

# FORUM

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# NON-STREAMING AND THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

The key matter in English education today, which touches on every other of moment, is streaming. It raises directly questions of aim and purpose, psychological problems concerning the nature of learning, pedagogical interests in the content and methods of education, in pupil-teacher relationships. The current discussion about secondary reorganisation is, equally, concerned with this underlying issue.

The bipartite system of grammar and modern schools, now on its way out, was a crude method of differentiation based on the principle of streaming—witness the common description of G.C.E. classes in modern schools as ‘grammar streams’. This overall system, institutionalised in different ‘types’ of school, has been further reinforced by streaming within each type. If the average grammar school contained three or four streams, the average modern school four or five, then children in the secondary system were roughly distributed along a spectrum of from seven to nine streams.

Continuance of this outlook has led to a position where comprehensive schools, too, have seven, or nine, or more streams. Hence the argument that comprehensive schools do not overcome the problem of selection. But of course it is the comprehensive school, and this alone, which is *in a position* to overcome old attitudes and make a new educational departure. Modern and grammar schools can cease to stream, and several have done or are doing so; but here the main differentiation inevitably remains. The comprehensive school is the only type of school which contains (or can and should contain) all the children of secondary school age in a given area.

In this connection, particular importance attaches to Mr. Thompson’s article, ‘Towards an

Unstreamed Comprehensive School’, published in this issue. Summarising the results of three years experimental work in the junior forms of a Coventry school, Mr. Thompson brings out most sharply the deleterious effect of streaming on children’s intellectual development. If further experimental work along these lines supports his conclusions, the case for non-streaming in the comprehensive school, at least in the early years, will have been made. This opens the way for a new approach to the whole problem of organisation, content and methods at the secondary stage. It is interesting and encouraging to find this general point made with force and humour at the annual conference of the Incorporated Association of Headmasters. Mr. Rees’s speech there is also printed in this number.

FORUM has always been specifically concerned with the educational issues underlying the comprehensive school. The general conclusion from Mr. Thompson’s article, as from many others we have published over the last seven years, is that the key criterion of comprehensive education is that within it academic and social selection are reduced to a minimum. As we go to press, the promised Circular on secondary school reorganisation has not yet been published; nonetheless this is the criterion that should be applied to every scheme put up by a local authority. Schemes which abolish selection at 11, yet introduce some new form of social or academic differentiation between the ages of 13 and 16—as some do—will set new obstacles in place of the old. The time has surely come to sweep such obstacles away throughout the school system, and to establish in their place an educational structure deliberately organised to keep all the doors open to all the children for as long as possible.

# Streaming and Non-Streaming

S. G. REES

*Mr. Rees is headmaster of Llanelly grammar-technical school. We are glad to print his speech given at the 73rd annual conference of the Incorporated Association of Head Masters which met during the winter holidays.*

My text today is this, 'If comprehensive schools were the educational battlecry of the last election, non-streaming may be that of the next'. The main focus of radical attack has shifted from selection at secondary school level to selection in the primary school. The movement started some years ago. In 1958 our man Brown of Sedgehill analysed the London Head Teachers' Survey on Streaming—with somewhat negative conclusions. The issue has since gathered momentum and now the National Foundation of Educational Research is engaged upon it. Plowden raises it. It has its own official mouthpiece, a publication called FORUM.

Many of us will shortly find ourselves in charge of unselective schools and then the question of streaming and non-streaming will be upon us in a specially acute academic sense. The growing opposition to streaming, however, is based on social arguments (even Newsom suggests that 'on wider social and narrower educational grounds streaming in secondary schools may be a hindrance rather than a help'). It stems from the spirit of the age. A new sense of social integration, an increased awareness, as a result of two world wars, that we are all brothers and members of one another, has recognised the social inadequacy of the tripartite system. Our schools may have helped to create two cultures and to cause a break-down in communications. Grams don't speak to Mods.

So this is Good Old Boston,  
The land of the bean and the cod,  
Where the Cabots speak only to Lowells,  
And the Lowells speak only to God.

becomes:

The Modern School pupil's a shocker;  
His dress and his language most odd.  
The Modern speaks only to Rocker,  
And the Rocker speaks only to Mod.

If our schools have helped to create this gap, they must now be used to bridge it. The gap begins at the age of seven or sooner in some schools. Eleven-plus prospects are weeded out, and the rest often abandoned to inferior teachers who lose prestige just as the pupils lose heart. If these children could command the expert teaching which their deficiencies require, if they received their full share of the schools' amenities, if they were deliberately given such responsibilities as they can shoulder, they would reveal unsuspected talent and make better citizens. The gap is progressively exaggerated in the secondary school and is socially pernicious.

And what you are streaming, anyway, is often not ability so much as home background and parental attitude. The child from the poor home, already rejected socially, if he is segregated in school, suffers a double rejection. He may be driven into anti-social attitudes if not into delinquency. Academic flowers born to blush unseen, when they fester, smell far worse than weeds. Larger schools will multiply these anti-social attitudes.

In the non-streamed school, no child is labelled, nor any of the staff. Co-operation replaces competition. The classless classes can be taught together, or as groups, or as individuals. Setting is part of the process. Once it is discovered where their interests and abilities coincide, they can be grouped accordingly. The 'sociometric' group must be nourished irrespective of intelligence and the 'isolate' brought within the orbit of the good group. Our problems in the future will increasingly become those of achieving social awareness and personal responsibility.

Apart from the social benefits of non-streaming there are overall educational benefits too. Psychological research and practical experiments have proved that the average level of intelligence and attainment are increased by teaching groups of mixed ability. Apart from the very bright and the



very dull, the great bulk of children benefit. These are not nearly so incapable as has been supposed of comprehending abstract ideas and difficult topics, provided they are handled with insight. Abilities are variable and can be modified by social approach. The complex functional systems in the brain are formed in the course of life and underly qualitative changes in the mental process.

There are new ideas in the air about the nature of learning and a wind of change is already blowing through the corridors of our schools. As the Director of Education for Leicestershire puts it, 'The ozone of enthusiasm and the tang of enquiry are in the air, and one can't help breathing them in.' In the New Mathematics, a Langford can turn logarithms into laughter and quadratics into exciting quests. Latin can be brought to life by changing the examples from 'Rex magnifice sepultus est' to 'Ringo magnifice tintinabulavit'. History can be taught by projects and assignments with graded reference books, the teachers asking rather than answering questions. Lyrical poetry can be enjoyed at different levels of response. Language laboratories and new teaching machines will help. Even in such things as sex-instruction:

The latest report of the Dean  
Concerning the teaching machine,  
Shows that Oedipus Rex  
Could have learnt about sex  
By himself, without bothering the Queen.

I look forward to a storm of protests from the more reactionary of my listeners. 'Facilis descensus Avernii,' I hear them cry. 'What of the bright pupils?' The bad apples will taint the good. You will curdle the cream by coddling the clods. The answer of the non-streamers is that the able child can look after himself. The bright and able pupils have much to give to each other. The examples of America and Sweden and Russia suggest that perhaps it is we and not the rest of the world who are out of step. We might do well to examine their philosophies more closely.

There are two sides to our work as schoolmasters. The first is to give our pupils self-fulfilment and a sense of their own worth-whileness. This may come from academic success, or from skill before a machine, or from sport. (Ball-worship is better than Baal-worship.) The second is to give them a sense of civic responsibility and of social consciousness. I submit that at this stage of our national development, the latter is the more urgent and more important consideration. In this our society where wealth accumulates and men decay, we need to preach a new Benthamism, to replace ruthless com-

petition. Our charges need a new set of ideals. Poskitt in his Heaves address put it like this: 'The pomp and circumstance of empire have gone; but so has the moral fervour behind the egalitarian vision. Both sources of idealism and inspiration. Churchill and Cripps are both out.' Instead they have only a higher standard of living and an increased level of production to aim at. Hardly Holy Grails to fire young Galahads. We have too long been unaware that the young have hearts as well as heads, that love can be as creative as the intellect. The President last night spoke of the growing craze for examinations. Further examples of competitive frenzy:

On either side the river lie  
Long fields of How and What and Why  
Through which a thousand paths run by  
To many-powered Camelot  
And up and down our children go  
Worth more than merely what they know  
Citizens to teach to grow  
Not just cram a lot.  
The purblind educationist  
Has built his academic list  
He little knows what he has missed  
How little he has got  
The path of knowledge bare and bleak  
A wider vision he must seek  
May God in His mercy make them meek  
That academic lot.

Yes, there are more things to learn in schools than our philosophy dreams of. Non-streaming may help us to find them.

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## Price Increase

We regret to announce that we are forced to increase the price of FORUM. Starting in September, 1965, the annual subscription will rise to ten shillings, the price of individual numbers to three shillings and sixpence.

There are a number of factors which have forced this decision; our printing costs have steadily risen over the last few years, postal costs have also gone up. A good deal of voluntary labour goes into the publication of the journal, but secretarial costs have also inevitably risen.

The increased subscription will, of course, be operative for individual subscribers when they renew their subscriptions during the year. Naturally we hope that everyone will do so, and so enable FORUM to continue its work, especially at this crucial stage of educational development.

We hope to accompany the increase in price with an improved layout and format.

# Towards an Unstreamed Comprehensive School

D. THOMPSON

*Mr. Thompson is Headmaster of The Woodlands Comprehensive School for Boys, Coventry. He was previously Deputy Headmaster at The Willenhall Comprehensive School in Staffordshire and, prior to that, Head of the Mathematics Department at The Holte Grammar School in Birmingham. He holds higher degrees from the Universities of Sheffield and Leeds for his work on The History of Scientific and Technical Education. His publications include subjects such as Chemistry, Archaeology, Local History and The Teaching of Science in Secondary Schools.*

*'If non-streaming works up to the age of eleven, need it be cut short there? There is every reason to expect that classes of mixed ability will gradually be tried out in the first three years of the secondary school, not merely in non-academic subjects but in the basic subjects too.'*—R. PEDLEY.

The Woodlands School, Coventry, opened in 1954, and was the first comprehensive school to be built in the city. It is an all-boys school with an annual intake of between 250 and 300 boys whose V.R.Q's range between 70 and 135. During the first eight years of its life, pupils on entering the school were placed in forms that were streamed on the basis of the 11-plus examination results. In Coventry the only statistic resulting from an objective type test for these pupils is the Verbal Reasoning Quotient. The school was, in fact, streamed fairly rigidly in the traditional manner, although transfer was, of course, possible from one form to another. The following is an account of the relaxation of streaming that has taken place in the school over the past two and a half years, and contains certain statistical results which appear to support the argument for a less rigid approach to streaming. The process has been a gradual one, and will, by September, 1965, have taken place in four distinct stages. The first three of these are described below.

## Stage One

In September, 1962, a total of 288 first year boys entered the school. Of these, 129 had V.R.Q's of 108 and over. Nearly half (62) of these had V.R.Q's of 116 and over. This latter group, for purposes of comparison, are henceforth described as 'selective' on the grounds that in a tripartite system offering 20% of the child population grammar school places, these pupils would probably have been awarded one. Each of the 129 boys was placed in one of four

parallel forms designated 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D, it being clearly understood that none of these forms was academically superior to any other. The method of doing this was to use the 11-plus rank order list and allocate boys alternately to 1A, 1B, 1C and 1D. Each form was taught the same syllabus in all subjects and at the end of one term a common examination was set in English, Mathematics, French, History, Geography and Science. The following represented the principal findings which went a long way towards convincing the staff that the accepted method of streaming needed to be looked at much more closely.

