I1   season were out!

* * * *

Carole   Well I don't like sitting next to them. I
            don't know why I just don't.
RJ   Do you ever play with boys?
Carole   Well sometimes at home with my friends.
I1

Comments   on   the   more   ritualized teasing type   of

association were as follows:-

RJ   Do you ever play with boys?
Rachel   Sometimes, not all the time.
RJ   When you do, what sorts of things do you do?
Rachel   Chase 'em and hit 'em.
RJ   I suppose they hit you back do they?
Rachel   No!
I1
                        * * * *

Jennifer   Well the boys catch us and hit us and then we
I1   have to catch 'em back.

* * * *

Mark	Play games like getting your coats and that and running off with them.

* * * *

Jack	Oh, well, sometimes if you've got something they just come and grab it off you. They chase you for it.

* * * *

Garth	It's just sort of, if they take the ball we've got to chase 'em and get it off 'em. Just any ball or sometimes they take me jacket, things like that.

Such antics enshrine a mildly flirtatious element and, indeed, it is possible to suggest that this type of interaction accompanies the transition from childhood to adolescence where the basis of relations with the opposite sex are re-negotiated. Thus the third year pupils at Kingston Dene may be regarded as having passed the point described by Holly (1985) in relation to ten year olds, where play activities, particularly boys football are rigidly segregated and yet the later preoccupations of adolescence had not gained ascendancy.[40] From a female perspective these would appear to revolve around the problem of how to assert one's sexuality without placing in jeopardy a 'good' reputation (Sharpe 1976, Davies 1984, Llewellyn 1980 and Lees 1987). Location within such a transitionary phase would go some way towards explaining the apparent contradiction whereby pupils were prepared to mix with members of the opposite sex within the playground, but

not under any circumstances within the classroom. As suggested, however, observational data indicate that some cross-sex interaction did occur during lessons providing the proper protocol was observed. This appeared to entail initiating contact within the same teasing mode which was utilized in the playground, yet during lessons the boys tended to be the main protagonists in this sphere as the following extracts from field notes illustrate:-

EBL 2.10.79. Mr.Ford	....Trevor playing with his ruler and pencil - aiming bits of paper at Julie who studiously ignores him.

* * * *

EBL 14.11.79. Mr.Ford	Group work. Michael comes over and intimidates Stacy a bit, she uncertainly informs him that she's bigger than him. Michael retorts, looking up at her "You're not!" with a mock aggressive shrug of the shoulders.

* * * *

Registr- ation 14.3.80.	1.05 pm. Before Mr. F arrives, Garth throwing bits of his rubber at Rachel and Sue who run over to Julie and Stacy.

* * * *

EBL 23.5.80. Mr.Ford	....Trevor wandering around again, talking to Linton and Luther. Steals Vickie's pen. She asks for it back, he says, "Say please". She says, "Just give me the pen". He gives it back. He then goes to Nina and says "Look at Peter". She turns round and looks and he's got his hand in her pencil case.

* * * *

EBL 11.6.80. Mr.Ford	Film. As soon as the lights go out Trevor sneaks over to Rachel while Mr. F is busy and strangles her. She giggles.

The reason for interaction in the extract dated 23.5.80. above, although dealt with in a provocative way by Trevor, provided the other main basis for cross-sex exchanges within class 3/5. The girls were much better endowed than the boys with pens, pencils, felt-tips and other similar equipment which they always had well organised and available. In the absence of their own equipment the boys were frequently reduced to having to request a loan from the girls and whilst such exchanges seldom developed into more general conversation, they did nevertheless provide the main point of cross-sex contact during lessons outside of the teasing banter. The following request is typical:-

EBL   ....Scott asks Stacy if she's got a spare
23.10.79.   ruler, she looks in her pencil case and gives
Mr. Ford   him one.

The observational data are also illustrative of the tendency for the rather more socially mature pupils, particularly the girls, to be involved in such mildly flirtatious badinage. As the main initiators of such interaction within the classroom the boys were perceived by the girls in some respects as 'a bit silly' and yet at the same time such attention was not incompatible with the girls developing orientation towards the opposite sex. In the final extract above, for instance, Rachel is scarcely offended at being selected as the target for Trevor's teasing. The dividing line between

being a target and being a victim, however, is a fine one and in the incident above, for example, involving Stacy and Michael (14.11.79.), Stacy was less than certain how to respond to Michael's mock bullying. Whilst no sexual harassment of the third year girls was either observed or reported[41] at Kingston Dene in the manner described by Mahony (1985), Jones (1985) or Lees (1987), the flirtatious teasing may as Mahony contends be viewed as a precursor to more blatant harassment at a later stage. Certainly the girls in her study were very clear that the harassment they encountered at secondary school was not a new phenomenon in their lives, but represented a continuation of the 'kiss-chase' type activities of the junior and infant school playground.[42]

5.2.4   Cross-sex relations :   rituals of separation   and the role of the school.

It would seem, therefore, that despite the initial protestations of pupils, particularly the girls, any relations with the opposite sex were unthinkable. The observational data and indeed, pursuing the issue with pupils, however, suggests certain specific circumstances where cross-sex relations were not entirely proscribed. This is not to imply that the situation as reported by pupils was in some way not quite as they perceived it to be. For, in contexts other than those described,

avoidance of the opposite sex had been developed to a fine art. This was most apparent in the more public of school situations where behaviour was very much open to scrutiny and the pupils exposed to teacher surveillance. Part of the ritual of the school assembly, for example, which was held in a traditional way in the school hall with staff deployed on the stage and along the sides of the hall, entailed the strict observance by pupils of maintaining an appropriate sized gap where the girls and boys lines should have met. Such strategems of avoidance relied heavily upon non-verbal interaction. Thus backs half turned, eye-contact avoided and withdrawing in gestures of exaggerated horror, as if contaminated, when personal physical space had been invaded all constituted the mechanics of the self-imposed segregation.

During lessons such rituals of separation were utilized most actively when close proximity between girls and boys was required by the teacher. This occurred in two principal contexts, firstly the administration of discipline and secondly, in group work where pupil co-operation formed part of the formal learning method - most notably in Enquiry Based Learning. The first practice, which is also considered in the discussion of discipline and punishment in Chapter 6 (Section 6.4), entailed girls and boys being seated next to each other as a punishment for some misdemeanour. As Woods (1983A)

also notes, this provides teachers with one of their most keenly felt punishments, for example:-

| Maths
Set 3
5.3.80. | ....Mr. F moves Tony to the front and Trevor next to Gloria. Trevor and Gloria both move their desks noisily apart. |

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

| EBL
11.3.80.
Mr.Ford | ....Trevor is moved to sit next to Vickie. Neither like it and Vickie looks away. Mr. F [to Trevor] "Further down. Not there, here." Until he's exactly in place. Both refuse to get close. |

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

| Registr-
ation
22.5.80.
Mr.Ford | ....Sharon made to go and sit next to Peter - much to her disgust. Although she looks more cheerful when she realizes Peter hasn't yet arrived. |

That proximity to the opposite sex provided such a potent disciplinary technique is perhaps not surprising in an environment where girls and boys were reminded of their dissimilarity in a variety of ways. All such reminders were, moreover, irrelevant in so far as the official educative function of the school was concerned. It is somewhat paradoxical then, that in some circumstances girls and boys were required to co-operate with each other and in such situations the institutional strategies of separation were exposed as counter productive. As suggested, this was particularly evident in E.B.L. lessons where mutual discovery and the sharing of information was integral to the methodology of the curriculum package. This objective was, however, continually thwarted by the pupils who were generally successful in sustaining single-sex working relations

within mixed groupings. Delamont (1980A and 1980B) also observed the same trends amongst nine year olds at two middle schools. She makes the point, moreover, that such observations are substantiated by the systematic observation of over sixty classrooms by the ORACLE project team. As she remarks:

> When girls and boys are expected to co-operate they do not, and this is hardly surprising when their differences, and even opposition, are constantly stressed to them.
>
> Delamont 1980A, p.46.

The following examples illustrate not only how girls and boys contrived to keep themselves apart in group work, but also how the teacher reinforced the notion of difference through attempts to encourage co-operation. The first extract from field notes is also interesting in that some of the thoughts of the teacher are recorded towards the end of the example and, it would appear that he had some awareness of how pupils could present a facade of co-operation which did not in practice enhance their work:-

EBL
19.10.79.
Mr.Ford

....Mr. F now summarizes the work, he lists Jane et al, Rachel et al and Scott et al[43] as the ones who co-operated and produced the best work. He says in the groups, people are not necessarily with their friends (though girls are) and that the groups are mixed. He mentions Stacy and Julie as an example of what goes wrong when friends sit together - they don't always co-operate. ....

Later I ask how he initially grouped the pupils and Mr. Ford maintained on the basis

of mixed ability. .... He went on to say that individual personalities come into this quite a bit, for example, if Trevor had been here he probably would have worked well with Stacy and Julie, been the spokesman - <u>so it would have looked as if the co-operation was better, even if the work wasn't.</u>

(Emphasis added)

* * * *

EBL
14.11.79.
Mr. Ford

.... Mr. F tells Linton that he looks happier today because Scott is back. "He looked miserable yesterday sitting on his own with Susan, Vickie and Gloria."
.... Clive has been put with Scott, Linton, Vickie and Susan. The two girls distance themselves.
Assim and Luther discuss between themselves but do not talk to Charanjit, Gloria and Jennifer who also work on their own. 10.15 am. Mr. F tells them that 2 members of each group will move onto another group and ask questions about their work. Whilst the remaining pupils will answer questions. The swap around starts.

Garth comes over to see Trevor

Rachel " " " " Stacy

Girls visit girls and boys, the boys.

* * * *

EBL
9.5.80.
Mr.Ford

.... Mr. F asks them to get into groups. He specifically says, "I wonder if we can have a split of girls and boys. I won't force you, but see if you can mix yourselves."
They all get into their usual single sex groupings.
Mr. F now tells them that they must lose 2 of each group to another group in order to mix them.
Mr. F "I'll give you 2 minutes to decide who'll move. Do it fairly." Stacy and Rachel giggle at this, but Sue looks truly put out. They can't decide who is going to move.
Mr. F "Well, we'll do this in a democratic way, give me 2 names."
[The names are put in a hat and selected]
The result is - [six mixed groups]

Groups have to pick a member of the Eskimo

> family and answer the questions from their point of view.
>
> Groups split into sub-groups / pairs by sex.

In this example, the teacher, even after the application of considerable effort to encourage the pupils to mix is eventually unsuccessful. Indeed, by emphasising the issue to this extent it is possible to suggest that he was undermining his own endeavours since, as previously indicated, the more public the arena, the greater the vigilance of pupils in maintaining a gender based segregation. In the incident cited above, for example (14.11.70.), although in a humorous vein, the teacher remarked that Linton looked happier when his friend returned to school and that he had been <u>alone</u> when grouped with three girls. Even towards the end of the school year, by which time class 3/5 had a good deal of experience of 'group' work, given the opportunity pupils continued to observe gender distinctions and resisted teacher exhortations for integration:-

EBL 18.6.80. Mr. Ford	.... 9.45 am. Mr. F halts discussion for class to move into groups, tells them he wants 4 groups - 2 of 6 and 2 of 7. The kerfuffle starts and eventually 5 groups are formed. [All single sex] Jack hovers - more kerfuffle as the groups try to sort themselves out. Mr. F counts.
	Ends up with Carole, Margaret and Nina left, Mr. F insists they join others. Julie and Gloria both call for Nina, who eventually joins Gloria.(44) Mr. F has to intervene and Carole and Margaret join Stacy et al - to their displeasure.

> The lesson gets underway with only one mixed group which Mr. F secured by placing Jack and Garth with Sharon et al.
> Girls group at one end of the desks and boys the other, no discussion between them over work.

Occasionally, co-operation was required in other lessons, notably science where groups of two or three pupils shared equipment in order to conduct experiments. Group formation seldom emerged as an issue, however, since single-sex arrangements were permitted. Should a girl and boy fail to affiliate, however, the familiar refusal to associate usually defeated teacher requests for co-operation as the following instance suggests. Here, the additional factor of Margaret's ostracism is also apparent:-

| Science 21.5.80. Mrs. Morecroft | .... Margaret and Trevor end up having to share a microscope. Trevor refuses to co-operate and Margaret is left sitting doing nothing. Mrs. M first makes Margaret look at the slide, Trevor makes a big show of cleaning it before using it again himself. Eventually Mrs. M has to put Margaret with Sharon and Jennifer. |

In dealing with this situation it is noticeable that the teacher herself observes the single-sex basis for pupil groupings and places Margaret, rather than Trevor, with the alternative pair of girls.

It is possible to suggest, in a concluding point on the rituals of separation, that the school exacerbates pupil inclinations towards segregation through the

contradictory stance which it adopts towards girls and boys. Inherent in this is a failure to recognize the emergent sexuality of pupils, particularly the girls who were both physically and socially more mature than the boys. Thus, in the playground, which may be viewed as pupils' own territory, and during more informal moments within the classroom, pupils engaged in cross-sex relations providing a certain protocol was observed,[45] yet within the more public aspects of schooling visible avoidance of the opposite sex was of paramount importance. There was no correlation such as that noted by Ball (1981) between orientation to school and cross-sex interaction, with those pupils who were less predisposed towards school relaxing the observance of gender based distinctions. This is possibly because at Kingston Dene demarcation into a pro or anti-school stance was much less in evidence. Pupil explanations for segregation at Kingston Dene encompassed not only the absence of any mutual interests between girls and boys, but also the shame which may be incurred if any association did transpire and, in addition, the girls were of the view that the boys at Kingston Dene were all 'horrible'.[46]

This response arguably enshrines the essential dilemma for girls, that whilst they were of an age to immerse themselves in a pop/fashion culture with its attendant orientation towards the opposite sex, they felt

compelled to remain aloof from their male peers. Boyfriends were starting to feature as an interest for girls and whilst none of the 3/5 girls had boyfriends they thought that some other third year girls did and were certain that fourth year girls were involved in such relationships.[47] They teased each other about boyfriends, however, and any imputation of a liaison with a Kingston Dene boy would be vehemently denied. Such 'insults' could be construed as concealing a subtle compliment since it implied that the girl was sufficiently mature and alluring to be in such a position vis-a-vis the opposite sex. Thus, acquiring a boyfriend becomes an important criterion for status allocation within the informal culture (Woods 1983A).

As Davies (1984), Sharpe (1976) and Lees (1987) suggest, however, girls have to maintain a delicate balance between availability and respectability and it was possibly considerations of this nature among pupils embarking upon teenage culture which underpinned the particular elaboration of the rituals of separation. Consequently, although teachers may have perceived pupils to be going through a 'silly phase',[48] they failed to appreciate that a rather more complicated cross-sex relational adjustment was taking place. Whilst this could be utilized to good effect in disciplinary situations, it negated endeavours to promote group

learning and co-operation in others.

5.3   ASPECTS OF SCHOOLING : PUPIL PERSPECTIVES

5.3.1 School : general perceptions

It would seem that, in very general terms, when pupils are invited to comment upon school, in the main a favourable predisposition emerges. In view of the tyrannies, boredom and disillusionment which research into specific facets of schooling reveals,[49] Woods (1983A) admits that this 'comes as something of a surprise'.[50] As he points out, however, such a generalized finding should be treated with some caution, since it would be spurious to assume that pupils like school for its official programme. On the contrary, school may be appreciated because it provides an arena for meeting friends, having a laugh, taunting some teachers whilst enjoying the company of others or because it is quite simply marginally less boring than stopping at home all day.[51] Girls in particular are reported to be more positively inclined towards school and Davies (1984) provides a succinct review of those studies which demonstrate this greater 'identification'. As suggested earlier, however, it may not be so much school as an institution with which girls identify as the educational opportunities which attendance affords.[52]   Yet even so, there is a vast wastage of

interest and talent here, because as Delamont (1980A) notes, girls still leave school without fulfilling their academic potential.

In terms of pupils' views of schooling rather more is known, however, about those pupils who are disenchanted with school and who organize themselves into groups or gangs and immerse themselves in counter-cultures in order to express this. As Meyenn (1980A) observes, in addition to such research focusing upon the older age-range in predominantly single-sex male institutions:-

> There seems to be an additional
> tendency to concentrate on, or even
> celebrate, the most extreme of the
> anti-school groups.

<div align="right">Meyenn 1980A, p. 248.</div>

One reason for the tendency towards such a preoccupation may be as Delamont (1976) remarks with reference to conforming, successful pupils:-

> It is very difficult to write vividly
> about such paragons of virtue and
> make them come off the page for the
> reader.

<div align="right">Delamont 1976, p. 70.</div>

The issue of deviance and related concerns of discipline and punishment are explored later in the thesis[53] and, it is the intention at this juncture to present, very briefly, some general perceptions of life at Kingston Dene, prior to a consideration of pupils' subject preference.

Although the girls at Kingston Dene were not in most respects comparable to Davies (1984) 'wenches', their responses to queries[54] which sought to ascertain their general views on school were, in some ways, remarkably similar. The 3/5 girls all professed to 'like' school and the ingredients of such a perception included getting away from home, socializing with friends and learning in a broad sense in conjunction with enjoyment of specific subjects. The latter reason constitutes perhaps the main point of departure from Davies study, since the Kingston Dene girls did demonstrate some commitment to the school's official educational programme. The following comments were typical:-

RJ   If we could talk about school now. - Do you like coming to school?
Jennifer   Yeah, because you can get away from home!
RJ   Why d'you want to do that?
Jennifer   Because you have to do the washing up and
I1   that and because you do PE and everything.

* * * *

Charanjit   Yeah, you learn quite a bit and it's better
I1   than what you do at home because sometimes you just get bored at home.

* * * *

Vickie   They're nice, the teachers really. If you're bad they don't like you. But if you're alright they do like you.
RJ   Any other reasons?
Vickie   Well, you meet your friends. You make other friends. You have good fun with them. And
I1   you learn.

* * * *

Sue   Because you get more education, you know,
I1   you'll understand, for when you grow up, what
         you want to be, it learns you.   You make
         friends. Meet friends.

                        * * * *

Gloria   Yeah, sometimes in the holidays it gets so
I1   boring because you've got nothing to do.   So
         I prefer school better.

                        * * * *

Rachel   Yes, 'cos if I was staying at home I haven't
I1   got no one to play with really.   But if I'm
         at school it's more better.

When requested to elaborate further[55] upon most and

least liked aspects of school, in relation to the former

the girls all responded in terms of particular subjects.

With reference to the latter, subjects again

predominated in deliberations although two girls

maintained they quite liked everything, one disliked

school uniform, one school assemblies and one the

teachers. Since subject preference will be considered

shortly, only the minority responses are presented for

purposes of illustration:-

Stacy   Well I don't like the uniform. I think it's
I1   daft for girls to wear ties, they half
         strangle you. In the high school where me
         and me sister'll probably go, they don't have
         a uniform, they just wear a few colours that
         they like you to wear.

                        * * * *

Margaret ....But I don't like assemblies.   I always
I1   want to stay off when it's assembly. Because
         Miss, you see, I was born dizzy and if I turn
         round quickly I faint. Every time I sit on
         the floor in assembly I go dizzy. I fainted

once because it were too warm for me.

* * * *

Jane	Teachers! (laughs)
RJ	Why's that?
Jane	Some are bossy. And Mrs. Ross, sometimes, for stupid little reasons, or if you don't
I1	know something she tells you off and goes mad. But Mr. Ford's alright he doesn't hit you or 'owt like that.

For the girls in Davies (1984) study it was the tendency to perceive school as preferable to anything else which distinguished their stance to that of the boys. At Kingston Dene, however, whilst the boys were somewhat less enthusiastic in their attitude than the girls, only three maintained that they disliked school, three were indifferent and the remainder (ten boys) indicated that they liked school and for essentially the same reasons as girls:-

RJ	Right and if we could talk a bit about school now. - Do you like coming to school?
Michael	Not very often. I don't like getting up in't morning and I don't like cooking.

* * * *

Scott	Er, it just depends what mood I'm in, if I'm in a bad mood I don't like coming but if I've got somemat to look forward to in the day I like coming.
RJ	What do you look forward to?
Scott	Er, Wednesday I think, special interests and er things like that, Tuesday when we do wood-work, now we're doing metal work - I like that sort of thing.
RJ	What's your special interest?
Scott	Cricket.

* * * *

Clive   Yes, 'cos I meet most of my friends and
            they've got quite nice lessons.

                        * * * *

Luther   Yeah, just like to learn and all this.

                        * * * *

Garth   Yeah, 'cos sometimes in the holidays it gets
            boring, nothing on telly and no one to play
            with.

                        * * * *

Peter   Well it's good fun and I like some of the
            subjects.

Unlike the middle school boys in Meyenn's (1980A) study

for whom the benefits of school revolved around its

social function, the boys at Kingston Dene did appear to

consider that school offered some educational benefits

in addition to social ones.   The educational benefits

were not, however, explicitly linked to obtaining a good

job as in Meyenn's research and only two pupils (one boy

and one girl) referred to school in such instrumental

terms during general discussion.   The girl (Sue) cited

above, mentioned the utility of education 'for when you

grow up' and only Assim, an Asian boy, was explicit

about the link between education and employment:-

RJ   If we could talk about school now. - Do you
            like coming to school?
Assim   Yes.
RJ   Why?
Assim   Well I want to be a pilot when I grow up and
            if I don't go to school then I won't know
            anything, then I won't be able to become a
            pilot.

More generally school was valued not only as an interesting and sociable alternative to home, but also for its more formal programme of learning. Whilst the girls were more enthusiastic about school than the boys, the responses of the majority of boys were comparable to those of the girls in terms of the combination of benefits which school bestowed. Gender based distinctions did emerge, however, when the official programme of the school was considered in more detail and the exploration of this issue forms the basis of the ensuing Section.

5.3.2 Pupils' subject preferences

There is a good deal of information that indicates which particular subjects are pursued by girls and boys, with associated levels of achievement, most notably at the public examination level.[56] This tends to reveal, however, rather more about the socializing impact of gender upon curricular provision and the subject choice process than about which subjects pupils may enjoy or merely endure. Although, it must be acknowledged that subject preference, ability and suitability may be conflated by the time pupils become involved in any decision making process regarding subject option choices.[57] Similarly, amongst younger pupils, rather more is known about aptitudes in particular skill and conceptual spheres,[58] than about preferences for

particular aspects of the school timetable and the reasons for these. Where certain insights are available on this issue they tend to have been ascertained very much in relation to explorations of pupils' general orientation towards secondary level schooling or the ostensible predilection of girls for the arts and social sciences and boys for the more technological and scientific subject areas.[59]

It would seem that a positive orientation towards a particular subject or lesson may not so much be contingent upon any intrinsic interest in the subject matter as upon whether the teacher manages to elicit, in an acceptable manner, what is perceived as 'real' work and this tends to be construed as written work (Werthman 1971, Furlong 1976, Davies 1984 and Woods 1984). Perhaps lessons tend not to be judged by such criteria in circumstances where ability, interest in the subject and a perception of good teaching coincide, as they appeared to for the very academic girls of St. Lukes (Delamont 1973). Or, in contrast, where sub-cultural norms require resistance to school work per se, although as previously suggested,[60] this tends to be associated rather more with boys (Hargreaves 1967, Lacey 1970, Willis 1977).

Since at Kingston Dene, no group of pupils were subject to such constraints it was possible to pursue the issue

of subject preference explicitly in interviews. Girls and boys were consequently posed with general questions relating to which subjects they either liked or disliked[61] and the reasons why, with particular queries being pursued only in relation to Design and Make and reading.[62] It is appropriate firstly, to establish the nature of pupils subject preferences prior to proceeding with a consideration of the reasons underpinning these.

Commensurate with the general positive orientation towards school which prevailed amongst third year pupils at Kingston Dene, both girls and boys liked more subjects than they disliked, although the distribution for boys was more evenly balanced. An outline of subject preference is presented in Table 7 below and this is intended as a summary of pupil responses in order to simplify the intricacies of likes and dislikes. As the Table suggests, English, Design and Make and maths. were perceived most favourably amongst the girls and maths. and P.E. amongst the boys. French was somewhat unpopular amongst all the pupils who studied it, whilst maths. and English were regarded in the same vein by girls and boys respectively.

The tendency for girls to adopt either a firm positive or negative stance towards maths. may be attributed to the role of the teacher in subject preference which will

TABLE 7

SCHOOL SUBJECTS AND PUPIL PREFERENCES

SUBJECT	Number of references to each subject by:-	
	GIRLS	BOYS
LIKES		
Design and Make	13	5
English	9	4
Maths.	7	11
Enquiry Based Learning	6	5
P.E.	5	5
Language Development	5	0
Special Interests (Games)	2	6
General Purpose	2	1
Science	1	3
General Studies	1	1
French	1	1
TOTAL	52	42
DISLIKES		
French	6	5
Maths.	5	2
English	2	5
Enquiry Based Learning	1	2
General Studies	1	1
Singing	1	0
Science	1	0
Language Development	0	1
Gym	0	1
Design and Make	0	5
TOTAL	17	22

be considered shortly. Whilst the conventional correlation between subject and gender may just be discernable within such preferences, there were no significant differences on the basis of gender within the third year in terms of achievement.[63] With reference to the Design and Make programme, woodwork emerged as particularly popular amongst all pupils irrespective of gender.[64] Cookery, sewing and art followed respectively amongst the girls and art, cookery and sewing respectively amongst the boys.

Continuing with a consideration of the Design and Make programme, the reason for boys' disinclination towards sewing and, although to a much lesser extent, cookery,[65] was their perception of the subject as feminine. This transpired to be the only occasion where stereotypical gender associations of a subject were presented as a reason for either liking or disliking it and, the following remarks were typical:-

```
Peter     Oh I don't like sewing.
RJ        Why's that?
Peter     Well it's sort of a girls thing really.
RJ        Why d'you say that?
Peter     Well girls tend to do it more than boys,
          ladies sew trousers and things like that,
          don't think many boys like sewing really.
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* * * *

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Scott     Er, sewing, I think it's stupid for boys to
          do sewing.
RJ        Why?
Scott     'Cos I do.
RJ        Why though, I mean if a button fell off or
          something like that, wouldn't it be handy to
```

know how to sew it back on?

Scott	Well I know how to do that anyway from infant school. .... So I think it's not worth doing now.
RJ	But you said for boys though, why do you think it's particularly a waste of time for boys?
Scott	'Cos er, when you grow up you don't knit like girls and things like that. They usually like that. They usually like knitting, if they want to do it that's up to them, but I don't think many boys do.

Whilst the boys tended to resist this particular subject on the basis of their perception of it as a feminine activity, the girls embraced with enthusiasm the equivalent subject for them - woodwork as the following comments suggest:-

Vickie I2	Woodwork. Because you do new things. I've never really bothered about tools or anything. But now I just do it, it's good.

<p align="center">* * * *</p>

Charanjit I2	I like hammering nails in and things.

<p align="center">* * * *</p>

Jane I2	We make rubbish things, really, to be honest. But I still like it.

The majority of girls who enjoyed woodwork evidently did so because of the activities intrinsic to the subject. Indeed, only one girl perceived any future utility for the subject and, then in what can only be described as stereotypical circumstances:-

Gloria I2	I think woodwork's good because when you get bigger and your husband's out at work and you're trying to make something, then you would have to find the tools and cut the wood and everything and make it right.

In relation to the range of other subjects which were discussed, the salient feature to emerge from explorations into reasons why particular subjects were favoured, or otherwise, was the centrality of the teacher in girls' rationales. This is consonant with Woods' (1979) study of slightly older pupils who were proceeding through the examination option-choice process. At this stage three times as many girls mentioned the influence of the teacher, although this represented a reason for examination subject selection amongst only a relatively small number of pupils in total.[66] For the girls in class 3/5, however, perceptions of school subjects and the teachers responsible for them appeared mutually inclusive, with school staff clearly implicated in subject evaluation. This subject-teacher conflation was presented spontaneously by the girls during initial interviews and their early opinions were confirmed during the second interview when the issue was resumed rather more directly. Indeed, only two girls (Margaret and Carole) diverged from this perception when views were explicitly sought on the influence of the teacher[67]:-

Margaret   Oh I don't go by that. I go by the subject, forget about the teacher.
Carole   It depends on whether you like the lesson or
I2   not. It doesn't really matter about the teacher.

It is possible to conjecture that this stance could perhaps be expected from two pupils who experienced very little of the more convivial side of classroom life. Amongst girls who had developed some measure of rapport with some of the staff, the inclusion of teachers in the assessment of subjects is rather more understandable and the following views were typical:-

Jane I2	Maths. I like the teacher. I can't get on with a teacher I don't like. I go all funny and scared and I don't want to work with them. I like to have a teacher I like.

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Jennifer	[Doesn't like] French.
RJ	Why?
Jennifer	'Cos Mrs. Ross. If you can't read in French she just shouts at you.
RJ	Any other reasons why you don't like French?
Jennifer I2	No.

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Vickie I2	Yeah, the reason I don't like cookery any more is because I don't like the teacher.

Concomitant with this close identification of subject and teacher, the girls in class 3/5 nurtured a lively curiosity in relation to school staff in a more general sense and any glimpses into teachers' private lives were relished. Details pertaining to age, marital status, first names and observance of fashion amongst the female staff were pondered upon, with antennae always raised for the acquisition of further information which could then be elaborated into various interesting biographies.[68] Such a preoccupation is also discussed

by Delamont (1976) and Davies (1984), with the 'wenches' in particular holding firm opinions concerning proscribed teacher behaviour. Thus teachers were castigated for a range of behaviour, including being abusive, indulging in behaviour disallowed amongst pupils, failing to observe acceptable sexual mores, inability to exercise control in a fair way and, linked to this, failure to engage pupils in 'real'work.[69] Numerous studies have demonstrated that pupils, irrespective of age, sex, ability or type of school attended, perceive a good teacher as one who can render learning interesting via the skillful management of authority distilled through a good sense of humour (Woods 1979 and 1983A, Gannaway 1976, Marsh, Rosser and Harre 1978, Dawson 1984, B.Davies 1979 and Nash 1976).[70]

The girls at Kingston Dene were, therefore, entirely typical in esteeming a synthesis of discipline and humour in their teachers as the following comments indicate:-

RJ   Which type of teacher do you like to be
            taught by?
Vickie   Someone strict, but ....
Susan   Oh no, I like ....
Vickie   When you're working I like them to be strict,
            but when you're just playing or something I
            like them to have a good laugh with you.
Sue   Mr. Ford's alright and Mr. Taylor's alright.
            He's alright because you can have a laugh ...
            I agree with Vickie - when you're working
            strict. But when you're talking - one who's
            prepared to have a good laugh sort of thing.

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RJ          Does it make any difference  whether  it's  a
            male or a female teacher?
All         No, no, not really.
I2
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* * * *

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Rachel      A teacher that's a laugh.
Jane        No, a teacher that's not too strict  and  not
            too soft.
Stacy       Yeah.
Julie       I like a teacher that's in between.
I2
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* * * *

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Gloria      A teacher who tells you off all the  time  is
            Mrs. Ross.
Jennifer    Oh yeah, Mrs. Ross when you're in P.E. right,
            well  some  people  who  can  play  P.E.  say
            Mrs. Ross can't play netball, well she  can't
            she just gets angry and  everytime  you  play
            netball, she says you're doing it wrong.
            Charanjit  I like Mr.  Newcombe, he has a bit
            of fun with you at the end of the lesson.
            ....
Jennifer    I prefer a strict teacher.
The others  Oh no, no.
RJ          Why do you other three prefer a  less  strict
            teacher?
Gloria      Because  you  get  more  ideas from them than
I2          from a too strict teacher.  'Cos too strict a
            teacher shouts,  'cos  you're  frightened  to
            talk.  ....
```

The related issue of whether pupils perceived any

differences in teacher responses towards them on the

basis of gender produced similar assessments from girls

and boys. Both referred to particular pupils who were

frequently subject to censure (Gloria, Margaret and

Trevor) and also to the different types of corporal

punishment which were believed to apply. This entailed

the use of the cane for boys (confirmed by the Head

Teacher) and the 'slipper' for girls - tales of which

were more apocryphal than real. Apart from the rather more spectacular disciplinary incidents, however, there appeared to be no perception of any systematic differentiation by teachers of girls and boys. Indeed, the severe treatment of Gloria and Margaret was cited by some pupils in support of the view that girls were not in receipt of any favouritism by teachers.

A useful tabular summary of studies which examine pupil perceptions of the 'good teacher' as integral to their experience of school is presented by Docking (1987)[71] in his discussion of control and discipline. Whilst as he suggests, gender does not appear to be influential in such pupil assessments, the experience of girls at Kingston Dene would appear to suggest that the personal impact of the teacher upon their school experience is rather greater than for that of boys. For girls in particular, the application of discipline in a non-punitive, non-individualistic way is especially important since their fear of being 'shown up', which is more pronounced than boys, would seem to be sufficient to encourage a non-participative stance within the classroom. As suggested in the exploration of classroom interaction and teacher-pupil relations in Chapters 6 and 7, such a stance may have repercussions for school work. Similarly, whilst pupils of both sexes may report that they enjoy humorous exchanges with the teacher, this tends to disguise the very different experience of

boys and girls within such classroom repartee. Again, this is discussed more fully later in the thesis. Having referred to some of the wider issues which subject preference impinges upon, it is now timely to resume the central theme.

Further consideration of subject preference by the girls at Kingston Dene revealed views which were largely synonymous with those of the boys. Reasons for preference amongst all pupils were based jointly on ability in and enjoyment of particular aspects of the timetable and consequently reflected the type of reasons referred to by Woods (1979) as affective. One additional criterion was, however, posited by the boys as influential and this concerned the degree of writing necessitated by particular subjects. Thus maths. and sports as suggested earlier were popular, whilst English was not, as the comments below indicate:-

Scott	Special Interests and er, things like that. Tuesday when we do woodwork, now we're doing metalwork - I like that sort of thing.
RJ	What's your Special Interest?
Scott	Cricket.
RJ	.... And why d'you like woodwork and metalwork?
Scott	'Cos er, you don't have to write anything .... i'nt writing lessons I think I like maths. best. I don't like English very much.

* * * *

RJ	.... And why d'you like art?
Trevor	I just like drawing.
RJ	Are there any lessons you don't like?
Trevor	Yeah, I don't like English. It's just boring 'cos you've got to write all the time.

Such views were also consistent with perceptions of the obligatory reading sessions at Kingston Dene, which were regarded favourably by boys since they did not entail any writing. In contrast, however, the girls, who did not share this disinclination, pronounced such lessons as boring, principally because the school readers were considered to be unexciting and not sufficiently varied. The correlation between 'proper' work and writing which appears to be established in the perceptions of older pupils entrenched in examination curricular, was not, therefore, a major factor in subject preference for the middle school pupils of Kingston Dene. This could be attributable to the role of the middle school in preserving pupils from such externalities and, indeed, only two pupils spontaneously elucidated their views on preference from a utilitarian perspective. Both were Asian boys and, as with their evaluation of sewing and cooking, cultural factors may have been implicated in their verdicts:-

Satnam   Well maths. I'm quite good at maths. 'Cos
            if you don't know how to do numbers it's just
            a waste of time in life. And science, well
            you have to know that, you have to know about
            magnets and things like that. About air.

                          * * * *

Assim   Well you have to know maths. and science.
            I like English as well 'cos I've got to
            know everything when I grow up.

This is not to suggest, however, that pupils were entirely unaware of, or indifferent to, utilitarian considerations regarding their schooling. When the issue of examinations was raised, a consensus emerged over the importance of doing well in order to secure good jobs. Such an awareness of the utilitarian value of schooling was also demonstrated by the middle school boys in Meyenn's (1980A) study and some of the girls researched by Sharpe (1976). For the older girls in Davies (1984) research, however, experience had already alerted them to the importance of appearance in securing employment and consequently greater effort was invested in personal presentation than academic qualifications.

The 3/5 girls also nominated maths. and English as the most important school subjects for essentially the same reasons and believed that this was reflected in the amount of time devoted to them within the school curriculum.[72] The important point in relation to subject preference is, however, that considerations other than instrumental ones underpinned the perceptions of third years at Kingston Dene. This view is reinforced when the responses on which subjects pupils would like to spend more or less time on are considered. Without exception girls and boys were unanimous in suggesting subjects which corresponded directly to their own individual preferences. No major timetabling upheavals were advocated, however, since in general

terms pupils considered that the balance achieved by the school was just about right.[73]

Explorations into subject preference at Kingston Dene would consequently appear to support the view, that for third year pupils, particularly the girls, the conventional constraints of gender had not yet impinged directly or explicitly upon predispositions towards certain facets of the curriculum. Whilst the boys did reveal a bias against one particular subject on the basis of its feminine connotations (sewing), the girls were not similarly influenced in relation to any subjects. Thus, no association emerged between subject preference and sexual divisions in the home and labour market of the sort displayed by slightly older girls[74] when confronted with examination subject choices (Grafton et al 1987). Whilst girls undergoing this process were exposed to certain pressures yet to be exerted upon middle school girls, there was no hint, for example, at Kingston Dene of girls enjoying cookery for its anticipated future utility. Indeed, on the contrary, one girl had enjoyed the subject, but her enthusiasm had waned under the influence of the teacher that year. Similarly, none of the girls perceived science as inappropriate or boring on the basis of its masculine image (Kelly 1981 and 1987). This is not to deduce, however, that girls' experience of science (or

any other subject), was identical to boys, for, as
Measor (1984) observes, there are various ways in which
girls' behaviour during science may signal a
disinclination for it.[75]

There is, however, the possibility that at Kingston Dene
girls may have de-selected themselves from subjects
which could have been construed as masculine. This was
only possible in relation to Special Interests[76] where
a subject option system operated and yet even within
this very limited system stereotypical activities were
selected with no attempt at any re-direction from the
school. As previously suggested, both Woods (1979,
1984) and Ball (1981) provide detailed analyses of how a
range of influences conspire to direct pupils in
specific curricular directions on the basis of social
class and these encompass teacher and pupil
conceptualizations of what it is appropriate for pupils
to pursue. Little attempt is made to explore such
processes in relation to gender and, yet as Grafton et
al (1987), Deem (1978) and several other observers
note,[77] much the same constraints are operative in
terms of gender.

It is possible to suggest that the role of the teacher
may be inadequately understood when subjects are
analysed from this perspective since the emphasis tends
to be upon the issue of channelling based upon teachers

stereotypical pre-conceptualizations of future adult roles. It is open to conjecture that teachers may be implicated in a much more subtle way in girls' perceptions of the curriculum and that the subject-teacher conflation apparent at Kingston Dene may influence subject orientation prior to the educational stage where more formal choices have to be made and more overt pressures are applied. Should girls be more sensitive than boys to the manner in which teachers exert their presence and develop relations within the classroom and, again the Kingston Dene data would indicate that in some respects this is the case, then the entire interrelationship of school experience, teacher-pupil relations and the curriculum would benefit from further exploration, particularly in so far as girls are concerned.

5.3.3 Causes for concern : homework and other issues

One of the themes to recur throughout the exploration of gender differentiation at Kingston Dene Middle School is the notion that school life incurred more potential causes of anxiety for girls than for boys. Within classroom interaction, for example, particularly the oral dimension of school work, girls loathed the prospect of being requested to contribute unless they had indicated their desire to do so and generally took a

very dim view of being made the focus of attention within the classroom for whatever reason. Davies (1984) also observes a similar phenomenon amongst the 'wenches' who, despite their confidence in some spheres of school life, appeared to fear drawing attention to themselves or their supposed inadequacies in others. This was reflected in her transcripts which featured many, what she refers to as 'anxiety' words, such as confidence, fool, silly, muddle, worried, uncomfortable and afraid.[78] Within the context of the present discussion on pupils' views of school and subjects studied, it is appropriate to consider, briefly, some specific aspects of school work which emerged as potentially anxiety provoking for girls. Three facets in particular transpired as causes for concern and these related to homework, the return of work which had been marked and the 'merit' system which operated on a class basis within the third year. (Merits complemented formal assessment and were awarded for effort, neat work, having work displayed publicly, good behaviour and generally in circumstances where the teacher wished to reward aspects of work or pupil behaviour not encompassed by the formal system of assessment).

Members of class 3/5 were generally in favour of homework, perceiving it as a confirmation of academic competence - "It shows you can do it", although both girls and boys found it rather irksome and attempted to

render its completion less onerous by watching television, for example, at the same time. For girls, however, homework or, more specifically, its non-completion, constituted a potential source of consternation since failure to complete usually provoked teacher remonstrations or was perceived to do so and these, as the following comments suggest, the girls endeavoured to avoid:-

Stacy	I ask me mum to write a letter saying we went out.
Jane	I'm scared the teacher is going to kill me or summat.
Rachel	They shout out.
I2	

* * * *

Sue	In't morning she [the maths. teacher] goes mad.
Susan	Yeah, she goes mad, she makes you go out, even though you've had no time to do it. And then they don't read your note even if you've got one.
I2	

* * * *

Charanjit	I'd tell a lie, I'd say I did it but I've forgotten it.
Gloria	Yeah, that's what I'd say.
I2	

In contrast, the boys viewed the consequences of non-completion much more phlegmatically:-

Jack	No.
RJ	You don't worry?
Jack	If they do, if they do start shouting, I just ignore it, don't get in a rage.

* * * *

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Luther      Well, I'd do some of it at school,  then   I'd
            have to stay in at playtime and do it.
RJ          And that wouldn't bother you?
Luther      No.
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<div style="text-align:center">* * * *</div>

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Scott       No, because I'd think it weren't my fault and
            I'd take a note usually.
```

Again, the only exception to this equanimity occurred amongst the two Asian boys who, as the response below illustrates, were concerned that the teacher may interpret failure to complete homework as a lack of interest in school work:-

```
Assim       Yes, sometimes it does [bother him] 'cos then
            the teacher don't  know  what's  happened  at
            home.  And then they just start thinking that
            I just forgot all about it or didn't want  to
            to do it .... You might have a good  reason
            but they wouldn't know that.
```

Despite their anxieties the girls did not co-operate with each other in any organized way in order to comply with the demands of school work such as homework, as the girls in 'The Sisterhood' (Lambart 1976) or the science lab. girls investigated by Meyenn (1980A) or some of the girls at St. Lukes (Delamont 1973). At most, the 3/5 girls would permit friends to hurriedly copy homework during morning registration in order to meet imminent deadlines. Unlike the girls in the studies mentioned, however, the girls in 3/5 were not as academically inclined or working towards public examinations.[79] Even allowing for public admonishments, therefore, it is possible to suggest that last minute copying was

considered sufficient to remedy the situation. Whether undertaken at home or at school, the ritual of returning work constituted another classroom circumstance which appeared rather more fraught for girls. Whilst both girls and boys were interested to see how they had 'done', for girls there seemed to be an added tension in case they had 'got it wrong', as the following remarks suggest:-

Stacy I2	You might get bad or summat. I'm always worried I'm going to get rubbish!