1. Had the pupils been streamed on coming into the school on the basis of the 11-plus rank order list, and had regrouping taken place after one term on the evidence of performance in school subjects, then instead of 1A and 1B each containing only 'selective' pupils and 1C and 1D only 'non-selective' pupils,  
1A would have contained 23 'selective' and 9 'non-selective'  
1B would have contained 10 'selective' and 22 'non-selective'  
1C would have contained 16 'selective' and 17 'non-selective'  
1D would have contained 13 'selective' and 19 'non-selective'

This meant that 31 of the 67 'non-selective' pupils achieved a higher performance than did half of the total number of 'selective' pupils.

2. The 'selective' pupils were spread out over the first 129 places in the school examinations. The procedure was to add together the six positions gained by each boy in the subjects already mentioned and rank the pupils on the basis of this total score. Statistically this is by far the most valid method of producing a rank order involving several sets of examination results.

3. A similar pattern of distribution and consequent lack of correlation with 11-plus order was found to exist with respect to pupils with V.R.Q's below 107 who were organised within a block of three parallel forms (V.R.Q. 93-107). The rest of the pupils were in streamed forms.

I was naturally interested to know whether these results would be confirmed after a longer period of time and so a second common examination was given at the end of the year. The previous results were confirmed and a correlation coefficient of 0.85 was found to exist between the Christmas and Summer examination results. This significant value for a sample of 129 meant that conclusions drawn from an examination after one term approximated reasonably closely to those drawn from an examination given at the end of one year. Compared with this, there was no significant correlation at all between the 11-plus rank order and either of the two sets of examination results. It was, in fact, 0.2 which for a group of this size is not significant and can be obtained by chance once in twenty times.

The error in using the V.R.Q. as a means of streaming in the first instance would have been between 35 and 40%, and, therefore, of the same order as that which obtains nationally in grammar schools where objective type 11-plus tests are used to determine the intake. i.e. 20% who do not gain a single subject at G.C.E. 'O' level and 38% of whom gain only 1 or 2 passes after five years (Crowther Report).

Following the discovery of these facts, I wrote: 'It is reasonable to assume that had more pupils of V.R.Q. below 108 been included in the parallel form system, then some of these would also have found their way into such forms as 2A, 2B, 2C at the end of the year when re-grouping took place.' In support of this, I noted that the pupil who was ranked 128th in the 11-plus list came 20th in the end of year school examination and would have qualified to enter the top second year form had we decided to create such a form. Information that was to be forthcoming the following year, as described in Stage 2, confirmed this observation.

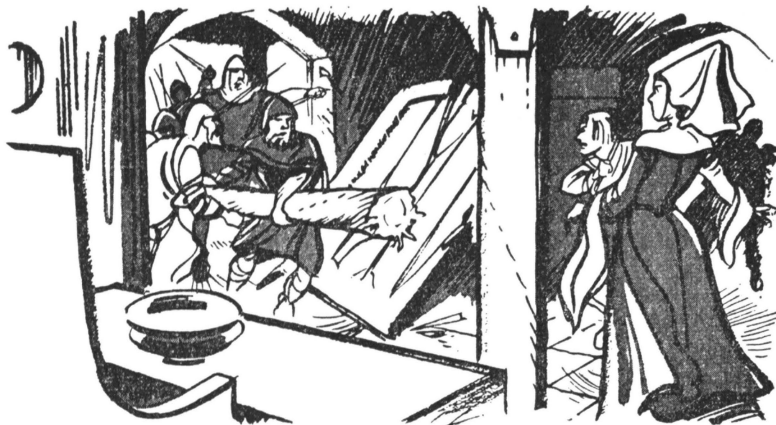
At the end of the first year a parallel form system was continued and three blocks each containing three parallel forms, together with a small remedial group were formed. These boys are now in their third year and a distinctly better attitude towards work and school generally is noticeable in the year group as a whole. Much of this may be attributed to the relaxation of streaming that has taken place. Two of these blocks (6 forms) are working towards the G.C.E. and the third block (3 forms) towards the C.S.E.

## Stage Two

In September, 1963, 230 first year boys with V.R.Q's ranging between 135 and 72 were taken into the school. 118 of these with V.R.Q's between 135 and 105 inclusive were placed in a block of four parallel forms 1A, 1B, 1C, 1D; whilst 112 boys with V.R.Q's between 104 and 72 inclusive were placed in a second block of four parallel forms 1E, 1F, 1G, 1H. The boys and the staff who taught them were aware that boys in Block A were supposed to be 'more able' than those in Block B. All pupils were, however, taught a common syllabus for one term, at the end of which they were given a common examination in six basic school subjects. This time Religious Instruction was included and French excluded because, following the introduction of an audio-visual method of teaching the latter, an examination was not practicable. We had thus at our disposal an order of merit list in school subjects across almost the entire range of ability, which a previous enquiry in *The Times Educational Supplement* had led me to conclude had never been available before in any school in respect of academic subjects. This time it was noted that had the pupils been streamed on coming into the school on the basis of the 11-plus information and had they been re-grouped after one term on the basis of their performance in school subjects, then:

- 15 boys originally in 1A would have remained in 1A  
7 boys originally in 1B would have remained in 1B  
8 boys originally in 1C would have remained in 1C  
5 boys originally in 1D would have remained in 1D  
7 boys originally in 1E would have remained in 1E  
7 boys originally in 1F would have remained in 1F  
16 boys originally in 1G would have remained in 1G  
23 boys originally in 1H would have remained in 1H.
- Only 33 of the 51 'selective' pupils with V.R.Q's of 115 or more would have remained in 1A and 1B.
- 18 boys with V.R.Q's below 105 from Block B would have gained places in 1A, 1B, 1C, or 1D.
- It was noted that 45 boys in Block B forms did better in the school examinations than did the bottom boy in Block A. The bottom Block A boy came 162nd and the top Block B boy came 43rd.

A more detailed statistical analysis of the results



Using a tree-trunk as a battering ram Molynes's retainers broke down the front door and crowded inside. Margaret Paston faced them furiously:

'I know you, John Partridge,' she stormed. 'Get you from my house with your down-at-heel ruffians.'

From *Men and Women in History* Book 2

## Men and Women in History

R. J. UNSTEAD

R. J. Unstead is well known for his series *Looking at History and People in History*. He is now at work on this new series, *Men and Women in History*. The first two books are already published (6s 6d, 7s). Books 3 and 4 will be ready later in the year.

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showed that in spite of an attempt to form parallel forms of comparable ability with the blocks at the beginning of the year, there were factors at work which militated against these parallel forms producing comparative results. The chief of these was, perhaps, the tendency of boys in 1A to regard themselves as being in an academically superior form to those boys in 1B, 1C and 1D, in spite of being told otherwise. Similarly, with boys in 1B with respect to 1C and 1D and so on. I suspect the staff were not entirely blameless in this matter, even if not at a conscious level. The following results were as interesting as they were unexpected.

ing year, we abandoned the nomenclature A, B, C, D, etc. for labelling forms and used instead the letters forming the names of the school, reserving 1A for the remedial form, the discrepancies caused by differences in teaching ability remained, but the hierarchical tendency disappeared.

Unknown to staff, 8 boys with V.R.Q's between 76 and 96 who should have been placed initially in Block B forms were tucked away, two per form, in Block A. Dishonesty in the cause of educational research! After Christmas, five out of these eight boys gained places in the re-arranged Block A forms on the basis of their examination results (62.5% of

*Average position of pupils in first year forms as indicated by the results of the school examinations*

<i>Average position in</i>	1A	1B	1C	1D	1E	1F	1G	1H
English	44th	61st	89th	95th	169th	148th	157th	168th
Mathematics	61st	47th	63rd	96th	169th	169th	164th	177th
6 subjects	54th	61st	70th	101st	145th	169th	156th	176th
	Parallel				Parallel			
	<i>No. of pupils filling first 75 places</i>				<i>No. of pupils filling first of 150 places</i>			
	1A	1B	1C	1D	1E	1F	1G	1H
English	28	20	10	12	7	11	11	9
Mathematics	18	23	17	11	13	7	11	5
Science	25	30	19	1	8	5	12	6
Geography	21	13	13	16	17	11	8	4
History	17	24	14	10	15	5	15	5
R.I.	26	10	22	7	20	4	12	7
	135	120	95	57	80	43	69	36

Note: In 15 cases out of 18 the 1A numbers are largest.

In 14 cases out of 18 the 1E numbers are largest.

It is quite obvious that a pupil in 1A had a far better chance of success than had a pupil in say 1D, in spite of these being parallel forms. A pupil in 1H similarly had a less chance of doing well than if he had been placed initially in one of the other three parallel forms, but here the effect is not so pronounced.

A careful examination was carried out in order to see how far differences in the quality of teaching could be held to account for these results. Differences were certainly found but they could in no way be held responsible for the hierarchical tendency. When the subjects most affected by this particular factor were omitted from the analysis, the hierarchy remained. It is also significant that when, the follow-

them). An analysis of the results of 24 other boys who occupied adjacent positions to these (same V.R.Q.) and were taught in Block B forms, showed that only 7 of these did sufficiently well to be placed in Block A forms after Christmas (29% of them). It would certainly appear that when boys in the lower part of the V.R.Q. range are taught with boys of higher V.R.Q., then they do better than when taught with boys of comparable V.R.Q's to themselves. This has been discovered independently in Canada and Sweden.

Apart from this, the most interesting statistics were those relating to actual correlation between V.R.Q. rank order and performance in school subjects. Rank correlation coefficients were worked

out using the formula  $R = 1 - \frac{6 \sum d^2}{N(N^2 - 1)}$ . It is important to realise that the coefficient obtained by comparing a final position in school subjects with the V.R.Q. order is larger than that obtained by comparing rank order in any of the six subjects separately with V.R.Q. rank order. In short, no other statistic resulting from performance in school examinations can be expected to afford a higher correlation with 11-plus results than does an overall examination position obtained by adding together the separate positions in each subject.

	R
V.R.Q. order against Block A boys overall examination position (118)	0.46
V.R.Q. order against Block B boys overall examination position (112)	0.75

The significantly higher correlation for boys in the lower half of the range should be noted. My own view is that this reflects not so much a difference in 'native ability' as a failure to handle effectively the skills involved in communication. It reflects, in other words, the fact that the questions had to be read and answers had to be written. This is to some extent confirmed by more recent comparisons we have made between V.R.Q. and ability to learn French by a method not involving the use of written and spoken English.

Starting at the top of the V.R.Q. list, successive samples of 34 boys were taken so as to cover the whole of the V.R.Q. range and rank correlations were calculated as follows:

V.R.Q.	R	V.R.Q.	R
135—117	0.18	101—95	0.43
116—113	0.05	94—86	0.42
112—108	0.22	85—72	0.62 (26 only)
107—102	0.07		

In view if the restricted V.R.Q. range covered in each case, it would be advisable not to base any conclusive arguments on the absolute values of the rank correlation obtained. A great deal may be inferred, however, from a comparison of these different values which show greater agreement between V.R.Q. order and performance in school examinations as one moves down the V.R.Q. list. The disparity in these values for boys below V.R.Q. 100 and those above this figure is accounted for to some extent by the system of teaching in two distinct blocks. Results quoted later in Stage Three, where there were no such blocks, confirm this general tendency for the correlation to diminish as one moves from left to right across the distribution curve, without showing such a jump between what were previously Block A boys and Block B boys. Certainly

the correlation existing in the region covered by one standard deviation above the median point (V.R.Q. 100—115) is not significant. On this evidence, to stream these pupils, who represent one third of the whole age group, should be unthinkable, if for no other reason than that it is impossible.

#### V.R.Q. order against examination positions for the following forms

Form 1A (30)	0.45	Form 1E (28)	0.66
1B (29)	0.45	1F (28)	0.74
1C (29)	0.54	1G (28)	0.82
1D (30)	0.59	1H (28)	0.86

Whatever grouping one chooses, the agreement in the V.R.Q. range 90—135 is not significant enough to enable a clear separation to be made between pupils of so-called 'different abilities'. The latter expression is a 'metaphysical' term which bears no relation to what is found to be the case, and justice can only be done to the pupils in this range by adopting a system of parallel forms embracing all of them when they are first received from the junior schools, with regrouping, if necessary after one term or one year and further transfers during the first three years as they become necessary. This, of course, is the basis of the Robbins Report claim that there are reserves of talent at present undiscovered because opportunity is being denied the pupils to follow courses that are appropriate to their real ability as opposed to what we believe them to be capable of doing. Our systems of rigid streaming, whether they be in the grammar, secondary modern or comprehensive schools, set a limit to their level of response.

After studying these results, we decided to take out a group of thirty boys who had come top in the school examinations and put them together as a fast form working towards the G.C.E. in four years (1S). The V.R.Q. range of boys chosen for this form was found to lie between 105 and 134 inclusive. In addition, a new Block A was formed consisting of 5 parallel forms (T, H, W, L, N.) covering a V.R.Q. range 132—84; together with a new Block B consisting of 2 forms (D, E.) covering a V.R.Q. range 101—72; and a remedial form (1A) covering a range 86—70. Note here the large overlap leading to such instances as a boy of V.R.Q. 84 gaining a place in a Block A form whilst another boy of V.R.Q. 86 was sent to the remedial form.

#### Stage Three

The previous year's results made it plain that forming Block A forms and Block B forms and then teaching them a common syllabus, followed by a common examination, was not entirely satisfactory because of the tendency of boys in Block A to regard themselves as academically superior, and of staff

(albeit unconsciously) to do likewise. It would, of course, be equally valid to say that Block B boys regarded themselves as being academically inferior, but what ever you say, the result is the same, and there was quite clearly a factor at work which prevented as many boys in Block B forms doing as well as they would had they been taught with Block A boys. The obvious thing was to take the next step of forming unstreamed groups and teaching them without distinction.

In September, 1964, therefore, 264 boys with V.R.Q.'s ranging between 135 and 78 inclusive were placed in nine parallel forms designated by the letters THEWODLNS. Each form had boys in it whose V.R.Q.'s ranged between (135—130) and (82—78). Another 18 boys with V.R.Q.'s less than 78 were placed in a remedial form (1A). At the end of one term all boys in the parallel forms were given a common examination in the same six basic subjects as the previous year. Thus, for the first time, a rank order list was available over almost the entire ability range in basic school subjects with no initial prejudice arising from either blocking or streaming. Certainly no member of staff knew the V.R.Q. of any of the boys.

This time it was discovered that, had the boys been streamed on coming into the school on the basis of the 11-plus results, and then re-grouped after one term on the basis of the school examinations, then

1. Only 37 out of the 68 'selective' pupils with V.R.Q. of 115 or over would have remained in the top two forms.
2. Out of 115 boys who the previous year would have been taught in Block B forms (V.R.Q. below 105), 26 would have gained places in Block A forms. This is a substantial proportion since it is over 6 boys per form and compares with 18 boys who under the previous year's system would have gained promotion.
3. 74 boys with V.R.Q.'s less than 105 were seen to be more successful than was the bottom boy in the group with V.R.Q.'s between 105 and 135. This should be compared with the previous year when only 45 were more successful.
4. A boy with V.R.Q. 105 was placed 222nd in the year whilst the boy next below him on the 11-plus list (V.R.Q. 104) came first in the whole year. This latter boy was 154th on the 11-plus list.

Such is the measure of discrepancy between performance in the 11-plus type of test and work done subsequently in the secondary school.

Correlation coefficients of rank were again worked out in respect of the following cases.

#### V.R.Q. order against examination positions (sample size 30).

	R
V.R.Q. 130—115	0.29
120—105	0.48
110—95	0.42
100—85	0.48
95—80	0.60

The decreasing correlation as one goes up the ability range is to be noted once again. This has implications for all types of schools, not least the grammar schools, where a correlation of not more than 0.30 may be expected in respect of boys with V.R.Q.'s 115—130 plus, which may be regarded as the normal range of intake for a typical grammar school. This suggests that streaming, based on 11-plus results, ought not to take place in a grammar school unless a headmaster is prepared to ignore the claims of the majority of his pupils who will not be placed in the top stream.

#### V.R.Q. order against examination positions for the following forms

Form 1T	0.82	(30)	Form 1D	0.88	(27)
1H	0.87	(30)	1L	0.79	(30)
1E	0.86	(29)	1N	0.80	(29)
1W	0.78	(31)	1S	0.82	(28)
1O	0.66	(30)			

Although these forms did not contain the same number of boys, the values of R may be compared since the necessary adjustment has already been made and each refers to a sample of 30.

These values should be compared with those obtained the previous year under a system of blocking. There is here no significant disparity between forms and certainly no hierarchical tendency. The abandonment of the system of using letters A, B, C, D . . . played no small part in achieving this, but the fact of unstreaming also played a major part. It is unlikely that any other grouping of pupils of sample size 30 would produce any higher correlations than these, which become apparent only when the pupils are taught and tested in unstreamed forms. To do other than this closes the door to many pupils who would otherwise eventually be successful. Streaming represents the mechanism which we unwittingly operate, but which, nevertheless, hides the fact that there are large reserves of talent as yet untapped. Unstreaming alone will reveal these. It should be remembered that if the V.R.Q. list were to be used for purposes of streaming, even where a correlation as high as 0.80 exists between V.R.Q. and subsequent performance, then at least one quarter of all pupils with V.R.Q.'s below 105 could be denied the opportunity of working to the standard of which they were capable alongside pupils in the upper half of

the ability range. The untapped source of ability will not be fully revealed until there is a general relaxation of streaming at least in the first two years of the secondary school.

The values of R obtained above should be compared with those obtained in respect of ability to learn a living language measured against the V.R.Q. list. The average value of R was only 0.53 for the forms mentioned above, thus confirming results previously noted in other comprehensive schools with regard to lack of correlation between the V.R.Q. and any test not involving the use of written or spoken English.

It was our original intention to divide the first year boys at the end of one term, using the Christmas examination results, into two blocks of parallel forms, as previously. Whilst I have never closed my mind to the possibility of continuing with unstreamed groups for a longer period of time eventually, I did not believe the time had yet come to do this. The staff, however, were in favour by a majority of two to one of continuing for the rest of the year with unstreamed forms. Eventually, a compromise was effected and we decided to continue with eight parallel forms, taking out one Block B form of some two dozen boys. The V.R.Q. range within the eight forms still extends, however, between 135 and 84 inclusive.

What of the future? We are planning to take the one remaining step next September, when we hope to form ten parallel groups across the entire ability range, each at the same time a form unit and a house unit. There will be no specific remedial form to which a boy will belong, but, when necessary, boys will be taken out of their forms during lessons in Mathematics, English, Geography, History and Science for remedial purposes. No boy will think of himself as belonging to any other than a normal form and each will, in any case, spend more than half his working week with that form, even if remedial treatment was required every time the lessons mentioned above were held.

It is obvious that a great deal of thought has to be given to the problems that are likely to arise in a completely unstreamed situation and how best these can be tackled. A committee consisting of forward looking members of staff has already been set up and is giving thought to these matters. Some of the problems we shall see, some will only become apparent when we get right into the situation, but in any event, we are already well on the way towards an unstreamed situation, having taken steps, based on empirical, and not theoretical considerations, over the past three years. Already it is apparent that a relaxation of streaming has produced a better attitude towards school on the part of many boys

who in a streamed situation would have been badly behaved. The improvement in the third and fourth years where there are now three blocks each containing three parallel forms is particularly noticeable. I am personally optimistic that unstreaming during at least the first two years will guarantee even greater improvements in attitude and that these will be reflected in improved academic standards by the end of the fifth year. How long one can continue with completely unstreamed forms as opposed to having fairly wide groupings of parallel forms one does not know. Time and experience alone will decide.

## SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

Those marked with an asterisk represent the writer's personal views and are not necessarily based on the results here described.

- 1.\* Streaming should not be accepted uncritically. It is probably beneficial to some bright children and the very weak, but there is little to commend it for the large majority of children.
- 2.\* If a system of streaming is decided upon, the question of how this shall be carried out is very important. Raw marks, positions, standardised scores, normalised scores, weighted scores, teachers' judgments—each might be used, each might be regarded as equally valid and a different group would result in each case.
3. There is evidence that streaming produces or at least perpetuates undesirable social attitudes, and that a relaxation of streaming produces a better attitude towards school on the part of many children who in a streamed situation would have been badly behaved.
- 4.\* On the whole, the teaching profession believes that streaming is a legitimate and worthwhile method, even though it is recognised that it doesn't always lead to worthwhile results in practice.
5. If a system of streaming is adopted then it ought to be as flexible as possible and allow for transfers at any stage of a child's school career.
6. Care should be taken in choosing the nomenclature for a form system. An 'A' form is likely to produce better results even within a parallel form system.
- 7.\* Systems of too rigid streaming in any school set a limit to the level of response of the majority of the pupils.
8. When pupils in the lower half of the V.R.Q. range are taught with pupils of higher V.R.Q., then they do better than when taught with pupils of comparable V.R.Q.'s to themselves.



9. The error in using V.R.Q. or 11-plus results depending on objective type tests for purposes of streaming is in the order of 35—40% i.e. the same order as obtains nationally in grammar schools where 38% of all pupils fail to gain more than 2 passes at 'O' level. (Crowther)
10. There is no significant correlation between V.R.Q. and subsequent performance in the secondary school for pupils in the V.R.Q. range 90—135. It is only below V.R.Q. 85 that the correlation becomes statistically significant.
11. Justice can only be done to pupils in the range V.R.Q. 90—130 plus by adopting a system of parallel forms embracing all these children when they are first received from the junior schools, with regrouping, if necessary, after one term or one year and further transfers during the next two years as they become necessary.
12. There is even less correlation in the more limited range V.R.Q. 115—130 plus, the normal grammar school intake. Streaming based on 11-plus results ought not, therefore, to take place in grammar schools unless the headmaster is prepared to ignore the claims of the majority of his pupils who will not be placed in the top stream.
- 13.\* Setting is only a disguised form of streaming and is equally bad in its consequences, both academic and social.
- 14.\* The untapped source of ability of which the Robbins Report speaks will not be fully revealed until there is a general relaxation of streaming during the first three years in the secondary school, and all subjects are taught during at least the first two of these within a system of parallel forms embracing pupils in the V.R.Q. range 90—130 plus. Otherwise, the majority of pupils will be denied the opportunity of working to the standard of which they are capable.
15. The concept of 'innate ability' is not a valid one. That there are hierarchical boundaries between groups of pupils of different abilities is an epistemological concept which we define as an 'a priori' element in our thinking about education. We then set up various criteria in order to 'discover' who those different groups of pupils are and the groups we form reflect not so much natural differences in ability as the nature of the methods we have adopted in choosing the groups. From then on the pupils are conditioned to a level of response which we set for them and which we and they come to believe is a measure of their 'innate ability'.  
—such is the true nature of streaming.