* * * *

Sue	That's the trouble [with getting work back] you're frightened to see what you've been given. We don't want to see [the work] in case you've done it wrong.
All	Oh yeah, yeah, that's the trouble.
Vickie I2	You turn away and put your paper away and look interested in something else.

Again, for boys the return of school work which had been marked appeared not to be associated with the anxieties which plagued the girls:-

Linton	Yes [is interested to see his mark].
RJ	Why?
Linton	To see how good I'm doing.

* * * *

Garth	Yeah 'cos I try and do well and I don't like getting low marks.

* * * *

Scott	I'm very keen to .... I do like to get a good mark.

It is possible to suggest that the girls concern over the humiliation of having misunderstood the purpose of

homework and consequently 'doing it wrong', could be attributable to their lower level of involvement in oral work which would minimize opportunities for them to confirm their understanding of teacher instructions. As Davies maintains:-

> Presumably the vicious circle of not understanding, not asking, understanding even less, would go some way towards explaining differential achievement, especially in boys subjects like maths. and science.

Davies 1984, p. 23.

Whilst it is not suggested that this vicious circle was implicated in achievement at Kingston Dene,[80] it is possible to assert that essentially the same process undermines girls confidence and consequently exacerbates their anxieties which does have ramifications for future progress. A lower level of confidence amongst girls is also reported by other observers[81] and, as Stanworth (1983) contends, the marginalization of girls in classroom interaction does little to enhance their self-esteem as pupils.

The tendency of the girls to be concerned about marks and formal assessment was also commented upon by Mr. Ford, the class teacher. As the following interview extract indicates, this was interpreted as reflecting the desire of girls for praise and reinforcement in terms of their work:-

Mr. Ford   ....I think girls far more like to be told they're doing well and receive merit marks and grades. I mean I've had a number of complaints over the last few years over final gradings .... and er, oh, hell of a problem when some girls got a B- at the end and some got a B. And I'd, you know, not thought, or a B+ and an A- and there's absolute tantrums at home. You know, parents have been up, saying she's been weeping for a week more or or less and she's just as good as the other girl.

On the basis of the data at Kingston Dene it is hard to imagine any of the boys being quite as devastated by any marks or final gradings. They were, however, enthusiastic about the merit system referred to by the teacher and which generated a good deal of nervous energy amongst both boys and girls. This was particularly evident during the final term when something of a contest developed between the two leaders (Vickie and Graham) and the class kept a vigilant watch on progress.

It is interesting to note, however, that whilst all the girls were extremely prompt to enter merits on the wall chart in class 3/5, the views of the more academic girls regarding the value of merits were contrary to those of the majority of girls and all of the boys. Thus, whilst Vickie may have been class leader in the merit race, she did not consider assessment of this type, which complemented the more formal system of assessment, as important:-

Vickie	I don't think it's that important.
Susan and	
Sue	No, no ....
Sue	If you get it [work] on't wall, you get it on't wall, but if you don't - well [shrugs]....
Susan	You're more bothered about getting A's and B's.
Vickie	Yeah and a good report.
Sharon	Not to seem daft and that.
All	Yeah, yeah.
I2	

Either this particular group of girls, three of whom had an impressive number of merits to their credit, were being modest in relation to each other.[82] Alternatively, something of Horner's (1976) 'fear of success' thesis may be detected in their attitude, whereby women and girls (Baruch 1974) perceive academic success negatively, particularly where it is achieved in a public context of competition with men. The public nature of the merit chart may, therefore, be instrumental in determining Vickie et al's stance towards such assessment, particularly as success in co-educational contexts is also perceived as incompatible with femininity (Komorovsky 1946, Sharpe 1976). The cause of concern for some of the 3/5 girls in this instance may be regarded, therefore, to emerge from their desire to perform well academically and yet, at the same time, remain aloof from a system which publicly proclaims their progress.

5.4   SUMMARY

The   members of class 3/5 at Kingston Dene Middle School
have provided the focus of this Chapter which has sought
to   elucidate   their   school   experience   through   an
exploration   of   social relations   and,   perceptions   of
school, particularly the curriculum, considered in terms
of subject preference.   Pupils encompassed by the study
reflected the social class and ethnic composition of the
school which, in turn, mirrored the local working class,
multiracial   community   within   which   it   was   located.
Whilst   typical   of   the third year in terms   of   social
class and ethnicity, pupils in 3/5 were slightly unusual
in comprising equal numbers of girls and boys,   when for
the year in its entirety, the balance favoured girls.

One   of the principal ways in which pupils cope with the
institutional impositions[83] of school life is   through
their own social arrangements,   reflected in peer groups
and   friendship   networks   (Davies   1984,   Meyenn   1980A,
Pollard   1984   and   B.   Davies   1984).   Pupils'   social
organization   at   Kingston   Dene was   typical   in   being
clearly delineated on the basis of gender (Meyenn 1980A,
Davies 1984,   Llewellyn 1980, Jones 1985, Holly 1985 and
Delamont   1980A   and   1980B)   and,   within   single   sex
groupings,   some   internal organizational features   were
reminiscent of those observed by other researchers.   As

in Meyenn's study the Kingston Dene boys were organized into one largely homogeneous group and whilst three boys emerged as particularly popular, in general terms being of the same gender appeared sufficient reason for assuming an affinity or friendship. Sport provided a focus for this and the resultant cohesion encompassed not only the boys of class 3/5 but also those in other third year classes. The impact of first school friendships and class formation in the first year at Kingston Dene[84] were discernable here and the setting arrangements in the third year permitted such relationships to be sustained.

This also applied to the girls, although such inter-class contacts were perceived quite differently in terms of friendship status. Indeed, apart from the inclusion of friends in other third year classes, girls friendship networks bore no resemblance to those of boys. For the girls, friendship strategies reflected something of a coalescence between those detailed by Pollard (1984) and B. Davies (1984) as opposed to the strong peer group affiliation observed by Meyenn (1980B). Both groups and a series of twosomes co-existed in class 3/5, echoing the 'good'and 'joker' orientation to school outlined by Pollard. Whether organized into groups or pairs, however, the girls had a very clear perception of their 'best' friend and other friends were ranked in order of

preference and priority. The term priority is relevant
since, unlike the girls in Turner's (1983) comprehensive
school where friends would be designated for only
certain lessons, for the girls in class 3/5 friends and
class seating partners were virtually synonymous.
Subject setting arrangements at Kingston Dene
consequently meant that friends were required in a range
of other classes in order to deal with those situations
whereby best friends within 3/5 were separated for
different lessons. As a result 'contingency' friends
(B. Davies 1984) were organized in order to meet the
demands of timetabling exigencies.

Amongst the girls, it was the rather more socially
mature and sophisticated who were members of groups and
increasing interest in teenage culture was also
associated with academic competence, a tendency also
noted by Brown (1972) and Douglas et al (1968). Reasons
for friendship were not dissimilar on the basis of
gender although the esteemed quality of loyalty was
construed by boys to apply in situations of physical
threat, whereas for the girls it implied not deserting
friends in favour of others. In terms of cross-sex
relationships, friends or even acquaintances were
formally proscribed and girls and boys went to
considerable lengths to avoid any contaminating
contacts. Even in circumstances where the teacher
required co-operation, pupils contrived to maintain

single sex affiliations and thus, as Delamont (1980A) also notes, mixed group work tended to present only a facade of co-operation. Similarly, when cross-sex proximity was imposed for punitive purposes, a stance of disapprobation was publicly applied.

In more informal contexts within the school, however, cross-sex relations were permitted provided that a certain protocol was observed. Within the playground and during less visible moments during lessons, therefore, girls and boys did interact. The requirement seemed to be, however, that relations had to be initiated and conducted within a framework of teasing and humorous provocation which occasionally amounted to flirting. The only condoned exception to this appeared to occur through necessity when the boys requested to borrow girls school equipment since they had forgotten their own. It is possible to suggest, moreover, that the ruptured nature of cross-sex relations was exacerbated by the school. Not only were girls and boys constantly reminded of the differences between them (Delamont 1980A), there appeared to be little understanding of the nature of developing adolescent relationships. Thus girls, in particular, had to assert their sexuality in order to appear attractive and yet not too attractive or available (Sharpe 1976, Llewellyn 1980 and Lees 1987) within a context where an awareness

of such considerations was minimal.

Neither the girls or boys within class 3/5 were identified with any strong pro or anti school groupings and, indeed, the general orientation towards school irrespective of gender was positive although it was possible to detect slightly more enthusiasm amongst the girls and, for essentially the same reason as the 'wenches' (Davies 1984) - that it provided a more sociable alternative to home. The girls of 3/5 did, however, demonstrate rather more commitment to the school's official programme. Whilst there were some differences between girls and boys in terms of which particular subjects were considered enjoyable, or otherwise, the most salient feature in terms of subject preference concerned the gender based distinctions over reasons for preference. Here, the boys were influenced by perceptions of what constituted suitable activities for them to pursue on the basis of gender and were consequently predisposed against sewing. In contrast the girls embraced the corresponding subject for them (woodwork) with no mention of its masculine connotations. The main influence for girls, however, upon subject preference was the teacher.

The manner in which teachers asserted their authority and established relations with pupils was integral to girls evaluation of particular subjects. Thus, at least

one girl had altered her opinion of cooking purely on this basis and the almost even split between girls either liking or disliking maths. could be attributable to the particular set they were in, with respective differences in teaching personnel. This tendency of the girls to be vulnerable to the personal impact of the teacher and especially to fears of being 'shown-up', was consistent with their inclination to experience school as potentially more fraught with anxiety than the boys in various dimensions of classroom life. Hence, issues relating to subjects and school work such as completion of homework, receiving work subsequent to assessment and progress in the class' merit award system were all perceived as situations in which supposed inadequacies could be exposed.

Such insecurities were not demonstrated by the boys who confronted evaluative situations with equanimity and, as Davies (1984) observes, girls' lack of confidence may be implicated in academic attainment since failure to question teachers may result in misunderstanding of the subject which may in turn amplify a downward spiral into lower performance. Some of the dynamics involved in girls comparative lack of confidence and how interactive processes within the classroom contribute to this are considered within the analysis of teacher-pupil relations which constitutes the focus of the following two Chapters.

FOOT NOTES

1. The Interview Schedules which formed the basis of discussion with pupils are, as indicated within Chapter 2 on Methodology, presented in Appendices 1 and 2 With reference to the girls, friends were discussed during the first and second interviews (see Appendices 1A and 1B), whilst issues relating to school and the curriculum were raised at each of the three interviews (see also Appendix 1C). The data utilized within this Chapter, however, in relation to subject preference emerged predominantly during the first interview, where the same questions were posed to both girls and boys, thus facilitating a comparison of responses. Homework and assessment were considered with girls during the second interview (see Appendix 1B). All issues were raised with boys during one interview and the interview Schedule is presented in Appendix 2.

2. For a fuller discussion of the methodological issues pertaining to the interviews conducted with pupils see Section 2.3.3 of Chapter 2.

3. This is indicated by an interview reference placed at the left hand side of each interview data extract. I1 (first interview), I2 (second interview) or I3 (third interview) as appropriate. Data are, however, almost exclusively selected from the first two interviews with girls.

4. One boy (Joe) left Kingston Dene within the first few weeks of term in order to attend another middle school and whilst he features in the seating arrangements plan (see Section 5.2, Table 5) he does not otherwise feature in the ethnography of gender differentiation. The departure of the one girl (Susan) was due to her family emigrating to Australia in April 1980 and she is consequently represented in the study for the first two terms of the school year. Of the two male additions to class 3/5, Clive joined after only a few weeks of term from another third year class and Paul arrived at the start of the second term after moving to the City from the South of England. Both are included in the study. One girl (Nina) also started the school year late due to an extended family holiday in Cyprus and whilst she is not represented on the first plan of seating arrangements she does feature in the research.

5. Whilst the differentiation of pupils on the basis of race or ethnicity was not included within the remit of the ethnography, details of ethnic origin were obtained since this clearly represents an equally important part of pupils' biographies. The classification of ethnic origin is, however, problematic and the form of categorization utilized here represents a combination of colour, ethnic origin and race. Whilst exact birth place details were not requested formally from pupils, informal conversation with pupils and teachers indicated that almost all Afro-Carribean and Asian pupils were British born, although the majority of parents and some elder siblings were born in the Carribean or Indian Sub-Continent. The two girls within class 3/5 designated as Eastern European had Polish fathers and British born mothers and were themselves born in Britain. The one Greek Cypriot member of class 3/5 had been born in Cyprus and her family retained very strong links with other family members still living there.

6. See also Section   of Chapter 1 for a discussion of the social class composition of Kingston Dene.

7. Meyenn (1980A) p.250.

8. The issue of girls and deviance at school is considered more fully in Chapter 6, Section 6.4 on Discipline and Punishment within Teacher-Pupil Relations.

9. See also the discussion of pupils stance towards school at Kingston Dene with Section 6.4 of Chapter 6.

10. See Pupil Interview Schedules in Appendices 1 and 2.

11. The friendship choice order for this group emerged as:-

Stacy	1st choice	Rachel
	2nd choice	Sue, Julie
	Other	Pamela*,Natalie
Rachel	1st choice	Stacy
	2nd choice	Sue, Julie
	Other	Natalie*,Lisa*, Ruth*, Barbara*, Joanna*
Sue	1st choice	Stacy, Rachel
	2nd choice	Julie
	Other	Susan, Vickie

Julie	1st choice	Stacy
	Other	Jessica*, Sarah*, Natalie*

* Indicates girls in other 3rd year classes.

12. See Appendix 1A.

13. Stacy was occasionally involved in disciplinary encounters with the teacher, see Section 6.4.3 of Chapter 6.

14. The issue of girls avoiding attention within the classroom is explored in Chapter 7, Section 7.4 on girls being assertive.

15. On the basis of aggregated examination results, Vickie scored the highest and Susan the second highest results out of the girls in class 3/5 and, occupied second and third place respectively in the class as a whole.

16. The friendship choice for this group emerged as:-

Vickie	1st choice	Susan, Anna*
	2nd choice	Sharon, Jane, Cathy*
Susan	1st choice	Vickie, Anna*
	2nd choice	Cathy*
	Other	-
Jane	1st choice	Laura*
	2nd choice	Sharon, Susan, Vickie
	Other	-
Sharon	1st choice	Jane
	2nd choice	Anita*,Allison*, Kate*, Louise*, Vanessa*, Jill*

* Indicates girls in other third year classes.

17. Caused by an extended family holiday in Cyprus.

18. Teacher relations with Gloria and teacher-pupil interaction with specific reference to her are explored in Sections 6.3.6 and 6.4.2 of Chapter 6.

19. See the conclusion of Section 6.3.6., Chapter 6.

20. Margaret is discussed more fully in Section 6.4.2 on Controlling Girls in Chapter 6.

21. The nature and consequences of Gloria's roving style are considered in Section 6.3.6 and 6.4.2 of Chapter 6.

22. The issue of how the girls spent their leisure time outside of school was discussed with them in the second and third interviews and with the boys in their only interview - see the Schedules in Appendices 1 and 2. Whilst there is not sufficient space within the confines of the thesis to explore this data fully, the following represent the six most mentioned activities by girls and boys:-

ACTIVITY	NUMBER OF PUPILS PARTICIPATING
GIRLS	
Listening to records	14
Going to town	11
Discos	10
T.V.	7
Swimming	6
Talking	4
BOYS	
Reading	6
Football	6
T.V.	4
Listening to records	4
Model making	3

In total the girls mentioned twenty two leisure time activities and the boys thirty six. There was a greater variety amongst the boys, although with perhaps only one boy mentioning the particular activity, ranging from sporting activities other than football, pigeon fancying, motor-bikes to abseiling and sketching. The girls were thus more clustered in activities reflecting involvement with the pop-fashion culture, which as McRobbie and Garber (1975) suggest only require the privacy of a bedroom for development.

23. On the basis of aggregated examination results, Charanjit, Jennifer, Gloria, Nina and Margaret occupied five of the eight lowest class places.

24. Carole occupied twelfth place in class 3/5 (girls and boys) on the basis of aggregated examination results.

25. Orientation towards school is discussed later in the Chapter (Section 5.3.1).

26. See the discussion of girls and deviance in Section 6.4 of Chapter 6.

27. See the discussion of seating arrangements in Section 6.3.4 of Chapter 6.

28. Furlong (1985), p. 119.

29. Davies (1984), p. 178.

30. It would seem, for example, that certain areas of the curriculum are regarded as unfeminine, notably technical and scientific subjects which may explain girls underrepresentation in these areas (Randall 1987, Kelly 1981 and 1987).

31. Briefer, both in comparison with girls and in terms of their answers on different subjects.

32. See the boys Interview Schedule in Appendix 2.

33. For example, stamp collecting and paper modelling.

34. Raised with girls in the first interview and with boys in their sole interview, see Appendices 1A and 2 for the Interview Schedules.

35. See Appendices 1A and 2 for the Interview Schedules.

36. See also the Introductory Chapter for details of how girls and boys were recorded separately on registers, school lists, required to queue separately and other similar organizational features of Kingston Dene.

37. Particularly the 'P.E. girls' who dominated the boys, see Meyenn (1980A) p. 270.

38. See Appendix 2 for the boys Interview Schedule.

39. The most popular ball game at the time was called 'Hot Rice' and entailed getting opponents out through surprise throws of a small ball at other individuals who had to be on the alert for being selected.

40. It is not the intention within the context of this Chapter to delve into the vast literature on adolescence. For a useful summary which outlines the implications of girls development see Delamont (1980A).

41. i.e. reported to the researcher either by girls or teachers.

42. Mahony (1985) p. 50.

43. Group membership comprised:-

     i   Rachel, Sue, George, Garth, Satnam
    ii   Jane, Sharon, Graham, Assim
   iii   Linton, Luther, Jennifer, Gloria, Charanjit
    iv   Carole, Margaret, Nina, Tony, Mark, Michael
     v   Jack, Scott, Susan, Vickie
    vi   Julie, Stacy.

44. Julie and Gloria were in different groups and both were trying to attract Nina in order to avoid being joined by Margaret.

45. Either short and to the point requests regarding the loan of equipment or the provocative, teasing style of interaction.

46. See, for example, Stacy's response to not associating with boys near the start of Section 5.2.3, Carole also made a similar comment in her first interview - "Because they're all 'orrible at school. I don't like any of them".

47. Reported to the researcher during informal conversations.

48. A view expressed by one of the third year staff to the researcher.

49. This range of pupils' response to schooling, provoked in particular by various methods of grouping on the basis of ability, are elucidated in the following studies:-
Hargreaves (1967); Lacey (1970); Willis (1977); Corrigan (1979); Woods (1979); Llewellyn (1980); Ball (1981); Turner (1983) and Davies (1984). Since their focus is predominantly upon deviance, various differences in themes are explored in Chapter 6 on Teacher-Pupil Interaction, Section 6.4.

50. Woods (1983A), p. 55.

51. A view expressed by the girls in Davies (1984) study during discussions with the researcher on truancy.

52. See Delamont (1980A). In particular it would seem that black girls resist the institutional impositions of school whilst wishing to exploit any academic advantages it may offer (Fuller 1980). The girls in Lambart's (1976) 'Sisterhood', as suggested earlier in this Chapter, were similarly predisposed.

53. Chapter 6, Section 6.4.

54. See the girls Interview Schedule in Appendix 1A.

55. See the girls Interview Schedule in Appendix 1B.

56. · For a discussion of achievement and subject specialization see Chapters 1 and 3 respectively.

57. For a detailed analysis of the subject-option process see Woods (1979 and 1984) and Ball (1981).

58. The results of Maccoby's work in this area are discussed within the Introduction (Chapter 1), see also Maccoby (1966) and Maccoby and Jacklin (1975).

59. The general orientation of girls to schooling is considered within the previous Section of the current discussion (Section 5.3.1), whilst the issue of socialization into arts and sciences is explored in general texts on girls education (Delamont 1976, 1980A; Deem 1978; Whyte et al 1985; Byrne 1978), Kelly provides the most extensive analyses of girls and science (1981 and 1987).

60. See Section 5.2.1 of the present Chapter and Section 6.4 on Discipline and Punishment within the exploration of teacher-pupil relations in Chapter 6.

61. See the Interview Schedules in Appendices 1A and 2.

62. It was necessary to probe Design and Make for the practical purpose of ascertaining which of the four constituent subjects pupils were referring to within discussions, also to explore the views of pupils in an area of the curriculum traditionally differentiated by gender. Specific reference was made to reading due to the emphasis it received within the third year curriculum. Not only had

one English lesson per week been designated as a 'library' period on the basis of the recommendations of the Bullock Report (1975), but pupils w ere also expected to read during daily registration periods. Observation suggested that pupils were frequently less than engrossed with their readers and casual conversations with pupils indicated that reading was perceived as part of English and specific queries would be required to ascertain views on the activity.

63. The achievement of pupils in class 3/5, based upon tests and examinations administered at certain times throughout the third year, in addition to routine marks, is discussed within the Introductory Chapter (Chapter 1).

64. Nine girls and thirteen boys liked woodwork the most out of the four subjects comprising the Design and Make programme (art, cookery, woodwork, sewing).

65. Only two boys disliked cookery, the two Asian boys of class 3/5, possibly suggesting the influence of cultural factors upon perceptions of the subject.

66. 7% of pupils indicated the influence of the teacher as a reason for examination subject selection (Woods 1979). This may be indicative of the illusory nature of 'choice' within the process, since pupils own inclinations tend to be submerged by other rather more powerful constraints (Woods 1979 and 1984, Ball 1981, Cicourel and Kitsuse 1971).

67. See the Schedule which was used as the basis of the third interview with girls in Appendix 1C.

68. Such issues emerged during informal conversations with girls in the playground at break and dinner times.

69. 'Real' work is also referred to earlier in the Chapter, see Section 5.3.2.

70. The use of humour, particularly in relation to discipline, is also discussed in Chapter 6 on teacher-pupil relations, Sections 6.4 and 6.6.

71. Docking (1987) pp. 72 - 74.

72. The importance of subjects emerged during discussions with girls in the third interview, see question 2 in the third Interview Schedule, Appendix 1C. Examinations and qualifications were

discussed during the second interview, - see question 16 in Appendix 1B and with boys during their only interview.

73. The issue of spending more or less time on particular subjects was raised with girls during their second interview and again with the boys during their only interview, see Appendices 1B and 2 for the Interview Schedules. Data relating to girls views on important subjects and pupils views on time allocation to particular subjects have not been presented, since within the context of the exploration of preference priority has been accorded to the inclusion of pupil responses relating most directly to the issue under consideration.

74. The girls researched by Grafton et al were aged 14 to 15 years compared to the Kingston Dene girls who were aged between 11 and 12 years.

75. Measor's (1984) findings are also considered within the discussion of disciplining girls in Chapter 6, Section 6.4.3.

76. As indicated in Chapter 3, Special Interests predominantly comprised additional field based sporting activities. There were some indoor activities which pupils could select such as drama and cookery.

77. For example, Delamont (1976 and 1980A), Oakley (1981), Byrne (1978), Sunderland (1981) and Marks (1976).

78. Davies (1984), p. 23.

79. This applied to 'The Sisterhood' and the St. Luke girls.

80. Achievement was not differentiated on the basis of gender at Kingston Dene - see the discussion in Chapter 1.

81. For example, Fennema (1983), Licht and Dweck (1987) and Beyer et al (1985). The issue of confidence is also discussed in Chapter 7.

82. The three girls in question were Vickie, Susan and Sue.

83. Such impositions within this context refer predominantly to the setting arrangements utilized at Kingston Dene for various subjects. A more detailed account of these is contained within

the discussion of the curriculum in Chapter 3.

84. Class 3/5 did not comprise the same membership during the first year at Kingston Dene. Membership which was current at the time of the research project had been organized at the start of the second year.

CHAPTER 6

TEACHER - PUPIL INTERACTION : SOME ASPECTS OF CONTROL

6.1   INTRODUCTION

Perhaps in more than any other dimension of the present study of girls education, the comparative neglect of gender as an explanatory construct within interaction studies is at its most conspicuous and, as Llewellyn (1980) maintains, at its least defensible. The situation has improved somewhat since the inception of the ethnography at Kingston Dene, but the tendency to add the 'gender' perspective rather than for it to be integral to qualitative research is, with few exceptions, very apparent.[1] The accusation of neglect is particularly acute in this context since the impetus for 'new' directions within the sociology of education, which sought to establish the minutiae of interaction as a radical re-focus, ostensibly emerged from the failure of previous paradigms to critically challenge existing assumptions and reveal what was taken for granted.[2] Face-to- face relations have, as Llewellyn suggests, been raised to levels of new consciousness in the research literature through various interpretive perspectives and yet the fruits of such labour are disappointing. The spate of classroom interaction studies have:-

> focused on pupil as pupil and teacher
> as teacher: neutralized and neutered
> categories which can only be fully
> understood in relation to pupil and
> teacher also as girl/boy/woman/man;
> working class/middle class; black/
> white; young/old.
>
> Llewellyn 1980, p. 43.

The familiar generic terms of children and pupils are used interchangeably with boys and thus the spurious notion that the behaviour of girls is encompassed within such research is perpetuated. While the limitations of such research no longer pass entirely unchallenged, the academic prestige of studies such as 'Social Relations in a Secondary School' (Hargreaves 1967), 'Hightown Grammar' (Lacey 1970) 'Learning to Labour' (Willis 1977) and 'Schooling the Smash Street Kids' (Corrigan 1979) remain comparatively invincible (at least from the damning critique that only half the school population were deemed worthy of consideration).

This is not to suggest that girls have been systematically omitted from all school and classroom studies as qualitative styles have developed. Nash (1973), for example, in one of the forerunners to observational studies includes both girls and boys, although most of his illustrations are based on the latter. King(1978) utilises gender as a category in the organization of his data and discusses institutional differentiation and how teachers unconsciously typify

female and male behaviour in stereotyped ways. Galton,
Simon and Croll(1980) observe a "slight tendency" for
boys to receive more teacher contact than girls [3] and,
teacher interaction with girls is cited in Woods' (1979)
study of the 'Divided School'. In more recent
explorations at the secondary level girls do receive
some attention (Ball 1981, Turner 1983 and Beynon 1985).
Yet the search for such references is painstaking and
produces little in terms of elucidating processes of
gender differentiation. Girls tend either to be included
incidentally with no exploration of the implications of
gender or, as previously suggested, the issue of
differentiation is grafted onto studies at convenient
points in the analysis.

Thus, the present and subsequent Chapter, in focusing
upon teacher-pupil interaction seek to redress this
imbalance and augment the work of the few yet notable
challengers to the aforementioned orthodoxes (Arnot and
Weiner 1987; Weiner and Arnot 1987; Davies 1978, 1979,
1984; Deem 1978, 1980, 1984; Delamont 1973, 1980A,
1980B; Lambart 1976; Spender 1980A, 1982 and Wolpe
1977). The attempt to delve into and consider gender
differentiation within interactive processes between
teachers and pupils is largely based upon observational
work at Kingston Dene. As suggested within the Chapter
on methodology, the observational data were scrutinized

in order to detect any trends or recurrent themes and these have formed the basis of the analytic classifications which are presented for discussion.

Some of these became apparent as the fieldwork progressed, thereby permitting further exploration and elaboration of theoretical ideas that were 'grounded' in the earlier fieldwork.[4] It must be acknowledged, however, that whilst the major classifications emerged during the course of the fieldwork, the sub-divisions, linkages and refinement of these were honed during the more reflective post-fieldwork period. Whilst it is tempting to prolong this process of sifting, re-organizing and re-classifying data in the quest for something superior, a halt must eventually be called for otherwise, as Woods (1986) observes, little will actually be produced.

The consequence of these deliberations for the consideration of classroom interaction within the present study are that the data transcends two chapters. No great distinction or theoretical insight can be claimed for informing the division between Chapters Six and Seven. This was essentially dictated by the practicalities of organizing into digestible parts the wealth of data on gender differentiation within teacher-pupil relations. Whilst some of the eight data sections could easily be transposed from one Chapter to another,

since in practice the processes occurred simultaneously rather than sequentially, what might be viewed loosely as aspects of social control are presented in the initial chapter and other dimensions of interaction in the following one. The main themes are, therefore, presented for consideration as follows:-

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Ticking over               )
Discipline and punishment  )  Chapter 6
Task allocation            )
Humour                     )

Oral work                  )
Language and gesture       )  Chapter 7
Girls being assertive      )
Within sex differentiation )
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Previous developments in classroom interaction studies are detailed in the first of the two Chapters and conclusions regarding the research at Kingston Dene in the second. Other research studies which are relevant to the points being elucidated are integrated throughout the discussion in both Chapters.

Whilst such methodological and presentational practicalities are being aired it is perhaps timely to provide a brief reminder of some of the problems raised within the main discussion of these issues in Chapter 2. In relation to the eight themes identified for analysis, actually teasing examples out of the field notes for consideration poses certain methodological difficulties because, in isolation, the extracts fail to impart something of the flavour of the whole. Furthermore, one

classroom incident may illustrate more than one feature of interaction and thus, having formed distinct analytic categories, some data defies exclusive location within them. Under such circumstances the temptation is to provide within each category copious examples of data in the hope that eight or ten extracts will succeed in supporting the hypothesis where perhaps only two or three may fail.[5]

A real problem of volume is consequently generated as the quantity of data threatens to obfuscate rather than illuminate the finer points of the ethnography. Some kind of editing process is clearly required and yet, pruning the data exacerbates another difficulty in that there are few specific incidents which, when cited out of context, enshrine gender distinctions in a very obvious way. Rather it is the sequence or juxtaposition of encounters which reveals a process of gender differentiation and, again, this is difficult to portray whilst at the same time attempting to be economical with the data. The mechanism employed generally throughout this study, but particularly within the two Chapters on classroom interaction, has been to draft sections using random selections of data which were then subject to a further reduction - again on a random basis.[6] Perhaps the one source of comfort is that in grappling with such problems one is in good company and, the pitfalls of 'over-claiming' points from the data, letting the data

'speak for itself', or creating arguments of straw, have been identified so that other researchers may contrive to avoid them.[7]

6.2 FROM INTERACTION ANALYSIS TO INTERPRETIVE CASE STUDY

The methodological transition denoted in the above sub-heading also encompasses a transfer in the location of research from North America to Britain. Much of the early work into gender differentiation originated in the former and results were generated from the systematic coding of classroom talk and activity into pre-determined schedules of the type eventually made famous by Flanders.[8] As Delamont (1983A) points out, whilst Interaction Analysis made the transition from American to British classrooms, it never established the same uncritical methodological monopoly. This, as she suggests, is due in part to the absence in Britain of social psychology as a strong discipline which had established schools as a legitimate research territory. Concomitantly, it is also attributable to the differing academic backgrounds of those who introduced qualitative research into British classrooms. Judging from recent American publications on gender influences in classroom interaction it would seem that the Interaction Analysis approach is still utilized in the consideration of processes of differentiation.[9]

The early American studies are frequently cited by current observers of gender differences and tend to be utilized as the academic antecedents which established inequalities in the distribution of teacher time and attention on the basis of sex.[10] Thus, during the 1950's and 1960's various surveys established that boys were in receipt of more disapproval contacts than girls (Meyer and Thompson 1956, Lippet and Gold 1959, Spaulding 1963, Jackson and Lahaherne 1967). This feature of classroom life was attributed to the greater behavioural problems presented by boys, (see also Terman and Tyler 1954 and Davis and Slobodian 1967) and this seemingly straightforward causal relationship was not challenged until the early 1970's when Martin (1972), for example, observed that if this were the case the disruptive girls would also incur teacher disapproval, yet this appeared not to be occurring.

The teachers in Martin's study, and this was also apparent at Kingston Dene, appeared to perceive boys in general as posing behavioural problems. Boys were, therefore, involved more extensively in interaction and again, as in the present study, such involvement was not entirely punitive but focused upon school work as a means of maintaining control. Clarricoats (1978) details a similar strategy of aversion whereby teachers consciously select curricular topics on the basis of

what is anticipated to sustain the interest of boys, thereby minimizing the likelihood of disruption. That the same pattern does not apply to girls is tentatively explained by Martin in terms of the tendency for female disaffection to manifest itself in withdrawal rather than assertion or aggression, which necessitates a different response from the teacher. That female deviance is different to that of boys is now established (see Davies 1984), yet even where girls are disruptive in a similar vein to boys as will be discussed below (see also Fuller 1978, Clarricoats 1980), teacher responses are not comparable to those for non-conforming boys.

Whilst the emphasis of these early studies of gender differentiation tended towards an analysis of the behavioural problems posed by boys, it is possible to detect differentiation in other spheres of classroom life. In relation to the seven categories of disapproval behaviours identified by Spaulding, [11] for example, a higher level of teacher interaction is indicated with boys in all the major categories of teacher behaviour, namely, approval, instruction and listening, in addition to disapproval. Sears and Feldman (1966) similarly cite various research results which concur with this observation (Jackson 1966, Torrance 1962, Waetjen and Grambs 1963 and McNeil 1964). In their research with its broader scope, Brophy and

Good (1970) maintain that teachers communicate differential performance expectations to children through their own classroom behaviour.

In confirming the self-fulfilling prophecy theory of Rosenthal and Jacobson, Brophy and Good suggest that the nature of this differential treatment is such as to encourage pupils to respond in ways which confirm teacher expectancies. Thus, not only do boys appear to have more interaction with teachers than girls, they appear to be generally more salient in the teachers perceptual field. This issue of 'noticeability' was also developed by Garner and Bing (1973) who posit that this is the major variable within classroom contacts. Passivity - a form of behaviour conventionally associated with feminity - is noted as the type of behaviour which results in low levels of all types of interaction within the classroom. The authors do not, however, pursue this in terms of the repercussions for girls education.

The work of Serbin et al (1973) is consonant with the major thrust of research in this genre in suggesting that boys receive several types of nurturant and instructional attention in addition to the contact necessitated by remonstration. The physical proximity of pupils to the teacher is posed as an important factor in establishing contact with teachers and, this

transpires to be particularly crucial for girls since it would appear that unless they can manoevre themselves into an appropriate position "Girls are more likely to be ignored except when directly beside the teacher."[12] The opportunities for securing such a position for significant periods within the majority of classrooms hardly needs commenting upon. The continuation of this research by Serbin into the nature of play and use of toys confirms the original observation that teacher location and attention patterns are important determinants of sex-typing within the classroom (Serbin and Connor 1976; Serbin, Connor and Citron 1979; Serbin 1978 and Serbin, Connor and Iler 1979). Further development of the research programme has seen a broadening in scope and more recent publications encompass the implications of early sex-typing for academic progress (Serbin 1983).

In general terms, however, the (predominantly) North American research is disappointing to the extent that the wider ramifications of gender differentiation are left largely unexplored. Although it is perhaps not surprising that no attempt is made to link micro and macro processes in view of the positivist tradition within which most of the research was conducted. One possible exception to this is the work of Ricks and Pyke (1973)[13] who delve directly into the impact of teacher

perceptions of sex-role behaviour and the social position of women upon the process of teaching and classroom interaction. The authors note that teachers observe noticeable traditional sex-role differences and believe, moreover, that students want to be treated in a gender specific manner which further serves to reinforce differential treatment along conventional gender lines. A rather more encompassing view of the school as a social institution and mediator of cultural factors is therefore posited, wherein perceptions and images of sex-roles are affective and maintained.

In contrast to these early studies, the development of observational work within British classrooms produced little on the issue of gender differentiation. Indeed, of those who pioneered 'live' observation of the process of teaching and learning, Delamont (1973) seems to be the only investigator who focused upon girls, although it must be acknowledged that despite her later work on gender differentiation, the study of St. Lukes did not have as its main focus the educational experience of girls as distinct from, or compared to, boys. Given that the intention of this review of interactional classroom research is to explore inter-personal relations as they affect girls and boys rather than chronicle methodological developments, the consideration of early British research will be comparatively brief. Since the results of other researchers which are germane

to the observational data at Kingston Dene will as suggested be incorporated into the analysis as it proceeds, all that remains to be commented upon at this juncture are those developments which eventually, if not initially, encompassed the issue of gender differentiation and stereotyping.

As Wragg (1975) suggests, prior to the mid 1960s, with few modest exceptions, educational researchers did not actually enter schools in order to explore social relations, the nature of teaching and learning or other features of school life. In his review of the 'First Generation of British "Interaction Studies"' Wragg denotes 1970 as the commencement of some interchange of ideas between those engaged in classroom observation studies. In her introduction to the volume in which Wragg's article appears,[14] Delamont documents how such researchers from various disciplines with distinct methodological traditions met and, despite some inter-disciplinary disagreements, forged what in retrospect may be considered as the qualitative - interpretive approach to British classroom research. The authors mentioned in the introduction to this Chapter are clearly identifiable as contributors to early and continued attempts to extend the frontiers of classroom research. Such research is located within the different traditions of symbolic interactionism, anthropology, psychology, linguistics, variants of Interaction

Analysis and various permutations of these.

Such explorations are documented in several collections of papers which focus upon different aspects of school life and reflect the developments of work in this area (for example Chanan and Delamont 1975, Stubbs and Delamont 1976, Woods and Hammersley 1977, Barton and Meighan 1979, Woods 1980A and 1980B, Stubbs and Hillier 1983, Hammersley and Woods 1984, Hargreaves and Woods 1984, Hammersley 1986A and 1986B). This list is intended to be illustrative rather than exhaustive and is reflective of the growing body of classroom research conducted from what may broadly be described as an interactionist perspective. It is worth noting that a relatively small number of the collections contain papers (usually one) dealing with girls' educational experience (Woods 1980A, Hammersley and Woods 1984, Hargreaves and Woods 1984 and Delamont 1984). The equivalent readers on exclusively gender issues within this broad methodological framework have been edited by Deem (1980), Spender and Sarah (1980) and some of the papers in Whyld (1983) and recently Weiner and Arnot and Arnot and Weiner (1987). This in itself is probably a fair reflection of the relative imbalance within qualitative research into the issue of schooling for girls.

If the development of qualitative classroom interaction studies, irrespective of certain disparate tendencies, could be perceived to represent an identifiable and innovatory research trend, then the simultaneous emergence of radical European and American theoretical perspectives may, as previously suggested,[15] be considered as responsible for propelling British sociology of education into a new and exciting era. The publication of Young's 'Knowledge and Control' (1971) and the Open University Reader 'School and Society' (1971) is commonly regarded as a watershed development for the discipline as the study of schooling was thrust into the realm of phenomenology, ethnomethodology, Marxism, and ideology, with the associated problematics of synthesising micro and macro processes.[16]

Of particular relevance to the present discussion is the exploration, stimulated by the theoretical re-alignment, of teacher and to a lesser extent pupil assumptions. This probing of the taken-for-granted resulted in the role and transmission of stereotypes being subject to scrutiny. Since stereotypes may be viewed as amongst the most puissant persuaders of what constitutes appropriate gender behaviour, the 'new' directions had a good deal of potential for elucidating girls educational experience as a preparation for the socio-economic position occupied by women. As indicated in the introduction to this Chapter, however, this potential

was not realized at the time and it has been left largely to feminist researchers to rectify the omission (Kuhn and Wolpe 1978, Barrett 1980, MacDonald 1980, Arnot and Weiner 1987 and Weiner and Arnot 1987).

With reference specifically to teacher assumptions, Keddie (1971), as one of the contributors to the new directions debate, revived Becker's (1952) analysis of the ideal pupil in order to explore how teacher assumptions regarding pupil ability were instrumental in effectively differentiating a supposedly undifferentiated social studies curriculum. The findings are familiar and there is, therefore, no need to rehearse them again within the present discussion. While it is possible to take issue with Keddie over some aspects of her interpretation of the classroom data, the study remains interesting for its attempt to demonstrate how the two contexts within which teachers operate are implicated in the manner in which learning opportunities are made available in the classroom.

Sharp and Green (1975) similarly illustrate how the very immediacy of classroom life may result in teachers responding to pupils in a way that is contrary to their own educational intentions. Here, in a child-centred approach to learning, less able pupils were tacitly encouraged to look 'busy' while teachers actually spent more time with their able pupils.[17] A different

response to the pressures of classroom management with consequences for learning is reported by Tickle (1983). In this study teachers allocated more of their time to less able pupils, but devoted this to instruction in basic skills. As a result the subject in question (art) was only developed with the more academically competent, even though this occupied less teacher time. The negotiated order of classroom life is also amply demonstrated within interpretive school studies and, how the assumptions of both teachers and pupils regarding the purpose of the lesson (and its method) must be reconciled in order that teaching and learning may proceed.[18]

As suggested, the relevance of such research for the present study lies in its attempt to reveal how teacher assumptions regarding pupils constrains not only what is made available in curricular terms, but how processes of differentiation become operative in the mode of communication. The current Chapter on teacher-pupil interaction is particularly concerned with the latter since it is in this territory that differentiation on the basis of gender would appear to be at its most persuasive. The larger issue of cultural reproduction which underpins much of the interpretive sociology of education in its preoccupation with social class and ability applies equally to the exploration of gender. As maintained within the discussion of teacher perceptions

of pupils, stereotypes constitute powerful ideological images which inform the typification of pupils and, concomitantly, what constitutes an appropriate response. It is intended that the following analysis of various facets of interaction between teachers and pupils will go some way towards elucidating the mechanics of gender differentiation within the classroom.

6.3 TICKING OVER

The term 'ticking over' is used here to refer to the very routine and unobtrusive direction which the teacher utilizes to gently propel the class through the task or lesson at hand. It is meant to convey something of the texture of teacher-pupil relations through which other strands of interaction are interspersed and these are discussed in sections 6.4 to 6.6 below. Its very ordinariness renders it difficult to observe or record since it constitutes the non-dramatic part of classroom life which links the higher profile incidents or happenings. It is perhaps reminiscent of Jackson's (1968) 'daily grind' or Woods' (1980A and 1980B) teacher and pupil strategies which, as Delamont (1983) points out, are so normal and taken for granted "...that it is easy to miss them altogether" (p.115). Ticking over is not, moreover, particularly synonymous with any 'phases' of the lesson which have been identified by other researchers (Hargreaves et al 1975, Ball 1980, Beynon

1985). Rather ticking over may be viewed as the essentially hum-drum, non-controversial part of classroom life in which humour, discipline and other facets are discernable, but as trace elements rather than amino-acids. Within this routine girls and boys were treated differently for much of the time and the main elements of this differential treatment may be detailed as follows in Sections 6.3.1 to 6.3.6.

6.3.1 Mild sarcasm

As lessons tick over the teacher seeks to maintain order through strategies which do not destroy what may be regarded as the conviviality of the classroom (Walker et al 1973, Woods and Hammersley 1977). Sarcasm, applied with a degree of good humour is utilized, therefore, to curb boys ebullience or inattention. It tends, if required, to be applied to any of the boys, but much more selectively with the girls. Indeed, only two or three girls out of class 3/5 would be likely to be addressed in this manner and these are discussed subsequently. Mild sarcasm is by definition vaguely humorous, but without the biting edge of sarcasm used for disciplinary purposes. For instance, one boy was asked "Is your book on the ceiling Garth?" (English, 13.9.79., Mr. Ford) in order to halt some very obvious day dreaming during a library period and the same pupil

is again identified in a similar manner:-

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EBL              ....Mild sarcasm to reprimand Garth  who
19.9.79.         loudly chatters about his sister's name.
Mr. Ford         "I don't know what your sister's  called
                 Garth,  but  I  do  know  what  you're
                 called!"
```

The assumption here would seem to be not only that boys are amenable to this slightly tougher style, but also, judging by the frequency of such remarks, that boys require a higher level of surveillance in order to prevent potential disruption. This view is compatible with the typification of boys by teachers[19] and confirms the frequency of contact hypothesis of the studies discussed earlier. As a mechanism of social control the use of humour, as Denscombe (1985) notes, is well known to teachers, with sarcasm and irony constituting well established features of teacher talk and the related themes of humour and discipline are explored more fully in Sections 6.4 and 6.6 below.

6.3.2 Reticent girls - a gentler approach?

The converse to the mild sarcasm which is deployed predominently with boys as lessons tick over is the gentler style which is utilized with the majority of girls. The first illustration of this concerns the very routine request that the class get out their exercise books in order to proceed with some written work. Inevitably not all pupils have the requisite books and

are forced to divulge this by having to ask for paper. Two boys make the revealing request, are upbraided for forgetfulness, obtain some paper and apparently unaffected by this get down to work. For one of the girls, however, the same circumstance is rather more fraught:-

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Maths          .... One girl looks really worried about
Set 3          having to ask for paper because two boys
20.9.79.       have just been told off for doing so -
Mr. Ford       she gets a piece with little comment.
```

Davies (1984) also remarks upon the likelihood of girls receiving lighter penalties than boys and whilst this incident is not one of indiscipline, of the type discussed by Davies, it does reflect a similar differentiated response. On one level the teacher may be construed as responding sympathetically to the girl's anxiety, yet such an approach may also be prompted by the desire to avoid what teachers perceive as girls unpredictability when chided.[20]

With reference to the girl's discomfort, teacher reaction to the boys would have provided sufficient warning that she might also have been subject to a similar admonishment. The girls were particularly adverse to being made public within the classroom[21] and the following extracts reflect how they contrived to maintain a low profile as the lesson ticked over:-

```
EBL            ....F  asks  for  a  word  that  would
28.9.79.       describe the type of comments the  class
Mr. Ford       are  making.   "I  wrote  it  on  the
               board   yesterday.   "Sharon   evidently
               knows  the  word  but  isn't  confident
               enough  to  shout  it  out.  F's heard her
               whispers (to her partner Jane) and says,
               "She's  still  a  bit  shy,  but  she's
               right."   The  word  is  generalization
               which  explains  that  generally  the
               females are weaker than males.
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<p style="text-align:center">* * * *</p>

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Maths.         ....Simple division.
Set  3         Mr.  F asks Jill to work an example out
Mr. Ford       on  the  board - she's  terribly  nervous
               "Come on I'm not going to lose my temper
               with  you  if  you try."  She  talks  so
               quietly only Mr. F can hear.
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Again the teacher may be viewed as responding to the girls sympathetically by not insisting that they speak up and make their answers audible to the rest of the class. While this may avert some distress during the actual lesson, the longer term repercussions for girls relates to their lack of practice in participating orally in lessons and gaining experience of projecting their own views in a fairly competitive environment.

Stanworth (1983) also comments upon the reluctance on the part of teachers to bring girls more to the forefront in classroom activity. She identifies a concern on the part of the teacher not to embarrass or cause distress to timid pupils by putting them on the spot. Teachers may also have a commitment to non- interference with 'normal' patterns of classroom

interaction. Both rationales are challenged by Stanworth. In the first instance, potential embarrassment may be outweighed by the undermining of confidence that stems from being (apparently) ignored. In relation to non-interference, encouraging pupils in valued directions is a fundamental part of teachers' responsibilities.[22] The implications of some girls timidity and teacher acceptance of it for academic achievement are considered more fully within the discussion of oral work in the following chapter. In contrast, the boys appear to have no such inhibitions and the ticking over of lessons are peppered with comments or questions from boys as suggested below.

6.3.3 Confident boys

The type of interjections and even minor challenges to teacher instructions made by boys may be seen in the following illustrations:-

```
English          Punctuation
6.5.80.          Mr. F. gives the class an exercise
Mr. Ford         to do out of the text book
                     ....
                 Trevor  [no hand raised]  "Sir can
                 you do a couple?"
                 Mr. F  "Yes, but they've got to be
                 punctuated."
```

Here, the teacher responded to Trevor even though one of the rules of the classroom had been broken - that pupils raise their hands in order to ask questions rather than call out. Trevor nevertheless had the confidence to

risk this approach and, indeed, it paid off. The next

two examples portray boys querying, in a routine way,

what teachers' say. Whilst a small number of girls would

occasionally challenge teachers, this would be framed in

a very different style as will be discussed shortly.

Maths. Set 2 15.5.80. Mrs. Ross	....Gerry is working holding his ruc- sac on his lap. On her way around Mrs. Ross sees this - "Gerry, is there something of great value in your bag?" "No Miss." "Then I suggest you put it on the floor like everyone else." "I might forget it Miss." "No you won't I'll remind you if necessary, <u>put</u> it on the floor." (Said with an edge to her voice) Gerry puts it on the floor.

* * * *

Language Development 16.6.80. Mr. Ford	....The class get down to work on conversation with some examples read out. When Assim is asked he says "Sir, I've done it wrong." Mr. F "No you haven't." Assim "Sir I thought it was————" Mr. F "That doesn't mean you're wrong."

Girls' reluctance and boys' confidence are clearly located

at opposite ends of the same continuum. An attempt has

been made to tease them apart in order to facilitate the

portrayal of gender differentiation within the process

of lessons ticking over. The consequences of the two

gender related stances for lesson progress are, however,

quite different. Girls' reluctance to participate does

not interrupt the flow of teaching and learning as it

occurs within the classroom. In contrast, if the

confidence which boys appear to have in being

accommodated by the teacher is not realized, then there is the possibility that they will respond in a manner which is disruptive. Frazier and Sadker (1973), Spender (1982), Clarricoats (1978, 1980), Stanworth (1983) and Mahony (1985) all elucidate how boys expect to be taken seriously and how teachers do take them seriously for otherwise boys will cause trouble.

The staff at Kingston Dene also perceived boys as potential sources of disruption and utilized strategies to avert this. Mrs. Cooper, for example, was quite explicit that she, "jollied the lads along" and attempted to keep on their "right side".[23] It would seem, therefore, that boys confidence is justified and again, when pupils rightly assume that a value is placed upon their comments or answers, then this will enhance their self-esteem and ability to contribute to the lesson in question. It is perhaps not surprising that boys were, "the ones who come up with the ideas in general questioning" (Mrs. Ross).

6.3.4   Seating arrangements

Another facet of lesson ticking over in which girls and boys were subject to varying treatment concerns the teachers tolerance of pupils determining their own seating arrangements. As other observers have noted (Denscombe 1980, Docking 1987), seating arrangements are

utilized as a mechanism of class control. At Kingston
Dene, the various changes which were introduced over the
school year were imposed in order to facilitate both
discipline and school work.[24] Seating arrangements
were, however, constantly challenged by both girls and
boys. Legitimate opportunities for changing place were
usually afforded when pupils were requested to organize
their own groups in Enquiry Based Learning or, changes
of classroom meant that usual arrangements could only be
approximately observed. Thus, who sat next to who
provided a constant source of negotiation between pupils
and teachers. Within this context of negotiation, there
was a tendency for teachers to defer to girls
preferences more so than boys.

In the first of the examples below, the absence of some
pupils resulted in the first few rows being virtually
empty with one girl, Anice, sat in splendid isolation
right at the back of the classroom. The teacher
requested that she moved forward:-

Maths.	"Sir I don't want to sit down there with
Set 3	the boys I'm on my own here Sir."
28.9.79.	F says O.K.
Mr. Ford	

This illustration also indicates one of the principal
motives underpinning the desire to change seats - to
avoid members of the opposite sex. That the girl was
prepared to resist the teacher in a fairly confident
manner emphasises the strength of feeling which existed

over this issue. The other motive, which is apparent in the remaining illustrations, is to manoeuvre closer to particular friends and both reasons were expressed by pupils themselves.[25]

| EBL
26.9.79.
Mr. Ford | ....F mentions again to the class that some people may be split up Garth and Trevor are told to find somewhere else to sit i.e. not together.
....

Charanjit has now moved next to Stacy and Gloria has moved next to Jennifer F makes no remarks on these changes. |

<p align="center">* * * *</p>

| Language
Development
26.11.79.
Mr. Ford | ....Linton moves to sit next to Luther and is immediately told to return to his normal seat. |

<p align="center">* * * *</p>

| English
12.6.80.
Mr.Ford | Library book period.

Trevor has moved next to Garth, Michael has moved next to Linton, Clive has moved next to Scott.

Mr. F immediately moves them all back. They all giggle - it's worth a try! |

The rationale behind seating arrangements as a means of encouraging pupils to work co-operatively and, as a strategy of control is explained to the class by Mr. Ford at the conclusion of a very restless EBL lesson (11.12.79) :-

> ....Mr. F tells them off at the end for not working as well as they might. "The solution is not to have people sitting next to friends but to put people next to someone they don't like. Then you'll have no one to talk to."

It is not simply the case, however, that the girls were affored total discretion on this issue, but that the teachers response was usually more acquiescent than that applied to boys. As the data illustrates the boys were generally unceremoniously instructed to sit elsewhere. In contrast, as the following extract indicates, a rather more discreet approach was utilized with girls in circumstances where the teacher had decided not to let the move pass unnoticed:-

French 24.1.80. Mr.Taylor	....he [Mr. Taylor] noticed that Stacy had changed seats, he walked over to her and told her off discreetly, saying she should ask. "I might say yes, or I might say no, but <u>do</u> ask."

Similarly, it was not the case that boys were never accommodated, but that such circumstances was rarer and would perhaps involve a consideration of girls in the following manner:-

EBL 19.10.79. Mr. Ford	....Because Peter and Trevor are absent only Stacy, Julie and Jack are in that group. Jack sits as far away from the girls as he can. F comes over and asks them if they understand and says, "Come on Jack sit closer to the girls" Jack looks sheepish, grins and grudgingly sits nearer, but puts his back to them. F says he can go and work with Scott - so he moves. He and the girls look pleased.

This example also hints at the discretion which teachers may exercise in terms of subjecting pupils to classroom situations which they find irksome. Whilst the teacher may, in this instance, be viewed as encouraging the

ritual of separation which girls and boys operated within the classroom,[26] he decides to alleviate some irritation in order that progress with the lesson may be made. On other occasions, however, placing girls and boys in close proximity is used in a punitive way and this issue is discussed in the subsequent section (6.4) on Discipline and Punishment.

6.3.5   Girls and Tom, Dick or Harry

As lessons ticked over it was also noticeable that teachers tended to refer to boys by name yet to girls collectively. Again, there were exceptions to this, but fewer girls tended to be identified specifically by name even in one-to-one encounters. Girls were commonly addressed as 'girls', whereas boys were seldom subject to collective greetings within routine interaction the equivalent use of 'lads' being confined to the control of groups within a disciplinary context. A typical example would be :-

EBL
7.11.79.
Mr. Ford

....F says they can discuss it [a chart comparing chimps, baboons and man] with their neighbours.

....

F goes over to Jane and Sharon and asks, "How are you doing girls?"

There are various issues encapsulated in the avoidance of engaging girls as individuals. Stanworth (1983)

demonstrates that the lecturers in her study simply did not know many of their female students by name. This does not provide a possible explanation in respect to Kingston Dene for all the pupils became known to staff as they progressed through the school. It is more likely that the habit developed as part of the process of teachers colluding with girls in their endeavours not to attract any attention within the public arena of the classroom.

Yet the manner in which pupils are engaged in interaction reflects to some extent the esteem in which they are held, which in turn, may have consequences for the development of their own self-esteem (Stanworth 1983, Mahony 1985). That teachers commonly alighted on boys by name may be indicative of the greater surveillance which was applied given that boys were perceived as potential trouble-makers. But its effect was to enhance the greater familiarity which teachers also appeared to enjoy with boys and this is explored further in the discussion of humour (Section 6.6) below. The comparatively infrequent reference to the majority of girls by name would not particularly contribute to the development of self-confidence. Indeed, its effect is to marginalize girls within the classroom and the role of language in fostering this is well documented by Spender (1980B, 1982).[27]

6.3.6 <u>Gloria</u>

One danger in the presentation of ethnographic data is the possibility of giving the false impression that, within the categories of interaction which are delineated, all is consistency and conformity. The attempt to elaborate gender differentiation in the process of lessons ticking over has sought to elucidate the main features of classroom life wherein girls and boys are treated differently. As the analysis proceeds, however, it becomes apparent that whereas all the boys were dealt with in a roughly consistent manner, the girls were not and there are, therefore, counter instances to the general trends. As lessons ticked over, one girl (Gloria) in particular emerged as untypical and as other aspects of interaction are considered she will be joined by a small number of her classroom colleagues. Not only were untypical girls responded to by teachers differently to boys but also to other girls.(28)

That Gloria was exceptional became apparent very quickly. She was always subversive in an unconscious way for she appeared to follow her own interests and instincts and constantly thwarted teacher attempts to make her conform by, for example, instructing her to sit down, stop chewing, or read her reader. Yet whilst she

was boisterous, loud and energetic she was never cheeky
or threatening to teachers in the explicitly challenging
way of some of the boys. Thus, whilst the reaction
which Gloria provoked amongst teachers more closely
resembled relations between teachers and boys, her
interaction with them was not entirely consonant with
this mode. It is possible to contend that because
teachers found Gloria's (and the other untypical girls)
brand of femininity so contrary to their own perception
of the female pupil role, their relations with her
tended to veer between weary acceptance, to reproach and
then to a sterner disciplinary style. Hence, whilst
boys could expect to receive a consistent response to
behaviour deemed unacceptable, Gloria was subject to a
less predictable approach as lessons ticked over and,
indeed, as suggested, in most facets of classroom life.

As far as ticking over is concerned it is possible to
contrast the teachers response from ignoring Gloria:-

| EBL
25.9.79.
Mr. Ford | ....Gloria moves into Rachel's usual seat without asking. F says nothing. |

to repeated chiding:-

| EBL
28.1.80.
Mr. Ford | ....Mr. F uses the period to go through EBL work individually. Each pupil goes out to the front while the rest work quietly.
"Gloria you're not reading."
When Gloria goes out she's told she could do better but doesn't
"Because you don't concentrate."(said loudly) |

also evident in:-

English 5.3.80. Mr. Ford	....Gloria then told off for handing in a book with [only] a line written. Mr. F reads out someone's story from another class. "Notice how she's described things. Four pages Gloria."

to:-

Music 24.1.80. Mr.Griffiths	....Gloria is told off for acting the clown [while the group sing around the piano] "You only act stupid because you think others expect you to. You've got the best voice here - use it! (Said harshly).

through to exasperation:-

English 8.2.80. Mr. Ford	Library book period. Quietness punctuated by "Gloria CONCENTRATE!"

and finally, sarcasm:-

Maths. Set 3 15.7.80. Mr. Ford	Usual routine for 4 column test. Class difficult to settle. Mr. F "Gloria. Gloria would you like to make some attempt to start?"

While some of these examples may appear to reflect deviant behaviour which provoked censure, they have been interpreted as characteristic of ticking over because they did not have a disruptive effect on the progress of the lesson or upon other pupils. Gloria will also feature in the analysis of discipline and punishment, but her usual behaviour and the response of teachers to it was so routine within class 3/5, that the sudden injunction "Gloria - basket!" was understood by all concerned to mean that Gloria should dispose of her

sweet and such occurrences did not constitute an interruption.

It has been suggested that within mixed classrooms boys emphasise their masculinity in order to assert their dissimilarity to girls (Shaw 1977).[29] It is possible to extend this theory of the negative reference group by encompassing the role of the teacher in identifying individual pupils as a negative reference point for certain others. In this case, although some of Gloria's behaviour resembled that of boys[30] she was not responded to in the same manner, but identified as an unsuitable girl. This functioned as a reminder to the other girls that certain modes of behaviour were proscribed for them as girls. Not as pupils, since other pupils (boys) in the class could behave like Gloria without being upbraided. The strategy would appear to be effective, for whilst Gloria was quite popular she was also regarded as a rather likeable, though not to be emulated, eccentric.[31]

6.4   DISCIPLINE AND PUNISHMENT

On occasions, and with varying frequency, teacher endeavours to keep lessons ticking over with minimal intervention were not sufficient to sustain either the pupils interest in the lesson or their compliance to

teacher expectations of acceptable behaviour. Thus, behaviour which was deemed inappropriate erupted from the hum of classroom activity and admonishments punctuated the business of teaching and learning. It is partly a matter of degree that distinguishes what may be regarded as a classroom 'incident' from the routine maintenance of order. Pupils, particularly the boys, were sometimes identified as lessons routinely ticked over, but not in such a way as to constitute an interruption to the work of either teacher or pupils. Indeed, perhaps the distinguishing feature of classroom discipline is that it impedes rather than facilitates the progress of the lesson. As teachers discipline pupils and administer suitable penalties, teaching and learning in so far as the official curriculum is concerned are suspended, either momentarily or for rather more prolonged periods.

The nature of disorderly or deviant pupil behaviour which prompts teachers into developing disciplinary techniques and administering punishments constitutes a large area within the sociology of education. The issue of deviance has been considered from the perspective of both teacher and pupils and various theoretical perspectives have been utilized for purposes of elucidation. Whilst the present discussion does not require a detailed review of this material, a brief perusal of research conducted within a similar framework

may provide a useful context within which to locate the process of gender differentiation in the exercise of discipline and punishment at Kingston Dene.

In utilizing a sub-cultural theory of deviance, Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970) and Ball (1981) explore how pupils adjust to the imposition of certain organizational facets of school life, namely academic differentiation. As status is withdrawn from pupils who are placed in lower streams or bands, a deviant response to school is developed as alternative systems of prestige and achievement are established. A comparable perspective, although developed from a different theoretical base[32] is that presented by Woods (1979) which seeks to account for resistance in terms of different styles of adaptation to school. Here, conformity and deviance are explored in terms of a typology[33] which allows for individual adaptations and, in a sense, this is also its weakness. As Furlong (1985) observes, the explanation of resistance tends to be reduced to pupils responding to school on the basis of their regard for the style and methods of particular teachers. Thus, the analysis fails to encompass the wider function of the school in terms of the distribution of educational opportunities and its role in perpetuating social and economic inequalities.[34] The sub-cultural analysis of school deviance does have a

greater potentiality in these terms since behaviour is explained in relation to the schools' principal structural mechanism for the management of opportunities.

Neither approach, however, deals adequately with the links between deviance, social class and gender, and ethnographers have consequently sought to answer the question posed by Willis (1977), 'How do working class kids get working class jobs?' Part of the answer it would seem, at least in so far as white, working class boys are concerned, lies in the particular nature of their response to schooling which Willis elucidates in terms of 'cultural production'. The 'lads' are in a position to develop an aggressive, shop-floor inspired counter school culture because, despite not realizing the full implications of their oppositional stance, they have deduced that not everyone can be educationally and occupationally successful. Whilst Willis' analysis of this penetration differs to that provided in the comparable study by Corrigan (1979), the expression and style of boys deviance in these and the earlier studies of Hargreaves and Lacey, is similar.

In contrast and, despite the neglect of female deviance at school, it would appear (as suggested in Chapter 5) that girls are able to collectively resist much of the regime of school life and teacher attempts to impose it

without necessarily rejecting the value of education (Fuller 1980, 1982. 1983; Lambart 1976, Pollard 1984), a response also observed amongst black boys (Furlong 1985). Conversely, where girls do repudiate the value of academic achievement and the milieu in which it is transmitted, the form of their resistance is entirely different to the expression of deviance presented by boys. As McRobbie (1978) and Davies (1984) demonstrate, female dissension is not contingent upon the formation of strong counter school sub-groups or the overt challenge of institutional authority. Rather, it is articulated through an almost exaggerated form of female sexuality which thwarts in a particular way attempts at teacher control within the classroom. As the consideration of teacher perspectives at Kingston Dene has suggested, disciplinary techniques based upon physicality, which are effective with boys, are rendered impotent when confronted with female indiscipline.[35]

Such studies, which seek to explore pupil response to schooling in terms of the local culture and economy, directly address the inter-related issue of why and how deviance is manifested at school. Much of the study of deviance and disorderly behaviour, however, focuses upon the latter and, indeed, interactionist research has concerned itself with probing how deviance emerges and is negotiated between teachers and pupils within the

classroom. Labelling theorists have contributed a good deal to such explorations and, Hargreaves et al (1975), in utilizing a phenomenological approach, demonstrate how deviant pupil identities are created through a process of typing. The efficiency of labelling is, of course, contingent upon pupil acceptance of teacher interpretations of their behaviour and, as Bird (1980) observes, such acceptance cannot be relied upon. Pupils may regard teacher perceptions of them as likely to change both over time and between varying school contexts. Whilst teachers occupy the more powerful position within classrooms, the exercise of their authority has, as Werthman (1971) so clearly illustrates, to be conducted consistently, explicitly and in accordance with agreed criteria. Thus teachers negotiate and compromise with pupils in order to maintain a 'fragile truce'.[36]

The quality of this truce will vary between classrooms for, as Stebbins (1975) suggests, order is negotiated between teachers and pupils on an individual classroom basis. Disorderly behaviour is consequently interpreted according to teachers own habitual definitions which are selected in response to cues embedded in the immediate setting. The absence of any shared definitions of disorderly behaviour or commonly agreed school strategy of control may be attributable to the very large extent to which teachers professional competence is based upon

their ability to exercise control. Any acknowledgement of the requirement for discussion of this aspect of teaching may place in jeopardy the regard of colleagues for what, as Denscombe (1985) notes, is a fundamental attribute of the effective teacher. As a result teachers are preoccupied with 'Keeping 'em Quiet' (Denscombe 1980) since the control of noise is not only construed as a prerequisite for teaching and learning but as indicative of teaching capability. The strategies for securing this desirable condition are many and varied. Denscombe (1885) identifies three principal types of strategic control wherein teachers secure pupil compliance through domination, co-operation (enticing pupils into a commitment to the classroom order) and, classwork management which is akin to domination but depends more upon the management of the content and schedule of work.

However, since girls non-conformity within mixed classrooms would appear to assume a different mode to that displayed by boys, the relevance of much interactional data which does not recognize this is of limited value in terms of elucidating how order is negotiated within the classroom. If girls withdraw from lessons because they are bored (Spender 1982) or because teachers simply do not acknowledge their presence (Stanworth 1983) then strategies for the control of

noise will not secure either their interest or compliance. Similarly, if the content of work is utilized in order to capture commitment or scheduled so as to reduce opportunities for pupil manoeuvering, it is likely to be the boys that teachers address because it is they as previously suggested, [37] who register their discontent in a disruptive manner (Clarricoats 1978, Spender 1982).

At Kingston Dene teachers did not have to contend with any seriously threatening deviant counter school sub-cultures. Indeed, the only member of class 3/5 regarded as deviant (as opposed to ill-behaved) was a girl (Gloria) and as previously suggested, this was attributable to her gender rather than her behaviour as a pupil. This is not to suggest that discipline and the maintenance of order did not constitute an issue for teachers. On the contrary, many of the institutional arrangements of the school were designed to avert indiscipline. [38] There was, however, no organized opposition of the sort documented by the observers of secondary education. In remarking upon the absence of sociological research into primary school deviance, Furlong (1985) conjectures that at this level academic failure is made less explicit to children who do not, therefore, require a means of articulating their rejection of education.

At the middle school level it is possible that such an oppositional stance may start to develop during the fourth year as pupils become more immersed in adolescent culture and the transition to high school becomes imminent. Measor and Woods (1984) provide some support for this view and also document the gender differentiated response of pupils who joined the deviant high school camp. Within the third year at Kingston Dene, however, pupils had not yet reached this stage and experimentation with some of the trappings of adolescent culture was not associated with a rejection of school. The stance of pupils could be described, therefore, as suggested in Chapter 5, as resembling the 'good' and 'joker' groups identified amongst middle school pupils by Pollard (1984).

The staff regarded the school as well ordered and occasionally cited examples of other middle schools in the area where they were aware of substantial discipline problems.[39] In view of the catchment area for Kingston Dene, such problems were identified solely in terms of the failure of such schools to impose an appropriate authority structure within which pupils could operate. The following discourse attempts to document some of the features whereby third year teachers resolved the issue at Kingston Dene.

6.4.1 Controlling boys

The initial examples of disciplinary encounters seek to demonstrate firstly, that a more unrelenting approach to control was adopted with boys. Secondly, that school work frequently constituted the means of applying discipline and, thirdly, even within this context of severity boys occasionally risked defending themselves in a counter retort. The first incident illustrates how,· even before the pupil in question had a chance to engage in any misdemeanor or, for his attention to wander, a fairly strict reprimand was issued in order to avert either possibility:-

EBL 25.9.79. Mr.Ford	At start of the lesson Jack severely reprimanded for being "obstinate", "immature", not behaving like a third year in front of the rest of the class. "You've got to improve your slovenly ways."

The boys tended to be quite stoical ın the face of adversity where, as indicated below, Roger and Trevor 'laugh off' being disciplined, even though this results in further punishment:-

Maths. Set 3 25.10.79. Mr. Ford	....Bleeps go. Class get noisy and are told off and shouted at by Mr. Ford for their poor behaviour. Trevor and Roger are singled out for comment and they both laugh at each other. Roger is asked, "Why should you disrupt everybody else? There are some here who want to work. See me at dinner time." The class file out quietly.

The next three examples focus much more sharply upon

individual pupils. In the first two, because of the allusion to other pressures upon the pupils concerned, are resonant of Woods' (1979) 'showing them up'.

English 18.10.79. Mr.Ford	....Satnam gets told off for not putting in his full effort. "Because if you're not I'll have to have your dad up here and have a word with him, because he doesn't like it when you don't put your full effort in does he?"

This reference to his father has a particular sting for Satnam since he was under considerable pressure from his parents to excel at school. His father was the only parent throughout the year who requested a specific meeting with the class teacher in order to discuss academic progress and obtain details of text books so that they could be purchased for use at home.

Registration 12.12.79. Mr. Ford	....Mark has to show Mr. F some extra work he's done. Mr. F says it's much better and he doesn't want to see him revert back to the "poor stuff". "If I see anything worse than that I'll personally grind you into the floor. I'll get your Dad to do the other side."

* * * *

EBL 28.2.80. Mr. Ford	....Mr. F "Lets go through the rules. Right Mark you can explain you've got so much yap this morning."

The severity and intention of the teacher is signalled to pupils as much by the tone of voice as through the choice or use of words, but occasionally boys would risk some defiance if the censure was perceived as unfair. In this manner legitimate criteria for discipline were negotiated within the classroom as suggested in this

brief incident:-

EBL 7.11.79. Mr. Ford	Lesson starts, told to take a clean page and "draw this chart". Trevor immediately goes out for a pencil. Mr. F "You never have one!" (angrily) Trevor retorts indignantly "Sir I do!" Mr. F gets him one.

As in lessons 'ticking over' some of the girls might very occasionally risk such a challenge, but as suggested, would usually frame their response in a different manner, with the result that any hostility would be defused.[40]

Perhaps the most pervasive feature of the disciplinary relationship between teachers and boys, however, was the extent to which such interaction was underpinned by an element of physicality.[41] This would not usually be expressed in terms of the formal policy of corporal punishment as Davies (1984) also notes, but through allusion to and occasional implementation of, alternative physical measures. The use of symbolic gestures of violence generally averted the necessity for applying actual force. Thus a clip over the head, being prodded backwards until pinned against the wall or being in receipt of some disciplinary remarks given added vigour by a clenched fist smacking against the palm of the other hand, served as salutory reminders to boys of the ultimate sanction. A conventional interpretation of some facets of masculinity is arguably encouraged

through reference to the physical consequences of particular actions and, the manner in which boys were sensitized to this is illustrated in the following incidents:-

General Studies 29.11.79. Mr.Griffiths	....he told Trevor it's a long time since he'd banged boys heads together, but he'd be "bouncing" him off Geoff [a much larger boy] if he wasn't careful. "Anyone who gets a minus score will get banged."

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Map Reading 22.1.80. Mr. Ford	...."Be careful with that book Satnam or I'll bend you in half."

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

General Studies 19.5.80. Mr. Griffiths	Eventually Mr. G shouts at David [for throwing bits of plasticine] "For goodness sake sit still you fool. You've been fidgeting around all lesson. If you don't get down to work I'll tan your behind so you won't be able to sit down for a fortnight."

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Lesson Change over 25.10.79. Mr.Ford/ Mrs.Cooper	A boy is standing outside the classroom as the class file out and Mrs. Cooper says to Mr. F "Ben thinks it's funny to throw things around". Mr. F "Oh does he? I'll throw him around if he does that in my lesson." As Mrs. Cooper walks away and we walk into Miss Listor's room, Mr. F gives Ben a lecture on how to behave. He stresses that Ben seems to behave badly with "lady teachers" and if he wants to throw his weight aroung he should do it in his lesson. "Try and throw things with me in my lesson and I'll throw you around and bounce you off the walls." He smacks the lad on the head with a newspaper.

Whilst the first three extracts illustrate how the

threat of violence permeates interaction with boys (and this theme will be resumed in the next chapter), the final extract encapsulates not only the matter of <u>how</u> boys are disciplined, but also the issue of <u>who</u> constitutes the most effective disciplinarian. The implication through reference to the problems which Ben causes for "lady teachers" is that authority is most effectively exercised by male teachers - a view also recorded by Beynon (1985). This is because men have available to them techniques which are contingent upon their own physique. Leaving aside the issue of the desirability of this state of affairs, it is possible to suggest that, as long as male staff do exercise their authority in this way, women teachers will be placed at a disadvantage with pupils who refuse to defer to an authority which is not based upon a macho-physical dynamic. As suggested in Chapter 4 (Section 4.2.2), however, this dynamic tends to be effective only with boys since physical contact between male teachers and girls may be construed in a sexual way.

At Kingston Dene the problem raised in the above incident (25.10.79.) did not appear to be a common one amongst women teachers, although in institutional terms power and control were vested in the male hierarchy. That Mrs. Cooper refers a problamatic boy to the Head of Third Year (Mr.Ford) is indicative of her recognition of this. This contrasts to the experience of the women

teachers at Gladstone High where, as previously indicated in the discussion of teacher perceptions of gender differences (Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1), boys were thought to have more respect for female staff out of deference to the female sex role (Davies 1984). Given that such a strategy is contingent upon the manipulation of some aspects of femininity, it may be that conscious attempts to contrive a 'matriarchal' role for women teachers are dependent upon the co-operation of older boys who are more aware of their masculinity that third year middle school boys.

The disciplinary encounters related above were typical in terms of their tenor and characteristic of interaction between teachers and boys. As noted earlier, school work provided a convenient focus for the teacher to express disapproval of certain activities and the exercise of discipline at Kingston Dene in this respect would appear to confirm the teacher-pupil contact studies mentioned earlier. However, not only did boys behaviour provoke teachers into a disciplinary mode more regularly than girls, they were viewed by teachers as prone to disruption irrespective of actual behaviour displayed. Hence the application of the trouble aversion technique utilized with Jack in the incident dated 25.9.79. This observation also corresponds with the teacher typifications of masculine behaviour discussed in Chapter 4, wherein boys were

described as possessing a greater propensity for misbehaviour. Thus, in relation to boys, it is possible to suggest that teachers tend towards a 'deviance - provocative' style of teaching, in contrast to girls with whom they tend to be 'deviance - insulative' (Hargreaves et al 1975).

In some ways the process of discipline and punishment within the third year, in so far as the boys were concerned, represented an amplification of some aspects of lessons ticking over. The humorous edge to sarcasm was withdrawn, for example, and the harsher commodity applied. Incidents were more public, humiliating and disrupted the flow of the lesson. Even so, boys appeared to possess sufficient confidence to reply if they judged the censure to contain an element of injustice. Whereas the majority of girls occupied a very low profile as lessons ticked over, as will be demonstrated shortly, a larger number did feature within the process of discipline and punishment, albeit in a different way to boys.

In two of the incidents presented above (18.10.79. and 12.12.79.) it is suggested that the teacher, in alluding to knowledge which he possesses about the boys, exposes a sensitive nerve and very effectively 'shows them up'. To a greater or lesser extent all disciplinary incidents[42] rely upon producing this result for

otherwise discipline would lose its impact and the reputation of the teacher as controller would be reduced. According to Woods (1979) the technique is associated with a traditional authoritarian style of teaching[43] and is contingent upon the victim, usually a known deviant, accepting the humiliation.

Interestingly, whilst some of the features of the showing up process were evident at Kingston Dene, they were manifested differently and this is perhaps not surprising in an integrated middle school as opposed to a divided secondary modern. The pupils who felt the effects of being shown up most keenly were girls and the girls who particularly dreaded it were those who were seldom, if ever, so degraded. In Woods' analysis[44] it is just possible to detect a similar trend, since of the seven data extracts presented to elucidate the showing up process, five involve girls; although the possible implications of gender in the mixed setting are not explored. The views of girls and boys at Kingston Dene on this subject are considered in the analysis of pupil perceptions of participation in oral work in the following Chapter. The present discussion continues with a review of some routine disciplining of girls prior to considering some of the more severe incidents in which girls were shown up or, to use Kingston Dene parlance 'shamed up'.

6.4.2 Controlling girls

One of the first clear impressions to emerge from a random review of disciplinary episodes is that a smaller number of girls than boys become engaged in such interaction with the teacher. Indeed, three girls in particular emerge as salient, one of whom (Gloria) has already been encountered in the consideration of lessons ticking over. On the rarer occasions where other girls are penalized for some rule infraction, the incidents proved to be amongst the more brutal examples of discipline and punishment. It is possible to suggest that this was the case because of the gender of the victim since this in itself increased the shock-value of the teachers' tactics. The initial examples presented for discussion, however, constitute some of the more typical incidents involving girls:-

Language Development 21.11.79. Mr. Ford	....Gloria told off for colouring. "Last week was chewing gum. This week it's drawing. Can I have your attention now?"

<p align="center">* * * *</p>

Maths. Set 3 21.11.79. Mr. Ford	...."Natalie. Come on. Your mum and dad pay for you to come here and it's a waste of money. She wanders over to the equipment box and chats to Margaret. Mr. F "Come here Natalie." "Sir I'm getting my card." Mr. F tells the class that about 3/4 of them are working at the rate he expects. "Natalie haven't you got manners?" [She continues talking]

Two recurrent disciplinary themes, even within this limited amount of data, are apparent. The first concerns the use of sarcasm and the second, the emphasis upon manners as teachers reprimand girls. Initially, some further examples of sarcasm:-

English 22.11.79. Mr. Ford	....Last weeks spelling test results given out and this weeks started.... Margaret told off for slumping. "Margaret will you get out of your television pose. You won't be able to sit up straight by the time you are 24 or 25."

<center>* * * *</center>

Registration 28.11.79. Mr. Ford	"Only 11 people not reading, that's an improvement" .... "Gloria you're just holding your book, not reading, it's reading that's the next stage. If I had to mark how people held their books you'd probably get an A."

It must be remembered that the mild sarcasm, characteristic of lessons ticking over, which is tempered by some good natured humour is used extensively with boys - as are the sterner, deprecatory remarks (see the incident 27.2.80 above). Yet the application of the latter in so far as girls are concerned tended to be confined to Gloria, Margaret and to a lesser extent Natalie. As previously suggested in relation to Gloria, untypical girls confront teachers with something of a dilema since the usual (physical) methods of punishment which are considered effective with boys are deemed unsuitable for girls. It is possible to suggest that sarcasm, particularly with recalcitant girls, provided a

useful alternative since its venom resides in its
display of verbal superiority rather than any allusion
to the application of physical punishment.

In his analysis of sarcasm, Hammersley (1976) observes
that comments or questions are deliberately aimed at a
higher level of complexity than is manageable for the
pupil in order to demonstrate superior knowledge and,
therefore, power. He maintains that such devices
appear to be aimed at instilling a 'proper' attitude
to lessons and it is possible to contend that proper
attitudes are differentiated on the basis of gender.
Girls are expected to be 'ladylike' and the examples
below illustrate the emphasis upon manners in
disciplinary encounters with girls. Hammersley (1976)
cites, as an example of sarcasm, 'Manners maketh man,
that's why you must be a boy then, you haven't any.'[45]
Although at Kingston Dene there were no examples where
boys were urged into more acceptable forms of behaviour
through reference to their poor manners.

| EBL
28.1.80.
Mr. Ford | ....Carole goes out [to have her work checked] and Margaret goes up to Mr. F's desk and listens to what's being said. Eventually, Mr. F says "What do you <u>want</u>? Go and sit down you ill-mannered thing." |

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

| Maths.
Set 3
Mr. Ford | ...."Natalie turn around or you'll be joining my manners class." |

For the majority of girls in class 3/5 humiliation did not form part of their usual experience of classroom interaction. Although the fear of it may have contributed to their attempts to avoid confrontation and, as suggested in the discussion of lessons ticking over, they received some assistance from teachers in maintaining a discreet profile. That they were largely successful in this is evident in their comparative absence from the observational data on discipline and punishment, although there were exceptions and these will be considered shortly. Thus, in so far as the process of classroom control is concerned, the majority of boys tended to feature at some stage during lessons, accompanied by Margaret and Gloria.

The disciplinary approach adopted with the two girls, however, not only differed to that applied to boys but also between each other. If Gloria perplexed teachers as lessons routinely ticked over, then their ambivalence towards her was even more apparent when her behaviour demanded more explicit attempts at control. Variations in approach towards Gloria, for example, range from the question, "Why do you keep wandering around?" posed in a very civilized way which even took Gloria by surprise, to the rhetorical approach, "Gloria do you <u>know</u> what you've done this morning?" (i.e. nothing), to weary acceptance of the lack of progress combined with

sarcasm, "You could write a book Gloria" (a brief conversation had been requested for punctuation practice) and finally to straightforward vexation, "Gloria I've told you to do something, either do that or keep your mouth shut."[46]

In contrast, Margaret's unpopularity with pupils and teachers alike[47] emerged not from any maverick streak *which occasionally held some charm*, but because she provided class 3/5 with their one anti-social member. As indicated n the discussion of peer relations (Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1) this was predominantly manifested in her attire (scruffy) and her personal hygiene (much below usually accepted standards). For comparable levels of inattentiveness to Trevor, for example, she was dealt with equally, if not more severely. The harshness of the teachers approach to Margaret was underlined by the absence of any humorous exchanges or badinage which mitigated for Trevor what would otherwise have been a teacher - pupil relationship of unremitting rebuke. Thus Margaret was addressed as a "wandering devil", "an ill-mannered thing" and "not even a pupil in this class at the moment".[48] For the majority of girls (and some of the boys) such remarks from the teacher would have been unthinkable. There are few examples where, in literally one breath, the attitude of the teacher softens perceptibly when one of the girls is upbraided. The following incident does, however, go

some way towards illustrating differences in severity on the basis of gender, rather than on the basis of the magnitude of the misdemeanour:-

English 4.10.79. Mr. Ford	....Jack told off for bringing a compass into school, "Because all you use it for is defacing furniture" .... Class given 20 words for spelling test next week, "Best writing this morning Mr. Bradbury [i.e. Jack] please." Jane told off for not listening, a very mild reprimand (actually addressed to her friend) "Is she awake Sharon?"

In accounting for the peculiar status of Gloria and Margaret, it has been suggested that such untypical girls emerge as deviant because of their uncharacteristic gender behaviour as opposed to their behaviour as pupils. That girls are censured for behaviour which passes amongst boys is also commented upon elsewhere (Serbin 1978, Clarricoats 1980, Spender 1982). Teachers perceive girls in a particular way and hold firm typifications of what constitutes feminine behaviour.[49] In departing from the stereotypical female pupil role, therefore, Gloria and Margaret present difficulties for the teacher who experiences as problamatic pupils, especially girls, who deviate from the ideal type.[50] Thus for the majority of girls femininity (conventionally conceived) is fostered as untypical girls provide a negative reference (Shaw 1977) and the consequences of deviation provide a daily reminder of the advantages of conformity. This may

serve to reinforce the latent gender identity which pupils bring to school and which, as Hammersley and Turner (1980) maintain, actively contributes to the stance of the conformist pupil. Should any of the usually conformist girls counter teacher expectations of appropriate behaviour or defy some instruction, the results are particularly dire as demonstrated within the following sector.

6.4.3   Occasional deviance - girls paying the penalty

Unlike Gloria, Margaret or Natalie who were inured to censure, the majority of girls were visibly mortified if exposed to teacher attention of this type. The most devastating examples of pupils being shown up at Kingston Dene involved girls, and as the shock-waves rippled around the classroom pupils were stunned into silence. Three notable instances are considered and these feature Stacy, Sue and Natalie respectively. Stacy emerged very occasionally within the data on discipline, for example:-

Map Reading 22.1.80. Mr. Ford	...."Stacy Dalton, why is it that 4 out of 5 times you continue talking after I've told you to stop." She blushes and looks up at the wall.

But the only time Sue appears within the observation of discipline and punishment is the incident included for discussion here. The third example here relating to

Natalie is distinguished by the strong physical overtones which were rarely apparent with girls. Indeed, it is this physical dimension which gives the occasion its dramatic effect. The reaction of Natalie, akin to an old trooper under such circumstances, was also quite different to that of Stacy and Sue.

In the first example Stacy is very publicly rebuked for carelessness, with the teacher emphasising her age, her obstinacy and worse still, making these the butt of a joke with another teacher who happened to be in the room:-

English 7.2.80. Mr. Ford	....Stacy is now called out to Mr. F's desk to go thro' her work. She's quickly told off for carelessness, Mr.F picks on her mis-spelling of February as an example.
	Mr. F "Why is February spelt wrong? How old are you."
	Stacy "Eleven Sir."
	Mr. F "You should be able to spell the months of the year by now."
	Stacy Looks away - cross that she's been singled out for the most public work checking. Embarrassed.
	Mr. F "Why have you spelt it wrong?"
	Stacy "I was rushed Sir."
	Mr. F "If you were crossing the road in a rush would you get knocked over?"
	Stacy No comment.
	Mr. F Hands her book back which Stacy snatches.
	Mr. F "It's no good being like that Stacy. You've got to learn to be told."
	Stacy Looks annoyed and embarrassed.
	Mr. F Turns to Mr. Woods who has come out of the stockroom [and has seen the final part of the

                    episode]
                    "She's one of the Daltons."
                    They both laugh.
          Stacy   Sits down   radiating a sulky
                    silence of displeasure.

In the second illustration Sue, unlike Stacy, is so

unused to being publicly humiliated, that she is reduced

to tears - the only occasion throughout the entire

school year when any of the pupils cried:-

Science   ....Mrs. M has to go around from group
23.1.80.   to group helping them to make a neutral
Mrs.Morecroft   solution   from   alkali's   and acids.
                  Eventually about 3 out of 6 are done
                  properly. Now the class have to heat
                  the solution to evaporate it to get the
                  salts. All the time Mrs. M's had to
                  remind them (the girls) to keep their
                  glasses on.

                  Eventually the situation explodes when
                  she sees Sue bent over the spitting
                  evaporating dish without them on.

                  Mrs. M gives the class a really severe
                  telling off.   She says 3 classes have
                  used the goggles without any fuss, in
                  future if the goggles were required
                  with this class they'd keep them on all
                  lesson without even taking them off when
                  she was explaining something.

                  "If somebody does take them off they'll
                  be wasting   their time at 3.30 for a
                  fortnight."

                  To Sue she said,
                  "If you're so keen on losing or damaging
                  your sight please don't do it in my
                  lesson."

                  The class then resume activities but Sue
                  starts crying 'cos of being spoken to
                  like this. Stacy said
                  "Are you alright Sue" and gave her a
                  hanky.

                  Mrs. M continues   with   the lesson.

Usually the model of good behaviour in class, Sue, as suggested was almost never singled out for reproach. Mrs. Morecroft's wrath was thus exacerbated by the untypicality of the incident for which Sue had no coping strategy or script.[51] In contrast, Stacy had some measure of control based on previous experience and consequently managed to retain her composure whilst at the same time radiating her anger. But Sue was defenceless and cried which rendered the experience even more humiliating. It is interesting that the cause of the censure was Sue's refusal to wear the safety goggles in science and, this constitutes one of the responses of girls to science also commented upon by Measor (1984).

The sex of the science teacher may also be germane to the incident since as previously suggested in the discussion of teacher typifications of pupils (Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1) while Mrs. Morecroft presented a positive role model for girls, she was also less inhibited than her male colleagues would have been in delivering such a harsh admonishment, a stance also observed amongst women teachers by Davies (1984). As demonstrated in the previous section on lessons ticking over and again in the consideration of teacher typifications in Chapter 4, male teachers tended to display a greater regard for what they perceived as girls' sensitivity. As maintained within those

deliberations, such a stance conceivably does girls a disservice since it contributes to their reluctance to engage in, or bear the brunt of, the tougher aspects of classroom life. For the smaller number of girls who had the opportunity to develop strategies for coping with censure, the response was rather more similar to that displayed by boys in similar circumstances.

Natalie, for example, had created a role for herself as a cheeky, yet largely likeable girl, who was sophisticated in dress and appearance, yet still retaining elements of a not entirely outgrown tom-boyishness. As the rather lengthy extract cited below illustrates, however, she incurred the (male) teachers' anger during a lesson where progress was frustrated by several pupils. She was actually very severely reprimanded twice and on the second occasion was subject to the sort of physical handling usually reserved for boys. This constitutes both a counter instance to the usual pattern observed at Kingston Dene and to the teachers own view of his methods of dealing with recalcitrant girls.[52] The incident has an immediate and very powerful sobering effect on the rest of the class which in this case is attributable to the rough treatment meted out to Natalie rather than her gender (although this of course is a contributory factor) since pupils were well used to Natalie being on the receiving end of teachers disapprobation. The comment from Roger

to Trevor, "That was some telling off" confirms the extremity of the incident.

Maths. Set 3 11.2.80. Mr. Ford	Mr. F walks in and immediately separates Liz and Jill, also Trevor and Roger. Roger pretends not to hear and Mr. F leaves it for a bit.

Mr. F goes over kilograms and grams again, this work must be finished before SMP work cards given out.

Mr. F now insists that Roger moves.

Workcards given out individually.

Irene told to stand out at the front for "messing around" with Pauline. Mr. F shouts at Pauline for not working.

Natalie moved. "I always get moved". She stamps down to a desk at the front. Mr. F lets rip at Natalie, loudest and worst I've ever heard him shout. The class goes silent and Satnam tries to stifle a laugh. Mr. F pushes Trevor out of the way in order to see the offender and then starts on Natalie again.

"You've annoyed 3 people already and he's only been back a week and you're trying to waste his time."
(Points at Roger)
Class remain absolutely quiet - could hear a pin drop.

Work continues but only for 5 minutes 'cos Natalie has offended again.

Mr. F storms over to her grabs her by the arm and tells her to empty her mouth. He then pulls her desk much further forward and pushes her into a chair.

"You're not playing your tricks in my lesson Natalie Harris."

She goes very red. Trevor smiles. Class go deathly quiet yet again. Roger comes over to see Trevor and says "That was some telling off".

. . .

> Eventually Natalie has to join the queue
> to get her work marked. She glances
> around with a grin on her face. Mr. F
> goes through her work normally. She has
> some corrections to do.

Not only is the incident with Natalie unusual, but also the extent to which a number of girls are encompassed by the teachers irritation in the earlier part of the lesson. As suggested, the audacious 'brave face' which Natalie turns to the class after her ordeal is facilitated by previous practice of coping with similar, although less severe, situations. Interestingly, the comment by the teacher regarding Natalie's 'tricks' has the effect of bestowing upon her behaviour something of the stereotypical cunning female. Since Natalie's disobedience appeared to comprise chewing and inattention this is something of a curious imputation. It is, however, consistent with the tendency of teachers to focus upon girls sexuality or, it would seem, similar attributes of femaleness commented upon by other researchers (notably Davies 1984) and the issue is explored further in the following chapter.

6.4.4   Cross-sex techniques

In this concluding section on gender differentiation within the process of discipline and punishment at Kingston Dene, consideration is given briefly to the

manipulation of pupils own distaste for public association with members of the opposite sex. The rituals of separation which are maintained by girls and boys within the classroom and which were discussed in the previous chapter, provided teachers with a very effective means of retaliation against indiscipline. Making pupils sit next to a member of the opposite sex as a punishment constitutes a common practice where cross-sex relations are estranged (Measor and Woods 1983, Ball 1981, Meyenn 1980A). Any imposed breach of pupil rituals constituted one of the more effective ploys of showing pupils up and was particularly disliked since an innocent party was implicated in the administration of the sanction. The two incidents reported here are typical:-