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# The Swing to Comprehensive Education

## STAFFORDSHIRE

JOAN SIMON

*This article focuses on developments both in Staffordshire, and in the county boroughs of Stoke, Wolverhampton, Walsall and West Bromwich*

It is well known that Staffordshire has pioneered comprehensive schools, both the county and some county boroughs, and individual schools have been described. But no general picture of the plans being implemented has emerged. What seems to have happened is that, when some education authorities originally presented development plans favouring a comprehensive form of organisation, the Ministry was reluctant either to approve these or admit to the refusal. Consequently, in one case at least, a peculiar course was taken of putting the plan in 'cold storage'. Meanwhile old schools have had to be replaced, new provided for new areas of population, and in the process there have been partial developments on comprehensive lines.

In the late 1940's Staffordshire made a reasoned case for 5-form entry comprehensive schools while West Bromwich planned four 12-form entry ones. The problem of size was, then, evenly distributed in these two plans but neither found great favour. In 1955-6 the county was allowed to initiate three experimental schools numbering up to 900; to these six more have since been added as occasion offered, while elsewhere schools have been built together on bases. West Bromwich now has two zoned comprehensive schools covering a third of the borough, the second opened only last September.

Meanwhile other authorities have come round to supporting comprehensive education. Stoke began reconsidering its programme in 1955, modified some of its schools in 1959, and in 1964 submitted a plan for neighbourhood schools for 11-16's leading on to a sixth form college. This, the largest county borough, comprising six former towns, is in the extreme north of the county. The other industrial complex, in the extreme south, includes four county boroughs which are nearly contiguous—and will be altogether so, taking in areas of the county, if the Boundary Commission's recommendations ever come into force. In 1959 Wolverhampton decided to move towards a comprehensive system and has since taken various steps. In 1960 Walsall switched from a tripartite plan to one based on six 8-form entry neighbourhood schools for the whole age range, two of which have

now been opened. West Bromwich is the next in size, then Smethwick which is still tripartite and has no plans for any change.

### Staffordshire's comprehensives

Staffordshire based its plan on educational grounds stressing—fifteen years back—all the weaknesses of tripartite organisation which have since come so glaringly to light. The large comprehensive school was also rejected, both on educational grounds and because unsuitable in a county area, while it was held that the needs of individual children could be met in schools numbering from 750 to 900 pupils. If all such schools were not able to provide the full complement of alternative courses after 15 or 16, then neighbouring ones could work in conjunction to provide full coverage and older pupils be interchanged.

This policy has so far been applied mainly in areas where there were no grammar schools and in which the population was rapidly increasing, for instance, on the borders of Walsall and Wolverhampton. Most of the schools, therefore, take all the children from a defined catchment area and so are genuinely comprehensive but there has been considerable pressure of numbers. As a result schools have tended to become larger than originally planned and there are now what might be called three 'twin' sets of comprehensive schools—two at Tettenhall (1955, 1964), two at Willenhall (1955, 1964), two at Kidsgrove (1963). The third original school was at Tividale (1955), two more have since been opened at Wombourne (1956) and Streetly (1964) and four others are on the way, three of them at Rugeley.

This points to success and indeed the four schools which have had time to do so have all developed satisfactory sixth forms. At Wombourne, transformed from a modern into a comprehensive school, the first sixth was entirely made up of "non-selected" children. In the other older schools a range of eighteen subjects has been successfully taken at 'A' level but there have also been new developments; for instance, the introduction of a general sixth form course for pupils going on to

training colleges. Pupils who are not necessarily taking 'A' level can also go on to the sixth if it is considered that they will do better here than in any further education course. In short, it has been the aim to develop the kind of sixth forms proper to a comprehensive school.

It has been found, however, that to run a comprehensive school as a single unit, as was originally intended when schools were planned for up to 900 pupils, lays too heavy a burden on the head, deputy and senior assistant. On the other hand a 5-form entry school is somewhat small to divide up satisfactorily either horizontally or vertically. Again, the present Burnham scales operate to the disadvantage of a school of this size while graded posts are defined on a subject rather than an organisational basis. One of the schools which has topped the 1,000 mark, owing to increasing local population, has now introduced a division between upper, middle and lower school. Two more are expanding to take a 6-form entry and future schools are being planned of this size or for a 7-form entry; that is, since a leaving age of 16 is now allowed for in all new buildings, for 1,200 or upwards. Buildings will be planned to encourage decentralisation into upper and lower schools.

#### West Bromwich

By contrast West Bromwich has found that a 12-form entry school—so planned to produce an adequate sixth form on the kind of calculation formerly favoured — is quite unnecessarily large. Five years ago there were in the sixth of the West Bromwich Grammar School (the only one in the borough, a mixed 4-form entry school) only 60 pupils. In 1964, there were 80 pupils in the sixth form of Churchfields comprehensive school. In all there are now 360 children in sixth forms, a six-fold increase; just over 200 are in the grammar school, recently housed in a new building, the others in new comprehensive or bilateral schools.

All the evidence suggests that this trend is continuing so it may be that for the 12-form entry schools originally planned smaller ones will be substituted so far as adequate sites are available. Meanwhile a 10-form entry instalment of Churchfields has been running since 1954; an 8-form entry instalment of a second comprehensive school, Dartmouth, opened this academic year. Both these are zoned, with definite catchment areas, so that a third of the borough is free from 11+ — that is, if parents so desire. Those living in the areas can still opt for children to take the examination, for entry to the grammar school, but if no place is secured the child goes to a modern school.



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When this system was first introduced for Churchfields, 80 per cent of parents opted out of 11+ and the proportion increased each year until 1962. The scheme was then scrapped after the conservatives gained control of the council, for the next two years. When it resumed in 1964 the former figure of 92 per cent was reverted to. For Dartmouth, the proportion of parents opting out last September was 80 per cent. Whereas some authorities are doubtful whether zoning can be introduced in one area when it does not generally obtain, it is the West Bromwich experience that parental protests come mainly from the still selective areas in the form of complaints that those with direct access to comprehensive schools have been unduly favoured. The inference seems to be that too much account can be taken of the 'middle-class' outlook, which sees access to the grammar school as an essential right, in terms of social status. Working-class parents are more concerned, rather naturally, that children be free from 11+ discrimination and assured of a good education.

No difficulty has been found in staffing the comprehensive schools which are based on the house system and make much use of cross-setting for teaching purposes. At Churchfields there are two remedial streams, one known as the 'progress' class because it has been found that what is here involved is retardation which can be relatively soon remedied. This school, like others, has had its notable 'results' at another level, though there is reluctance to insist on these in any serious discussion. Interest centres, as in Staffordshire, on the comprehensive school as a new form of institution directed to much wider educational ends than any existing school.

### **Walsall**

Walsall has also zoned its first comprehensive school — the T. P. Riley in the north of the borough, the first instalment of which opened in 1958—though here children can freely sit the 11+ for places in the central aided grammar schools. Here again, of a yearly entry of 240, only very few parents voice concern. A second school, the Joseph Leckie in the south of the borough, began with a 6-form entry instalment, when two non-selective and four selective forms were admitted; it is hoped that there will be further additions in 1967 towards making this fully comprehensive. The first instalment of a third school, the Frank F. Harrison in the west of the borough, opened this year, and it is hoped that a fourth will open in the south-western area in 1968-9.

The replanning initiated in 1960 was based on the following criteria: that every child be offered an appropriate secondary education in one school for a five-year course, that there must be parity between all such schools, that very large schools be avoided and advanced courses efficiently equipped and staffed. Considerable steps have been taken towards these ends in a few years. It is interesting to note that the T. P. Riley school was planned on the house system, with eight houses, but these have now been reduced to six, the additional accommodation being turned over to the use of a flourishing sixth form, with good effect.

### **Wolverhampton**

Wolverhampton has not yet adopted a definite plan but some bilateral schools have been established, others built together on bases. So here the trend is also towards semi-comprehensive neighbourhood schools for the 11-18 age-range—semi-comprehensive in that there has not yet been any zoning nor any decision about the central grammar schools, as indeed is so elsewhere.

There are some who see a case for retaining the grammar school, with, say, a restricted selective entry of 7 per cent to 10 per cent. This is especially so where there is an ancient foundation with a modern reputation of the kind long prized by some provincial towns and which they can hardly imagine themselves without. Civic pride apart, the idea that streamlined academic facilities ought to be provided—to give some working-class children at least a favourable opportunity to move up in the world—dies hard in some Labour circles.

In this case there is less appreciation of the potentialities of comprehensive education and more of a tendency to be concerned about the probable 'downgrading' of neighbourhood schools in working-class areas—much in the spirit of *The Times* and grammar school apologists generally who think in terms of the few and not the majority now in 'bottom grade' schools. On the other hand no enthusiasm was apparent for the Newsom Report in so far as it confounded the main issues of policy in a welter of Browns, Jones's and Robinscans, to come up with the idea of patching up the modern school system—a definite line of policy which would now, it is felt, be altogether retrograde. It is sometimes remarked that the very people who said a fervent 'amen' to this proposal tend to deplore over-expenditure on reorganisation, though this, of course, is precisely the same expenditure devoted not to a backward but a forward looking policy of extension and upgrading.

## Stoke-on-Trent

Stoke has this kind of plan which also concedes nothing to grammar schools that have hitherto taken a selective entry of under 15 per cent. Rather it is argued that sixth forms have failed to provide sufficient stimulus, or an adequate number of qualified pupils, and that something much better in an academic sense is needed. What is proposed is a centrally situated sixth form college, purpose-built to provide every possible facility for academic studies to be pursued to a high level, recruiting from some 23 neighbourhood schools for 11-16's.

Two initial schemes, published for discussion here in 1959, provoked some vocal objections and the Education Committee subsequently introduced 'O' level courses in a number of modern schools as an interim measure. These were later designated junior high schools and one new school—Longton High School—was adopted as a co-educational school with extra sixth form provision so that all qualified high school pupils could transfer there. The result has been that the proportion taking 'O' level has risen to 25 per cent and the numbers at sixth form level accordingly.

### The sixth form college

This justified further steps. Large comprehensive schools could not be built since 87 per cent of the city's site is undermined. The alternative Leicestershire and West Riding plans were also rejected, mainly because the committee took the encouragement of sixth form studies as the essential yardstick, believing that 'educational excellence' at advanced level 'depends on the development of an ethos born of a single-minded purpose'. This aptly indicates the kind of sixth form college in mind.

What has been asked for is one providing 1,250 places, that is for 550 entrants—or approximately 14 per cent of an age-group of 4,000—staying for a two year course with 150 third-year places. Admission from the high schools would depend on whether the school and college heads considered a pupil capable of benefiting from 'A' level courses, plus a parental guarantee that the pupil would remain for at least two years. Others would go on to various courses in colleges of further education with which the city is well provided in a variety of forms, and which provide courses suitable for school leavers. There is no concern about transfer to these at 16, as there is in other places where it is thought preferable to provide for this age in school. Indeed the emphasis is all on providing for over-16's in an adult atmosphere, an idea largely inspired by a study of junior colleges in the United States under-

taken by the director of education and chairman of the education committee.

An interesting innovation, also inspired by an American example, is the appointment of a research and development officer to advise on new methods at both primary and secondary levels. There are already new developments in primary schools and it is envisaged that 'individual pupil programmes' may be introduced in high schools. This would call for special advice from the teaching staff and there are plans for a year's in-service course for teachers to equip them as 'counsellors'. This will be run by the new institute of education of Keele university, whose relations with the city have always been very close.