```
Maths.          ....Mr.  F  threatens to split up Shelly
Set 3           and  co., gives them a bit longer to see
28.9.79.        "how you go on".  "Unfortunately some of
Mr. Ford        the  boys  in  this  class  don't  like
                sitting next to girls."
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                        * * * *

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EBL             ...."Scott  are you going to be  moved?"
12.3.80.        (pause)
Mr. Ford        "It'll be next to a girl."
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The embarrassment provoked by such enforced association may emerge, as other observers have suggested (Shaw 1977, Mahony 1985), from a perceived threat to either masculinity or femininity. The loss of status which contact with the opposite sex would seem to incur emanates, as previously indicated, from the

manoeuv⌣rings which pupils, particularly the girls, are beginning to embark upon as part of the initiation into adolescent, teenage-culture. Entailed in this is a renegotiation of relationships with boys which, as McRobbie and Garber (1976) report, necessitates a delicate balance between familiarity and distance. In enforcing cross-sex contact as a penalty, teachers may be upsetting the balance of social relations which are at a more complex stage of development than is generally recognized at school.[53] In any event the use of gender as a means of humiliation in this very explicit and calculated way would seem to be at odds with the schools' official role as an educator of pupils on a co-educational basis. As Delamont (1980A) also notes there are educational consequences to pupils avoidance tactics, particularly in mixed groups, where, as previously suggested,[54] pupils do not actually perform the work required.

6.5 WHAT GIRLS AND BOYS DO - THE ALLOCATION OF SCHOOL TASKS

In exploring the process of discipline and punishment, the previous section considered how classroom behaviour is managed through censure. The present discussion is concerned with the converse of this, namely how appropriate behaviour is encouraged through positive

reinforcement. The point has already been made that the distinction between classroom behaviour and work is frequently blurred in practice, as focussing upon one aspect may provide the teacher with access to the other. Also, as Brophy (1981) demonstrates, whilst teachers are more likely to praise good work than to criticize that which is bad, in terms of behaviour they are more likely to admonish that which is unacceptable than to praise that which is desirable.

The emphasis within the present context is upon the latter,[55] particularly the manner in which pupils are encouraged into behavioural modes which are commensurate with their gender. Brophy's observation regarding the balance of negative sanctions vis-a-vis positive rewards is reflected within the study of Kingston Dene in terms of the length of the respective analyses. The comparative brevity of this section, however, in contrast to the previous one is due to the primary focus of the study and whilst many facets of gender differentiation emerged in relation to discipline, one particular dimension emerged as salient within teacher-pupil interaction in terms of positive reinforcement. This concerned the manner in which teachers allocated the many tasks associated with the administration of school business.

The process of allocation entails a strong element of

reward since a good deal of routine school business invests a degree of trust or confidence with the pupils concerned. Clearly tasks vary in the degree of responsibility entailed, ranging from being the dry or wet cloth monitor to going to the local shop for staff during break and dinner times:-

English 13.9.79. Mr. Ford	....Class asked to put books away cos "I'm looking for some monitors." Stresses they aren't to volunteer unless they are really interested in doing the job. As Mr. F mentions the jobs which need doing at least half the class shoot their hands up.

Dry/wet cloth monitor - Jack (for OHP)
Equipment tidyer   - Margaret and
                         Charanjit
Library monitor   - Trevor
Exercise book monitor - Jane and Scott

* * * *

Dinner Time 16.10.79.	....See two girls going to shop for teacher. The two of them return later and come to the staffroom to return change and deliver the sandwich.

Requests for girls and boys to assist with particular duties or errands were interspersed throughout classroom and school life in a very unspectacular manner. Thus girls tidying cupboards or wall displays and boys carrying books and equipment around formed a familiar feature of the school scene. Kingston Dene appeared to be typical in utilizing a conventional sexual division of labour for such purposes (Whyld 1983) and Delamont (1980B) documents the furore which may arise if schools attempt to counteract such stereotypical practices.

Since girls were perceived as more mature and responsible by teachers at Kingston Dene, they tended to secure not only the tasks that are generally considered as gender specific (for example, the tidying-up jobs) but also those duties which could easily have been construed as suitable for either girls or boys (going to the shop for instance). Not only does the allocation of tasks reward appropriate behaviour through the designation of responsibility, it may also confer a sense of privilege through affording pupils access to teacher territory - notably the staffroom. Yet whilst girls may have constituted the main beneficiaries of such privileges, the longer term consequences of such short-term rewards are largely disadvantageous for girls, as will be discussed shortly.

Even where an early attempt was made by the teacher to encourage one of the boys (Trevor) into a more responsible role, a girl (Vickie) was eventually selected to restore order from the chaos into which the class library had degenerated. Yet other boys could have performed the job more than competently, Graham in particular had a reputation for liking books and generally being studious. It was rare, however, to see even boys such as this selected for any of the non-physical jobs. The only observed counter-instance to the general trend is recorded in the following

incident:-

| Dinner Time 22.1.80. | Walk down to 3/5 classroom where Paul and Graham are sorting the new readers out. So I spend 20 mins chatting to them about reading, what books they like etc.... |

More usually, such tasks were allocated along gender specific lines and it is possible to identify four main categories of duty. Firstly, the tidying-up jobs:-

| Maths. Set 3 15.11.79. Mr. Ford | ....Mr. F asks Michelle to be in charge of the equipment box "Because you're good at keeping things in order." |

Secondly, the tasks entailing a degree of responsibility:-

| Dinner Time 15.5.80. | Girls busy in the quad feeding animals and clearing up the bird and animal area. |

Thirdly, errands performed for specific teachers:-

| Break Time | Staffroom. 2 girls make coffee for a teacher who can't come down. |

Fourthly, what might be described as 'heavy' or 'light' work, particularly porterage and the distribution of books:-

| EBL 6.11.79. Mr. Ford | ....At end of lesson Mr. F asks for "3 or 4 strong boys to move Richmond books upstairs". |

* * * *

| English 5.3.80. Mr. Ford | ....Garth gives out some English text books. Vickie and Sue told to give exercise books out. |

In this final extract not only do girls receive the 'lighter' task, but two of them are allocated to it!

As Delamont (1980B and 1983B) suggests, schools actually present pupils with a more conservative or outmoded view of gender roles than they encounter in the outside world. Whilst this is reflected in various aspects of school life,[56] it is particularly visible where pupils are requested to assist with routine business. Not only does such a conservative allocation of tasks fail to challenge existing stereotypes in a context where it would be easy to do so the assumption of gender linked expertise may engender something of a self-fulfilling prophecy. Frequent experience, for instance, of looking after school animals is almost certain to produce a competent animal monitor.

Thus, girls are reinforced in domestic, servicing roles, whilst boys perform the physical tasks which are assumed to be both beyond the capability of girls and incompatible with their femininity. Teacher rationales for task allocation criteria are discussed in Chapter 4, but they do generally confirm the application of a conventional sexual division of labour. Whilst this may be portrayed to pupils in various ways at school, the consequences for girls of such an explicit reference to their servicing role constitutes an unequivocal confirmation of the domestic responsibilities of women, responsibilities of which the third year girls were clearly aware and which, as many authors have

emphasised,[57] have a depressing effect upon educational aspirations.

6.6   HUMOUR

The role of humour within the process of schooling has formed the subject of an increased sociological interest over recent years. From the pupils' perspective 'having a laugh' or 'mucking about' provides relief from boredom, assists in 'sussing' teachers out, reinforces peer group solidarity and facilitates in the preservation of self in a context where control is institutionally vested elsewhere (Willis 1977, Corrigan 1979, Woods 1979 and 1983B, Beynon 1984). From the teachers point of view humour constitutes one of the most potent techniques for controlling classes, isolating miscreants, promoting consensus, diffusing conflict and sustaining interest in the lesson (Woods 1983A and 1983B, Stebbins 1980, Denscombe 1985). This may be achieved with varying degrees of sophistication and awareness to the extent that pupil compliance may be secured through the development of friendly teacher-pupil relations (Denscombe 1985) or, as previously suggested in the discussion of sarcasm, a rather more brutal approach to asserting teacher authority may be adopted (Hammersley 1976). Although, as Woods (1979) and Gannaway (1976) have observed, the most accomplished

teachers are arguably those who pupils consider they can both work and have a laugh with.

The exploration of humour at Kingston Dene is quite specific in its focus in that it seeks to demonstrate how humour is utilized in order to enhance the affinity between teachers and boys[58] which, in itself, serves to avert resistance amongst those pupils who were perceived as potentially most problematic. Humour was used predominantly in the sense described by Woods (1983B) as a facilitator of teaching and learning and, as the data below illustrates, frequently manifested itself in situations which required some comic relief (Stebbins 1980). This was accomplished through banter directed at individual boys or delivered collectively without an obvious group of recipients, but in such a way that girls were excluded, sometimes because they formed the butt of the joke through being female. This is not to suggest that girls never participated in the humorous aspects of classroom life or never enjoyed a laugh (indeed this would be contrary to their own perceptions), but that they participated indirectly as observers as opposed to being the initiators or receivers of humour. As with other facets of classroom interaction, however, there were exceptions to the general trend and again Gloria had the distinction of being the untypical girl, although she was very much the subject (almost victim) of the wry remark rather than

the co-participant in repartee.

The first extract represents a straightforward attempt at humour to a query posed by one of the boys. It is the manner in which the teacher responds, mainly intonation, which prevents the retort being sarcastic. It is perhaps worth noting that, of all the categories of interaction, humour - with the perception of what is amusing being highly subjective - is difficult to report without the full contextual details. Since many of these are non-verbal, some of the incidents tend to lose their humorous impact when documented for analytic purposes.

EBL 25.9.79. Mr. Ford	....Scott asks "Sir has it [observations] got to be about the film?" "No, about that bus going down there. What do you think it's got to be about nutcase?" Scott smirks and gets down to work.

In the next example, the same pupil is actually the initiator of a joke with the teacher who responds in a similar vein. There were no instances where girls attempted similar repartee with the teacher:-

EBL 13.5.80. Mr. Ford	Continue with Wednesdays work on Legends and Myths [of the Eskimo]. ....Scott wasn't here on Wednesday, so Mr. F has to explain to him what he should be doing. 5 mins later. "Alright Scott?" "No Sir, half left." Giggles. "Was that a joke? Oh dear you'll have to do better than that."

The following encounter is similar to the extent that boys introduce humour into the lesson and initially this is accepted by the teacher. As the incident develops, however, the precarious position of pupils when taking the initiative in this manner is revealed as the teacher ceases to interpret the boys answers as jokes. On the contrary the humour backfires as pupil comments are regarded as provocative and as challenging to the teacher's authority. Indeed, as the boys take cues from each other the exchange becomes reminiscent of Beynon's (1984) description of pupils 'sussing' teachers out. It is interesting that the exchange occurred after the Easter holiday when the teacher may possibly have considered that the pupils required reminding of the parameters of acceptable behaviour. Thus the boundaries of how far pupils can go even when the intention is humorous are renegotiated and established for future reference:-

EBL
15.4.80.
Mr. Ford

Film. Winter on Frozen Sea Ice. Mr. F starts by asking why the Eskimos travel. Why don't they stay put. Eventually, after a lot of hints and supplementary questions the class say they follow the caribou. Mr. F asks why the caribou roam.
"What do they eat?"
"Satnam?"
Satnam, "Grass."
Mr. F "GRASS???"
The class laughs. Mr. F then asks the class as a whole what Caribou eat.
Trevor says, "Lamb chops."
The class all laugh again. However, Mr. F's not prepared to take the joke this time. He rushes over to Trevor, bangs the yard rule down on Trevor's

> desk -
> "Lamb chops. Lamb chops? I think it's
> about time you took this seriously
> Trevor and start your brain working.
> What do you think you're playing at? Get
> down to it lad. The holidays are over."

Even though the humour here developed into something rather more akin to 'sussing' teachers out, the incident may still be regarded as largely integrational for, as Woods (1983B) maintains, such tactics, whilst possibly uncomfortable for teachers, reflect a search for norms and rules which may be seen as facilitators of teaching and learning. A much more conscious attempt at securing integration on the part of the teacher is represented in the two incidents below where a good humoured friendliness is traded upon by the teacher in order to enliven the content of the lesson. As Denscombe (1985)

remarks, such a stance is not:-

> simply the unplanned and fortuitous
> product of personal relationships
> between teacher and pupils, but is to
> some extent engineered by staff as a
> deliberate method of coping with
> events in the classroom.
>
> Denscombe 1985, p. 117.

All the pupils found the incidents amusing, although again it must be noted that there were no similar encounters between teachers and girls:-

EBL	....Trevor now chosen for an unusual
4.10.79.	demonstration. He has to hold a piece
Mr. Ford	paper which Mr. F sets alight. The
	class laugh - delighted. Trevor

initially looking casual looks a little
more worried as the flame gets nearer
his fingers.
Class told to observe - then told to jot
down what they saw. "What happened to
the paper. Don't just say it burnt."

* * * *

English
20.9.79.
Mr. Ford

Comprehension. Teacher reads relevant
passage out of book and then goes
through the unusual words or phrases to
make sure the class fully understand the
piece.

To illustrate what "to yield" means Mr.F
goes over to Trevor and bends his hand
back, with Trevor twisting and groaning
in his seat. He rather spoilt the demo
'cos he didn't yell "qive in Sir". Mr. F
explains if he had he would have been
yielding. Then praises Trevor's "brave"
behaviour by saying, "Trevor was pretty
tough there."

Class suitably entertained.

Whilst such attempts at friendliness as a strategy for
promoting learning may be experienced as humorous by all
pupils, they may be viewed as fostering a particular
affinity between teachers and boys. Such affinity is
largely unconscious as it unfurls within the classroom
and is based upon a pre-acquaintance between the
participants in the same manner as those in the
'strawberries' incident reported by Walker and Adelman
(1976). That the male staff at Kingston Dene had some
awareness of the empathy between themselves and boys is
suggested in the interviews conducted with teachers
wherein an insight into boys behaviour was intimated on
the basis of shared gender. Women teachers also enjoyed

classroom relations with boys and the role of humour in sustaining these is clearly indicated. Indeed, the conviviality which boys were perceived to promote within the classroom formed one of the main reasons why some staff preferred teaching boys despite the greater problems which they posed in terms of discipline and control.[59] As previously suggested, one reason for developing convivial relations with boys is to reduce problems of indiscipline in much the same way as the teachers in Clarricoats (1978) study selected curriculum materials designed to capture the interest of boys.

One consequence of the development of this affinity between teachers and boys is that boys acquire the confidence to take a public stand within the classroom. This need not be confined to the arena of banter and repartee but spills over into oral work, (which will be discussed within the the next chapter) and is also evident as lessons tick over as previously considered. The raillery is also very much within a macho style which serves to confirm for boys the relevance of being tough and the comment by Mr. Ford on Trevor's bravery in the above incident (20.9.79.) illustrates this. The question must be posed, however, what do girls learn as classroom humour develops in a manner which is exclusive of them? One possible answer is provided by Spender (1980B, 1982) in her argument that girls learn from a very early age to laugh at men's jokes and otherwise

massage their conversation and it is likely that these early experiences within the classroom socialize girls into such support roles. Where girls or some aspect of femaleness is introduced into classroom humour at Kingston Dene it was usually at the girls expense as the extracts below illustrate.

Thus girls also learn that women provide a legitimate target for male humour. The (male) science teacher in particular had a predilection for old chestnut jokes of a sexist nature which the girls appeared to find unamusing. Whether this was because of the content of the humour or the teacher's style is difficult to ascertain, although their amusement in the third extract, where one of the girls herself forms the butt of the joke, would appear to suggest the latter:-

| Science
16.10.79.
Mr. Newcombe | ....Mr. N gets a few laughs by saying the girls had better wear trousers [on a school visit] 'cos in the adventure playground they don't want to show what they oughtn't....
When explaining about the pigs he says the boars have a "great life" - "just used for mating". |

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

| Science
12.12.79.
Mr. Newcombe | ....Mr. N explains what litmus paper is by calling it an indicator, like there is on cars - if he wants to turn left he indicates left, unless it's a woman driver, she might indicate right and turn left. |

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

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Maths.            ....Mr. Murdoch      "Turn to page 88."
Set 2             Pupil                "What page Sir?"
7.6.80.           Mr. Murdoch          "88!" (said loudly)
Mr. Murdoch       Clive                "Two fat ladies."
```

The class look up wondering how Mr. Murdoch will take this. However, he says "Clive, there's no need to talk about Rosie Rowlands like that."

Laughter.
[Rosie - a physically mature girl]

In terms of girls being directly involved in humour the data revealed very few instances and these tended to feature Gloria, for example:-

```
Maths.            ....Gloria goes out to Mr. Ford's desk.
Set 3             Mr. F says "Oh go on Gloria, for
Mr. Ford          goodness sake - you're a pain in my
                  side." Out she goes, presumably to the
                  toilet.
```

* * * *

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Registration      9.00 Registration.
16.5.80.          Gloria's late and when she does get in,
Mr. Ford          "Sir, I missed the bus."
                  Mr. F "It's a pity it missed you Gloria
                  - sit down."
```

At best both incidents are only mildly amusing which does serve to confirm girls marginality within classroom humour. Indeed, both are saved from being admonishments by the teachers tone of voice and accompanying facial expression which, as previously suggested, are difficult to convey in edited data. In short, Gloria was subjected to what Stebbins (1980) refers to as the humorous 'put down' or 'wisecrack'.

More generally, however, the development of humour within the classroom at Kingston Dene constituted a province occupied predominantly by teachers and boys. This is consistent with other facets of interaction, notably discipline and punishment and, given the indiscipline aversion role of humour, the salience of boys may be expected. Humour, whether manifested as jokes initiated by teachers or boys, or as attempts by the teacher to enliven the curriculum, consequently functions as a facilitator of teaching and learning. Again, as with other aspects of interaction, this was indicative of the largely harmonious nature of teacher-pupil relations at the school. This is not to suggest that such relations were seldom punctuated by confrontation, the data clearly demonstrates otherwise, but that when this did occur, it did not reflect orchestrated opposition on the part of pupils. The accomplishment of class teachers cannot be underestimated here, for, as Woods (1979) maintains, those who successfully combine humour with school work demands, show considerable awareness of the dynamics of classroom life.

Furthermore, what appears to amount to the marginalization of girls did not necessarily mean that girls did not enjoy classroom humour. Indeed, they did,[60] but their experience of it was largely confined

to an indirect participative role. This indirect support of the girls was arguably essential to making classroom humour effective, for if half the class remained resolutely unamused, then the integrative function of humour would have been reduced. To some extent this is what occurred in science lessons where the teachers sexist jokes did not produce a completely convivial classroom. Finally, the participation of boys in humour may not only enhance confidence which, as previously suggested, their greater involvement in lessons ticking over may similarly promote, but also foster an affinity between them and teachers which would seem to be implicated in teacher preference for pupils on the basis of gender. The ramifications of this particularly in relation to the oral component of school work will be discussed after a brief resume of the main points of the present chapter.

6.7   SUMMARY

An attempt has been made to consider some aspects of control within teacher-pupil relations. The issue of deviance and control in classrooms has preoccupied researchers and a good deal of interesting and entertaining literature is available on the subject from varying sociological perspectives. The neglect of girls, however, as Davies (1984) maintains, is usually

quite unashamed. Yet the extent to which boys emerge as salient in classroom interaction even where conscious endeavours are made to scrutinize gender differentiation is testimony, as Spender (1982) contends, to their power as pupils.

At Kingston Dene the data would strongly suggest that as lessons tick over and when the requirement for more direct disciplinary intervention occurs teachers orient themselves predominantly towards the male presence within the classroom. Indeed, such a response is consistent with their perception of boys as potentially, if not actually, more disruptive than girls. It would seem, therefore, that a relatively small number of troublesome boys results in the greater surveillance of all boys. The same does not appear to apply to girls. One of the more disruptive influences in class 3/5 was a girl and yet her indiscipline did not cause the behaviour of other girls to be classified in a similar vein. On the contrary, the idiosyncratic nature of Gloria's relations with teachers resulted in other girls regarding her behaviour as somewhat unusual. Since her classroom style was in many respects 'boyish', it would seem, as has been proposed, that the main criterion of her untypicality was her departure from a conventional gender role.

Other girls occasionally deviated and, when they did so,

the consequences provided a salutory reminder of the advantages of anonymous conformity. It has been argued, however, that such advantages accrue to girls only in the short term. The general reluctance of teachers to subject girls to the more severe of their strictures (whether work or discipline related) results in girls failing to participate in the cut and thrust of classroom life. This concurs with the view of Spender (1982) and Stanworth (1983) that such marginalization has implications for self-esteem and school work, particularly oral work. It would appear that the age and sex of the teacher are.also involved here. The younger male teachers tended to be the most cautious with girls whilst their more senior (both in terms of age and school position) colleagues were less reserved in their role as disciplinarians. The influence of the age-sex-status matrix has been considered by Peterson (1984) and Hargreaves (1986), although the manner in which it interacts with the age and sex of pupils would consititute a fruitful area for further research. At Kingston Dene, whilst there were not sufficient third year teachers at either end of the age spectrum to generalize, the two more senior members of staff Mrs. Morecroft (Head of Science) and Mr. Griffiths (Deputy Head Teacher) had developed rather more maternal and paternal relations with pupils in contrast to the mildly flirtatious mode of their younger colleagues.[61]

A further facet of control is the encouragement of acceptable behaviour through positive reinforcement. This manifests itself most conspicuously as pupil co-operation is sought for the execution of school duties and teacher errands. The analysis of task allocation has been incorporated into the discussion of teacher-pupil relations because requests for pupil assistance were very much integral to classroom interaction and interspersed amongst other instructional elements of classroom life. The observance by teachers of a conventional sexual division of labour, perhaps even more stark than pupils encounter outside of school (Delamont 1983B), is significant not only because pupils may acquire a very stereotyped view of what it is appropriate for them to do, but also because this reinforces other aspects of stereotypical behaviour so that pupils are confronted with a total as opposed to partial portrayal of what it means to be masculine or feminine. That boys are expected to be tougher than girls, for example is fostered through appropriate disciplinary techniques, whilst an assertive stance is encouraged through humour.

The participation of girls in an audience capacity is necessary to classroom humour, for jokes and banter cannot function as a facilitator to control or as a confidence booster without appreciative observers.

Thus, girls learn a servicing role in respect to male conversational activities (Spender 1982). However, whilst girls, despite some notable exceptions, occupy a lower profile than boys within the classroom, such a position requires active maintenance rather than developing by default. Some of the ways in which girls carve out a distinctive role and the manner in which teachers respond to this will be considered in the following chapter which continues with the theme of teacher-pupil relations and classroom interaction.

FOOT NOTES

1. See Section 6.2 of the present Chapter.

2. For a discussion of whether the so called 'new' directions were in fact, new, see Dawe, A. (1970) 'The Two Sociologies'.

3. Galton et al (1980) p. 66.

4. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the use of 'grounded theory' - Glaser and Straus (1967).

5. See Woods (1986).

6. For a fuller discussion of how this was accomplished see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4.

7. Again, see Woods (1986) and also the collections on methodology in the study of education edited by Burgess (1984 and 1985).

8. Flanders, N.A. (1970) and (1973), although the approach emerged from the broader social-psychological tradition whose main exponents were as Delamont (1983A) indicates, Anderson, Bales; Lewin, Lippet and White. See also the introduction to <u>Frontiers of Classroom Research</u>, Chanon and Delamont (Eds) (1975).

9. See, for example, Wilkinson, L.C. and Marrett, C.B. (Eds) (1985).

10. There is no equivalent British research which could be used for such purposes. Whilst Interaction Analysis has been utilized within British classrooms (the ORACLE project is probably the most well known), it has not been applied to differentiated teacher-pupil relations on the basis of gender.

11. i Violation of rules, ii personal qualities of the child, iii thoughtlessness, iv task mechanics, v lack of knowledge or skill, vi lack of attention, vii poor housekeeping.

12. Serbin et al (1973) p. 803.

13. Possibly because the positivist tradition was less pervasive within the Canadian research tradition.

14. Chanan and Delamont (Ed) (1975) *Frontiers of Classroom Research*.

15. See Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1.

16. For a discussion of the contrast between the old and new sociological approaches see the chapter by Halsey, 'Power, Ideology and Education' in Karabel and Halsey (Eds) (1977).

17. Sharp and Green also extended the study beyond its interactional parameters in order to explain their observations in terms of the links between micro and macro sociological perspectives. This attempt, as Woods (1983A) notes, attracted criticism on the grounds that teacher instructions, meaning and definitions were not adequately explored.

18. This theme is discussed more specifically in relation to discipline and humour later in the Chapter (Sections 6.4 and 6.6).

19. See the discussion of teacher perceptions of pupils in Chapter 4, particularly Section 4.2.

20. Again, see Section 4.4 of Chapter 4.

21. The girls reactions to such exposure are considered in the following chapter.

22. Stanworth (1983) p. 56.

23. Comments made during the tape recorded interview with Mrs. Cooper. For the extract in full see Section 4.4 of Chapter 4.

24. See the seating arrangement plans of class 3/5 in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1, Tables 5 and 6 which indicate the changes which were negotiated during the school year.

25. See the discussion of friendship choice and the importance of sitting next to friends in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.

26. The rituals of separation negotiated by pupils are discussed in Section 5.2.4 of Chapter 5.

27. This issue is explored more fully in the discussion of Oral Work in Chapter 7, Section 7.2.

28. Further consideration is given to this aspect of teacher-pupil relations in Section 7.5 of the following chapter.

29. This was also observed by Stanworth (1983).

30. In particular her shouting, loudness and general physical presence.

31. Gloria's eccentricity is reflected in Vickie's remark during the second taped interview where she referred very kindly to Gloria as "barmy" and Sue reinforced this comment with reference to "poor old Gloria".

32. Merton's (1938) theory of anomie in contrast to the sub-cultural work of Cohen (1956) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960).

33. Developed from Wakeford (1969), see Woods (1979) p. 78.

34. An original objective in Merton's theory of anomie.

35. See teacher views on punishing girls in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2.

36. Denscombe (1985) p. 97.

37. In Section 6.3.2 of this Chapter.

38. These are detailed in the introduction to the thesis, Chapter 1.

39. It was not possible within the scope of the study to attempt to substantiate such claims, but they nevertheless formed part of the staff-room folklore at Kingston Dene.

40. See the discussion of girls being assertive in Section 7.4 of the next Chapter.

41. Teacher views on this are discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2.

42. That is, those which are intended as such, not where any embarrassment to the pupil is unintentional.

43. Hammersley (1977) p. 38 describes this in greater detail.

44. Woods (1979) Chapter 5.

45. Hammersley (1976) p. 110.

46. First example,   Language Development
                      23.10.79.
                      Mr. Ford

    Second example,   EBL
                      26.10.79.
                      Mr. Ford

    Third example,   Language Development
                      21.11.79.
                      Mr. Ford

    Fourth example,   Registration
                      29.4.80.
                      Mr. Ford

47. As the discussion of friendship choice in Chapter 5
    illustrates, Margaret was a social isolate,
    selecting and being selected by only one other girl
    as a friend in class 3/5. Teacher perceptions of
    Margaret are considered in the discussion of Within
    Sex Differentiation, Section 7.5 of the following
    Chapter.

48. First example,   EBL
                      12.12.79.
                      Mr. Ford

    Second example,   EBL
                      28.1.80.
                      Mr. Ford

    Third example,   EBL
                      7.5.80.
                      Mr. Ford

49. Teacher typifications of femininity are discussed in
    Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1.

50. Again further discussion may be referred to on this
    issue, including the role of stereotypes in
    Chapter 4, Section 4.2.4.

51. The concept of scripts is developed by Davies
    (1984).

52. See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2.

53. Teachers tended to refer to the state of relations
    between girls and boys simply as a "silly phase".

54. In the discussion of pupil relations in Chapter 5,
    Sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4.

55. The manner in which work (as opposed to behaviour) was rewarded at Kingston Dene is referred to in Chapter 1, Section 1.1.3 on Ability and achievement.

56. For example, the organizational segregation of girls and boys in registers, queues and visiting the school dentist, the presentation of conventional role-models and authority structures, the enforcement of different standards of behaviour and, in the curriculum - particularly Enquiry Based Learning at Kingston Dene.

57. Sharpe (1976), Deem (1980), Delamont (1980A and B), Spender (1982), Weiner and Arnot (1987), Arnot and Weiner (1987) to mention a few.

58. This affinity is acknowledged by teachers - see the discussion of teacher perceptions of pupils in Chapter 4, Sections 4.2.3 and 4.4.

59. Again, the relevant detailed discussion is in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3.

60. See the exploration of what girls liked about school in Chapter 5, Section 5.3.1.

61. Teacher views on the impact of their age/sex with pupils is discussed in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.2., see particularly the comments by Mr. Griffiths.

CHAPTER 7

TEACHER - PUPIL INTERACTION : SOME FURTHER ISSUES

7.1   INTRODUCTION

Thematically, this Chapter continues from where the previous one concluded and as the title suggests, some further characteristics of interaction between teachers and pupils are explored.   Whilst the issue of social control provided some cohesion to Chapter 6,   the facets of interaction presented for discussion here are a little more diverse,   although the fundamental inquiry into gender differentiation within teacher-pupil relations does, of course, underpin the analysis.

These relations are initially probed from what might generally be viewed as the use of language within the classroom.   The exploration is educational rather than linguistic, particularly in the discussion of oral work, where opportunities for participation on the basis of gender are examined.   Certain participative strategies are identified and the views of pupils in particular are presented in order to enhance the elucidation of these. The analysis then ventures into the realm of what might loosely be regarded as socio-linguistics, but again the focus is quite specific and there is, therefore, no

attempt to present a detailed excursus into this particular academic province. Rather the use of particular words or phrases and the non-verbal emphases which accompany these are studied in order to consider how particular interpretations of femininity and masculinity are fostered within teacher-pupil interaction.

In the third section of the Chapter some features of the interactive modes which are utilized between teachers and girls are considered. The girls appeared to develop styles of inter-personal relations with staff on a peculiarly feminine basis and it is suggested that this practice, operated under certain circumstances, provided a means of access to the teacher which would otherwise be reduced. Finally, and closely associated with the practice of girls being assertive, variations in the manner in which teachers interact with pupils of the same sex, particularly girls are considered. For, at the same time as pupils are differentiated on the basis of gender, it would appear that a simultaneous process of within sex differentiation is also operative.

7.1.1 Language as a cultural mediator

Prior to delving directly into the linguistic characteristics of third year lessons at Kingston Dene, it is perhaps apposite to provide a brief reminder of

the theoretical underpinnings of the following two sections. Within the study the use of language and the distribution of what may be referred to as 'linguistic space' (Mahony 1985 p.28) were perceived as educationally relevant for as C. Wright Mills asserts:-

> Words carry meanings by virtue of dominant interpretations placed upon them by social behaviour. Interpret-ations or meanings spring from the habitual modes of behaviour which pivot upon symbols. Such social patterns of behaviour constitute the meanings of the symbols. Non-linguistic behaviours are guided or manipulated by linguistic materials and language is the ubiquitous string in the web of patterned human behaviour.

> C. Wright Mills 1963, p. 433.

Thus, in essence, viewed from the sociology of knowledge, language may be perceived as the means by which social reality is created and sustained (Schutz 1973, Berger and Luckman 1971). Within this construction, language functions as a system of social control as the meanings of words are formed by the interaction of social groups and the patterns of social behaviour, with their cultural and political positions, exert a control over thought by means of language (C. Wright Mills 1963). This general perspective informs some notable studies of language use within the classroom, in particular the role of language within the Schutzian notion of the development of reciprocal perspectives (Edwards and Furlong 1978) and in

overcoming the problematics of being a stranger - a position frequently occupied by pupils when encountering new curricular (Barnes 1976).[1] It is an approach also utilized by Spender (1980A) in her analysis of language which is 'man made'.

In this analysis Spender orchestrates considerable evidence in support of the view that language has been appropriated by and on behalf of men in all its dimensions in order to sustain a patriarchal social order. It is not possible within the confines of the present discussion to accord more than an cursory glance at some of the central tenets of Spender's thesis. It would seem that the first systematic attempt to diminish women linguistically and, by implication socially, occurred in 1553 when it was argued that the practice of placing male before female, as in husband/wife or brother/sister, was 'natural'. By 1746 this custom was crystalized into an argument for the supremacy of the male to be denoted by the use of the male gender to embrace the female and this notion was transmuted into some grammatical rules of the time.

In order to impart sufficient gravitas to such rules, however, the principle that man legally represented woman was enshrined in an Act of Parliament in 1850. Such linguistic practice has only recently been challenged and there is evidence to suggest that pupils

and students are attuned literally to men when confronted with the use of man as a generic term (Nilsen 1973, Harrison 1975, Hacker 1972).[2] At Kingston Dene, the teacher considered it necessary in one period of Enquiry Based Learning to inform the class that, in the exercise they were doing, 'man' did in fact encompass everyone. By such expedients it is possible to argue that the invisibility of women is perpetuated.

Within this grammatical framework Spender elucidates Stanley's (1977) theory of negative semantic space for women and Schulz's (1975) concept of the process of semantic derogation.[3] The former refers to the comparative paucity of nouns available to describe women and the latter to the lesser value which is connoted by those which do feature in the language. In conjunction with the structure of language which diminishes women, it would seem that in the use of language women occupy a role which acts as a stimulus and support to men's conversation and yet, even the use of language in this manner by women is deemed highly interruptable by men (Fishman 1977, Coser 1960, Goffman 1972).[4] Moreover, when women do contribute either conversationally or publicly it has to be in an acceptable (i.e. ladylike) unthreatening form in order to avoid (male) censure. The response incurred by pupils such as Gloria and Natalie, who appeared within the previous Chapter in the

discussion of lessons ticking over and the exercise of discipline (Sections 6.3 and 6.4 respectively) may also be understood in these terms.

Spender's analysis is applied to classrooms more specifically in the collection of papers edited with Sarah (1980) and in 'Invisible Women : The Schooling Scandal' (1982). She has not been without criticism for a lack of specificity in relation to her own research and methods (Delamont 1984B), yet it is possible to maintain, that her skilful management of a very wide range of data produced by other researchers provides more than sufficient evidence to support her claims and hence credibility to her thesis. The field notes at Kingston Dene were certainly consonant with the trends identified, for example, by Clarricoates (1978 and 1980), Stanworth (1983), Mahony (1985) and Weiner (1985).

Both the observational data and lesson transcripts revealed the tendency for teachers to refer to boys more frequently within those parts of the lesson allocated to verbal exploration of the curriculum content. As previously discussed,[5] boys tended to be more centrally involved in classroom interaction than girls due to teacher perceptions of their greater propensity towards indiscipline and the necessity to avert or contain this. Whilst it is difficult to distinguish between work related encounters which occur

spontaneously and those which are prompted by an underpinning motive to maintain control, the data presented below do suggest that opportunities for participating orally in lessons were apportioned in favour of boys.

7.2   ORAL WORK

This bias was particularly evident in those lessons where discussion comprised a formal part of the curriculum, notably Enquiry Based Learning (E.B.L.)[6] and for this reason some extracts from such lessons are presented initially. The tendency, whilst clearly apparent in E.B.L., was however, discernable in other lessons even though the discussional element usually represented a smaller part of the total lesson and some examples are considered subsequently. The methodological dilemma posed by the necessity to select extracts of data for discussion has already been mentioned[7] and, the particular dangers inherent in such a selection when some aspect of language constitutes the focus of analysis have been elucidated with some force by Stubbs (1981).

An attempt to overcome some of the difficulties has been made through the inclusion in Appendix 9 of a transcript of one of the E.B.L. lessons which was tape recorded

(the subject of which was Eskimo myths and legends). The transcript portrays something of the flavour of an E.B.L. lesson in its entirety in respect to the pattern of oral participation. Again, for reasons of economy, some teacher commentary and pupil responses have been edited in order to prevent the piece from being too unwieldy for inclusion - even as an appendix.[8] The editing also has the effect, remarked upon by Atkinson (1981), of polishing the fragmented and messy nature of classroom talk. These additional data are used primarily to augment the field notes and are, therefore, discussed towards the conclusion of the analysis of participation in oral work.

The observational extracts from some typical E.B.L. lessons which are intended to illustrate the focus upon boys within class discussion do tend to be rather lengthy and, consequently, a comparatively small range of examples are considered. The first presents the discussion which ensued after class 3/5 had watched the film 'Miss Goodall and the Apes':-

E.B.L.
6.11.79.
Mr. Ford

....Afterwards F. asks for questions about the chimps - what the class may have noticed about them in relation to baboons.

Satnam[9] "Is a baboon more intelligent than a chimp?" Mark, in response to F. repeating the question says a chimp is cleverer 'cos, "It's nearer to man in its structures." F then asks what Satnam means by intelligent, he says "Is it cleverer?"
Peter asks,"Why don't chimps have tails?

George,   "Do chimps live in troops?"
Garth,   "Do chimps ride on their
             mother's backs?"
Trevor,   "Do chimps live in the
             Savannah?"
Stacy,   "Do chimps always run
             from danger?"
Gloria,   "Do chimps eat different
             food?"
F. draws these questions to a halt by
asking "What is one of the main things
we've looked at in baboons that we could
look at in chimps?"
(Pause)
"How do they organize themselves?"
"There's still one word you haven't
 mentioned."
Luther puts his hand up - but doesn't
take the right cue and asks if they show
affection. F. now returns to Satnam's
original question, majority of class
seem to think chimps are more
intelligent because they use tools. F.
develops tools as a theme now. Asks
what they are. One or two girls
half raise their arms. Jack answers
that man uses tools like knives and
forks to eat, but baboons and chimps
don't. F. is very pleased, "Good." Mark
says they use twigs and Scott says they
use leaves as sponges. F. asks "Why?"
Scott ans. - said he used the leaf
like a cup, F. says not quite and Susan
puts him right and says he used it like
a sponge. Scott looks put out 'cos he
did mention the word sponge earlier. F.
now returns to the theme of dominance,
"What's the difference between the size
of a troop and what you saw in the
film?"
Scott,   "A troop is larger about 40."
Tony says a troop has a central male.
Jack says chimps run for themselves in
danger.
F. continues with this theme by
repeating Trevor's question of do chimps
live in the Savannah.
"What was there a lot of in the jungle
that baboons had to look for?" Rachel
says food. She says chimps could just
pick food anwhere. F. says yes. "The
baboons had to spend all day looking for
it out in the open."
Class now told to put the title

'Chimpanzee' and to answer quests. from the board.

There are a number of significant features here which are typical of the oral work component of E.B.L. The lesson, having commenced with a stimulus to discussion, was developed by the teacher inviting questions from the class in general. The boys were permitted to contribute first and, indeed, the teacher responded to six boys before incorporating Stacy and Gloria. A further question is then posed by the teacher and in order to provide a clue an earlier answer of Satnam's is re-introduced. This confers upon this particular contribution a certain status and legitimacy since the teacher considered it worthy of use in this way. Given that the boys were afforded more opportunities to participate in class discussion, the chances of their ideas being utilized thus were proportionately increased. Having re-asserted Satnam's point, three boys (Scott, Mark and Jack), were given the opportunity to explore the issue, although by this time some of the girls were indicating their desire to contribute. Susan was eventually called upon to provide the right answer. It would seem that even while the girls were largely reduced to observers of the debate, they remained attentive and could have contributed effectively given the opportunity. Scott, Tony and Jack were then encouraged to solve the particular problem of how chimps

and baboons feed and again Rachel was invited to participate only when the boys were unable to produce the correct answer, which she did immediately.

A further characteristic of the discussion with boys is that, having engaged the teacher's attention, usually but not always, with their hands raised, they continued to hold the ensuing discourse from the floor of the classroom with the teacher momentarily fulfilling the role of a chair person. In contrast, with few exceptions, the girls tended to abide more closely to classroom etiquette and wait with their hands raised for their turn to speak - a phenomenon also observed by Spender (1982). Whilst it must be acknowledged that in the majority of oral encounters in the classroom comparatively few pupils of either sex actually participate (and the episode reported above is no exception), of the fourteen pupils who did contribute ten were boys and four were girls. The boys were, moreover, permitted to develop their contributions whilst the girls were restricted to one sentence answers. Essentially, the same features are also evident in the shorter extract presented next:-

E.B.L.	...."Right what does the bow and arrow
8.2.80.	do?" Mark volunteers the information
Mr. Ford	that it must be kept dry or the sinew
	will stretch.
	F. "Yes, what does the bow need?"
	(pause)
	"Come on lads I had lots of bows and
	arrows when I was your age."

Mark, "Tension." This is written on the board.
...."Why is it made of three pieces, Julie?"
Her hand is not raised. (pause) F. "There are some big caribou to provide big antler, so why three pieces?"
Satnam volunteers, "To make it springy, Sir." F. "Why, what's antler like?"
Satnam,"Stiff, Sir." F. "So what would happen?" Satnam, "It would snap, Sir."
....
"The book says the sinew is braided.What are braids girls. You play netball."
Silence. Mark, "Sir, sinew twisted together, Sir." F. "What's the point of the arrow having a feather on one end and metal on the other?"
Silence.
Trevor, "It helps it to fly Sir like a dart." F. "Yes, the feather helps it keep on course. What about the end why is it so important?"
Clive - says it sticks in the animal and stays in. This is accepted. F. "Right, why does an Eskimo have a bow and arrow? Everybody's hand should be up!" (Pause) Girls glance around uncertain. "Come on Trevor why couldn't you do it your way, catching it with bare hands, boot it and slice it up with your knife!"Trevor laughs, pleased with reference to his toughness. (flexes his muscles).

In this rather more laboured exchange, where the teacher was having to work much harder to generate answers to questions, let alone develop a discussion, there was only one occasion where a girl was invited to participate. Julie did not answer, however, and in the pauses and silences which ensued the girls looked anxious and uneasy. For, as will be discussed shortly, being selected to answer a question in the absence of a raised hand (although comparatively infrequent)

constituted for girls one of the major tyrannies of the classroom. What is apparent, furthermore, from the extract is the boys' confidence at hazarding a guess at the answer and breaking the deadlock of the class's uncertainty. Some of the contributory factors to this confidence have already been considered as lessons tick over and as boys are inured to exposure within the classroom through discipline. It is a tendency also observed by Fennema (1983), Licht and Dweck (1987), Beyer et al (1985) and Randall (1987).[10]

Finally, in an attempt to enliven the session the teacher engaged in some humour with one of the boys (Trevor) and again the implications of this alternative interactive mode between teachers and boys for pupils' confidence and self-esteem have been commented upon.[11] The following extracts illustrate the greater participation of boys in oral work in lessons where learning in this manner received less official emphasis:-

English 5.12.79. Mr.Edwards	[Other third year teacher covering for Mr. Ford's absence] ....He reads out a short story and when he pauses a volunteer from the class takes over. Boys volunteered most and were selected most. Only Charanjit from the girls read out.

* * * *

General Studies 5.3.80. Mr. Griffiths	....Went through Step 4 briefly, then a discussion on cruelty to animals stemming from the book. ....Boys tell some long anecdotes about cruelty to dogs and some report they've

read in the paper. - Also Irene. Two girls, Jill and Liz say nothing, all boys contribute.
Eventually, down to written work. Anice spends a good deal of time with her hand up unnoticed, so too Bianca.

* * * *

Science
5.3.80.
Mrs.
Morecroft

Mrs. M warned me in advance that it would be a written lesson. For 1st 20 mins. she goes over the last few weeks in a question and answer session. ....boys seem to have remembered the names of gasses etc. Girls don't volunteer any info and are not asked.

* * * *

French
Set 1
6.3.80.
Mr.Taylor

All oral. Mr. T asks for volunteers to read - says he's looking for those who haven't read for a while. Also stresses that we learn from mistakes. He waits for volunteers, under stress like this a lot more boys than girls put their hands up. Tho' he eventually chooses a very quiet girl
- Felicity. Followed by a sequence of boys(hands raised).

* * * *

Language
Development
16.6.80.
Mr.Ford

....Paul picked to read his [work] out.
Martin   2nd
Jack   3rd
Assim   4th
Sharon   5th
Carol   6th

* * * *

English
25.6.80.
Mr.Ford

....Paul reads extract from Laurie Lee's Cider with Rosie - when they get Lol ready for school. Volunteers to ans. F's questions - Trevor, Jack, Paul, Mark. F. then asks Stacy about the conversation. Vickie volunteers again. George is asked. Paul volunteers when George can't answer. Jennifer is asked. Clive is asked. Paul volunteers. Julie is asked. Mark volunteers.

It would seem that these examples tend to reaffirm the trend already identified within E.B.L. for girls to be less actively engaged in oral classwork than their male counterparts. It would further appear that they received little encouragement to be more participatory through requests to read out either their own work or text books or more positively responded to when hands were half raised to volunteer answers. However, as previously suggested,[12] it is possible to contend that teachers interact with girls on the basis of their typifications of the female role which have little capacity for girls to be as assertive as boys. Concomitantly, some of the girls did conform to some aspects of teacher perceptions. For instance, the distaste for any publicity within the classroom occasionally evidenced by their refusal to comply with teacher requests for participation.[13] The important point here, however, is that in permitting this reticence teachers not only condone such behaviour as appropriate within the classroom, they collude with the construction of a gender role which may have implications for the way in which girls learn and, consequently, for their academic attainment.

The centrality of language to learning, or more specifically, the importance of pupils verbalizing their learning in order to reorganise existing perceptions and acquire new information, is not contested amongst

educationalists working within this particular area of teaching and learning (Barnes, D.,Britain J. and Rosen H.1969; Barnes, D. 1976; Bernstein, B. 1961; Barnes, D. and Todd, F. 1977; Cazden, C., John, V. and Hymes, D. 1972, Edwards, A. D. and Furlong, V. J. 1978 and Stubbs and Hillier, H. 1983). That teachers monopolize talk within the classroom is commonly remarked upon and the data at Kingston Dene do not contradict what has been established as a standard feature of classroom life. The issue of how language functions within this context as an instrument of teaching and learning represents, however, an area of considerable analytic diversity. Whilst it is not possible to delve into the intricacies of all perspectives, it is appropriate to point to the range of such analyses.

These encompass Stubbs (1981), for example, who urges that little will be understood of the role of language in learning until attention is accorded to teacher-pupil discourse as a linguistic system in its own right, for only then will the full cognitive complexities be revealed. In contrast, Barnes and his various collaborators (1969, 1977, 1981) tend to focus upon how pupils internalize information through talking it into place and this may be accomplished (or not, as the case may be) within the arena of the classroom or in small groups. The nature of the exchange between pupils and

teachers is also examined by Edwards and Furlong (1978), particularly the process whereby perspectives are reciprocated. Within this analytic framework it would appear that teachers assume they can proceed on the basis of shared background meaning with pupils. For their part it would seem that pupils assume a complementary ignorance, suspending their own knowledge until they have located the teachers frame of reference and can begin to move towards it.[14]

Yet all such deliberations proceed from the basis of little or no difference between the experience of girls and boys in the linguistic manoeuvrings they seek to elucidate. On the basis of the lesson extracts cited above, it has been suggested that teachers return more frequently to the points raised by boys in order to expand their own explanations of particular issues. This is resonant of the sequence identified by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) comprising Initiation - Response - Evaluation and on the basis of his own observations, Mehan (1978) calculates that such three-part sequences account for fifty-three per cent of total teacher-pupil interaction. Atkinson (1981) points to the 'busy-ness' that such interaction in its entirely supplies to lessons and the extent to which this depends upon a good deal of inferential work by pupils. It is possible to maintain, however, that it is boys who secure the larger share of such linquistic experience and by implication

benefit from the opportunities to explore and interpret new concepts within the process of teaching and learning.

Perusal of the E.B.L. lesson transcript (Appendix 9) reflects essentially the same trends already reported in respect to the observational data. The extent to which the teacher dominates classroom talk is perhaps even more evident where an entire lesson is presented for consideration. It is also worth remembering that this is the typical pattern where the emphasis is ostensibly upon pupil participation. Twenty-two pupils contributed within the lesson in question (a double-period lasting seventy minutes), ten girls and twelve boys. The boys, however, were encouraged into contributing on approximately thirty-eight occasions in contrast to the twenty such opportunities made available to girls. The higher level of male involvement was fostered by a higher level of teacher prompting, a more thorough exploration of answers and an acceptance of interjections. Conversely, the reluctance of the teacher to probe girls' reticence is also apparent and, *this is thrown into* sharp relief when the teacher comments to one of the boys who remained silent when questioned. "I don't know Linton, you must really come on, really and try and put into words the things you can put into words when I'm not asking you."

Throughout the lesson the salient pupils were Trevor, Clive, Jack, Margaret and to a lesser extent Gloria and Paul. The implications of Margaret's involvement for the remaining girls was, however, less than advantageous. If her eight contributions are subtracted from the girls total of twenty, then this means that the remaining twelve answers were attributable to nine girls which represents, on average, slightly over one per pupil. Margaret's involvement with the teacher was, moreover, largely disciplinary and as French and French (1984) note one disruptive pupil can distort the portrayal of teacher-pupil interactions when they are aggregated by sex. That the nature of Margaret's contact with the teacher was reminiscent of the interactive mode usually experienced by boys has been commented upon.[15] So too has the point, that for her, there was no humorous repartee to alleviate the severity of relations predicated upon censure.

Indeed there were no recorded encounters between girls and teachers which compare to those developed between Trevor and Mr. Ford (see, for example, the singing episode in the E.B.L. lesson transcript). In relation to the general level of boys' participation, the exclusion of the two particularly prominant boys (Trevor and Clive), resulted in the remaining twenty responses being presented by ten boys, who were, therefore, able

to contribute an average of two answers each. Whilst this might not seem a great deal, especially in a lesson which focuses upon the oral dimension of learning, it constituted twice the comparable rate for girls.

Thus, the observational and transcripted record of third year lessons at Kingston Dene would appear to provide unequivocal support for the view, not only that the girls did not participate in oral work on an equal basis to boys, but that the distribution of opportunities for such participation favoured the latter. The possible reasons for this are various but closely interlinked. Firstly, (and briefly), as suggested in previous Chapters,[16] boys are perceived as potentially more disruptive than girls and are consequently engaged more rigorously by teachers in all aspects of interaction. Secondly, as a result of their greater exposure within the public arena of classroom life, it is suggested that boys are more adept than girls at projecting themselves in inter-personal relations with teachers and are more confident in so doing. The corollary of this is, perhaps not unexpectedly, that (the majority) of girls have not had the opportunity to develop participatory skills to the same extent as boys and are consequently more reserved about contributing to class discussion.

A particular relationship develops within this context

between teachers and girls, for the reticence of girls acts in an inhibiting way upon pupils and teachers alike. As a result teachers seldom, especially in non-disciplinary situations, risk exacerbating girls' evident embarrassment through prolonging attention upon individuals while they think of an answer. Some of the implications of this for learning were considered in the discussion of lessons ticking over (Section 6.3 of the previous Chapter). Given the important yet limited opportunities for understanding school knowledge through verbal assimilation, the monopolization of linguistic space by boys has serious educational ramifications for girls. It is, however, appropriate at this juncture to incorporate into the analysis the views of the participants in the processes documented.

7.2.1 Oral work - the participants' perspective

Teacher perceptions of pupils within the third year at Kingston Dene have already been examined[17] and in respect to contributing in class, the role occupied by girls was defined predominantly as reserved and quiet. In contrast, the boys were perceived as lively and participative. It is not proposed that these teacher typifications be rehearsed again within the present context and the following comment by the class teacher, is presented below as a reminder and resume of how girls in particular, were viewed within the oral dimension of

school work:-

Mr. Ford ....I think perhaps girls tend to be shyer in, in a general class discussion, unless you put them on the the, put them on the sort of chopping block and you, you know, you wait longer than I'd normally wait. You've noticed that my way of questioning, I make people think, but if they're stuck and struggling I won't make them ultra-embarrassed by maintaining my questioning on them....I mean in this class boys tend to be the ones who, you know, are willing to offer an answer orally. The girls are more reluctant to. I think it's because they're more aware perhaps of their peer group. Er again, they're more aware of perhaps being proved incorrect whereas the boys don't really bother. I mean if they're incorrect they just brush it off. The girls perhaps don't show that but I think there's quite a lot of truth in what they say, that if, if they're not sure of themselves they don't want to risk the chance of being shown they're not right. Except perhaps for those who, who are intelligent enough to realize that there are alternate arguments and [those] who aren't very bright, who, who don't know anyway if they're failing when they're being told they're incorrect. Or they're being just sort of encouraged to offer answers even though they're not on the mark.

The possibility of a correlation expressed here between ability and willingness to volunteer answers in class did not emerge, as will be seen shortly, in discussion with the girls themselves: neither did it transpire within the observational data. The more general speculations of the classroom teacher, however, in respect to gender differences and the inhibiting influence of peers, particularly in relation to girls, was consistant with pupils' own accounts of their classroom contributions. That boys harbour fewer

anxieties in respect to talking publicly in class has
been documented by other researchers and, the reasons
for such confidence attributed to the greater esteem in
which boys are held in mixed classrooms (Clarricoats
1980, Stanworth 1983, Spender 1982, Goldberg 1976).
Prior to considering the nonchalance of boys, however,
the following extracts (from the second interview with
girls) clearly indicate the very restricted
circumstances under which girls will venture classroom
contributions:-

RJ	In lessons, do you like to be asked a question if you haven't got your hand up?
Vickie	No.
Sue	No.
Susan	Especially if you get it wrong.
Vickie	Yeah, and they all go, "Shame, shame".
Sue	Say like you haven't got your hand up and Mrs. Ross asks you a question and you don't know what to do because you haven't done it or summat. Say even if you have done it and you're slow to answer she looks right mad.
Vickie	Oh I know, it's terrible, she goes [demonstrates an angry stare].
Susan	Then you go bright red and you fiddle with your pencil case or something.
Vickie	All your friends are looking at you.
Susan	Then you might say "Oh I don't know Miss" she says, "Well you should do!"
Sue	Then they all go "Shame".
R.J.	How do you decide whether to put your hand up?
Vickie	If you know it's right. If you're certain it's right you put your hand up. But otherwise you just hide.
Susan	Yeah but if you hide too much they notice. But if you just sort of look out of the window——
Sue	If you've got your head down like that [demonstrates an intent gaze at the desk] he picks on you.
Susan	But if you sort of look around like that [demonstrates a confident pose -eyes not downcast] you're O.K.

All   Yeah (laughing) yeah.

What emerges quite clearly from this discussion is the girls' dislike of ridicule or publicity whether caused by other class members or by the teacher. Almost by definition, being placed in this position amounted to being 'shown-up',[18] irrespective of the intention of the teacher. Whilst the above group were all academically oriented, the embarrassment or shame occasioned by being requested to answer a question, particularly if the answer was not known and the girls tended to view this as a strong possibility, was echoed by all the girls as the following briefer remarks indicate:-

Charanjit   If you get it wrong, right, you sort of feel ashamed of yourself, its such an easy question or summat, like if its easy and the teacher says it backwards. Like sometimes Sir says the times table backwards, like nine sixes, and you don't know it so quick.

Jennifer   You might just have to look at him you might feel ashamed, you might just have to look at him and not say anything.

* * * *

Carole   Yeah, I mind it. Because what happens if you haven't been listening and he asks you a question and you just sit there with your face going bright red and everyone looks at you.

* * * *

Rachel   If I know the answer I put one hand up and if I don't I stay quiet.

In seeking to explore the reluctant stance of girls

within teacher-pupil interaction - issues of control, confidence, self-esteem, teacher typifications and endorsement of appropriate gender behaviour, resulting in girls marginalization - have been posited as relevant explanatory factors. There are, however, other considerations which may be implicated in what is a well documented feature of mixed classrooms. The third year girls at Kingston Dene were embarking upon some of the avenues of teenage culture and, it has been suggested,[19] that cross-sex relations were undergoing something of a re-adjustment in anticipation of this. Within this context, a growing awareness of femininity was reflected in fashion consciousness in conjunction with an orientation to the opposite sex in general, if not the specific representatives available at school. As part of this process, the importance to girls (and female students) of not jeopardizing their femininity by appearing too clever or academic in front of boys, has been elucidated by Sharpe (1976), Spender (1982), Kamarovsky (1946) and Frazier and Sadker (1973).

As Sharpe (1976) and Delamont (1978A) maintain, however, girls are in an ambivalent and contradictory position since they are expected to succeed academically on one level and yet, being too successful involves losing an important ingredient of sexual attraction. Horner (1976) has also demonstrated the tendency for women to depress achievement, motivated by what she refers to as

women's 'fear of success' and Delamont (1978A) encompasses essentially the same dilemma in what she describes as the 'bind of double-conformity'. The fear of ridicule mentioned by the girls at Kingston Dene was expressed in generalized terms as opposed to being identified as a male response to their predicament when called upon to contribute in lessons. It would appear, however, perhaps amongst an older age group that such a response may eventually crystalize into the dismissive attitude to girls when they do respond orally in class reported by Mahony (1985) and Norman et al (1985) and which constituted part of the sexual harrassment of girls at school. An alternative reaction to girls in mixed classrooms would seem to be to deny their existence in order to assert a masculine identity unfettered, for example, by any academic competition from girls and thus, as previously indicated, girls provide a negative reference group for boys (Stanworth 1983, Shaw 1977).

The nature of girls' educational experience is, therefore, constrained by expectations which permeate the classroom in particular ways at particular points in time. At Kingston Dene, for example, the more overt hostility, which is a defining feature of the sexual harassment reported elsewhere was not apparent, and yet the ritualized, semi-humorous antagonisms enacted

between girls and boys may be seen to reflect something of an experimental precursor to more explicit sexual relations in which girls observe a more self-conscious public profile than boys. The majority of boys viewed the prospect of being selected to respond to teacher questioning with equanimity. As the comments below suggest, such occasions provided the opportunity to speak without having to compete for it, or if they were unable to answer, then this was just merely unfortunate:-

R.J. In lessons do you like to be asked a question by the teacher if you haven't put your hand up?

Assim Yeah, sometimes, because sometimes I don't want to put my hand up but I like the teacher asking me.

* * * *

Mark Er, well yes.
R.J. Why's that?
Mark 'Cos it would mean that I'm not hearing and I know the answer and it proves that I was hearing.
R.J. So, sometimes you do know the right answer but you keep your hand down?
Mark Yeah.
R.J. Why's that?
Mark Well because I just want other people to have a chance at trying to get the answer.

* * * *

Peter Well sometimes I put me hand up because I know the answer, and I don't put me hand up even if I do know the answer sometimes and then if he just asks me I can tell him ....'Cos mainly he picks people who haven't got their hands up. 'Cos people whose got their hands up Sir knows they know the answer then, so he asks someone else.

* * * *

> Trevor I'd have a guess if I didn't know it or
> just try.

<p style="text-align:center">* * * *</p>

> Luther Yeah because most of the time I know it.

The strategems mentioned here are reminiscent of those described by Waller (1932) in his classic account of classroom confrontations. Whilst the girls detailed some tactics of avoidance in terms of eye contact, only the boys discussed bravado tactics such as withholding the right answer in anticipation of being requested to provide it anyway. Three boys did respond to queries concerning this issue in similar terms to girls, but even here there was no concern expressed over the possibility of being 'shamed-up', the following reply was typical:-

> Linton   No, 'cos if I don't put me hand up it
> means I don't know it.

In seeking to explore the girls' feelings about oral work in view of their concerns over teacher questioning and the potential which such work consequently had for causing them anxiety, an attempt was made to ascertain whether they had any preference for lessons on the basis of the oral work component. It is worth remembering that within the discussion of subject preference (Chapter 5), E.B.L., the most discussional lesson, was equally popular amongst girls and boys and was ranked

fourth by the the girls. Interestingly, whilst the girls generally preferred to commit their ideas in writing first, they perceived discussion with the teacher as providing the opportunity to check that what they had written was, in fact, correct:-

R.J.	Generally, do you prefer to discuss your ideas and answers with the teacher and class or write them down in your books?
Jane	Write down the thing in your books because they might tell you off or summat and say "That's wrong".
Julie	Yeah.
R.J.	How about you Rachel?
Rachel	I like to write in my book and then ask the teacher if it's right.
Julie	Write it in your book.
R.J.	Stacy?
Stacy	I prefer to write it first.

* * * *

Gloria	Oh written work.
Charanjit	I prefer to discuss it with Sir. Because then you can be sure of what you're going to write.
R.J.	Nina?
Nina	Write it down.

* * * *

Carole	Well I think it's better to discuss it with the teacher right, because mm, he can give advice and that, how to set about it.