It may be noted that the Stoke plan was submitted in January, 1964, and that over a year later a ruling is still awaited. Despite all that has been said about the need for replacing old schools, raising standards, undertaking reorganisation, there is as yet little evidence that the Ministry of Education—though rechristened and latterly under new management—has changed its spots.<sup>1</sup>

Nor, it must be said, is there always evidence of a real drive to extend comprehensive education at the local level. There are still many local councillors who do not really understand what it is all about, too few aware of all the educational implications and ready to take the opportunity to transform the school system as a whole. But it is, perhaps, understandable that there should be greater readiness to see this need in Lancashire, hitherto behindhand, than in Staffordshire where some solid advances have been quietly made over the years by a policy of gradualness.

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<sup>1</sup>Since this article was written the Stoke plan has been approved in principle, but with a sixth form college half the size asked for, with 750 places; this is slightly over the number already in sixth forms in the city. For further discussion of the sixth form college, see the contribution by R. B. Cant, Chairman of the Stoke-on-Trent education committee, on page 94.

## Non-Streaming in the Junior School

The demand for this FORUM publication continues steadily. The second printing was sold out in April so that sales at that stage reached over 3,700. The third printing is now ready and all further orders can be supplied.

## Discussion

### *The Junior College*

I should like to comment on Mr. Mumford's critical references to the Sixth Form College (FORUM, Vol. 7, No. 2), as Chairman of an Education Committee which is currently negotiating with the D.E.S. for the introduction of a scheme of secondary education based on the High School/Sixth Form College principle. (This is described elsewhere in this issue.)

To quote Mr. Mumford—'The Sixth Form College is essentially an amalgamation of sixth form entrants from a number of junior schools, its curriculum concentrating on academic work of the traditional sixth form type. As an exclusive academic hot-house with a selective entry, the Sixth Form College is open to most of the social and educational objections now levelled at the selective school. As an element in a true comprehensive system it is entirely unacceptable.'

Certainly it is selective. It can, of course, be argued that all further education colleges are selective, so that in principle the Sixth Form College merely fits into the general pattern. (It appears to be different because according to the regulations it is still a school; in practice this is unfortunate because it reduces the amount of money that can be spent on it and the facilities that can be incorporated.) More important, however, is the fact that educationally (whatever the social counter-arguments) it is highly desirable that advanced level students should have some measure of 'separateness'; one might even go as far as to argue that it is important that such an educational institution should develop its own ethos and that its success might in some measure depend on its doing so. A Junior College swamped by part-timers would not create this atmosphere. Incidentally, if Stoke's experience is anything to go by, Mr. Mumford's figure of 750 part-time students should be nearer 4,000.

We live, alas, in a highly competitive academic world, and this fact must condition to a large extent our choice of a comprehensive pattern of education. We opted for the Sixth Form College/High School because it concentrated advanced level work; the multiplication of sixth forms implicit in the Leicestershire plan and the all-through comprehensive school is a serious weakness. Especially in the older industrial areas the lesson of experience (see the DES List No. 71) would be that we need (to use Mr. Mumford's terminology) 'exclusive academic hothouses' if we are to improve educational attainment in the years after 16. I think Mr. Mumford has given too little attention to this problem. It is interesting to note in this context that we differ widely from him in his estimate of the optimum size of his junior comprehensive schools (4 FE) on the one hand and of the sixth form group in his Junior College (400). Our estimates based on experience to date suggest 6-7 FE and 1000 plus respectively as more effective numbers.

I would agree with Mr. Mumford in accepting that we must think much more in terms of the principle of 'Comprehensive Further Education' but I don't think his amorphous junior college is the answer. The important thing is to ensure that young people are fitted into those courses for which they have the appropriate aptitudes and abilities, and that if they fail to make progress in one course they do not just drop out but transfer to other more suitable courses; this involves the creation of an effective counsellor system. In addition, in Stoke we are planning to build our Sixth Form College in close proximity to our other colleges of further education which are all centrally located. This seems to us to be the right sort of compromise!

If this country were wealthier, and could afford to make education a more leisurely experience extending over a greater number of years, then something approximating more nearly to the American Junior College would be attractive. Our visit to the United States in 1963 was revealing in this respect. But whilst children in this country are faced with the 'crunch' of external examinations from the age of 16 years onwards, we need to tailor our school system to the realities of the situation.

R. B. CANT,  
*Stoke-on-Trent.*

### *Harlow Goes Comprehensive*

Many changes in the organisation of secondary education are taking place all over the country, sometimes without the blessing of the teaching profession and the goodwill of the general public. In Harlow, however, it has been possible to develop a form of comprehensive secondary education without any of the strong public controversy which has appeared in areas where old grammar schools exist.

The original Essex County Education Plan envisaged six new bilateral secondary schools for Harlow. As only three old, all-age schools were involved, this plan was implemented without protest. The bilateral schools, therefore, catered for all the existing 11-18 age group, except those who travelled to selective schools outside the town. When sheer pressure of numbers necessitated the building of a seventh secondary school, outside the original plan, Essex County Council agreed to call it a comprehensive school.

By this time it was obvious that, as all the schools were developing along broadly similar lines, their different titles of either bilateral grammar/modern or bilateral technical/modern merely confused the general public. The Harlow Divisional Sub-Committee, established in 1962, re-examined the whole question of titles. It was decided to recommend that these different names be abolished, and that all the secondary schools should be called comprehensive schools. There was some opposition from the governors and headmasters of the two grammar/modern schools, but when one of these groups gave way the County agreed to the recommendation.

Each school is closely associated with three or four

neighbouring primary schools. Children from these schools do not need to take the 11+. Parents may apply for a school outside their area and sometimes a series of exchanges can be arranged. The full 11+ procedure is retained only for those parents who definitely desire a selective place in a school outside their area.

It is indicative of the restrictive effect of the 11+ that the Harlow L.E.A. has had to admit that 'the only pupils about whom we have had to argue with another authority [over the transfer of a child from a Harlow school to a tripartite area] are those who took the 11+ and were not "selected", but nevertheless worked their way into an academic stream' of a Harlow comprehensive school. As such schools are built by an increasing number of authorities, such incidents, we hope, will become rarer.

The Harlow L.E.A. is rightly proud of its comprehensive schools, which have much to offer the young people of the town. As full and varied a curriculum as is possible, with every child catered for according to his needs, are aims which require staffs of diverse talents and abilities. A new town, largely through its housing amenities and its new schools, attracts a sufficient number of teachers to fill its quota. But herein lies a real danger. Comprehensive schools, to be truly successful, require a staffing ratio well above that of other secondary schools. The Heads of such schools need a much freer hand to work out their staffing requirements in the light of contemporary educational ideals. Any fixed quota is detrimental to good education.

It would be a great pity if the Harlow schools were deprived by continued staffing restrictions of the opportunity of succeeding in the widest possible sphere. If the fixed quota was abolished perhaps the Department of Education and Science would be forced to make more attractive those areas where the shortage of teachers is really acute—instead of allowing L.E.A.s to conceal difficulties in some parts of the country by preventing progressive Heads from increasing their staffs. Independent public schools appoint as many teachers as their headmasters and governors consider necessary for the proper education of their pupils. I look forward to the day when the state comprehensive schools can do the same.

SHEILA HILLER,  
*Harlow.*

## *Personal Development and Further Education*

Mr. Prideaux's article on 'Personal Development and Further Education' succeeded in highlighting some of the problems encountered by certain young people in coming to terms with the modern world. No one would disagree with his assertion that a large-scale research programme is needed into the most effective methods of educating these young people. In the absence of the research he advocates it would be wise to look closely at his reasoning and his conclusions.

No one can be surprised when Mr. Prideaux writes: 'Our experience in Barnet suggests the human personality suffers serious injury . . . when a young boy or girl completes ten years of custodial schooling

without having acquired the level of literacy required to read a newspaper or write a letter.'

Any young person with such a lamentable level of literacy is bound to suffer mental distress in the environment of F.E. College where all the courses assume basic literacy of a reasonable order. What on earth is such a young person doing in a College of Further Education? If young people like this are in Colleges of Further Education it can only be as experimental animals for the qualified psychotherapist Mr. Prideaux found 'invaluable'. Illiterate sixteen-year olds have their problems but it is open to dispute whether F.E. Colleges should be the base for tackling them. The young illiterates who escape Mr. Prideaux's net (the vast majority) may be perfectly happy if their parents, neighbours, associates and workmates are illiterate, too. We cannot assume, in the absence of research, that their personalities also will suffer serious injury.

Mr. Prideaux criticises the present system for advice to students, with the overlapping functions of tutors, careers masters, youth employment officers and so on relieving each of the ultimate responsibility for guidance. He does not say whether the Student Advisors he advocates are to supplant the agencies mentioned above, or whether they are simply to add yet another opinion to the baffling number he says are so confusing. In view of a recent survey<sup>1</sup> which showed that less than one per cent of students in Further Education would consult a member of college staff when in personal trouble, it appears difficult to justify a staff increase for this purpose.

Much is made of the case for General Studies. The aims, we are told, are to 'liberate the human spirit, extend interest in the human condition, open fresh channels of communication', etc. What measure of success do General Studies teachers have in this monumental task? A number of Liberal Studies teachers have found that their courses are most successful when closely related to the vocational interests of the students,<sup>2</sup> that is, conditions favourable to a transfer of training. In other words, the less general the studies, and the more related they are to the main course subjects, the greater is the chance of success. This paradox should make us think again, before many more teacher and student hours are wasted in the pursuit of 'liberation of the spirit'.

Great emphasis is laid on the need for a good personal relationship between student and tutor. Surely we are being told nothing here that is new. A modest booklet, which comes of age this year, summarises this aspect of student-teacher relationships admirably.<sup>3</sup> However, where this publication advises, 'Sloppiness will do harm . . . Currying of favour will breed contempt', Mr. Prideaux urges us to forget that we are teachers and discuss only topics in which the students are interested. I have no doubt as to which course experienced teachers will follow.

We are told 'Colleges have on the whole good libraries and cafeterias in which it is possible for students to educate themselves and each other according to their felt needs and the mood of the moment'. No one will dispute the necessity for good libraries in Further Education Colleges, although some doubt may be felt

as to the educational purpose served by conversation in noisy and overcrowded refectories over plates of chips. Perhaps Mr. Prideaux mentioned only cafeterias and libraries because he considers the possible uses of a hall superfluous or unnecessary. Many people may feel that such a lack of amenity imposes a severe restriction on the liberalising activities which may be attempted in Further Education.

On the face of it, then, Mr. Prideaux says little that is new and much that should be treated cautiously until the research he advocates is carried out.

R. F. HUGHES,  
*Potters Bar, Middlesex.*

<sup>1</sup> 'The young technicians'. *New Society*. January 1965. Hancock and Wakeford.

<sup>2</sup> *Vocational Aspect*, 30 XV p. 48, and others.

<sup>3</sup> *Handbook for Part-Time Teachers*. Yorkshire Council for Further Education, 1944.

## *Colleges of Education in search of an identity*

As the first impressions created by the publication of the Robbins Report harden, the shape of future developments in teacher training gradually becomes discernible. The Minister of Education of the recently established Government declined to press the complete union of the Training Colleges with the Universities probably because of an unwillingness to offend the L.E.A.s. From the latter bodies the Government requires willing co-operation in pressing on with secondary reorganisation so that it would have been inexpedient to take the Training Colleges away from their control. Thus, for the present, at any rate, the non-denominational Colleges remain to be administered by the L.E.A.s, inspected by the Department of Education and Science, examined by the Universities and criticised by the schools.