Thus, whilst the girls at Kingston Dene experienced certain aspects of oral work as excruciating, in particular what might be referred to as solicited participation and in comparison with boys were in any event less likely to be subject to this, oral work did

not necessarily constitute an entirely negative
experience for them. At least in so far as their own
awareness of contributing publicly in lessons was
concerned, none of the girls intimated feelings of
marginalization as did the older girls in Stanworth's
(1983) study. Here pupils were not only aware of boys'
higher profile in teacher-pupil interaction, but were
able to quantify the prominence of boys[20] and, as
Stanworth observes:-

> The implication is that <u>both</u> male and
> female pupils experience the classroom
> as a place where boys are the focus of
> activity and attention - particularly
> in the forms of interaction which are
> initiated by the teacher - while girls
> are placed on the margins of classroom
> life.

> Stanworth 1983, p.38.

For the girls at Kingston Dene, however, even though
they were infrequent participants, oral work functioned
to confirm the correctness of written work. It is
possible to suggest, therefore, that the general
attentiveness of girls during lessons was due to their
use of interaction between teachers and boys as a
validating process for their own activities. Indeed it
could be further argued that in view of the nature of
relations between teachers and boys, girls are left with
little alternative but to utilize the linguistic space
occupied by boys in such a manner. Whilst some
dissatisfaction or indignation with this may be

discernable amongst an older age group,[21] the third year girls at Kingston Dene did not appear to have reached this level of awareness.

7.3 LANGUAGE AND GESTURE

Thus far, the themes embodied within the exploration of some further aspects of teacher-pupil interaction have focused upon the use of language in terms of the distribution of opportunities for participation in the oral dimension of school work. The views of participants have also been considered in order to elucidate some of the features which distinguish this facet of classroom interaction. Whilst remaining generally within the sphere of how language is used within certain educational contexts, the manner in which particular meanings are evoked through tonal emphasis and accompanying gestures form the basis of this Section. More specifically, an attempt is made to explicate how particular conceptualizations of femininity and masculinity are conveyed through the use of linguistic signs and symbols which are culturally significant.

The underpinning phenomenologically informed assumption here is that meanings are communicated through mutual comprehension of signs and gestures. It is not the intention at this juncture to delve into or unravel the

theoretical threads of such an assumption.[22]   Rather,
the emphasis is upon demonstrating how certain
configurations of gender are communicated through the
use of certain words, phrases and gestures. Empirically,
the demonstration of a dialectic between common
understandings and the expression of these through
language is difficult.   Although some of the socio-
linguistic researchers mentioned earlier in the Chapter
have sought to elucidate how a common world is
established through language within the classroom.[24]
There seems to be little research, however, which
directly addresses the specific interrelationship of
language and gesture in schools, although Barnes (1969)
has commented upon the range of signals which it is
possible for teachers to impart through varying the
intonation for particular key words.[25] This process
was observed by Barnes within contexts of classroom
control and, as suggested within the discussion of
discipline in the previous Chapter,[26] gestures of
physical violence were commonly used with boys in order
to underpin teachers' authority and provide additional
gravitas to harsh words.

The cultural background established through both
linguistic and physical gestures at Kingston Dene was,
in so far as the boys were concerned, based on a
particular mode of masculinity.   As Arnot (1984)

suggests, masculinity implies more than just the male equivalent of femininity because it represents a form of power and privilege. At Kingston Dene a quality of toughness, underpinned by physicality, was central to this and the following extracts are indicative of how such a mode was sustained through tonal emphasis and gesture:-

Dinner Time Corridor 13.11.79. Mr.Ford	....See Mr. F. telling a boy off in the third year corridor - reinforces his point through prodding the boy back unti he's against the wall.

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

E.B.L. 23.10.79. Mr. Ford	[Class told to get into three groups of four] ....Initially Scott, Tony, Mark, Assim, Graham and Jack all grouped together until Mr. F. separated Tony, Mark and Jack. "COME ON LADS, MOVE IT!"

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Map Reading 22.1.80. Mr. Ford	....The class are supposed to line up outside the classroom but Trevor and Peter go in Mr.F calls them out, tells them off with a cuff on their heads. "Stand up straight!"

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Dinner Time Corridor 24.1.80. Mr. Ford	"You lads get a move on!" (More tolerantly). "Come on ladies get your coats on. Stop the chatter."

The incarnation of a particular stereotypical mode of masculinity is discernable within these extracts, where the intonation and emphasis given to certain words by the teacher imbued the exchanges with something of a

brutish, macho character. This is particularly evident in the first three illustrations where gestures of a physical nature were used on two occasions (13.11.79. and 22.1.80.) to reinforce the teacher's position. This is in contrast to the more indulgent stance adopted towards the girls which is apparent in the fourth example above and in the following exchange:-

Dinner Time 7.5.80. Corridor Mr. Woods	[Pupils queuing outside of the dining hall waiting for school dinner] "Time to gossip after you've had your dinner girls. Come on tidy up the queue."

Thus, it is possible to suggest, particularly when girls are in groups, that entreaties for appropriate behaviour are conveyed through the use of language which symbolizes particular aspects of a feminine identity. Consequently girls are urged to "Come on <u>ladies</u> get your coats on. Stop the <u>chatter</u>." in a tone of irritated tolerance, implying that this is the way girls <u>will</u> behave.

Browne and France (1985) also observe that girls learn from a very early age that it is not 'nice' to be a woman - that girls have to aspire to be 'ladies' instead. In contrast, boys are more likely to receive unequivocal orders, more strictly issued to, "You <u>lads</u> get a <u>move</u> on." The key words are 'girls', 'ladies' and 'lads'. Habitual usage ensures that popular stereotypes of girls who gossip and take their time getting ready

are evoked. Whereas 'lads' implies membership of that male domain - 'the lads', who as Willis (1977) so vividly describes,[27] ascribe to a different set of values and behave quite differently to 'the girls'.

Interestingly, whilst appropriate gender roles were delineated for pupils through the use of language, which itself enshrined certain gender stereotypes, there appeared something of a paradox in the use of these in so far as the girls were concerned. It is unnecessary to reiterate, within the present context the analysis of stereotyping presented in the discussion of teacher perceptions of pupils (Chapter 4). It is, however, pertinent to consider the contrast in language, with associated stereotypes, which teachers established as a basis for interaction within the classroom as opposed to the more public arenas of the school such as corridors and school hall. For boys, the tough masculine identity was sustained irrespective of location, as the classroom incident (23.10.79) and corridor incident (13.11.79.) above suggest.

For girls, however, the strong image of women as gossips and as excessively talkative[28] was evoked within public contexts, whilst in the classroom the 'quiet girl' syndrome was fostered. One further illustration of the former is presented below in order to reaffirm the point, in addition to some examples of how the

collective reference to 'girls' within the classroom, rather than addressing individuals by name, served to preserve girls anonymity as lessons ticked over. Again this issue has been explored within the previous Chapter and, it is only necessary here to emphasise the instrumentality of language in fostering conventional gender roles:-

Dinner Time Corridor . 26.2.80. Mr. Ford	"Come on ladies cut the cackle." said indulgently.

* * * *

English 29.11.79. Mr. Ford	[Election for school Christmas quiz held at the end of the lesson] ....A few names are shouted out including Susan's and Vickie's - they visibly cringe. Mr. F calls the class to order and asks those who would like to be in the quiz to put their hands up and those who have been mentioned he tells to put their hands up. He says to Susan and Vickie, "Would you like to be in it girls?" They say no.

* * * *

E.B.L. 30.1.80. Mr.Ford	....Mr. Ford walks over to the industrious Vickie and Susan. Mr. F. "Now girls."

It is possible to offer an explanation for this apparent contradiction in terms of the necessity, in a society where women occupy a subordinate role, to maintain an illusion of equality whilst ensuring that women continue to be denied equal access to language which constitutes the principal vehicle by which social reality is defined

and sustained. This is essentially Spender's (1980A) thesis which has already been considered. The data at Kingston Dene may be interpreted to support this view since, in one context girls were engaged in interaction with teachers as if they were actively involved in public talk, yet in lessons where access to linguistic space is educationally important (Mahony 1985), the main role which was condoned was a quiet non-participative one. Stereotypes are particularly effective mechanisms for obscuring such inconsistencies, thereby effecting a reconciliation of two interactive modes which are inherently incompatible.[29]

The allusion to stereotypical gender roles is facilitated by intonation and gesture in conjunction with the use of specific words which habitual useage have imbued with certain meanings. Thus pupils were reminded of the relevance of particular constructions of femininity and masculinity through the use of language. It is significant that the most explicit reference to appropriate gender roles occurred in disciplinary situations where behaviour was being controlled. Clarricoates (1980) similarly notes that the teachers in her study consistently used grammatical forms that denigrated women, a process she refers to as 'linguistic sexism'.

This is not to suggest, however, that girls were always compliant and passive in their behaviour. Indeed, as previously discussed,[30] two of the more problematic pupils in class 3/5 were girls and seldom fulfilled teacher expectations of appropriate behaviour. There were also situations where conformist girls contrived to assert themselves and utilized certain strategies of interaction which were not interpreted by the teacher as confrontational and, a consideration of these, forms the basis of discussion in the following section.

7.4   GIRLS BEING ASSERTIVE

That the girls in class 3/5 at Kingston Dene viewed the prospect of participation in the oral dimension of school work with some disquietude has been established. Moveover, that certain techniques of teacher avoidance were also practiced in order to avert such a possibility has also been reported.[31] As suggested above, however, whilst this was undoubtedly the case it would be erroneous to conclude that, apart from one or two notable exceptions, the majority of girls were entirely passive and uninvolved in classroom interaction. Paradoxically, in some situations girls had to work at their right to remain reticent and at the presentation of themselves on their own terms. On some occasions, this appeared to necessitate a similar degree of confidence and incur a comparable level of exposure as

simply responding to the teacher's request for a contribution would have done.

It would appear to be somewhat contradictory, however, for teachers to foster a particular form of femininity in some classroom contexts and, yet expect girls to participate in a manner which is antipathetic to this in others. The failure of teachers to engage less forthcoming pupils in classroom interaction is observed by Stanworth (1983) and the consequences of this for girls' self-esteem and educational achievement were considered in the previous Chapter.[32] It is possible to suggest that the girls' response to requests for participation in classroom activities reflects, in phenomenological terms, the conversion of an imposed relevance into an intrinsic one.[33] This occurs as girls internalize the attributes of femininity and come to perceive a confident response as incompatible with their gender. As a result an alternative, compromise stance may be offered and as the incidents below suggest, this entails a modification on the teachers' part of their original intention in respect to the interaction:-

| English 4.10.79. Mr. Ford | ....Mr. F then asks Vickie to read hers out - she refuses. He then asks Jane who also says no. Mr. F says he'll read it out, she starts to blush and slips down in her chair. Mr. F says "Come on, you can't get away with it that easily." So out she goes, giggling, red and when he starts to |

                              read it out she puts her hands over her
                              face.

E.B.L.   ....Mr. F then asks Stacy to read out
19.10.79.   her group's [work] - she has written it.
Mr. Ford   but she refuses, puts her pencil case
                              over her face, pushes the work to
                              Jennifer and won't do it.
                              Mr. F moves on.

It is possibly the nature of the girls' refusal which
constrains the teacher to acquiesce, since the blushes,
giggles and embarrassment make it extremely difficult
for the teacher to insist.   Indeed, to do so would
perhaps seem unnecessarily harsh and place the teacher-
pupil relationship in jeopardy.   The accommodation by
the teacher may, however, be detrimental to girls'
academic attainment in the longer term.   Even in the
shorter term, the academic credibility of girls may be
eroded since, at Kingston Dene, one of the reasons for
teachers preferring boys was due to their higher profile
participative style during lessons.   Such posturing by
the girls was, however, indicative of the influence
which accrues to pupils within the process of
negotiation which continuously unfurls within the
classroom.[34]

Such influence was clearly demonstrated on a similar
occasion when one of the girls (Gloria) undertook the
negotiator role on behalf of a friend (Vickie).[35] The
teacher had requested Vickie to participate in some role

play which was intended as an enactment of Eskimo myths and legends which the class were studying. Gloria was horrified that Vickie would be the only girl and informed the teacher accordingly that this was unacceptable. Initially the teacher resisted the pressure responding, "That's alright", but upon Gloria's, "But Sir it's all boys", capitulated and requested another girl to join in. In this instance, the teacher not only acceded to Gloria's and, by implication, Vickie's request for an amendment to his original plan, but also endorsed their perception that it was unacceptable for Vickie to be the only girl amongst a group of boys. This serves to render gender a relevant consideration in circumstances where, even according to the teacher's initial intention, it was entirely irrelevant.

It may be seen, therefore, that the girls managed to assert their reluctance to participate in class through a projection of certain feminine traits - giggling, hiding behind their hands and other similar gestures of exaggerated shyness. Such a stance was usually effective and there are no examples in the fieldnotes of teachers remaining completely indifferent to such claims on their sympathies. An extension of this strategy was also utilized by girls in situations where they wished to register some dissatisfaction with the treatment,

usually disciplinary, that they had been subject to during the course of a lesson. The stance was recognizable as a hurt or wounded pose which was sometimes explicit and sometimes enshrined in a radiated sulky silence. The assertion of this facet of femininity verged on the flirtatious and again required teacher co-operation in order for it to be effective. Woods (1983A) suggests that flirting may be construed as a pupil strategy which is supportive of the teachers' position at school, although as Denscombe (1980) indicates flirting may be better understood as a counter-strategy since it represents a response to strategies indicated by teachers and relies upon their fraternization.

The third year girls at Kingston Dene were not explicitly sexual in their relations with male teachers in the same way, for example, as Davies', (1984) 'wenches' and this may be attributed to their comparatively young age. It was possible to observe, however, what might be referred to as an experimentation[36] with femininity and the data to be considered initially may, as suggested, be interpreted in this way:-

Science	[During the lesson Stacy had to stand
16.10.79.	at the side of the laboratory for
	talking]
Mr.	....At the end of the lesson she asks
Newcombe	him why she had to stand out when she
	hadn't done anything. Mr. N says
	jokingly, "Because you're a busy body

chatter box Miss Dalton". She laughs too and leaves pretending to look hurt.

* * * *

Language Develop- ment 4.12.79. Mr.Taylor	....Mr. T starts reading a new novel to the class and after a while tells the class to read some on their own. Jane said she did not like the story and Mr. T told her very sternly that she had not given it a chance. "This is the first time you've seen the book and its bone idleness that prevents you from settling down with it." The whole class - including Jane are surprised at the severity of the telling off. .... At the end of the lesson Jane walked out and passed Mr.T whereupon he said a very cheerful "Goodbye". She turned round and said loudly and angrily, "You enjoy telling me of you do" and gave him a hurt look as she left the room.

* * * *

Maths Set 3 8.2.80. Mr. Ford	....Gloria (for some reason) has got a bag of toiletries which she's been messing about with all lesson. Mr. F "What are you doing?" Gloria "Just doing this," with a hurt look at being questioned. Mr. F Glances at me, rolls his eyes and laughs.[37]

On all occasions the girls had been admonished with varying degrees of severity, including some who were seldom criticized for their behaviour, in particular the incident involving Jane (4.12.79.). They all, however, managed to vent their chagrin through the manipulation of a particular facet of their femininity, with the result that the teacher almost stands chastised. Whilst

the boys would occasionally risk minor challenges to the teacher as lessons ticked over,[38] there were no episodes where boys disputed teacher action in disciplinary encounters. If the boys had attempted to do so, it is possible to conjecture that they would have incurred the teacher's wrath because of teacher perceptions of them as potentially disruptive pupils, thus discounting the possibility of leniency. In contrast the girls were successful in not provoking an angry response to their expression of discontent, since as Denscombe suggests, in order to maintain reasonable relations with pupils, teachers are prepared to fraternize with such a projection of femininity.

A rather more clear expression of the conscious utilization of femininity in a flirtatious way is apparent in the following incidents:-

13.11.79. Corridor	End of school day. (Walking along corridor with Mr.Murdoch.)
	Got into conversation with Mr. M and accompanied him down the corridor. As we were talking one of his girls approached and interrupted us with, "Sir, you've still got my pen", jokingly reproving in tone. He, looking upwards and assuming the air of a very harassed individual, replied, "They don't let you put a toe out of line". Having returned her pen, giggling and smirking she joined her friends.

In such an encounter, both the teacher and pupil cease

to interact on the basis of their respective official school roles, but dispense with these in a momentary allusion to an alternative basis of interaction in which other dimensions of male and female roles are paramount. The availability of some commonly understood and accepted stereotypes assist here as the pupil is able to adopt a female chivying or nagging role, whilst the teacher can respond as a 'hen-pecked' victim. Other similar feminine adaptations are discernable in the extracts below:-

Maths. Set 3 18.10.79. Mr. Ford	....Mr. F tells her [Natalie] to collect the books in. "But Sir it's only ten past!" Her watch has stopped and F really has to insist, but doesn't get angry at her chivying stance.

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

Maths. Set 3 24.6.80. Mr. Ford	[Natalie cannot find her pen] Mr. F "Natalie if you can't manage your own equipment ——— Natalie "Sir I <u>always</u> remember me stuff." Mr. F hands her a pen which she takes. Mr. F "What do you say?" Natalie "THANK YOU." She rolls her eyes.

Wolpe (1977) similarly observes the development of a flirtatious relationship between girls and younger male teachers in her study of a secondary school and argues that at school men teach girls to behave in a traditionally stereotyped way and reward them for doing so. As suggested in the discussion of discipline and punishment in the previous Chapter,[39] the nature of

teacher-pupil relations may be contingent upon the age of the teacher and it is noticeable that only the younger male teachers feature in the episodes cited above. Woods (1977), as suggested notes that flirting is a widely used technique in co-educational schools and that some male teachers capitalize upon such a strategy in order to secure the goodwill of the more rebellious older girls for whom sex forms a prominent interest. It is not simply the case, however, that only men teachers encourage girls into stereotypical modes of behaviour within relationships where girls sexually would appear to be acknowledged. Harrison (1974), for example, suggests that female teachers may also reinforce their female pupils' perceptions of themselves as 'pretty, submissive and unintellectual in relation to boys'.[40]

In contrast, the use of feminine strategems by the girls in Davies' (1984) study were disapproved of by staff who declined to participate in such ploys. Davies attributes this to the awareness of both male and female teachers that men cannot escape the possibility that their cross-sex interactions might be sexualized. As maintained by Mr. Ford in this study,[41] physical contact with a girl might be misconstrued and as Davies comments, girls can if necessary 'use time honoured female strategies to gain immunity.'[42] As a consequence, in her study, if discipline problems arose with girls they were referred (as mentioned previously

within the discussion of teacher typifications of pupils in Chapter 4 Section 4.2.2) to female staff for appropriate action. The third year girls at Kingston Dene were not, however, so sophisticated as the girls in Davies' study, as suggested, the assertion of their femininity was by comparison quite tentative. In the disciplinary encounters for instance involving Stacy and Jane (16.10.79. and 4.12.79. above) it is unlikely that 'the wenches' would have waited until the end of the lesson in order to express their displeasure.

The girls at Kingston Dene did not, moreover, routinely interact with teachers in a flirtatious way and, as illustrated, such a projection of their femininity usually occurred in response to a specific circumstance within the classroom. To this extent the style was probably rather more akin to Denscombe's notion of a counter strategy than created in Woods' phrase 'de nouveau'.[43] Thus, for pupils whose opportunities for participation in classroom activities were circumscribed and, not only did not possess the confidence to engage teachers in the manner of boys, but who were likely to be reprimanded if they did so, it is possible to suggest that some alternative basis of interaction had to be sought in order to participate at all. Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that the girls had created an alternative arena for themselves and, importantly, one

in which it would be inappropriate for the boys to intrude or compete.

7.5   WITHIN SEX DIFFERENTIATION

This final part of the consideration of teacher-pupil interaction attempts very briefly to coalesce some of the themes regarding the differentiation between pupils of the same sex which have emerged in the discussion of the various facets of classroom interaction.   The point that pupils, particularly the girls, were not treated uniformly as a homogenous group on the basis of their gender has already been made.[44] Yet variations in teacher-pupil relations have been presented as exceptions or counter instances to general classroom trends and, this tends to belie the extent to which within sex differentiation was interwoven into the fabric of classroom life and not merely some aberrant occurence.

Whilst boys undoubtedly experienced differences in their relationships with teachers,[45] the process of within sex differentiation did seem less complex in so far as boys were concerned, if only to the extent that teacher reaction appeared to be more consistently applied as an unambiguous response to their behaviour. It is possible to suggest that this was because all the boys in class 3/5 corresponded to teachers' expectations of

masculinity. They were all suitably 'boyish' and none deviated from this in such a way that they were regarded as 'cissies' in the manner described by Wolpe (1977), Delamont (1980B) and Spender (1982).[46]

The majority of girls also ascribed to an acceptable form of femininity and for those who conformed most closely relations with teachers were usually genial. The stance or standards of feminity never appeared to desert the Vickie's or Susan's[47] of class 3/5 and consequently they were never in receipt of the type of remark frequently bestowed upon Natalie, for example, "Go out and come in again without yapping."[48] The very different attitude of the teacher to Vickie is illustrated in the following extract:-

EBL	....Mr. F having to work at getting the
29.4.80.	class to answer questions, "Why do they [Eskimos]
Mr. Ford	have a love of eating and dancing?" Vickie's got her hand up. "Yes Vickie" says Mr. F in a very friendly voice.

Whilst the teacher was responding to different types of situation within the classroom in respect to Natalie and Vickie, the significance of his stance is that it tended always to characterize relations with them irrespective of the nature of the encounter. Perhaps a rather more explicit demonstration of girls being subjected to differential treatment is evident in the following

example where both were guilty of the same misdemeanour - failure to complete homework:-

EBL 14.11.79. Mr. Ford	....Mr. F tells the class to get their green sheets out which they should have finished for homework. Those who haven't done it told to put their hands up - it appears that Gloria and Stacy are the only two who haven't. Gloria is told off and given another night, Stacy is just given extra time.

The pupil who was penalized in this episode has featured in other parts of the exploration of classroom interaction and the view has been expressed that Gloria's somewhat unusual persona tended to mystify teachers. [49] It would seem that her failure to conform to any easily recognizable pupil role meant that they could not interact with her on the same basis as conformist girls and yet, it would also have been inappropriate to relate to her as an ill-disciplined or delinquent pupil for she was not deviant in this sense. As a consequence and, as previously suggested, teachers' response to Gloria veered from exasperation to toleration, with the science teacher on one occasion even resorting to techniques of behaviour modification (a theory recently acquired at the local university).

Science 18.6.80. Mr. Newcome	[Mr. Newcome had forewarned the researcher that he intended to give a positive response to Gloria on every occasion where she did something "praiseworthy"]
	....Every time he praises Gloria, however, it sounds rather sarcastic.

> "Very good Gloria. You <u>are</u> working well today."
>
> ....
>
> "That piece of work is <u>very</u> neat. See you can do it when you try."
>
> Gloria looks at him through narrowed eyes suspiciously.

The following extracts depict Gloria's more usual classroom encounters:-

EBL 13.11.79. Mr. Ford	....Class discuss the questions in groups - hum of activity. "GLORIA SIT DOWN!" .... Gloria told off again for being out of her seat and eating. Mr. F (wearily) "Why can't you be like other people? What's the rule in the classroom?"

<div align="center">* * * *</div>

English 12.6.80. Mr. Ford	Library book period. Class settle down silently. "Right Gloria, you can choose now and choose one that might keep your interest for more than five minutes."

Teacher interaction with Gloria was, however, quite distinct from the relations which were established with the other untypical girl in class 3/5 - Margaret. It would seem that deviation from an acceptable female pupil role can occur in more than one way. If Gloria failed to conform to expectations of feminine behaviour on the basis of her ebullience, Margaret's contravention of prevailing norms was attributable to her unkempt appearance and apparent disinterest in her own personal presentation.[50] That it was Margaret's failure to

uphold a position of femininity which inspired a hostile reaction from the teacher is attributable to the fact that scruffy boys did not appear to cause any offence. Similarly, other pupils with a poor standard of academic attainment did not provoke the same level of resentment which seemed to accrue to Margaret and the following examples are illustrative:-

EBL 16.10.79. Mr. Ford .	....Margaret is picked on to answer question No. 2. Her answer is completely on the wrong tack. Mr. F tries to give her a hint - in a rather punitive tone. "One day Margaret you'll probably be a grandmother." To the rest of the class he asks if they ever visit their grandmothers.

* * * *

EBL 16.5.80. Mr. Ford	....Margaret - "Sir do we have to copy that?" (Mr. F drawing a diagram on the board) "What have I told you to do? See if you can do that. You haven't listened have you? How are you going to learn if you don't listen? You're supposed to be writing the main points of that story."

The view that girls function as a negative reference for boys in mixed classrooms was originally developed by Shaw (1977) and subsequently utilized as a valuable explanatory construct within other explorations of gender differentiation (Spender 1982, Stanworth 1983) and, the present discourse is no exception.[51] It is possible to suggest, however, that this is not the only instance of negative referencing occurring in mixed classrooms and that, simultaneously, a similar process

occurs on a within sex basis in so far as girls are concerned. This proposition has already received a preliminary airing in relation to some specific aspects of teacher-pupil relations,[52] but to confine the process to specific episodes of interaction does little more than to suggest that some girls are presented by teachers as bad examples to others. The process would appear to be rather more pervasive than this and is better understood as a continuous thread unifying interaction between teachers and girls. The girls who were used for purposes of negative referencing at Kingston Dene were those who did not conform to stereotypical expectations and to a lesser extent Natalie,[53] all of whom diverged from the feminine ideal[54] in varying ways.

Thus, whilst the presence of women teachers is, as Turner (1974) suggests, no guarantee that girls will not be exposed to stereotypical assumptions regarding their femininity,[55] the absence of boys will not necessarily ensure that conventional constructions of femininity are eliminated from the classroom. That feminine stereotypes may be constructed with reference to other girls and are not entirely contingent upon the presence of the opposite sex needs, perhaps, to be considered in the co-education versus single-sex schooling debate.[56] It is possible to conjecture, however, that in a single-

sex context girls would at least be involved in only one form of negative referencing rather than the dual process which would seem to occur in mixed classrooms. In mixed schools, moreover, not only may feminine forms be fostered amongst girls through the process of within sex differentiation, boys too, may learn about what constitutes appropriate feminine behaviour as girls who do not conform are very clearly penalized for their failure to do so.

7.6   TEACHER-PUPIL INTERACTION : SOME CONCLUSIONS

An attempt has been made within the preceding two Chapters to survey the intricacies of interaction between teachers and third year pupils and Kingston Dene Middle School.   The Chapters in question (numbers six and seven) should be regarded as cohesive.   For practical purposes of presentation, however, data which are in a general sense associated with issues of classroom control have been considered initially, followed by an exploration of further trends which emerged as salient during the observational fieldwork. The underpinning object of inquiry has been to ascertain whether girls and boys are related to differently by teachers within interactive processes and, if so, what is the nature of this differentiation and its implications for girls' educational experience.   Having delved into various facets of teacher-pupil interaction

and probed some of the ways in which teaching and learning unfurl within a milieu of pressurized immediacy, the principal conclusion must be that gender differentiation would, indeed, appear to be pervasive within many dimensions of classroom life.

This finding cannot be claimed as either new or unique. It is hoped, however, that the present study will augment the existing (comparatively modest)[57] body of knowledge in this sphere (for example, Arnot and Weiner 1987, Weiner and Arnot 1987, Davies 1984, Deem 1978, 1980, Delamont 1973, 1980A, 1980B, Spender 1980A, 1982 and Spender and Sarah 1980). In particular, a contribution is envisaged in terms of an analysis of how teachers differentiate pupils on the basis of gender, under what circumstances such differentiation occurs and the nature of pupils' involvement in this process. Furthermore, the consideration of teacher-pupil interaction at Kingston Dene constitutes one dimension of the exploration of gender differentiation. Consequently, it is also hoped that the location of this issue within a more encompassing exploration of school life will facilitate an understanding of how the various threads of differentiation at school interweave, interdepend and inform each other.

What then are the salient features of teacher-pupil

interaction at Kingston Dene? Four major areas have been identified in which there are both quantitative and qualitative variations in the nature of teacher relations with girls and boys. Three of these - lessons ticking over, discipline and punishment and humour - are construed as components of classroom control wherein boys are not only engaged by the teacher more frequently than girls, but are engaged on a different interactive basis. Very briefly, in relation to lessons ticking over and humour, the interaction with boys may be perceived as more convivial than similar, though rarer, incidents involving girls and, with reference to discipline, a trend to the contrary is apparent, whereby relations are in general considerably harsher than those enacted with girls. The fourth main area where both frequency and style of interaction appears to be contingent upon gender is the oral dimension of school work.

Researchers working in the sphere of gender differentiation were alerted to the greater frequency of teacher contact with boys by the early American Interaction Analysis type studies. These initially equated the greater frequency with the higher level of disruptive behaviour by boys (Meyer and Thompson, Lippett and Gold, Spaulding 1963, Jackson and Lahaderne 1967). Although later studies in the same vein were consonant in the view that higher levels of teacher

interaction with boys applied to all categories of classroom contact (Martin 1972, Serbin et al 1973, Ricks and Pyke 1973). Whilst an imaginative qualitative style of classroom research developed in Britain (Chanan and Delamont 1975, Stubbs and Delamont 1976, Woods and Hammersley 1977, Barton and Meighen 1979 and Woods 1980A and 1980B), processes of gender differentiation were scarcely acknowledged and it has been left to feminist researchers to resurrect and develop the early American findings (for example Clarricoats 1978 and 1980, Deem 1978 and 1980, Wolpe 1977, Spender 1980 and 1982 and Delamont 1980A and 1980B).

These early findings have been overwhelmingly endorsed, although there would appear to be specific contexts where girls do manage to propel themselves into the teachers perceptual field. Randall (1987), for instance, reports that in practical work in C.D.T., girls have more teacher contact than boys. These were, however, pupil initiated contacts and mostly of the 'what do I do now' type.[58] The importance of pupils being able to manoeuvre themselves into a position of physical proximity to teachers in order to secure their attention has been remarked upon by (Serbin et al 1973) and it may be that in practical lessons where movement around the classroom is considered legitimate this may be possible. Such contact did not appear to recommend

itself to the teacher in Randall's study, however, who was most impressed with a very proficient girl who placed minimal demands on his time. This was in contrast to the most able boy who engaged him in contact for considerable periods of time. As Clarricoats observes, it would appear that girls behaviour and work may be devalued by teachers, even while the same response by boys is construed more positively and esteemed more highly.

This favourable view of boys was echoed at Kingston Dene where an appreciative view of boys' participative style and sense of humour was expressed by third year staff.[59] The development of more congenial relations with boys, particularly by male teachers was reflected very clearly in the observational data. Thus, not only did teachers interact more frequently with boys, such interaction appeared to be based on a greater affinity between teachers and their male pupils. Whilst this was apparent to a certain extent within routine interaction as lessons ticked over, it was particularly evident in the humorous repartee which characterized relations with boys. Humour, whether in the form of jokes, badinage or quirky demonstrations designed to enliven the curriculum, was not initiated within the classroom solely at the discretion of the teacher. It represented a sphere in which boys also had the confidence to reciprocate and, on occasions, attempt witticisms

themselves. From the teachers' perspective, humour develops as part of a strategy of friendliness within the arena of classroom control (Denscombe 1985) and as such serves an important integrative function which facilitates learning (Woods 1983B).

Concomitantly, the fostering of a familiarity between teachers and pupils on the basis of gender has implications for learning other than the creation of supportive learning environment wherein potential sources of conflict are diffused. The development of empathetic relations between teachers and boys may not only serve to enhance the confidence of the latter, but also their self-esteem as pupils (Stanworth 1983, Spender 1982, Deem 1978). Whilst this was evident in routine encounters between teachers and boys and, particularly so within humorous exchanges, it is also possible to suggest that even the comparatively severe application of classroom discipline to boys had some positive value. This emerges primarily in respect to the monitoring of progress in school work which commonly provided the focus of discipline, thus maintaining the boys' work under teacher surveillance. But, perhaps even more significantly, such exposure to censure served to inure the boys to the harsher aspects of classroom life, thereby enabling them to engage more effectively within all facets of teacher-pupil interaction.

Such an analysis would arguably contribute towards an understanding of the greater involvement of boys within the oral dimension of school work. Here a reciprocity would appear to unfurl between the tendency of teachers to address themselves to boys and the predilection of boys to be so engaged. The phenomenological concept of reciprocal perspectives[60] has been utilized by Keddie (1971) in relation to ability and by Edwards and Furlong (1978) in order to elucidate the language of teaching and learning within the classroom. It is possible to suggest that such a reciprocity also exists between teachers and pupils on the basis of gender. Thus boys are perceived by teachers as participative, lively and amenable to strategies of control, whether or not these are elaborated through punitive or humorous means. As a result boys are invited to engage in the verbal processes of learning which have been demonstrated as crucial to the assimilation of new information, frequently communicated in unfamiliar terms (Barnes et al 1969, Barnes 1976 and Edwards and Furlong 1978). That girls do not have equal access to such learning opportunities may be deleterious to their academic achievement, although the lower profile is one which satisfies their reluctance to participate in classroom activities which would incur any attention or publicity.

This is not to suggest, however, that the third year

girls at Kingston Dene were uninterested in classroom events or entirely passive as pupils. In respect to oral work the girls had, paradoxically in some circumstances, to assert their prerogative to decline to answer questions, thus confronting teachers with something of a dilemma. As Stanworth (1983) also notes teachers are inclined not to interfere with such 'natural' processes of interaction for fear of exacerbating girls' embarrassment. As she remarks, teachers tend not to harbour such inhibitions in relation to other aspects of their work and this particular practice may be educationally disadvantageous for girls' since they do not acquire the skills of contribution which are positively regarded by teachers.

Of the other spheres of interaction which were identified at Kingston Dene - girls being assertive, task allocation, language and gesture and within sex differentiation - perhaps the first is most closely linked to the issue of participation. For, it would seem that in a milieu where group dynamics conspire against their involvement, girls select particular facets of their femininity from which to project themselves in certain circumstances. On this basis it would appear possible to register disenchantment with the response or actions of a teacher during the course of a lesson, or to initiate interaction with staff,

particularly male staff, in a manner in which the boys could not compete. The distinguishing feature of the assertion of a feminine perspective was, however, the almost exaggerated stereotypical mode of femininity which was evoked. Thus, some mildly flirtatious behaviour was evident on occasions or the adoption of injured feelings of sensitivity. Such a stance was usually accompanied, as Wolpe (1977) also observes, by giggling, fluttering eyelashes and blushes.

The question which such behaviour prompts is how could such a stance not only be utilized by girls, but condoned as appropriate or relevant within an educational context?[61] The answer would appear to reside in the considerable extent to which stereotypes permeated teacher-pupil interaction and in the manner in which conventional conceptualizations of femininity and masculinity were exploited by teachers in their relations with girls and boys. This was particularly evident in the execution of routine school administration where pupils were requested to perform tasks and errands on the basis of their gender. Girls were consequently directed towards the domestic style chores such as tidying cupboards and going to the local shops, whilst the boys moved furniture and transported books and equipment. Teacher rationales for this were quite explicit in the reliance upon stereotypical notions of what duties it was appropriate for girls and

boys to perform.[62] In view of the relevance attached
to such stereotypical modes of behaviour, the use made
by girls of certain facets of their femininity was
consistent with teacher perceptions of appropriate
gender behaviour.

Underpinning such specific manifestations of gender
stereotyping, however, was a more pervasive evocation of
appropriate modes of femininity and masculinity. This
occurred through the use of language and accompanying
gestures of emphasis and affirmation. The analysis of
how particular images of gender were conveyed at
Kingston Dene through the symbolism implicit in language
assumes a phenomenological understanding of the role of
language. In particular, how social reality is
continuously recreated through day to day reference to
popular images and commonly understood phrases. Within
this boys were, for example, urged into appropriate
forms of masculine behaviour through sternly
administered admonishments. Herein the teachers'
intonation and gestures alluding to the possibility of a
physical penalty served as a salutory reminder of the
qualities of toughness expected from boys. In contrast,
girls were treated rather more delicately and requests
for appropriate behaviour tended, for instance, to
nurture the stereotype of females as excessively
talkative. Within an educational context, as Spender

(1982) also observes, this functions to obscure the comparative verbal passivity of girls as boys monopolize the available linguistic space (Mahony 1985).

Finally, the exploration of teacher-pupil interaction has sought to identify within the analysis of salient trends, exceptions and counter-instances to these in order to impart something of the complex nature of school life at Kingston Dene. This is characterized, as other observers have commented,[63] not by its uniformity but by a diversity wherein interaction does not flow uncontroversially, consistently and conveniently in one direction. The point has been made in the consideration of within sex differentiation, that not only are pupils differentiated upon the basis of gender, they are also distinguished from each other on the basis of other criteria. This is particularly so in relation to girls, since it would appear that the girls who failed to conform to acceptable standards of femininity risked incurring a disproportional degree of teacher chagrin and censure.[64] Thus, the behaviour of one of the less typical girls such as Gloria, for example, was evaluated not simply upon the basis of a preferred or ideal pupil role, but also upon the basis of gender and, moreover, a particular elaboration of gender. Hence, whilst the girls in general terms functioned as a negative reference for boys (Shaw 1977, Stanworth 1983), a small number of girls also functioned

in this way in respect to other girls.

Other researchers have also remarked that girls do not comprise a homogenous group on the basis of their gender and, consequently, not all are passive or docile in accordance with the stereotypical understanding of girls at school.[65] Spender cites the work of Howe (1976)[66] in suggesting that the options for girls in mixed sex classrooms are to be either silly or silent. Gloria and to a lesser extent Natalie, had perhaps opted for the former. Davies (1984) similarly construes the idleness of girls commented upon by a teacher quoted by Woods (1984) as a strategy contrived by girls to cope with being marginalized. It is appropriate at this juncture, moreover, to mention very briefly the implications of ethnicity.

Whilst, as suggested in the discussion of pupils (Chapter 5), it is not possible within the remit of the present study to explore the interrelationship of race and gender, it is an issue which has been gaining momentum within educational research (Fuller 1980, Arnot 1985, Barton and Walker 1983). Wright (1987) observed in her study of two multiracial comprehensives that the black girls[67] complained of too much teacher attention which is contrary to the usual finding in respect to girls in general within classroom interaction. At

Kingston Dene Gloria was the only black girl to experience the kind of relations with staff which have been reported, with the other black girls in class 3/5 occupying a much lower profile within teacher-pupil interaction.[68] Furthermore, the other girls who prompted a similar teacher response to Gloria were white and it is apposite, therefore, to reiterate the previous suggestion that Gloria was judged by teachers as untypical predominantly on the basis of her gender.

As a concluding point it is possible, therefore, to reaffirm the salience of gender as a distinguishing mechanism within various facets of teacher-pupil interaction. The multifarious processes which have been outlined both emerge from and perpetuate stereotypical assumptions of what constitutes appropriate feminine and masculine behaviour were thereby rendered relevant within the context of schooling at Kingston Dene.

FOOT NOTES

1. Barnes also discusses language and social control - Barnes (1969).

2. Cited in Spender (1980A) p.167.

3. Cited in Spender (1980A) p. 20 and 16 respectively.

4. Cited in Spender (1980A) p.45.

5. See Chapter 6, particularly Sections 6.3, 6.4 and 6.6.

6. The emphasis upon oral work within Enquiry Based Learning which, as explained in Chapter 3, was based upon Bruner's, 'Man : A Course of Study', is consistent with the importance attached by Bruner to the role of language in cognitive development see Towards a Theory of Instruction, Bruner (1966).