In this article I am not concerned with the merits or otherwise of L.E.A. administration—that issue has been argued over sufficiently for the moment—nor with the relationship between Colleges and schools, though with the expansion in student numbers this becomes fraught with many difficulties. I wish to consider the future of the Colleges' relationship with the Universities.

Each College is linked with one of the Universities—usually the nearest one geographically—and has been since the McNair Report recommendations of about 20 years ago. The nature of the link is professional and every College student who passes out receives a certificate of competency to teach bearing the imprimatur of some University. Thus the University, through its School or Institute of Education, has a great deal of power in determining what courses of work a College will follow. The wielding of this power varies a great deal from University to University. Some take their constituent Colleges into consultation on matters of syllabuses, examination arrangements and so on; others are paternalistic in their outlook and 'guide' the Colleges along pre-determined paths.

Despite the claim of the professional body representing the staff of Training Colleges and Institutes of Education that all is harmony in the College/University

connection, there is enough mistrust between the two partners to cause concern. When all the liberal sentiments about brotherly affection are protested, the fact remains that the Universities on the whole believe that they are superior in most respects to the Colleges and resent any suggestion that they are not. This should not surprise anyone when the status differentials are noted between older and modern; between Redbrick and Ivrytower; and between metropolitan and provincial Universities. It is only the English attachment to class-consciousness applied to education.

The Robbins Report has, however, thrown a bridge over the actual gulf separating the Colleges from their parent bodies and this is the establishment of provisions for the B.Ed. degree.

About 5% to 20% of Training College students are generally believed in University circles to be worth a course leading to a new general degree in Education and some of them are already drawing up the conditions for entry to the B.Ed. examination. Until the Senates of the Universities concerned accept the recommendation for their particular B.Ed. courses all that now follows is speculative, but there are sufficient rumours in the air to suggest that a fairly common national pattern is about to be cast. The main feature seems to be that a minority only of College students will be allowed to go for a B.Ed. course and the vast majority—as high as 75%—will qualify as at present for the Teaching Certificate.

The implications of such an arrangement are far reaching and should be the concern not only of College personnel but of the whole teaching profession. The most crucial of them is that in a profession already divided to the point of fragmentation, a further schism will be produced. The new 'Robbins-men' will form yet another privileged, allowance-claiming group of practitioners in the schools between the 100% University students, with a degree allowance, on one side, and their Training College certificated colleagues on the other. This will be the net result within the teaching profession. In all probability the 'Robbins-men', as other graduates, will gravitate for the most part to the secondary schools where one of the Ministers of Education in the last government decided that an all-graduate profession should be. The primary schools will get the rest, making a clear distinction between the better-paid and qualified secondary teacher and his worse-off primary colleague.

The effect of such selection upon the College is likely to be just as drastic. It is generally assumed that we shall be forced to consider streaming from perhaps the second year of the four-year graduate course with the B.Ed. undergraduates following their course whilst the certificate students follow theirs. No doubt the staffs of Colleges will fall into a similar pattern in which the 'B.Ed. lecturers' take the 'A' stream students, and their colleagues the remainder. Since it will be to a lecturer's professional advantage to have taken the 'A' stream, the results within a College staffroom can be imagined.

But this is likely to apply only to the larger Colleges. The smaller ones might be faced with the distasteful task of selecting their B.Ed. students for transfer to another institution where they will have staff and courses for the degree approved by the University. At least one



# Marriage Guidance

J. R. WILLETTS

*In the last issue, Mr. Longden, Head of the Engineering Department at the Mid-Warwickshire College of Further Education, considered the relations of Technical Colleges to industry under the title of 'The Hesitant Partners'. An answer from the standpoint of industry was promised and has been contributed by Mr. Willetts, who is responsible for all aspects of technical education, including the administration of craft, technical, student and graduate apprenticeship schemes, for the Imperial Metal Industries Ltd.*

*Mr. Willetts is himself a graduate engineer and a member of the Education and Training Group Committee of the Institution of Mechanical Engineers.*

The article by Mr. J. Longden in the Spring 1965 edition of FORUM presents a dismal general picture of the role of industry in Further Education. If this view is widely held by College staff, then it would account for their attitude of helplessness towards improving the situation.

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University appears to be expecting the right to approve College staffs taking B.Ed. courses. This is the threatening shape of things to come.

Can we prevent such a disaster befalling the Colleges and teaching profession? There is the hope that pressure from the profession both in and out of Colleges can cause the planning bodies in the University to modify their plans so as to allow the teaching certificate itself to be equivalent to Part I of a four-year B.Ed. course, so that all students will be on the same basic course except that some will go forward for a consecutive fourth-year and B.Ed. finals, whilst the remainder would have to return to College to complete their degree later, either under secondment schemes from the classroom or as part-time evening students. This would be a feasible compromise to press for though it would be the minimum acceptable to avoid the segregation of our students—an arrangement to which many of us in Colleges are profoundly and professionally opposed on educational grounds.

It would be an unforgivable failure on our part if streaming and segregation come about; and historically it will seem incredible to future educationists that just when primary schools were moving towards de-streamed groupings, and secondary schools towards the comprehensive idea, the Colleges of Education were to go in the opposite direction.

G. PRICE,  
*Chorley Day College.*

Many of the larger companies, particularly those with progressive personnel policies, have for years realised the importance of training at all levels and at their own cost have done something about it. The first training school in an industrial firm was established in 1880! The problem now is to extend the recently awakened industrial interest in further education more generally throughout industry and particularly to the smaller companies, in order to ensure a supply of manpower trained in appropriate technical skills.

Schools provide an introduction to study in a wide range of subjects, but to develop the 'school-leaver' into a well-equipped industrial employee requires further study and training. The responsibility for providing the additional knowledge and experience lies jointly with industry and the Technical Colleges. It can only be provided effectively and efficiently by close co-operation between schools, colleges and industry. If industry cannot be specific to Technical Colleges about the training required for its new recruits, it cannot complain that they are provided with inappropriate instruction. On the other hand, Colleges must accept some responsibility for finding out what is required by the customer.

Mr. Longden states that 'less than 20 per cent of young people undertake any further education after leaving school: probably not more than 5 per cent qualify at a reasonable level'. One is not clear what he means by 'reasonable level'. It is therefore a spurious argument to suggest 5 per cent success when he does not define what he means by success. If, on the other hand, we regard success as the ability to do the job for which the young person is being trained, then a much larger percentage would qualify.

The Colleges are largely supported by public funds but industry contributes handsomely to these funds through rates and taxes and yet still has to pay heavily for any college course which is not a standard one leading to an established examination.

## Communications

Colleges must accept part of the blame if, as the Henniker-Heaton Report indicated (para. 47), some employers do not know of the facilities available. Colleges send out prospectuses and course programmes but are they always sent to the most appropriate person? Colleges should take the trouble to discover the Company individual responsible for training. Many Technical Colleges are running Business Administration Courses for industry but industry becomes somewhat sceptical of their efforts when we suffer from such poor efforts in communication and the apparent lack of interest shown by Colleges in their own administration. There appears

to be, even in local and area colleges, a growing concern for so-called 'research' rather than an improvement in adequate administrative procedures, e.g. lack of telephones and secretarial assistance.

I do not understand what Mr. Longden means in his context by the expression 'adolescent labour' for he is arguing that the work population will diminish and there will be insufficient recruits into the ranks of skilled manpower.

He also mentions the problem of selection for courses. Any enlightened Company realises that younger members of its staff will naturally try to improve themselves and if any educate themselves beyond the requirements of their job or even their Company, there was an initial error in selection. A large Company has an advantage because it can cater for and accept a wide range of abilities and consequently, within reason, has an easier problem in fitting the man to a job.

#### **A difference in aims?**

Some of the smaller Companies have shown a reluctance to discuss the academic abilities of their new recruits with their local Technical College because they fear that the College's view will be opposed to their's. Colleges educate to the limit of ability—Companies are interested in training a man for a job. Ideally, these aims should coincide, but perfect selection techniques are required to achieve this. This year the new school leaving examination is being introduced—the Certificate of Secondary Education. Entry standards for technical courses must be defined in terms of passes in this examination and industry must be aware of these standards when selecting its recruits. Schools must be told of these standards in order to advise their school leavers on possible careers. How many Colleges have arranged meetings with industry or schools to explain the new arrangements? I know of none. I was able to get full information because I am a member of a College advisory committee and made an effort to find out. Many of my less fortunate industrial colleagues presumably are still ignorant of the situation and College staff are not in haste to enlighten them. Such an attitude is inexplicable if there is to be effective co-operation between industry and the Colleges.

It is too sweeping to say that two days per week of release are 'justifiable'. On Mr. Longden's own argument, release should be granted appropriate to the needs of the job and the trainee. One day per week for a number of years is surely enough, even in these days, for requirements of the lower levels

of employees. Higher levels already get more—University students go full-time!

I fully support Mr. Longden in his plea for closer contact between college staffs and local industry. This is the crux of the problem—to break down barriers and prejudices. It is a problem of attitudes which must be changed in both industry and colleges so that in time there is a mutual regard for the efforts of both parties to provide industry with the trained manpower it requires. College staffs must be prepared to work in industry to get to know the problem and the academic standard appropriate to the various levels of employee. Could industry help in running courses for College staffs? Not all industrial Companies or even the very small ones are to be dismissed as decadent or beyond reprieve or otherwise considered as undesirable to visit.

#### **The small employers**

Colleges must apply themselves with greater enthusiasm to the real problems of industry which arise as a result of technological progress. Colleges must improve their image in the eyes of the smaller employers. They must be seen to be helping industry, not, as many Companies feel, merely providing 'education' entirely divorced from industrial needs. The setting up of liaison or advisory committees do not absolve the Colleges from further responsibility in this direction. They must canvass, visit, cajole, persuade their local employers. Merely sending a letter will not do. They must explain their facilities, explain their aims, invite industrial representatives back to them, organise meetings.

I can understand that Mr. Longden may have good grounds for putting forward his complaints about the lack of thought and attention given to education in industry. I suspect that the difficulties are not as general as he believes and I am hopeful that the Boards set up under the Industrial Training Act will soon tackle the problem vigorously, but on the other hand, every Company has the responsibility to ensure that it has the trained manpower it requires in order to be efficient and competitive.

I am fortunate in being a member of a Company with a strong personnel and training function. Could a further reply be given by someone who has not yet heard of the E.I.T.B., the C.S.E., or who does not know the difference between C.P.2, T.1 or G\*?

In brief, unless there is an intelligent, informed use by industry of College facilities and a willingness on the part of Colleges to meet the specified needs of industry, then industry will not have the trained people it requires.

# Teething Troubles with the C.S.E.

B. F. HOBBY

*Mr. Hobby is a member of the C.S.E. Board for the West Midlands; he is also second master of Yardley Grammar School, Birmingham. Although a member of a C.S.E. board, the views here expressed are his own highly individual ones.*

## The first year

The Certificate of Secondary Education has been launched and the first results will be published in a matter of weeks.

The decision to set the first papers in 1965 required no small measure of faith, for Boards fully realised that the time factor would impose heavy pressures on the Subject Panels which were undertaking an entirely novel function, and on the administration, which in extreme cases consisted primarily of a hastily appointed secretary without an office. It is not surprising, therefore, that there were widespread complaints of too great haste and too little consultation, especially from those who had thought that 1966 would be time enough and who failed to get promptly into gear. Boards which will set their first papers in 1966 will be in a position to profit from the experiences of 1965 which must obviously be treated as a tentative and transitional year in which candidates will be at a grave disadvantage in that they will have so short a time in which to prepare for the new-style papers. It would be folly to treat it as a typical year and to use the results as norms for future grading, and any attempt to impose national standards based on these results would be irresponsibly premature.