7. See Chapter 2 on methodology and Section 6.1 of Chapter 6.

8. As detailed in the discussion on methodology (Chapter 2) nine lessons were tape recorded, of which six were double periods and of these five were EBL lessons. The transcript presented in Appendix 9 was randomly selected from the five available and has been edited in order to indicate when pupils answered questions or contributed to the lesson, although actual answers have been omitted. Periods of group work have also been deleted, although the tape recorder was placed with one of the groups during such episodes it was not sufficiently sensitive to record all pupil conversation. The extracts of observational data were randomly selected in the manner previously detailed in Chapters 2 and 6 respectively.

9. Satnam - one of the two Asian boys in class 3/5.

10. Cited in Randall (1987).

11. See previous Chapter, particularly Section 6.3.

12. See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

13. This is explored more fully in Section 7.4 of this Chapter.

14. Edwards and Furlong (1978) p. 148.

15. See Section 6.4 of the previous Chapter.

16. See Chapters 4 and 6.

17. See Chapter 4.

18. The experience of being 'shown-up' is discussed in Chapter 6 Section 6.4, see also Woods (1979).

19. See Chapter 5, Section 5.2.3.

20. Stanworth (1983) p. 37.

21. See Stanworth (1983) on pupils' views of preferential treatment p. 38.

22. A more detailed exposition on the theoretical framework of the dissertation is contained within Chapter 2.

23. See Chapter 6, Section 6.3.

24. See Section 7.1.1 of this Chapter.

25. The particular example discussed by Barnes (1976) is a teachers use of the word 'right', see pp 62-63.

26. See Chapter 6, Section 6.4.

27. This is not to suggest that the precise behaviour of the boys at Kingston Dene was in any way similar to Willis' 'Lads'; but that the culture of masculinity upon which this pivoted is both sharply defined and, commonly understood to be quite distinct from the culture of femininity, described, for example, by McRobbie (1978).

28. These are discussed in some detail by Spender (1980A) and Perkins (1979).

29. For a fuller exploration of how stereotypes function and their ideological role see Chapter 4,Section 4.2.4.

30. See the discussion of Gloria and Margaret in Chapter 6, Sections 6.3 and 6.4 respectively.

31. See the discussion of girls views of oral work, Section 7.2.1 of this Chapter.

32. See, in particular Chapter 6, Section 6.4.

33. A discussion of the Schutzian concept of systems of relevance is presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.2.2 which outlines the theoretical basis of the study of gender differentiation.

34. The concept of strategy and negotiation is explained within the discussion of discipline and punishment in the previous Chapter, Section 6.4.

35. This illustration is taken from an E.B.L. lesson on 16.5.80., the teacher was Mr. Ford.

36. Mrs. Ross, one of the third year class teachers referred to girls as "trying out their attractiveness to see if it works" - see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

37. For the teacher to acknowledge the presence of the researcher in this way was, by this stage in the school year, quite rare. Teacher awareness of the researcher during lessons is considered in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5.

38. See Section 6.3 of the previous Chapter.

39. See Section 6.4.

40. Cited in Deem (1978) p. 50.

41. See Section 4.2.2 of Chapter 4.

42. Davies (1984) p. 85.

43. Woods (1983A) p. 125.

44. See in particular the discussion of lessons ticking over and, discipline and punishment in the previous Chapter, Sections 6.3 and 6.4 respectively.

45. See, for example, the relationship between Mr.Ford and Trevor in the discussion of humour in the previous Chapter (Section 6.6).

46.   Graham and Paul were regarded as the most
        studious boys in class 3/5, but the interest of
        the former in sport (particularly cricket) and
        of the latter in a range of 'boyish' hobbies
        including practical jokes, preserved their
        masculinity.   In addition, they observed the
        'rituals of separation' and never associated
        with girls.   In Wolpe's (1977) study it was the
        participation of one of the boys in cross-sex
        friendships and activities which contributed
        to the accolade of 'cissy'.

47.   For fuller background details of individual
        pupils see Chapter 5, and Appendix 8.

48.   This   extract is taken from a maths. lesson   (Set
        3) with Mr. Ford on 16.5.80.

49.   For a fuller exploration of why Gloria perplexed
        the teaching staff see Section 6.3.6 of the
        previous Chapter.

50.   See also Section 6.4 of the previous Chapter.

51.   In addition to the present discussion of girls
        as a negative reference see Section 6.3 of the
        previous Chapter.

52.   Particularly in the discussion of lessons
        ticking over, Section 6.3 of the previous
        Chapter.

53.   Natalie's occasional lapses into tom-boyishness
        served to reduce her femininity on occasions,
        for example, larking around with some of the
        boys in Maths. Set 3.

54.   For a discussion of teacher typifications of
        femininity see Chapter 4, Section 4.2.

55.   A point also made in the discussion of girls
        being assertive in the previous Section of this
        Chapter.

56.   For a discussion of the salient themes in this
        debate see Shaw (1980), Deem (1984) and Mahony
        (1985).

57.   The literature on gender differentiation
        within classroom interaction is modest when
        compared with the body of literature on
        classroom interaction generally - see Section 6.2
        of Chapter 6.

58.   Randall (1987) p. 168.

59.   See Chapter 4, Section 4.2.3   for a discussion
      of teachers preferring boys.

60.   See Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of
      this and Schutz (1973).

61.   That is, in a context   where as Clarricoats
      (1980) also notes, it is (at least officially)
      meant to be irrelevant.

62.   See Chapter 4. Section 4.2.2 for teacher views
      on this issue.

63.   The majority of researchers working within an
      interpretive   paradigm make this   point, see
      for example, the studies mentioned in Section
      6.2 of the previous Chapter.

64.   As observed in Section 7.5 in which within sex
      differentiation is discussed, there seemed to
      be less diversity amongst the boys on the basis
      of masculinity.

65.   Fuller (1978).

66.   Spender (1982) p. 74.

67.   More specifically, Afro-Caribbean girls.

68.   Other third year classrooms at Kingston Dene
      may   have   encompassed   different   interactive
      processes between teachers and black   girls,
      particularly those where larger groups of Afro-
      Caribbean girls existed.   In the classes which
      were included in the study, however, the pattern
      of interaction identified by Wright (1987) was
      not observed.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

8.1 INSIGHTS INTO GENDER DIFFERENTIATION AT KINGSTON DENE MIDDLE SCHOOL

The present study into gender differentiation in a middle school was conceived out of a desire to explore the educational experience of girls in order to enhance contemporary understanding of how this interfaces with the socio-economic position of women. As this may suggest, early aspirations for the project were ambitious. The ethnographic enterprise would inevitably appear to entail, however, some bold thinking which propels the researcher down one or two theoretical and empirical cul-de-sacs before the scope of the study eventually crystalizes. As Woods (1986) and Hargreaves (1987) also observe, whilst such excursions may appear diversionary they are usually intrinsically interesting, may inform and guide the study obliquely if not directly and tend to be difficult to excise from the final account. The ethnography at Kingston Dene has been entirely typical in this respect and it is now appropriate to attempt some consideration of the extent to which research objectives have been fulfilled and the nature of the contribution which has consequently emerged to the larger sociological debate.

In conclusion, therefore, it is proposed to review some of the salient themes which have emanated from the research. A re-exploration or reiteration of each facet of the project is not envisaged, however, since the inclusion of summaries at the termination of each Chapter obviates the necessity for such repetition. Economy of style, moreover, within the present context also provides the opportunity to consider, albeit briefly, some of the developments, particularly interventionist strategies and compensatory programmes, which have occurred in girls' education since the completion of data collection at Kingston Dene. Finally, the ethnography is considered from the perspective of its contribution to and position vis-a-vis the larger arena of inquiry into girl s' education.

8.1.1 <u>Salient themes : a résumé</u>

The thesis commenced with a brief introduction to the broader parameters of the research into girls' education. These were predominantly elaborated at a macro sociological level and although structural concerns framed the ethnography, they were not prioritized throughout the discourse in terms of addressing what Hargreaves (1985) has coined as the 'micro-macro' problem. The reasons for this are explored within the discussion of theoretical and

methodological perspectives in Chapter 2, but essentially, the strength of the research came to be construed with reference to its empirical possibilities and opportunities for analysing data on gender differentiation.

Nevertheless, the most recently available empirical evidence[1] on the position of women in society was presented at this early juncture in order to dispel the myths surrounding women's domesticity and expose some of the assumptions underpinning the 'ideology of education for girls' (Wolpe 1977). The ideology of domesticity (Hall 1978, Purvis 1983) would appear obdurate, however, and some contextualizing historical details were presented which demonstrate the antecedents to the social constructions of femininity which pervade girls' schooling today. The particular matrix of social class, ability and gender (Dyhouse 1977, Marks 1976) which results in girls having to resolve the 'bind of double conformity' (Delamont 1978A) would appear to continue to constrain girls' educational experience and hinder their academic achievement (Sharpe 1976, Llewellyn 1980).

The nature of girls' current achievement was considered and it was suggested that Nineteenth Century debates, particularly those expounded in terms of the same or equivalent (which implies separate) provision for girls

are today, in a quite different legislative era, still enshrined in microcosm in the sphere of science education. Within the context of science and engineering girls are massively under-represented (Kelly 1981, 1987, E.O.C. 1983) and the issues tend to be rehearsed in terms of innate differences between the sexes (Gray 1981), the masculinity of science (Kelly 1987A) and the relevance of compensatory schemes designed to overcome girls' 'underachievement' (Kelly et al 1987). The dilemmas are resonant of Nineteenth Century deliberations regarding the education of girls in its entirety.

Embarking upon an ethnographic study of girls' education entailed the empirical application of a methodology which had been selected on the basis of its potential for delving into the nuance of classroom life and its reflexivity (Hammersley 1984A). Immersion in the field contributed to focusing the research upon gender differentiation as opposed to a more exclusive consideration of girls' educational experience (although the two are closely interlinked) and various techniques were used to advance the ethnography. Chapter 2 encompassed how access to the field was negotiated, how sites within this were selected, how field relations were established and an examination of the role of the researcher, particularly in relation to any influence exerted upon phenomena observed. The view is posited

that researcher influence was minimized as far as was possible through the development of a cautious, low-key approach, although the triangulation which was developed during the third term, particularly with the teacher most closely involved with the research,[2] resulted in his raised awareness of relations with girls and boys.

The discussion at this stage also confronted the spectre of what is referred to as the 'by-passed syndrome'.[3] It is concluded in relation to the methodology, that whilst the advice, for example, of Hammersley and Atkinson (1983), Burgess (1984A) and Woods (1986) would have enhanced and eased decision making both in the field and during post-fieldwork analysis, the study appears not to have strayed too dangerously off-course in its absence. With reference to subsequent research developments into gender and schooling, the field can hardly be viewed as saturated, particularly in terms of in-depth qualitative projects and, the view is consequently taken that the present study augments more recent work rather than being submerged by it.[4]

Theoretical perspectives were also considered within Chapter 2 and, although as suggested, it was decided that an empirical orientation to the research should prevail, a brief review of some Schutzian concepts (1971, 1973) was presented since some of the data

throughout the study were elucidated in these terms. Perhaps, most notably, the phenomenological analysis of how social reality is constructed within the world of commonsense and the concept of systems of relevance proved most relevant for understanding and explaining certain dimensions of gender differentiation. In the analysis of teacher typifications of gender, for example, (Chapter 4) the manner in which stereotypes pervade typifications was considered and the view propounded that since stereotypes inhere an ideological function, commonsense interpretations of girls' behaviour may be influenced within the classroom by thinking which predominates at a structural level, and is therefore, ideologically constrained. Similarly, the analysis of girls' behaviour (Chapter 7, Section 7.4) would appear to suggest that girls utilize certain facets of their femininity as a basis for interaction with teachers. Since femininity may also be understood as an ideological construct,[5] this may reflect the conversion of imposed relevances into intrinsic ones with limiting consequences for girls both educationally and socio-economically.

The discourse proceeded with a consideration of the third year curriculum.[6] In a sense this Chapter may be viewed as an extension of the Introduction since the opportunity was taken to present further contextualizing details on the school's official programme. In

particular the fate of two curricular innovations were considered with some reasons for the demise of one and the subversion of the radical intent of the other within an ostensibly progressive educational milieu. The first concerned the de-segregation of pupils on the basis of gender for <u>all</u> subjects and it was suggested, that the failure to locate this initiative within a broader context of equal opportunities for girls resulted, not only in a reversion to segregation in P.E. and the fourth year craft curriculum, but also in missing an opportunity to review the wider aspects of girls' education within the school and to eliminate the segregation which occurred in other aspects of school life.[7]

The second innovation related to the introduction of Man : A Course of Study as the basis for an integrated social sciences curriculum. Whilst its method may have facilitated pupil initiated inquiry, in terms of gender, the biological determinism inherent in its content prompted some of the most explicit examples of curricular inspired stereotyping. Perhaps too much was expected, for as Hargreaves (1986) demonstrates, middle school progressivism was largely illusory, emerging from an effective ideology based predominantly upon rhetoric.

Having considered some facets of curricular provision

within the third year at Kingston Dene, the perceptions
of the research participants were explored in relation
to various dimensions of school life. Those of the
third year staff in Chapter 4 and those of the third
year pupils in Chapter 5. More specifically, emphasis
within the analysis of teacher perpectives was accorded
to pupil behaviour and school work and in relation to
both, it was suggested that teacher perceptions were
epitomized by the old rhyme quoted by Davies (1984) in
her study of girls' deviance, ' When she was good she
was very very good, and when she was bad she was
horrid'.[8] As in Davies' research, the girls at
Kingston Dene were perceived as elusively beyond control
due to the unavailability of physical sanctions. Such
restrictions on disciplinary techniques thwarted
teachers of both sexes, although for men there was the
added problematic of an imputed sexualization to their
approach with girls. Thus, whilst girls were typified
predominantly as good, quiet and responsible pupils,
teachers were inclined to prefer boys because they were
typified as amenable to control and as in possession of
a good sense of humour.

Such typifications had many parallels with the work of
Clarricoates (1978) who also observes that conventional
constructs of femininity and masculinity are utilized as
the basis for interaction with pupils in schools.
Similarly, in relation to school work, teachers

established a dichotomy between presentation and content and whilst girls excelled in the former, this was attributed to their desire for praise as opposed to any intellectual competence. Such a negation of both girls' behaviour and work reflects, according to Clarricoates (1978, 1980) and Spender (1982) the devaluation of women within a patriarchal system and, at Kingston Dene the penetration of such structural influences was explored, as suggested, in terms of the ideological role of stereotypes.

The educational implications of teacher typifications were, moreover, elucidated in terms of the reluctance of teachers to be as rigorous with girls in academic discourse. Stanworth (1983) has also detailed the ramifications here which pertain to girls' failure to acquire participatory skills and a lowering of self-esteem. At Kingston Dene, the affinity between teachers and boys also appeared to foster a reciprocity of perspectives on the basis of gender and, it was posited, that this functions to the advantage of boys in much the same way as it did for the higher stream pupils in Keddie's (1971) study, where the reciprocity pivoted upon ability.

Within Chapter 5 the perceptions of pupils were presented with reference to peer relations and subject

preference.   A   tendency   towards   the   nurturing   of
contingency   friends   (B.   Davies   1984)   within   a
hierarchical   structure   was   apparent   amongst   girls,
whereas   for   boys a presumption of friendship could   be
made   upon the basis of a shared gender.   The view   was
posed   that   the girls were responding   to   the   subject
setting   arrangements   of the school which   necessitated
(if   gender   did   not provide a   basis   for   friendship)
participation in an inter-class friendship network.

The   school also appeared to intrude upon peer relations
in terms of cross-sex contacts, for these appeared to be
modified   in accordance with the publicity   which   would
accrue   if   relations were engaged.   Thus   pupils   were
vehement   in   their denunciation of the opposite sex   as
suitable seating partners,   but were rather more relaxed
where less visible playground activities were concerned.
This   is attributed to the contradictory stance   of   the
school in requiring girls and boys to co-operate in some
circumstances,   particularly   group   work,   and   yet   in
others,   utilizing the notion of cross-sex association in
a   punitive sense through the requirement that girls and
boys   sit next to each other as a disciplinary   measure.
Delamont (1890B) also remarks upon such use of gender as
a   distinguishing   mechanism   in contexts   where   it   is
irrelevant and at Kingston Dene the impact of the school
upon   the emergent adolescent renegotiation of cross-sex
relations   within   pupils observance   of   'rituals   of

separation' was also elucidated.

In so far as subject preference was concerned, an interesting theme to emerge here in terms of reasons for preference was the close alignment by the girls of subject and teacher. For girls the two were inextricably linked and to a considerable extent the potential of the teacher for 'showing them up' was of paramount importance. The boys appeared stoical when confronted with such classroom adversity, but for girls being thrust into the public gaze constituted one of the principal tyrannies of school experience. Their tendency towards anxiety was also demonstrated in the discussion of events such as the return of school work and being alighted upon to answer questions when they had not indicated their intention of doing so. This lack of confidence amongst girls is also observed by Davies (1984) Randall (1987) and Licht and Dweck (1987). In delving into the intricacies of teacher-pupil relations and the minutiae of classroom life, the following two Chapters (6 and 7) were concerned with explicating how processes of gender differentiation were elaborated within the interactive sphere and thereby implicated in such differences between girls and boys.

This part of the analysis constituted a substantial contribution to the exploration of gender

differentiation and demonstrated how inter-personal relations between teachers and pupils were predicated upon the conventional constructs of femininity and masculinity previously articulated within the perceptual stance of teachers. It was emphasised, however, that gender differentiation was not imposed upon passive recipients but elaborated within a reciprocity of perspectives wherein pupils were able to exert constraints upon teachers in accordance with gender orthodoxies. Thus, girls devoted considerable effort to the maintenance of their anonymity and could be assertive in defending their rights of non-participation.

The point was made, however, that in colluding with girls' reticence teachers were engaged in an educative disservice to them since, as Stanworth (1983) also maintains, girls consequently do not acquire the combative skills necessary to participation within the process of learning. They are also encouraged into a behavioural mode which is not esteemed by teachers and indeed, as Clarricoats (1980) and Spender (1982) similarly observe, one of the reasons for teachers preferring boys is an appreciation of their participative ebullience.

It would seem that boys learn to be contributors through both positive and negative classroom experience.

Opportunities for oral learning were distributed in their favour and convivial classroom relations were established with them through humour and repartee. Spender (1982) reiterates with considerable vigour the work of Barnes (1969) on the role of language within learning and yet, it appeared that girls were being denied comparable access to such opportunities. Boys were, alternatively, exposed to the harsher routines of classroom life and the view was propounded that apparently negative disciplinary encounters may be construed as imparting some advantage since they serve to inure boys to the sterner side of school experience. Indeed, a 'macho' style was maintained with them concomitant with the fostering of a more fragile femininity amongst girls through the use of language and gesture. Symbolic gestures of the possibility of physical sanctions were evoked with boys and as one of the main teacher participants in the research reported,[9] whilst he acknowledged his gender differentiated approach in this respect, he could not envisage an equally effective alternative strategy.

The issue of discipline thus re-emerges and it transpired that concurrent with processes of gender differentiation at Kingston Dene there was also a process of within-sex differentiation. It was suggested that the girls constituted a less homogeneous group on

the basis of their gender than did the boys on theirs[10] and whilst the behaviour of some girls was more akin to that of boys, other girls (one in particular)[11] established an idiosyncratic pupil role which both frustrated and perplexed the staff. Teachers did not respond, however, to such girls in the same manner as boys or the more overtly feminine girls.

There was a tendency with the less 'feminine' girls to be more severe and consistently so, with no badinage or humorous repartee to alleviate the censorious relations, as was the case with boys and, none of the indulgencies occasionally extended to the more overtly feminine girls. This was interpreted as teachers penalizing such girls for failing to conform to their typifications of femininity, with the result that, in addition to girls providing a 'negative reference' group (Shaw 1977, Stanworth 1983) for boys, certain girls may also be utilized in this manner by teachers vis-a-vis other girls in order to foster appropriate forms of femininity. It was suggested, moreover, that this diversity amongst girls which stimulated a differential response from teachers on the basis of pupil femininity could usefully be explored within the context of the revived debate (Deem 1985) on mixed vis-a-vis single sex schooling.

In brief, a perusal of the data which were collected at

Kingston Dene Middle School suggested a systematic yet
subtle process of gender differentiation within school
life in both perceptual and interactive spheres. The
resultant marginalization of girls was explored in terms
of reduced confidence, failure to acquire participatory
learning skills and confinement to a pupil role
disesteemed by teachers all of which have implications
for educational achievement (Delamont 1980B, Spender
1982, Stanworth 1983). The Kingston Dene girls were not
(yet) aware of being located at the periphery of
classroom activities as were the girls in Stanworth's
(1983) study and consequently exhibited none of the
disaffection of Davies' 'wenches' (1984). On the
contrary, they contrived in some contexts to sustain a
low profile and in others utilized the focus upon boys
to their own (short-term) advantage. For example,
construing discussion between teachers and boys in oral
work as an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of their
written contributions. This also served to reduce their
anxiety over submitting work for assessment, although,
as suggested, girls had little alternative but to
conduct their work in this manner if some form of
participation was desired.

Staff tended to collude with and thereby perpetuate
conventional constructions of femininity and amongst
some of the younger male teachers and more mature girls

some mildly flirtatious behaviour was in evidence. The school also distinguished pupils on the basis of gender in many of its routines and rituals for administrative convenience and certain facets of the official programme tended to confirm for pupils the relevance of gender in particular spheres of learning.[12] It may be suggested, therefore, that the data support the contention that femininity (and masculinity) were fostered in contexts where they were educationally irrelevant and, moreover, that for girls this implies that the ideology of domesticity continues to provide the parameters within which their school experience is located.

8.2   SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN GIRLS' EDUCATION

It is the intention at this concluding juncture to resume, with utmost brevity, the consideration of the official stance towards girls education which was commenced with the Introduction to the ethnography. Historical developments were pursued up until the implementation of leglislative prescriptions for equality of opportunity during the mid 1970s and, it is appropriate to inquire into the nature of subsequent developments in order that the thesis may be concluded on a contemporary note.

That the Sex Discrimination Act (1975) was 'won' and

within a relatively short period of time (ten years) has been demonstrated by Rendel (1985). Despite its limitations[13] the Act may be regarded, as Rendel also suggests, as an important legitimation of women's demands for equality. With reference to education one of the compromises as the Bill proceeded through Parliament (largely as a result of opposition from the D.E.S.) concerned a diminution of the power of the Equal Opportunities Commission (E.O.C.). The E.O.C. cannot issue non-discriminatory notices in respect to educational services and secondly, complaints have to be referred, in the first instance to the Secretary of State. That education and training remained within the remit of the Bill during its Parliamentary passage came nevertheless as something of a surprise to those who had been campaigning for it (Byrne 1978).

Any radical or campaigning role which may have been envisaged for the E.O.C.[14] proved, however, to be premature. As Arnot (1987) observes, operating within a liberal framework of promoting educational equality of opportunity, the policy orientation of the E.O.C. has been to gain equality of access to facilities and benefits. The principal casualty of this approach has been the establishment of a body of case law through the use of civil litigation and formal investigations into discriminatory educational practice. Moreover, despite

the pre-eminent role attributed to the Secretary of State, the D.E.S. has appeared content, in practice, to permit the E.O.C. to assume responsibility for the promotion of educational opportunities. Whilst Arnot is able to detect some interest in the broader issues of gender within H.M.I. reports as she indicates, the D.E.S. has been placed under increasing pressure by the E.O.C., teacher unions and Women's National Commission to formulate a more committed response to equal opportunities.

In contrast the Manpower Services Commission has been more vigorous in its commitment to equal opportunities and as a designated training agency was able to introduce positive action training programmes specifically for women.[15] Furthermore, in relation to the Technical and Vocational Educational Initiative (T.V.E.I.), the M.S.C. operates a form of contract compliance in its requirement that funded schools demonstrate their methods for encouraging equal opportunities and reducing stereotyping. Since the number of girls within T.V.E.I. is increasing[16] it would seem that the more assertive approach is paying dividends. Again, whilst Arnot commends the more positive stance of the M.S.C. in contrast to the advisory role of the D.E.S. and the negotiating role of the E.O.C., she concludes that its alignment with the official equal-access philosophy negates any real

endeavours to ensure equality of outcome.

In responding to her own question, therefore, 'Political lip-service or radical reform?',[17] Arnot concedes that while there has been a shift in conventional policy making which differentiates pupils on the basis of gender, the issue of sex-equality has been avoided and there has been a failure to fund major initiatives which might make an impact upon educational opportunities for women and girls. The type of differentiation elucidated within the present study has, moreover, remained beyond the scope of legislation or official persuasion. Indeed, whilst equal opportunities continue to be interpreted as equality of access, it is difficult to envisage when educative processes within the para-curriculum (Hargreaves 1978) which may be viewed as indirectly discriminatory will become amenable to reform. As Arnot suggests, since the demise of the Schools Council and its major curriculum innovation (Weiner 1985A), the main thrust for radical reform has been articulated by feminist teachers and Local Authority equal opportunities units.[18] Her answer to the question posed is crystalized within the following observation:-

> The fundamental conservatism of the education system will be hard to shift. Whether the impetus for change generated in the last two decades will be sufficient to encourage new, more committed, responses to sex equality among educational professionals, managers

> and politicians remains to be seen.
> The type of strategy needed for the
> reform of education, however, is
> still not clear, neither has the
> political will been evident.
>
> Arnot 1987 p. 328.

Whilst this position prevails at the governmental level, the likelihood of school based projects developing into major educational programmes would appear to be slight. Acker (1986), however, takes a more optimistic view here, perceiving a radical potential for reform in the combination of grass roots activism with 'top down' liberal initiatives. As Arnot reports others take a dimmer view of such 'combinations' arguing that liberal educational policies are incompatible with feminist principles. It is possible to suggest, however, that small scale initiatives may be intrinsically valuable since opportunities may be presented, issues raised and horizons expanded in contexts where they otherwise would not. Such projects would appear doomed to failure if their credentials are espoused in terms of educational reform at a level they cannot hope to impinge upon or, if funding for fixed periods means that momentum cannot be sustained.

Unfortunately this latter circumstance would appear to constitute a common thread to interventionist strategies, uniting comparatively modest schemes (for example, FUTURA GIRLS, DASI, GAMMA, GATE, INSIGHT[19])

and the comparatively more generously funded projects (GAOC, WISE, GIST[22]). Girls into Science and Technology (GIST) is perhaps the most well known and appeared to make a considerable impact in terms of raising awareness of the issue of girls' under-representation in science, modifying pupil attitudes of science as masculine and changing the attitudes of teachers in the 'desired' direction.[21] Its long term impact in all these spheres remains, however, to be seen. Anti-sexist initiatives by teachers (for example, Battersea County Women's Group 1985, Norman et al 1985), and indeed, the tendency of teachers so involved to turn researcher (Mahony 1985) produce vital insights into the minutiae of girls' (and teachers') school experience, although their impetus for change tends to be localized, perhaps one school or Local Education Authority.

Such signs of activity and interest are, nevertheless, encouraging and reflect the extent to which developments have occurred within the arena of girls' education since the research at Kingston Dene. It would appear, however, that something of an impasse has now been reached. Localized commitment to gender equality has placed the issue firmly on the educational agenda and yet the official stance towards developing this is somewhat lacking in enthusiasm.[22] Again, as Arnot (1987) notes the organization whose responsibility it is

to challenge such indifference (the E.O.C.) probably owes its own continued existence during a period of government expenditure cuts to its liberalism and unthreatening stance towards the tenets of conservatism.

8.3   CONCLUDING REMARKS

There remains one issue which it is pertinent to address within the context of a conclusion and this relates to the contribution of the thesis to the sphere of inquiry which was selected for study. The research impulse for the exploration of gender differentiation in a middle school was stimulated by a desire to augment understandings of girls' school experience and to enhance insights into those educative processes which render such experience different from that of boys with associated implications for educational equality of outcome. The question may now be posed - to what extent have these investigative aspirations been realized?

Despite the time lapse in the production of this thesis, the study would appear to constitute one of the few examples of qualitative research into girls' education which has resulted in an ethnography of gender differentiation within one particular school. Within the genre, Delamont's (1973) study for example, was located in a girls school, Fuller (1978) utilized a synthesised methodological approach in which

ethnographic techniques formed one facet, Davies (1980) focused upon deviance and Clarricoats (1980) embraced four different schools. Such diversity may be regarded not only as necessary in an arena where few empirical inquiries have been conducted, but also, as previously suggested,[23] to demonstrate how responses vary both within and between particular settings.

The Kingston Dene study would consequently appear to qualify for membership of the ethnographic 'bank'[24] with few anxieties over irrelevance induced by repetition. It is possible to suggest, therefore, that a particular contribution to the larger sphere of inquiry is realized through the provision of a cohesive account of girls' schooling in a specific context. The exploration encompasses, moreover, the comparative experience of boys, the perceptual stance of teachers and the implications of the interrelationship between these for girls' educational experience.

Whilst it is acknowledged that the research was influenced by its chronology in relation to the paradigm shift which occurred within the sociology of education, the level of research activity which the new directions prompted into girls' experience was, as Llewellyn (1980) also observes, lamentable. It would seem, furthermore, that the inclination within more recent work is towards

stereotyping within the curriculum, particularly in relation to specific (usually scientific) subject areas (Kelly 1987, Randall 1987). The recent collections by Arnot and Weiner (1987) and Weiner and Arnot (1987), for example, rely upon the well known and commonly cited research of Clarricoates (1980) and Stanworth (1983) for a contribution within the perceptual and interactive sphere.

One issue which has gained some momentum within the sociology of education, but which was not, however, pursued at Kingston Dene concerns the dynamics of race and gender within the process of schooling. It is not inappropriate at this juncture to point to the requirement for further research in this area and, for the dimension of social class to be encompassed within the equation. The pupils at Kingston Dene were working class and whilst the issue of class does not constitute a salient thread within the study, it must be remembered that the ethnography does relate a working class experience of schooling.

It would seem, perhaps almost inevitably, that the reflective stance which concluding remarks necessarily engender , prompts an awareness of the issues which were excluded from the thesis and yet, which appear equally deserving of attention as those which were prioritized for analysis. It is not the intention, however, to

dwell upon those issues which were deleted from the agenda of inquiry at Kingston Dene Middle School but to conclude with a positive reminder of what was accomplished. The study sought to elucidate gender differentiation - how and where it occurred and the implications for girls and women. It may be concluded that there are few facets of school life where considerations of gender do not intrude and where conventional configurations of femininity and masculinity are not fostered.

The manner in which perceptual and interactive processes unfurl and reciprocate are generally diverse, occasionally contradictory and yet, crucially, appear to conspire to confine girls within a pupil role which is marginal and lacking in confidence. This is not to suggest that girls assume a passive posture within such processes, indeed they do not. Yet the manner of their manoeuvrings in responding to the demands of classroom life frequently evoked further facets of a feminine role. Femininity does not serve girls in the same way that masculinity functions for boys, since as Arnot (1984) also observes the former implies subordination, whilst the latter enshrines power and prestige. As the ethnographic study of gender differentiation in a middle school demonstrates, assumptions commensurate with such conceptualizations constitutes the core of school experience for girls.

FOOT NOTES

1. As suggested within the Introduction it was considered appropriate to contextualize the study in terms of the current position of women as reflected in statistical trends, not only have any changes over the past decade been minimal, this also points to the continuing relevance of the research.

2. Mr. Ford - the Head of Third Year and teacher of class 3/5.

3. Essentially the anxiety associated with the possibility of the research being rendered redundant or 'by-passed' by more recent studies. The term is developed from Woods' (1986) 'elsewhere syndrome'.

4. This is explored more fully later in the Chapter in the context of the contribution of the research at Kingston Dene.

5. A view also posited, for example, by Marks (1976), Foreman (1977), Dyhouse (1977) Perkins (1979), Clarricoats (1978 and 1980) and Spender (1982) and, it may be regarded as integral to the ideology of domesticity.

6. As indicated in the Introduction and explained in the discussion of methodology (Chapter 2) a third year class were selected to provide the specific focus of the study and consequently the research was predominantly concerned with all facets of schooling within this particular school year.

7. For example, in its administrative and organizational routines - listing pupils in records, registers and similar documentation, requiring that girls and boys were segregated in queues and for assembly.

8. Davies (1984) p.1.

9. This view was expressed by Mr. Ford in the report which he provided entitled 'Responding to a Participant Researcher' which is discussed in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5.

10. There were no boys, for example, who were regarded as untypical either in the sense of being a 'cissy' as documented by Wolpe (1977) or as being deviant in terms of indiscipline.

11. Gloria - see the discussion in Chapter 6, Section 6.3.6.

12. The segregated P.E. curriculum and craft curriculum within the fourth year for example.

13. As suggested within the Introduction these include a weak definition of discrimination and, also the burden of proof of discrimination lies with the complainant.

14. Such a role was envisaged in the White Paper - Equality for Women (Cmnd. 5724) cited in Rendel (1985).

15. For example, new opportunities for women were included in the Training Opportunities Scheme (TOPS) and the Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW) courses.

16. Women and Men in Britain : A Statistical Profile, H.M.S.O. 1987.

17. This question constitutes part of the title to the paper in question (Arnot 1987).

18. See, for example, the account of Taylor (1985) regarding the London Borough of Brent.

19. An account of these projects is available in the erstwhile Schools Council Newsletters 3 and 4 - Reducing Sex Differentiation in School, November 1982 and March 1983 respectively. They may be summarized as follows:-

   FUTURA GIRLS - A pilot project conducted in Shropshire whereby two girls from each secondary school were invited to attend a week long course, providing college and factory based experience of engineering, electronics and computers.

   DASI - A one year ILEA funded project concerned with Developing Anti-Sexist Initiatives.

   GAMMA - Girls and Mathematics Association, responsible for research into children's mathematical learning in infant schools.

   GATE - A project funded by British Petroleum, concerned with the education of girls in design and technology at the secondary level.

   INSIGHT - Courses sponsored by the Engineering Industry's Training Board for girls who have expressed an interest in careers in engineering. Focus is upon the provision of information.

20. GIST   - Girls into Science and Technology.
    GAOC   - Girls and Occupational   Choice   Project.   See
             Chisholm and Holland (1987).
    WISE   - Women in Science and Engineering,   1984   was
             designated   as the WISE year with a   variety
             of   different   events   and   projects
             highlighting relevant issues.

21. Kelly et al (1987) p. 112.

22. The official stance as exemplified by the D.E.S.

23. See Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5.

24. A   term   borrowed from Davies (1985) in her argument
    that ethnographic research should be accumulative in
    its approach to resolving the problems of validity.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

CLASS 3/5 : THE GIRLS

APPENDIX 1 A
FIRST INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. **FRIENDS**

   Could you tell me something about the people you are friendly with.

   A. Who would you say you are most friendly with at school?   (PROMPT)

   If a few friends   -   Do you have a 'best friend'?

   If only one friend -   Do you have any other particular friends as well?

   B. How long have you been friendly with ....?

   C. Are you friends with people in other classes?

   If so, how did you become friendly with these?

   D. Do you see your friends outside School?

   If no, who do you play with at home?

   If yes, when?

   E. What sorts of things do you do, which games do you play with your friends?

   i At dinner time/play time,

   ii At home/outside of school.

   F. Why do you like being friendly with these particular people?

   For example, why do you like sitting next to them or near them in lessons?

G.   Are there any people that you wouldn't like to sit next to in class or that you don't play with at break and dinner?

If so, why aren't you friendly with them?

H.   (If relevent in view of answers to the above)

Do you ever play with the boys?

If no, why not?

If sometimes, when? What sorts of things do you do?

If yes, what do you play?

do you like it as much as the things you do with girl friends? (name names where possible).

1.   (If relevant)

Do you ever sit next to the boys in lessons?

If no, why not?

If sometimes, when? Which lessons? Why?

If yes, who? Which lessons? Why?

2.   SCHOOL/SCHOOL SUBJECTS

A.   Do you like coming to school?

If yes, why?

If no, why not?

B.   What do you like most about school? Why?

C.   What do you like least about school? Why?

D.   Are there any lessons which you like more than others?

Which ones? Why?

E.   Are there any lessons which you like less than others?

Which ones? Why?

3.   **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

A.   Could you tell me a bit about yourself - who do you live with at home?

If mother/father   - what do they do?

If brothers/sisters - if still at school, which school?

B.   Where abouts do you live?

4.   **THE STUDY**

A   Are there any questions you would like to ask me about what I'm doing here?

* * * *

APPENDIX 1 B

SECOND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. Do you think that it is important to try and do well at school?

    Why? Why not?

2. When you get a piece of work back after it has been marked are you interested to see -

    A) your own mark

    B) your friends' marks

    How interested? Why?

3. How important do you think it is to get a star or a merit? Why?

    A) do you feel pleased when you get one?

    B) does it make you want to try harder next time?

4. Do you ever think your mark is too low? Why?

5. How long do you spend doing homework?

    For example, do you do homework some nights? every night? weekends?

    A) do you like doing homework?

    B) do you think you should have homework?

6. If for some reason you can't get your homework done, perhaps because you forgot, went out, because you didn't understand it -

    do you worry over what the teacher might say?

or, wouldn't it bother you to come to school with it not done?

7. Do you ever get any help with your school work from mothers/fathers, brothers/sisters, other relatives or neighbours?

A) How often?

B) Does (whoever is mentioned) ever talk to you about school, for example, tell you to try hard?

If so, what do they say?

do you agree with them?

8. In lessons do you like to be asked a question if you haven't got your hand up?

Why?

A) How do you decide whether to put your hand up? (Prompt) For example, if you were not sure of the answer would you have a guess or keep your hand down?

B) Generally, do you prefer to discuss your ideas and answers in lessons with the teacher and rest of the class or write them into your books?

9. Does it bother you if you are told off in lessons for talking or not getting on with your work?

Why? Why not?

10. A) Are there any subjects that you would like to spend more time on in school?

If yes, which one(s)? Why?

B) Are there any subjects that you would like to
spend less time on?

If yes, which one(s)? Why?

11. Which D and M subject to you like best?

Why?

[D and M - Design and Make]

12. Which reading books do you like reading most?
For example, when you choose a book from the class
or school library which ones have you A) liked
B) disliked? Why?
Do you like spending registration time and some
English lessons reading a novel?

13. Do you think teachers can influence whether or not
you enjoy a subject?
If yes, how?
If no, why not?

14. Which type of teacher do you like to be taught by?
For example, A) a strict teacher or one who
rarely tells the class off?

B) Male or female - does it make
any difference?

15. Do you think that teachers treat you all the same?
(PROMPT) For example,

A) do you all get told off for
the same things?

B) do you think the boys are
treated the same as you?

If any differences mentioned:-

Why do you think this is the case?

Do you behave any differently to....(the person/
group mentioned)?

16. Do you think it matters whether you pass any exams
and obtain qualifications before you leave school?
Why?

17. A) Do you have any ideas about what you want to
do when you leave school?

If yes, what?

Why do you want to do this?

Where did you get the idea from?

B) Do you have any ideas about what you wouldn't
like to do? Why?