There can be little doubt that the brunt of the work has been borne by the Subject Panels which have devoted much time and thought to the service of the Boards. They could not have done so without the collaboration of their colleagues in the schools who have been called upon repeatedly to assume extra burdens. This is one good reason why Panel members should be relieved and replaced, in rotation, after a stipulated term of service.

## National Standards

In the early days the founders of the Boards were so preoccupied with tactical problems that they had little time or thought to spare for the consideration of strategic moves. It was generally assumed, I believe, that when Boards had gone some way towards setting their own house in order they would find time and seek opportunities to consult their opposite numbers from other areas and, in due course, to approach a national standard through liaison and pooling of ideas and information. It was at this stage that I asked a man from Curzon Street

whether he thought it would be a good idea to call a national conference of Panel chairmen at which emergent tendencies could be described and discussed. Immediately he replied, 'That's the very last thing we want!'

Rightly or wrongly, I interpreted this reply to mean that at that time the Ministry wished to see the Boards work out their own salvation without reference to developments elsewhere or to national considerations, and I applauded it because I felt it to be consistent with the conception of a teacher-controlled area examination. I now suspect that my interpretation might have been naïve and that whispers of 'goodness of fit' and 'aptitude tests' might already have been heard in committee rooms in London.

Now we know that national standards are not going to be allowed to evolve; they may be discreetly imposed. Vague though it may be this decision has evoked sharp criticism from some Boards and from many teachers who claim that it was made without adequate consultation and in too great haste—a recurrent theme!

It is indeed difficult to understand why it has been thought so urgent that standards should be nationally controlled in these early years when so much experimentation will be taking place and so many modifications made from year to year. 1970 would have been soon enough for the Schools Council to call for a review and to suggest agreed standards. By then the G.C.E. Boards too may have been persuaded to toe a national line.

## Grade I and an 'O' level pass

I have disagreed from the start with the decision to equate Grade I of the C.S.E. with a pass at 'O' level. In almost every subject the two examinations are so different in concept and content that any relationship between them is bound to be forced and ill-founded.

How, for example, can a French examination which has no translation and no prose question, and in which the test is predominantly oral/aural, be equated with the normal 'O' level modern language paper? The relationship reminds one of one of those medieval matches in which a boy of 14 was promised to a girl yet unborn. We might have waited at least until the girl was strong enough to stand on

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her own feet, for the bridegroom himself is none too reliable. Even before Mr. Clegg's disclosures many wise head teachers knew the ropes and chose their G.C.E. Boards to suit their own ends; many a simple science student who strove year after year to get his 'O' level in a foreign language in his own school was put wise by friends from other schools and improved his performance by 15 per cent under another Board. What is an 'O' level pass?

Yet I am sure that the reasons for the decision, by whatever devious means it was arrived at (for months there had been a spate of rumours), were well-intentioned. The relationship would give status to the C.S.E. and serve as a guide to employers and Youth Employment Officers; it would enhance the prospects of recognition by professional bodies. But I would have preferred to see the new examination win its own independent esteem without incurring the 'poor relation' stigma and without running the risk of being warped either by the relationship or by the demands of professional bodies.

### Mode III

Most, if not all, G.C.E. Boards invite schools to submit their own syllabuses for external validation. Hardly any schools avail themselves of the opportunity. This is known as the 'tyranny' of the Boards. But with the C.S.E. this situation will be radically changed. Individual schools are being encouraged to frame their own examinations which the Panels will validate. Panels are asked to be sympathetic towards all papers submitted by the schools however quixotic they may be. And it is said the quixotism will have the backing of the Schools Council at the same time that it flirts with the notion of imposing national standards. Am I wrong in thinking that there is something paradoxical in all this?

The Subject Panel is the sheet anchor of the whole C.S.E. system. Panel members are elected by their colleagues in the constituencies, the local authority areas. They meet frequently and spend hours hammering out an agreed policy which excludes only the most ill-digested, non-examinable, avant/arrière-garde ideas. At regular intervals they go back to face their constituents, to report progress, to hear criticisms and to listen to suggestions which they take back to the Panel for consideration. This, surely, is teacher control in action.

Like many another Panel chairman, I feel sure, I hoped that the vast majority of schools would accept Mode I and that if there were to be exceptions they would be rare and have exceptional qualities. In this first year this is what has in fact happened but I have seen a Mode III syllabus so similar to Mode I that only careful examination revealed the differences between them. I believe that if Panels are

going to be asked to spend a great deal of time and thought on individual Mode III syllabuses which differ only in detail from Mode I, and from one another, they will find the task frustrating and discouraging; acrimonious correspondence with schools whose syllabuses have been rejected will add to their discomfiture.

Requests for the acceptance of Mode III papers from large numbers of individual schools will lead progressively to disintegration and there is grave danger, in such circumstances, that good Panel members will refuse to continue to serve and will suggest that a resident Chief Examiner would be a much more suitable agent for carrying out the work. Such an outcome would be disastrous to the Boards. At the moment the cloud is no bigger than a man's hand but it may become an intractable problem in the years immediately ahead.

Obviously there are schools where interesting and important work is being done, in local history and local geography for example, and whose Mode III papers will reflect their independent approach. But such papers will differ significantly from those of Mode I and have intrinsic merit; they will not be capricious variations on the theme of Mode I. And Mode III syllabuses from GROUPS of schools are also in a special category; idiosyncrasies can be sandpapered off at local level.

There is, of course, an equally grave danger of quite a different nature. Panels, having designed a syllabus, will tend to defend it and to resist even small changes. The ideal that the examination should constantly reflect developments in school curricula will then be lost, but this situation will not arise if all Boards insist, as some do, that the term of office of Panel members shall be three years and that one-third of them shall retire each year. The infusion of new enthusiasm and new ideas will thus be ensured.

### **Course work**

During the deliberations of Examinations Committees and Subject Panels a great deal has been heard of Course Work, of its scope, its mark value and its standardisation. There are subjects in which such work may be an important, continuing and integral part of the syllabus; others in which it is of far less importance.

Course work is nothing new but has been part and parcel of school life since education began. What is new is the decision to acknowledge its value and to include an assessment of it in the examination mark. In doing so we must bear in mind that the C.S.E. course is of at least two years' duration and beware of the danger of awarding high assessment for work that has been of short-term interest only; work done solely in the fifth year is hardly

evidence of staying power and persistence. Ephemeral products like play scenery or Christmas decorations seem to me to be ill-suited for inclusion in Course Work.

Secondly, work in the school play, for the magazine, and in connexion with morning assembly, should not only cover an appreciable period of time but also be explicitly relevant to English studies, Art, and Religious Education. Compassion should not over-rule our judgment and persuade us to award significant course marks to the gauche walker-on who merely makes an entry in Act I to say 'The carriage waits without', and then makes a hurried exit; or to the child who makes one appearance in the school magazine with six lines of doggerel. We must reserve our compassion for pupils from those many homes where no private work is possible because the most rudimentary facilities for reading, writing and craftwork are utterly lacking. This I feel so strongly that I am inclined to urge that normally course marks should be awarded only for work done in school time, lest these under-privileged suffer by comparison.

### **The five grades**

I hesitate to sail my toy boat on waters where Professor Wrigley has been yachting expertly for many years but I am quite baffled by the suggested distribution of grades in the C.S.E. Has the curve of normal distribution been thrown overboard now that we have the New Mathematics? If not why should there be an equal number of pupils in Grades II and III? I should have thought that a simple five-point scale, covering approximately the range between the 20th percentile and the 60th, with the bulk of pupils placed in Grade III, would have suited admirably. But I am not a mathematician.

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# Youth Service Debate

BERNARD DAVIES

*Bernard Davies is a lecturer at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, Leicester.*

Some people whose position and professed ideals suggest they ought to know better seem hardly to know of the existence of the Youth Service. Others attribute to it aims which completely misunderstand its capacities, others simply scorn its usefulness. Despite the boost given to it by the Albemarle Report even its most passionate supporters can hardly have any illusions about the strength or status of this tiny corner of the educational system.

Yet at present the Youth Service is discussing and testing ideas and approaches which have important implications for education in many other spheres. The consequences of its internal debates will make no headlines. But within it, much hard thinking is now going on which seems to represent an uncertain and painful effort in response to new conditions, to re-examine underlying principles and, in part, to restate what ought to guide and circumscribe relationships with the young. The significance of these changes can hardly be confined to the Youth Service.

## A leisure service

Traditionally, youth work is a leisure service made available by a materially and culturally well-endowed section of the population to post-school working-class adolescents who are deprived and ill-educated. The main lines of development were set by the broadly based organisations using informal methods which emerged in the last three decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. The boys' and girls' clubs, the brigades, the scouts and guides, came to constitute 'youth work' in its most typical form.

They did so because they responded to a new social problem. The material and spiritual poverty of the industrial towns had for long stimulated some of those with authority and means to philanthropic action. However, in the 1870's there were more particular motives among such people which helped then to bring about the formation of youth organisations. For they were faced for the first time with a working-class adolescent population which was not at school but not necessarily at

work either, needing not only vocational and technical skills but also safe and worthwhile occupation during unfilled hours. Moreover the problem was encountered at a time when the established structure of British society seemed to be under considerable domestic and foreign pressure.

And so they set out to cater for the leisure of the labouring young. Typically, they adopted approaches, often reflecting public school ideals, which assumed that their task was to re-make their charges in their own image, that what must be offered were their own standards and cultural interests, and that these might, indeed must, be appropriate to the needs of working-class young people. Though they adopted informal, recreational methods, the basis of their philosophy was authoritarian.

## The needs of today

These, then, constitute the traditional bases of modern youth work. It goes without saying that many young people have gained immeasurably from them. What needs to be questioned, however, is the continued relevance of some of them to the needs of our society today. For—as we are so often told—times have changed. What was good and right for youth workers 80 or even 20 years ago can no longer be assumed still to be appropriate.

In particular, it is no longer acceptable for a ruling social group to assume that it can set the standards and dictate the interests of the 'mass'. For that mass in reality comprises a large number of separate individuals, each of whom through education, greater wealth and greatly improved means of human communication, now have the desire and much more of the ability to make their own ideas and interests count. Young people especially seem to feel this independence. They therefore are much less liable to subject themselves to the predigested and perhaps irrelevant philosophies of their 'elders and superiors' and, if they suspect that their own purposes and interests are going to be scorned or ignored, will certainly not undertake the *voluntary* commitment on which youth work is based. Youth organisations can afford the authoritarian presumptions of a social and cultural élite even less than most forms of education.

Hence the efforts at re-thinking. For as the traditional meets and is measured against the new (especially teenage) society it is often found wanting, and there follows a search for more appealing ways of approaching the young. Some youth workers tackle this at a superficial level, by providing 'the kids' with their music, dance and taste in decor (which seems fair enough) and then, less fairly and

somewhat deceptively, trying to influence them in the direction of a number of pre-ordained ends. Others react by saying they want nothing to do with what is modern (and especially commercial) in the world around them. They then try to take the young right out of it, claiming that the mountain tops or the open sea provides the final character building answers; or they try to impose their own abstracted cultural solutions of folk-dancing, crafts and 'classical' music on the young. Thus their organisations become ivory towers which ultimately lack all contact with some of the more pressing needs and possibilities in young people's actual lives.