18. Outside of school how do you spend your spare
time?

For example:-

A) Any hobbies?

B) Do you belong to any clubs, e.g. girl guides,
youth clubs?

C) Do you see your friends, if so what do you do?

D) Do you ever go out with your family/
neighbours?

E) Do you ever go to discos?

F) Do you have to do any tasks/work around the house. If so, do your brothers/sisters? Ask for details on each point.

19. When you do things on your own or with friends, do you have to ask a parent, elder sister/brother/other relative, for permission? If yes, do they usually let you do what you want to? Do you mind having to ask?

20. Do you receive a sum of pocket money weekly to spend on your own activities or do you ask for money as and when you need it?

A) Are you allowed to spend your money as you like or do you have to mention what you spend it on?

21. What do you most like doing in your spare time? For example, what do you consider to be a good weekend, one that you've particularly enjoyed.

* * * *

APPENDIX 1 C

THIRD INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. What have you enjoyed A) most, B) least about
    school this year? Why?

2. What do you think is A) the most important,
    B) the least important thing you have learned
    this year? Why?

3. Are there any school rules or aspects about school
    that you would change if you could?

    If yes, what? Why?

    If no, why not?

4. Have you become A) more friendly, B) less
    friendly with anyone this year?

    If so, who? Why?

    If not, any reason?

5. In your spare time outside school have there been
    any changes in what you enjoy doing most?

    If so, what? Why?

    (Prompt) For example, what do you like doing most
    with your friends?

    What T.V. programmes do you like most?

    What comics/magazines do you like most?

6. How do you feel about next year being your last
    year at Kingston Dene?

    A) Do you think you will be sad, glad or both to
       leave?

B) Do you think the 4th year will be an important year in any way? If yes, how?

7. Do you know what high school you will be going to, or would like to go to?

Why?

A) Have you any relations there? If so, what have they told you about it?

B) Are you looking forward to high school? Why? Why not?

8. What do you think the main difference between high school and middle school will be?

9. How important do you think it is to get a job as soon as you leave school?

10. Do you think you would prefer to settle in one job or try different ones if you could? Why?

11. Do you think that girls and boys could apply for the same type of job when they leave school? For example, do you think that boys could be typists and girls car mechanics?

Why? Why not?

12. Do you think that it is equally important for girls and boys to pass exams and obtain qualifications before they leave school?

Why? Why not?

13. What do you think is the usual/average age for people to get a permanent boyfriend, married or settle down together?

A) When you are older do you think you would prefer to be married (or settle down with someone) or remain single?

14. What do you think is the usual/average age for girls and boys to have boyfiends/girlfriends?

A) Do girls tend to go out with boys who are younger, older, same age as themselves?

B) Do you know any/many of your age who do go out with boys?

15. Whose responsibility, or job, is it to A) do the housework, B) repairs about the house, C) look after the children?

Why?

16. What do you think you might be doing when you are about 18, 20, 25, 30 years old?

17. Do you ever chat to A) friends, B)family about what you might do when you are older?

Why? Why not?

What do they say? For example, about boyfriends, jobs?

* * * *

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

CLASS 3/5 : THE BOYS

1. FRIENDS

Could you tell me something about the people you are friendly with.

A. Who would you say you are most friendly with at school? (PROMPT)

If a few friends - Do you have a 'best friend'?

If only one named - Do you have any other particular friends as well?

B. How long have you been friendly with them?

C. If not in 3/5, how did you become friends with them?

D. Do you see these friends outside school?

E. Why do you like being friendly with these particular people?

F. Are there any people you wouldn't like to sit next to or play with?

Who? Why not?

G. (If relevant in view of answers to the above)

Do you ever sit next to, or play with the girls?

If no, why not?

If yes or sometimes, when? What do you do?

2.   **ACTIVITIES**

A.   At break and dinner times what sort of games
do you play? (Prompt) What do you enjoy doing
most?

B.   Outside school how do you spend your spare time?
For example:-

  i) Any hobbies

 ii) Do you belong to any clubs, e.g. boy scouts,
youth clubs

iii) Do you ever go out for the day with your
family/neighbours

 iv) Do you ever go to discos

  v) Do you have to do any tasks/work around the
house

 vi) Do you watch T.V. - favourite/best liked
programme? How often?

Ask for details on each point.

(Who with? Does permission have to be gained from
parents or elder sisters/brothers to do things on
their own).

3.   SCHOOL/SCHOOL SUBJECTS

A.   Do you like coming to school?

If yes, why?

If no, why not?

B.   Are there any lessons which you particularly like?

If yes, which ones? Why?

C.   Are there any lessons which you dislike?

If yes, which ones? Why?

D.   Are there any subjects which you would like to:-

A)   spend more time on?

B)   less time on?

If so, which ones? Why?

E.   Which D and M subject do you like best/least?
Why?

F.   When you get a piece of work back after it has
been marked are you interested to see A) your
own mark, B) your friends' marks? Why?

G.   Do you ever think your marks are too low?

If yes, could you give an example?

H.   How   important do you think it is to get a star
or a merit?

I.   How long do you spend doing homework?   For
example, do you do some every night, some nights,
weekends?

J. i) Do you like doing homework?

ii) Do you think you should get homework?

K. Do you ever get any help with your homework?

For example, mother/father, brother/sister, other relatives/friends?

If so, do these people ever talk to you about school? For example, tell you to try hard?

If yes, what do they say? Do you agree with them?

L. If for some reason you can't do your homework, perhaps because you w ent out, forgot, couldn't do it, do you worry over what the teacher might say? Or, wouldn't it bother you to come to school with it not done?

M. i) In lessons, do you like to be asked a question by the teacher if you haven't put your hand up? Why?

ii) How do you decide when to put your hand up? For example, if you were not sure of the answer would you have a guess?

N. i) Does it bother you if you are told off in lessons for talking or not getting on with your work?

ii) Do you think that everyone gets told off for doing the same things wrong?
(Prompt) for example, do the girls get treated the same as the boys?

O. i) Which books do you like reading most? For example, when you choose a book from the class or school library which ones have you liked/selected? Why?

ii) Do you like spending registration times and some English lessons reading a book?

- Do you like comics/magazines? If yes, which ones? Why? If no, why not?

P. Do you think it matters whether you pass any exams and obtain qualifications before you leave school? Why?

Q. i) Do you have any ideas about what you want to do when you leave school?

If yes, what?

Why do you want to do this?

Where did you get the idea from?

ii) Do you have any ideas about what you definitely would not like to do?

If so, why?

* * * *

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

THE TEACHERS

APPENDIX 3 A

FIRST INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH HEAD TEACHER

1. You say in your paper* that the purpose of education is to develop a rational mind - so that unreasonable demands give way to reasonable wants. Through this that an individual can move towards potential fulfilment and make his social contribution.

    A. Would you like to comment in more detail on this, in particular what do you mean by 'rational mind', 'unreasonable demands' and 'reasonable wants'?

    B. Do you consider that the demands and wants of children at Kingston Dene are the same or different to those of other children?

    C. Does this tie in with your dissatisfaction with secondary education as it was?

    * Footnote: A paper given at a one day conference of the Middle Schools Research Group in November 1979. The paper was based on two previous talks on the role of middle schools.

2. You talk about producing a school appropriate to its location, building, resources, staff etc., and of making advantages out of the circumstances in which a school may find itself. At Kingston Dene what do you consider were and are the inherent advantages and disadvantages and, how do you attempt to manipulate them?

3. Would you like to comment in greater detail about what you consider to be the educational as opposed to the administrative advantages of middle schools. You mention two in particular:-

   A) That middle schools are not constrained by external pressures in the same way as high schools, e.g. exams?

   B) In 11-18 schools pupils live too closely with the adult expectation of their adolescent school mates. That schools cut less ice as children grow older. - Do you think older children are in some way a bad influence on younger children?

4. In the paper you refer to the Piagetian model of development and the necessity to continue with concrete operations in school. Are you thinking about the children with whom you have/have had contact or all children when you advocate the extended use of concrete operations?

5. Role of the Head.

   A) The meetings which were originally held when the school was new - attended by all staff to discuss school policy, do you still have such meetings?

   If yes, what do you believe are the advantages of them?

   If no, when/why did they stop?

   B) As a head who believes in involving the staff how do you present your views to the staff and enter into dialogue with them about school policy, educational ideas and so on?

   C) How do you try to ensure that now Kingston Dene is established as a middle school teachers do not get stale?

6. Again in your paper, with reference to D and M [Design and Make] you state that all children i.e. boys and girls, are encouraged to use and explore all materials. That traditional distinctions between craft subjects are hampering. To what extent is there a policy in the school to eliminate traditional distinction between boys and girls?

7. What are the links between first and high schools and Kingston Dene as the middle school?

8. Now that Kingston Dene has been a middle school for seven years - would you like to comment on its development?

A) Has it gone according to plan?

B) You mentioned previously that you had a choice between becoming the head of a high school or a middle school - you chose the latter. Why? Would you make the same choice again?

C) What have been the major drawbacks/ disadvantages in developing as a middle school?

D) What have been the major areas of progress/ advantages?

* * * *

APPENDIX 3 B

SECOND INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH HEAD TEACHER

1. How is the amount of streaming and setting worked out for each year at Kingston Dene? What is your opinion on the necessity to stream in which subjects?

2. What is A) school policy and B) your personal opinion on the use of corporal punishment?

3. In view of the school's excellent sporting record and tradition, what would you say is the role of sport at Kingston Dene?

4. Would you like to comment on the social class composition of Kingston Dene? For example, would/could the school be classified as what used to be referred to as an EPA type school?

5. Would you comment on the implications of cutbacks in educational resources in respect to the following at Kingston Dene:-

    A)   Number of staff

    B)   Capitation

    C)   Morale

    D)   Falling school roll.

6. What is the school's policy on school uniform?

7. School meals - your view on the role of schools in provision and the proportion of children in respect of free meals.

* * * *

APPENDIX 3 C

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH HEAD OF THIRD YEAR/

CLASS TEACHER FOR 3/5

1. What do you consider is the role of the middle school within the three tier comprehensive system?

2. What do you consider are:-

    A) The advantages

    B) The disadvantages, of middle schools?

    (Prompt) For example, it has been suggested that within this particular area middle schools were an administrative expedient, rather than educationally advantageous, when a comprehensive system was being introduced. Would you like to comment on this?

3. How does teaching in a middle school compare with the school you taught in prior to coming to Kingston Dene?

4. How do you see your role as Head of the Third Year at Kingston Dene?

    For example, with regard to the curriculum do you take sole responsibility for decisions concerning the curriculum or are you required to discuss it with A) the Head, B) other third year staff?

5. What do you believe should feature in the content of the curriculum for 11 and 12 year olds?

How do you decide upon this?

What criteria do you use?

6. What do you consider are:-

A) The advantages

B) The disadvantages, of MACOS/

[Man: A Course of Study]

C) To what extent do you believe the MACOS method could and/or should be incorporated into other subject areas?

7. How do you see your role as staff tutor at Kingston Dene? What kind of things do you hope to achieve in this capacity?

8. When you are planning lessons in advance what type of things do you take into account?

For example, for mixed ability lessons how do you try and ensure that all pupils are catered for?

9. When you are actually teaching during the course of a lesson, are there any individual pupils or, groups of pupils, of whom you are particularly aware?

If yes, who? Why?

If no, why not?

10. Are there any pupils who you find take up more of your time, or place more demands on your time and attention than others?

If yes, who? Why?

If no, why not?

11. Are there any pupils who you particularly A) like, B) dislike teaching?

If so, who? Why?

12. Do you consider that there are any differences between boys and girls in the following areas:-

A) Their behaviour in class

B) Their work

C) Their homework

D) Their general behaviour in and around school

E) Their misbehaviour

If yes, do you believe that you treat them differently in any ways?

If so, in what way?

13. Do you have any preference for teaching boys or girls?

If yes, who do you prefer teaching and why?

14. Are you aware of any expectations which the pupils have of you?

If yes, what are these?

do they vary between boys and girls?

15. Have any of the pupils questioned you about me in any way?

If yes, what did they want to know?

who questioned you?

If no, why do you think they haven't?

16. To what extent are you aware of my presence when
     I observe your lessons?
     A) In the early days
     B) Now

17. Does my observation influence your behaviour in
     any way?
     If yes, how?

18. Do you consider that I alter or influence the
     pupils behaviour in any way?
     If yes, how?

* * * *

APPENDIX 3 D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH THIRD YEAR STAFF

1. How long have you been teaching at Kingston Dene?

2. How does teaching in a middle school compare with:-

     A) the school you taught in prior to coming to Kingston Dene,

     B) (Where appropriate) Kingston Dene Secondary Modern?

3. What do you consider are:-

     A) The advantages and,

     B) The disadvantages, of middle schools?

4. What do you believe should feature in the content of the curriculum for 11 and 12 year olds? (Or, the middle school age range for staff not attached to the third year).

     Prompt: (where applicable) particularly with reference to your own subject.

     How do you decide upon this - what criteria do you use?

5. (Where applicable)

     What do you consider are:-

     A) The advantages, and

     B) The disadvantages of MACOS?

     C) To what extent do you believe the MACOS

method could and/or should be incorporated into other subject areas?

6. A) When you are planning lessons in advance what type of things do you take into account, for example, in mixed ability lessons how do you try and ensure that all pupils are catered for?

    B) What are your views about mixed ability classes? For example, do you believe all subjects could be taught to mixed ability classes?

7. When you are actually teaching during the course of a lesson are there any individual pupils or groups of pupils of whom you are particularly aware? For example, are there any pupils who take up more of your time/place more demands on you than the others?

    If yes, who? Why?

    If no, why not?

8. Are there any types of pupil who you particularly A) like, B) dislike teaching?

    Who? Why?

9. Do you consider that there are any differences between boys and girls in the following areas:-

    A) Their behaviour in class

    B) Their work

    C) Their homework

D) Their general behaviour in and around school

E) Their misbehaviour.

10. Do you believe that boys and girls should be taught all subjects together - particularly in D and M?

Why? Why not?

11. Do you think that you may treat girls and boys differently in any way?

If yes, which ways? Why?

If no, why not?

For example, in discipline and punishment,

in tasks and errands?

12. Do you have any preference for teaching boys or girls?

If yes, which? Why?

13. Are you aware of any expectations which the pupils have of you?

If yes, what are they?

do they vary between boys and girls?

14. Do you consider during the lessons which I observe that I alter A) the pupils behaviour in any way, B) your behaviour in any way?

If yes, how?

15. Are there any comments that you would like to make?

* * * *

APPENDIX 4

OBSERVATIONAL DATA : THE ANALYTIC INDEX

NUMBER	DATA CLASSIFICATION
1	Negotiating Access
1A	- to school
1B	- to individual lessons
1C	Role of Sponsor
2	The Staffroom
2A	- relations between staff/sub-groups
2B	- conversation
2C	- how researcher fitted in
3	Teacher comments on aspects of the official curriculum
4	Teacher comments on pupils
4A	- general
4B	- gender differences
5	Teacher comments on
6	Teacher comments
6A	- background information
6B	- personal opinions
6C	- other school staff
7	Teacher comments on broader educational issues
8	Teacher comments on their teaching
9	Pupil comments on opposite sex
10	Pupil comments on same sex
11	Pupil comments on teachers
12	Pupil comments on lessons
13	Pupil comments
13A	- school generally
13B	- any other topic

NUMBER	DATA CLASSIFICATION
14	Observation of changes in same teachers between/within lessons
15	Observation of differences between teachers
15A	- teacher sex
15B	- teacher age
16	Observation of teaching style/ method
17	Observation of pupil reaction to
17A	- different teachers
17B	- lesson content
18	Observation of teacher-pupil interaction (teachers)
18A	- differential treatment between girls and boys
18B	- differential treatment between boys
18C	- differential treatment between girls
18D	- general treatment/dealing with pupils as class
19	Observation of teacher-pupil interaction (pupils)
19A	- pupils imposing their ideas on teachers
19B	- general pupil behaviour during lessons, gender differences, response as a class
20	Observation of gender differences
20A	- behaviour
20B	- inter-personal relations
20C	- work
21	Observation of same-sex relations
21A	- behaviour
21B	- inter-personal relations
22	The Playground
22A	- cross-sex relations/ activities
22B	- same-sex relations/activities
22C	- reaction of pupils to researcher
23	Observation of individual pupils

NUMBER	DATA CLASSIFICATION
24	Observation of discipline/
25	Observation of general establishment of order
26	Observation of differential oral contribution in lessons between sexes
27	Researcher's influence/general impressions
27A	- researcher's impressions of school, school buildings, teachers generally
27B .	- influence of researcher in lessons, teacher reaction
27C	- influence of researcher in lessons, pupil reaction
27D	- teacher opinions on researcher role/research
28	Curriculum (observation)
28A	- 'official' content/ activities/MACOS
28B	- sexist content
29	Notes on differences between girls/boys in exercise books/ general comments on exercise books
30	Notes on official curriculur materials
30A	- text books
30B	- MACOS
30C	- other subjects
31	Weekly assessments of school observation/research progress (Summary of Week)
32	School trips
33	Details on individual teachers.

APPENDIX 5 SCHOOL TEXTS USED WITHIN THE KINGSTON DENE THIRD YEAR CURRICULUM

APPENDIX 5A SUBJECT SPECIALIST TEXTS

A.   ENGLISH

1.   English Through Literature
      J. Adcock
      Rupert Hart-Davis Educational Publications 1965.

2.   Thought Shapes
      B. Maybury
      Oxford University Press 1972.

3.   Word Shapes
      B. Maybury
      Oxford University Press 1970.

4.   Explore and Express Book 1
      R. M. Adams, J. L. Foster and R. L. Wilson
      MacMillan 1971.

5.   Challenge
      T. Sweeney and R. J. Maguiness.

6.   English Through Experience
      A. Rowe and P. Emmeas.

7.   1979/80 Independent Television For Schools
      Writers Workshop.

NOVELS

The Hobbit	–	Tolkein
Carrie's War	–	N. Bawden
The Diddakoi	–	R. Gooden (T.V.-Kizzy)
Elidor	–	A. Garner
The Snow Goose	–	P. Gallico
The Sword and the Stone	–	T. H. White
Wind in the Willows	–	K. Graham

S. R. A.

S. R. A. Reading Laboratory
Science Research Associates
1969.

B.   MATHS.

1.   Mathematics for Life Books A1 and A2
A2 - Fun and Games
A1 -· Rodway Road
N. Moore and A. Williams
Oxford University Press 1976.

2.   The Four Rules of Number:
Graded Arithmetic Practice Books 1 and 2
K. A. Hesse
Longmans (1956, 1961) Revised and updated to
decimal and metric 1978.

3.   S.M.P. 7 - 13
The School Mathematics Project Unit 2
Cambridge University Press 1977.

C.   FRENCH

EN AVANT
Nuffield Introductory French Course
Nuffield Foundation 1968.

D.   SCIENCE

Science for the 70's Books 1 and 2
A. J. Mee, P. Boyd, D. Ritchie
Heineman Educational Books 1971.

General Science 1 - 4
by Charles Windridge
Ed. by P. J. Kenway
Schofield and Sims Limited 1976.

Nuffield Combined Science
Activities 1 - 10
Published for the Nuffield Foundation by
Longman/Penguin Books.

APPENDIX   5B

MAN : A COURSE OF STUDY - TEXTS AND OTHER CURRICULUM
RESOURCES

BOOKLETS

A.   BABOONS

1.   Baboon communication.
2.   The observers handbook.
3.   The baboon troop.
4.   Selections from field notes 1959 March - August
      Irven De Vere, Anthropologist.
5.   The chimpanzee.
6.   Baboons.
7.   Animals of the African Savanna.

B.   ESKIMOS

1.   Antler and Fang.
2.   The data book.
3.   The True Play - How Itimangnark got Kingnuk the
      girl he really wanted, by Carter Wilson.
4.   The world we know.
5.   The Arctic.
6.   Songs and stories of the Netsilik Eskimos.
7.   A Journey to the Arctic.
8.   The many lives of Kiviok.
9.   On firm ice.
10.   GAMES - Caribou Hunting
              The Seal Hunt.

FILMS

A.   BABOONS

1.   The younger infant.
2.   The older infant.
3.   The baboon troop.
4.   Miss Goodall and the wild chimpanzees.

B. ESKIMOS

1. Fishing at the Stone Weir.
2. Life on the Tundra.
3. At the caribou crossing place.
4. At the Autumn River Camp 1 and 2.
5. Winter Sea Ice Camp 1 and 2.
6. Legend of the raven.

FILM STRIPS (SLIDES)

A. BABOONS

1. Baboons.

B. ESKIMOS

1. Netsilik life.
2. The Netsilik today.
3. Eskimo art.

DUPLICATED WORKSHEETS

1. Eskimo months.
2. Fishing at stone weir.
3. Building an igloo.
4. Winter at the sea ice camp.
5. Sharing the seals.

APPENDIX 6

DETAILS ON MAN : A COURSE OF STUDY DISTRIBUTED TO
2ND AND 3RD YEAR E.B.L. TEACHERS

MAN

The Thinking of Bruner

The distinguishing characteristic of human beings is
that they learn.

Effective learning depends on the will to learn.

The will to learn depends on:-

i)   curiosity - or a wish to know

ii) competence - we are interested in what we are
     good at

iii) identification - we need a human model with
     whom to identify

iv) reciprocity - we need to respond to others.

When pupils fail to learn it is the fault of the school.
However, Bruner is no de-schooler. He seeks to meet
pupils needs and stimulate thought within the school.
Children need to be reassured that it is all right to
have and express subjective ideas, and to regard tasks
as open ended problems for which one creates an answer.

Bruner believes that it is possible to reform school and teacher to achieve his aims.

Bruner and 'Man : A Course of Study'

Man: A Course of Study includes Brunerian thinking in the following assumptions:-

   i)   Learning is a social process by which children and teachers can express and share ideas.

  ii)   Competence over a body of knowledge will lead to increased self confidence and understanding of ones own values and attitudes about life.

 iii)   The world can be observed, conjectured about and to some extent ordered and understood using the tools of the behavioural sciences. That is, the concepts needed to make sense of the world can be provided by behavioural sciences.

  iv)   An individual life, the life of the pupil, can be viewed as part of the larger flow of human existence.

The content of the course also comes from Bruner. He suggests that a study of man should ask and answer the question 'What makes man human?' He also suggests the answers   i) tool making   ii) language   iii) social

organisation iv) a long childhood and learning v) the urge to explain (beliefs).

Peter Dow and 'Man : A Course of Study'

Dow, the project director derives from the conceptual thinking of Bruner a list of specific aims intended to produce a course which will stimulate thinking and question posing in pupils by providing interesting studies, and provoke in pupils an examination of their knowledge of themselves and the effects of culture.

   i) To initiate and develop in pupils a process of question posing.

   ii) To teach a research methodology where pupils can look for information to answer questions they have raised, and use the framework developed in the course and apply it to new areas.

   iii) To help pupils develop the ability to use a variety of first hand sources as evidence from which to develop hypotheses and draw conclusions.

   iv) To conduct classroom discussions in which pupils learn to listen to others as well as express their own views.

   v) To legitimise the search, that is to give

sanction and support to open ended discussion.

vi) To encourage children to reflect on their own experiences.

vii) To create a new role for the teacher in which he becomes a resource rather than an authority.

An outline of conceptual and pedagogical goals

i) Conceptual themes. Life cycle, adaptation, learning, aggression, organization of groups (including group relationships, the family and community, division of labour), technology, communication and language, values and beliefs, world view.

ii) Data Sources. a) Primary Sources - student experience, behaviour of family, behaviour of young children in school, behaviour of animals.

b) Secondary sources - films and slides of animals and Eskimos, recordings of animal sounds, recordings of Eskimo myths, legends and poetry, anthropological field notes, written data on humans, other animals and environments.

iii) Classroom techniques. Individual and group research (direct observation or reading of

texts), reading and small group discussion, games, role play, large and small group projects such as art and construction projects, writing of songs and poems.

iv) Learning methods. Enquiry, investigation problem finding, hypothesizing, experimentation, observation, interviewing, literature searching, summarising and reporting. Sharing and evaluation of interpretation, accumulating and retaining information, exchange and defence of opinion, exploration of individual feelings, exposure to diverse aesthetic styles.

APPENDIX 7

STAFF PROFILE OF KINGSTON DENE MIDDLE SCHOOL

(Excludes third year staff - profile for third year in Chapter 4, Section 4.1)

Name	Sex	Salary Scale	Special Responsibility For	Years Service at Kingston Dene*	Further Studies	Teacher For
Bevan	M	H/T 1	Head Teacher	16	M.A. (Completed) M.Phil. (In progress)	-
Griffiths	M	H/T 2	Deputy Head Teacher	16	-	General Studies (Third year) Additional cover where required.
FOURTH YEAR						
A	F	2	Special Interests	8	-	4/1
B	M	3	French	12	-	4/2
C	F	3	Design and Make: 2nd Staff Tutor	12	Staff Tutor Course (Completed)	4/3
D	F	3	Unofficial Deputy Head of Fourth Year:Language in Social Subjects	16	-	4/4
E	F	4	Head of Third Year: Senior Mistress	7	-	4/5
SECOND YEAR						
A	M	4	Curriculum Development	11	B.A.(C.U.) Reading Development Course (Completed) MACOS (In progress)	2/1
B	F	3	Head of English	9	O.U.Reading Course (Completed)	2/2

APPENDIX 7 Continued

Name	Sex	Salary Scale	Special Responsibility	Years Service at Kingston Dene*	Further Studies	Teacher For
C	F	1	-	4	-	2/3
D	M	4	Head of Second Year	16	-	2/4
E	M	2	Slow Learners	6	B.Ed.(In progress)	-

FIRST YEAR

Name	Sex	Salary Scale	Special Responsibility	Years Service at Kingston Dene*	Further Studies	Teacher For
A	M	2	Library	10	-	1/1
B	M	2	First Year Duties	5	-	1/2
C	F	2	-	3	-	1/3
D	F	1	-	3	M.Phil. (In progress)	1/4
E	M	3	Unofficial deputy for slow learners	8	M.Ed. (In progress)	-
F	M	4	Head of First Year	12	-	-

SPECIALIST SCIENCE STAFF

Name	Sex	Salary Scale	Special Responsibility	Years Service at Kingston Dene*	Further Studies	Teacher For
Morecroft	F	3	Head of Science	12	Safety Course (Science) (Completed)	Science
Newcombe	M	2	Science	5	B.Ed. (In progress)	Science

DESIGN AND MAKE STAFF

Name	Sex	Salary Scale	Special Responsibility	Years Service at Kingston Dene*	Further Studies	Teacher For
Williams	F	1 Probat-ioner		1	-	Cookery
Spencer	F	2		9	-	Sewing
Cooper	F	2		6	B.Ed. (In progress)	Art
Blythe	M	1		2 terms	-	Woodwork

APPENDIX 7 Continued

Name	Sex	Salary Scale	Special Responsibility	Years Service at Kingston Dene*	Further Studies	Teacher For
ADDITIONAL STAFF (TEACHING)						
Woods	M	3	P.E. (Boys) 3rd/4th year maths.specialist	11	-	P.E. (Boys) Maths.
Name	Sex		Position			
ADDITIONAL STAFF (NON-TEACHING)						
Bevan	F		School Secretary : Full-time			
A	F		School Secretary : Part-time			
B	M		Caretaker : Full-time			
C	F		Playground Assistant : Part-time			
D	F		Playground Assistant : Part-time			
Further staff comprised the cleaning and kitchen staff - all part-time positions occupied by women						

Key

M - Male

F - Female

* - Years service at Kingston Dene Middle School at time of research project.

Notes

1. Staff who did not have specific responsibility for a particular class were loosely assigned to year groups in order to provide additional cover. Mrs. Morecroft and Mr. Newcombe assisted with second year classes 2/2 and 2/3 respectively, where Teacher S also provided additional cover for the Head of Year with class 2/4. Similarly, Mrs. Spencer assisted Mr. Ford with class 3/5. Such assistance usually comprised taking classes for registration periods in order to release the class teacher for work in areas of additional responsibility.

2. Of the school's thirty-one teaching staff, seventeen had taught at the school when it was a secondary modern prior to comprehensivization.

APPENDIX   8

PUPIL SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN

APPENDIX 8 A
SUMMARY OF SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN OF THIRD YEAR PUPILS
AT KINGSTON DENE MIDDLE SCHOOL

ETHNIC ORIGIN	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Asian	8	11	19
Afro-Caribbean	26	17	43
African	2	0	2
Mixed Race	4	1	5
GreekCypriot	4	0	4
White British	53	40	93
Eastern European	4	1	5
Italian	1	0	1
TOTAL PUPILS	102	70	172

Note : Includes class 3/5

APPENDIX   8B

CLASS 3/5 : SEX AND ETHNIC ORIGIN OF INDIVIDUAL PUPILS

GIRLS		BOYS	
Name	Ethnic Origin	Name	Ethnic Origin
Carole	White British	Assim	Asian
Charanjit	Asian	Clive	Afro-Caribbean
Gloria	Afro-Caribbean	Garth	Afro-Caribbean
Jane	Eastern European	George	White British
Jennifer	Afro-Caribbean	Graham	White British
Julie	White British	Jack	Afro-Caribbean
Margaret	White British	Linton	Afro-Caribbean
Nina	Greek Cypriot	Luther	Afro-Caribbean
Rachel	White British	Mark	White British
Sharon	Afro-Caribbean	Michael	White British
Stacy	White British	Paul	White British
Sue	Eastern European	Peter	White British
Susan	White British	Satnam	Asian
Vickie	White British	Scott	White British
		Trevor	White British
		Tony	White British
TOTAL	14	TOTAL	16

APPENDIX 9

LESSON TRANSCRIPT: ENQUIRY BASED LEARNING

DATE   -   18. 6. 80.

TEACHER -   MR. FORD

(TO BE READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH CHAPTER 7 SECTION 7.2)

[Books   distributed   by   Garth   and   Michael -
text book monitors]

Mr. Ford	Just have a quick look through those books. I'd like us to have a look this morning at the way the Eskimos use spirits and beliefs to help them in seal hunting. About what sort of spirits, what sorts of beliefs they have, wait until Garth comes back [comment to Michael who consults teacher about some of the books] yes, alright, go on. Right. Just have a quick look through those books, don't do it too quickly Margaret, you might actually learn something. Have a look through those books, see if you can find anything to do with hunting seals. Anything to do with beliefs, spirits, [writes this on the board] and see if you can link it to anything we've done before. Have a think about some of the spirits we've talked about, some of the names you could be remembering, remember what they did when they were hunting caribou. What sort of rituals did they have. Remember the spirits they had. Those orphans? That fell into the sea and came alive again. Remember that story about the fingers becoming seals. See if you can find anything to do with seals. Anybody who can look up amnitoks or amulets. Might you find these in the Data books, Trevor, d'you think?
Trevor	Sir?
Mr. Ford	Have a look in the Data books, see if you can find anything to do with amulets or amnitoks or spirits or beliefs, or seal spirits, is there anything to do with that? (Pause) Have a check, just have a look in

all the books. Seals in the Artic Journey. Have a look in the index. Are there any references? For spirits and beliefs. And where abouts are they? What page are they on?

[The class look through all the books on their desks. Teacher walks around whilst they do so, making a few suggestions to individual pupils].

Mr. Ford   O.K. Just look up then. Who can tell me some of the ways that spirits and beliefs are influenced, the way the Netsilik (?) before seal hunting, we're coming to the seal hunting now. Think back. Great spirits, you wrote something on that about three weeks ago. About great spirits of Eskimos, look back in your written books, see what those great spirits were. Have you seen (?) in the Data book Margaret.

Margaret   [Shakes head indicating no]

Mr. Ford   Well sit up straight. Have a look at spirits in the Data book if you're not sure. Rachel? [Pupil has been sitting with hand raised]

Rachel   Niliajuk.

Mr. Ford   Who is Niliajuk - what is she?

Rachel   ....

Mr. Ford   She's a spirit of the seas. What er, what was the story trying to tell people .... Remember the story of Niliajuk? er Peter? Go on then tell us a little bit then.

Peter   ....

Mr. Ford   Go on then, then what happened?

Peter   ....

Mr. Ford   Why then do the Eskimos fear, or were very careful about what they did and about Niliajuk?

Peter   ....

Mr. Ford   Because she would then control them - that's true .... remember the one about (?), what was that about Mark?

Mark	....
Mr. Ford	That's some more orphans. Who could possibly tell me why do you think all these stories have to do with orphans? You know what an orphan is don't you Charanjit? What's an orphan?
Charanjit	(Remains silent)
Mr. Ford	Gloria
Gloria	....
Mr. Ford	Somebody who is taken away from their parents. Usually because the parents have either died or, er, been killed in some way. An orphan means to be parentless. Right? Now then why do they make stories about spirits and things Clive to do with orphans? What do you think the purpose of it is? .... The stories have been passed down from their grandmas and their grandads. Clive?
Clive	....
Mr. Ford	Not to be bad to orphans. Now then that's something that on the surface appears to be what they're after. Now if you think a little bit more, think a little bit deeper about what happens .... Or some of you do, but some of you are not always in the er, happy position that you would like to be. Paul?
Paul	....
Mr. Ford	You are, you're thinking now, starting to think. O.K. .... Because that's who they're really talking to aren't they? Oomiapik, Kingnut, Itimanyark - have family don't they? Garth?
Garth	....
Mr. Ford	For other parents to look after them. .... What sorts of things are important to families?
Graham	....
Mr. Ford	They provide food.

Margaret	....
Mr. Ford	Looking after them. What do you mean by looking after them Margaret?
Margaret	....
Mr. Ford	What does look after you mean? They don't go round holding your hand every day do they?
Margaret	....
Mr. Ford	Buy your clothes and food. Why don't they hold, why do they hold your hand d'you think? They don't hold your hand now do they?
Margaret	....
Mr. Ford	Do you walk out in the street holding your mum and dad's hand?
Margaret	....
Mr. Ford	You do. Some people do actually - still. Why, when you were four, five and six did you hold your mum and dad's hand do you think?
Gloria	....
Mr. Ford	Why d'you think? Why d'you think, seems a bit silly doesn't it Vickie?
Vickie	....
Mr. Ford	So you won't run off and get knocked over, that's one reason .... Why?
Jack	....
Mr. Ford	Feels safer. Feels safer. What else does he feel d'you think, besides safety, what else does he want to feel? ——
Jack	....
Mr. Ford	Kindness. What else do you get from your family, what else do you ....
Clive	....
Mr. Ford	Affection. What do you mean by affection Clive? That's a good word.

Clive	....
Mr. Ford	O.K. Lets just leave that there and just think when I want you to look at seals, I'm going to ask you to get into groups in a minute and I'd like you to think about what the purpose of spirits and beliefs are to Eskimos....Now then there are one, two, three [counts pupils].
Trevor	Twenty-eight.
Mr. Ford	You what!
Trevor	No Sir, twenty-two.
Mr. Ford	So that's four groups, two sixes, two sevens. I want you to sit down [said to Trevor] I want you to go round somebody else's table, put the chairs together and I want you to DISCUSS, right. ..... One reminder. Let me see those people who are going to go into a group go with people they are going to be able to work well with. Don't go into a group because you all think -well I'd like to be with Linton, you might say, will I be able to work with him or will I talk about what we're going to do at playtime....
20 MINUTES	
	[Class arranges itself into groups. When settled more direction from teacher concerning questions on the O.H.P.]
Mr. Ford	That's the first point. Right Trevor?
Trevor	....
Mr. Ford	So that's the question I'll be asking you and you'll have found it out with your group. .... Don't write the questions down, just remember them. Don't go writing them down. Clive?
Clive	....
Mr. Ford	No you don't need your books. ....
35 MINUTES	[Groups start work. Hubub of activity.]
55 MINUTES	

Mr. Ford	Right then. Some people seem to have done alright. Lets have a look then at what some people have found. Jack that was a request to er, say something then. Alright Jack, what have you, er, what have you found out about taboo, magic and spirits, the rules to do with hunting.
Jack	....
Mr. Ford	Ye-es. What er, are they - the seals?
Jack	....
Mr. Ford	Ye-es. What sort of taboos Margaret?
Margaret	....
Mr. Ford	They say a magic word, yes. What sort of magic word do they say, anybody found any magic words? Garth?
Garth	Sir they sing it.
Mr. Ford	Go on.
Trevor	Shall I sing it?
Mr. Ford	You sing it for us Trevor.
Class	(Laughter)
Trevor	[Starts singing]
Class	(Laughter)
Mr. Ford	Let him have a go.
Trevor	[Continues singing]
Class	[Applaud when Trevor finishes]
Mr. Ford	Now then, just can you read that out to us now Trevor so we can hear it clearly.
Trevor	....
Mr. Ford	There we are. Where do you think they'd sing that Trevor? Where do you think they'd sing that?
Trevor	....
Mr. Ford	When they haven't got a lot of food?

Trevor	....
Mr. Ford	When they're going out to look for seals?
Trevor	....
Mr. Ford	What else have you found out, George?
George	....
Mr. Ford	And what are amulets?
George	....
Mr. Ford	Lucky charms? And what sort of things in particular would they be used for d'you know?
George	....
Mr. Ford	Possibly. What do you think Jane?
Jane	....
Mr. Ford	Have you any idea why they use charms?
Jane	....
Mr. Ford	Think they've got the power to bring good luck - yes. Think they've got the power to bring good luck. Clive? What have you got to add to that?
Clive	....

60 MINUTES

Mr. Ford	I see. So in other words they've got to keep it secret to themselves then?
Clive	....
Mr. Ford	Keep it to themselves?
Clive	....
Mr. Ford	What have you found out then Charanjit?
Charanjit	....
Mr. Ford	Very good. Very good. What did she say say Tony?
Tony	....

Mr. Ford	Nearly, not quite. What do you think she said Stacy?
Stacy	....
Mr. Ford	Yes. The magic words are between a spirit and a person. Can be passed down from generation to generation. - What does generation mean Carol?
Carol	....
Mr. Ford	From father to son. .... What else have you found out Margaret?
Margaret	(Remains silent)
Mr. Ford	I didn't ask you Stacy, sit down in your chair. Julie?
Julie	....
Mr. Ford	Good point, yes. You've obviously had to think. What did she say Rachel?
Rachel	....
Mr. Ford	Tell us again Julie. Are you listening because this is important.
Julie	....
Mr. Ford	How would that be important do you think in catching seals?
Julie	(Remains silent)
Mr. Ford	Sharon?
Sharon	....
Mr. Ford	Yes that could be a point. They also believe what about the animals, tell us about the seals? What about the seals? Can anybody tell us about that, er, Paul?
Paul	....
Mr. Ford	So that's, what does a particular seal have then. What does a thing called a seal have? You've got to think very carefully about it? Yes?
Paul	....

Mr. Ford	That they have some sort of soul or being themselves. What did you find out then Linton.
Linton	(Remains silent - looks at his notes)
Mr. Ford	I don't know Linton. You must really come on, really, and try to put into words the things you can put into words when I'm not asking you. Luther'll answer for you then. Go on Luther.
Luther	....
Mr. Ford	O.K. Fair - some people. Some people didn't do as much as I thought they would have done. And didn't EXHANGE ideas in their group. ....

PIPS

70 MINUTES

* * * *