### **Principles and assumptions**

But solutions—if solutions there are—will need to be rather more radical. And in particular they will need to redirect and restate some of the principles and assumptions on which youth work has always been based. The way that youth work has evolved has meant that now it is an integral part of the educational system. On the whole, this still seems to be right since at least it ensures that its philosophy is positive. Nonetheless, youth workers often seem uneasy in an educational setting because it is frequently difficult to judge what they are doing by the standards to which so many educational practitioners and administrators adhere.

Youth work in fact is often required to justify itself in terms of numbers and 'results' almost as much as the grammar school. There may be no obvious external examinations for youth club members to take, but there are 'activities' which, it seems, only become worthwhile when 8 or even 12 people have committed themselves to them for six weeks or six months. There are festivals, leagues and competitions, success in which often seems to be the source of prestige for clubs and members. And, as the most up-to-date expression of the old tradition, there is that pseudo G.C.E. course in leisure interests, the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme. The purpose of youth work apparently is to train young people in skills which the providers assume will give them worthwhile hobbies and make them useful and safe citizens or uncritical devotees of some adult faith or cause. It often appears that youth work, if it is to receive money and support, must be practical and vocational.

### **Social education**

Yet its real value today would seem to be as a means of further *social* education. Those young people who have left school and wish to gain training to a high level in vocational, practical, and even

recreational skills, have a variety of voluntary and statutory further education outlets from which to choose. What are lacking in our society are sufficient opportunities for young people to develop socially and emotionally. What they need is the chance to meet adults, if only because the latter are willing to put their maturity and experience at risk before the young. It should surely be possible for them to work out their own ideas and values independently, radically, unconventionally, even though these may disturb adults, and indeed before adults can 'get at' them too much and channel and dilute those ideas. What those in their teens are allowed too rarely is the chance to meet their own peers socially, not to be judged persistently by adults but accepted as they are, and allowed to make for themselves the decisions which will determine their lives. What they might be offered without strings more frequently are facilities for developing the skills of sociability, for meeting and accepting new people as well as old friends, for making relationships which mean something to them, to which they can contribute and from which they can gain greater self-assurance and support, which will allow them to tap unknown and unorthodox talents but which will not necessarily be objectively measurable or deployable in competitions. 'Activities' are, of course, important for all this, but not mainly because the content is 'culturally' good but because they act as vehicles for personal emotional and social development.

### **The end of paternalism**

It is because they need to be further social educators in this sense that youth workers are so often uncomfortable in our present educational system whose dominant values seem to conflict with their own. Some, therefore, have started to look elsewhere, and in particular to social work, for guiding principles and criteria for measuring sound practice. For social workers have already undergone a parallel revolution which has eradicated, or at least greatly weakened, their paternalistic approaches. As a result they now see themselves, not as depositories of a wisdom which those they serve must come to accept in order to achieve salvation, but as agents using a relationship to help people help themselves according to as many as possible of their own criteria.

### **Freedom**

However, the identification in this country of social work only with social *case* work has produced resistance among some educators to social work ideas. Because the latter must so often work



with people in groups while case work usually means dealing with individuals separately, they have gone on to assume that social work has nothing to teach them. In its exact sense, however, social work is no more than a generalised term describing a number of ways of approaching and helping individuals. And to all of them can be applied the principles mentioned earlier, which assume that people will be accepted and served because they belong to a section of the population in need, and that work with them will be carried on through a confidential and unjudging relationship which leaves them as free as possible to determine their own lives. The youth worker may operate with individuals mainly in *group* situations and therefore most often needs to see himself as a social *group* worker and to rely for illumination of his practice on a body of knowledge which at some points differs from that of the case worker. But the same principles, the same non-authoritarian and person-centred assumptions would seem to be relevant. Youth work, in fact, to be in tune with the times needs to be much less concerned with trying to impose a predetermined set of interests and values which, accidentally, the young may be able to use but which in far too many cases seem to miss real needs. Today it needs to be concerned much more, even if not entirely, to enable individual young people to set their own aims, to achieve these, and so to fulfil their own personal and emotional potentiality.

### **The conflict with tradition**

This, then, seems to be the current situation of some youth workers. Although deeply and properly involved in the educational system, they are increasingly appealing to principles which are often in conflict with those which traditionally receive support from educators, including many in the Youth Service, and which are more deeply rooted now in social work. At this point in our educational development, however, it seems vital that the non-authoritarian social educators extend their influence, for if Newsom achieves any general application, new social educational opportunities will appear in customarily vocational and practical educational institutions. And the new vacuum may be filled, not by genuine, unimposing though less easily measurable social educational opportunities, but by the élitist cultural ones of festival, league and gold award. Youth work, which (if Newsom's recom-

mendations were implemented) would theoretically become less distinguishable from schooling, has an important contribution to make here.

### **Training for youth work**

But youth work will only be adequately equipped to do this if its practitioners receive enough of the right sort of training. For practical reasons, most of the personnel involved will have to continue to be part-time (although the, again traditional, assumption that this is good and right as well as necessary, may also be due for reconsideration). Must this mean, however, that the occupational competence of those in youth work, just because they do it for only part of their time, can be allowed to be measured by less demanding standards? This is certainly not an attitude which teachers and social workers working alongside part-time colleagues would take. It is not clear why it should so often be happily condoned in youth work.

Whether youth workers are full- or part-time, therefore, they will all need to be given a training which does more than pass on a body of interesting but often inapplicable or misapplied academic learning. At present, too much training, especially of part-timers, deals in a detached way with anything from how to collect subscriptions or run a committee to the psychology of the adolescent and 'social group work' (in one hour!). This can only exceptionally have more than a peripheral effect on *practice*, again especially where part-timers are concerned. Certainly it is necessary for trainees to be introduced to new ideas and knowledge, but what is vital is that they have opportunity to discover for themselves through discussion where these new ideas and information are needed in their own work. Again, many of the traditional approaches, this time to training, are inadequate.

Thus, in a variety of ways, youth work is at the cross-roads. A great deal of what had been found valuable in the past will need to be preserved. But room will also have to be found for the new, and some synthesis achieved. The often painful rethinking which is at present going on is essential and must be seen to have had an effect if the youth service is to fulfil the real leisure needs of young people today. It may also have important implications for others involved in educating the adolescent, in particular at secondary level.

# Some Thoughts on the Nature of Intelligence

JOYCE HUTTON

*Mrs. Hutton has taught for 25 years in primary schools in Co. Durham and in Middlesex.  
She is now teaching mathematics at Walford Secondary School, Ealing.*

'The Case for Non-Streaming', while turning away from ideas and practices that have had a limiting effect on education in the past, opens up wide vistas for discussion and research. The document itself recognises this, both in paragraph 26, where it warns of the dangers of non-streaming without clearly defined aims and purposes, and in paragraphs 35-37, where it pleads for research into methods of teaching and the learning process.

In rejecting the idea of inherent differences in intelligence which are fixed for life and in pressing for educational practices based on the theory that all children are equally educable, there is a danger of enthusiasts painting too rosy a picture of the effects of non-streaming and consequently disillusioning their followers. The whole question of the nature of intelligence is not so simple. The report emphasises the importance of speech in the development of intelligence. It might be that its importance and role has not been fully understood in the past, but there are other factors involved—the development of manual dexterity for instance. But these are cultural influences. Surely we would be wiser to start our study of intelligence by looking at its physical basis, the brain.

## A medical experiment

A film shown on television last autumn described the work of an Australian doctor who had devised machinery for massaging a mother in the last few months of pregnancy so as to increase the supply of oxygen to the brain of the unborn baby. The object was to prevent the dying off of cells in the brain through an insufficient supply of oxygen. The film went on to show the results obtained so far. These had been so good as to surprise even the doctor who had developed the idea. They were certainly impressive. The children were physically well advanced for their years, manual dexterity was developed very early and those who were old enough to speak—the oldest was four years—showed all the signs of being very bright. Knowing how cautious the medical authorities can, and indeed must, be, we can expect to wait a good many

years before the validity of this theory can be established one way or the other. It is the theory itself that challenges some of our preconceived ideas. For notice that while it would deny to inheritance any major influence on the intelligence, it would seem to establish that environmental influences before birth can have a very great influence either negative or positive, and presumably *any damage done would be permanent*.

## The central nervous system

It may be argued that the human brain contains thousands of millions of cells and is in any case extremely adaptable (and therefore the loss of a few cells would not matter). But consider the following:

'There is another reason for emphasising the automatic control functions of the central nervous system. These are the really important functions of the brain. They keep the organism alive and healthy . . . Nature clearly does not yet trust the recently developed and not very well proved "higher" intellectual capabilities of man for the performance of any really vital functions, such as breathing, regulation of the heartbeat . . . nature has, in the last million years or so, been able to afford homo sapiens the luxury of employing the small portion of his nervous equipment that can be spared from really essential duties for pursuing the hobby that we have named the "higher intellectual activities".'<sup>2</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that any loss in either machinery or energy in the brain would first affect this 'luxury' rather than the processes necessary to keep the being alive.

Incidentally, it is worth while pausing to consider what the future of our schools would be if the

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<sup>1</sup> Submitted by the Editorial Board of Forum to the Plowden Committee, and printed in Forum, Vol. 7, No. 1, Autumn, 1964.

<sup>2</sup> *The Machinery of the Brain*, by Dean E. Wooldridge, research associate, California Institute of Technology. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Australian doctor were proved correct and his methods were widely adopted. The average child would then be almost a genius by our present standards. The teachers would be the retarded ones. The present writer takes comfort from the thought that while optimistic enough to hope that she will live to see the day, it will be seen from the safe vantage point of a retired teacher. More seriously such an outcome would certainly change the whole basis of discussion of streaming and school organisation.

### **Birth haemorrhage**

Another example of work in the medical field relevant to our ideas on intelligence is to be found in theories put forward by Dr. Lise Gellner:

'The extreme frequency of birth haemorrhage caused by rupture of small tributaries of the great cerebral vein in the neighbourhood of the upper brain stem was first described almost forty years ago by an English gynaecologist. Eardley Holland, in a report about the causes of stillbirth compiled for the Ministry of Health. In this report, Holland described 83 cases of this kind, and, in conclusion, he posed the question: "In view of the extremely high percentage of stillbirths due to severe haemorrhages in this neighbourhood, one must assume that there exists even a much higher percentage of newborn children who have suffered minor haemorrhages which were not fatal. What happens to these children in later years?"'<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Gellner's answer to this question is that some children suffer from specific defects of vision or hearing. Two cases will give an idea of her theories.

A child may have a restricted, hose shaped field of vision, so that he can see clearly what is in front of him, but, instead of seeing objects towards the edge of the normal field of vision out of focus he does not see them at all. It is as difficult for him to turn and see some object which is pointed out to him as it would be for most of us if we tried to do the same while looking through a telescope. He cannot follow movements and is therefore unable to learn from us when we show him how to do something. He may however learn to read, and will get far more satisfaction from a book which he can enjoy, than from a game of football which will be impossible for him.

The opposite defect may also occur. A child may have a wide field of vision but the centre of the field may lack the normal sharpness of focus. Such a child will find reading and all close work very difficult, but he will enjoy movement and activity

generally. Such a child will of course be a great nuisance to his teachers.

Dr. Gellner thinks that such children as these may become mentally retarded because their difficulties are not understood. The emotional difficulties and frustrations that can arise from such circumstances can easily be imagined. Less extreme cases can cause educational and psychological trouble even if the child is not pushed over the borderline into the category of mental defect.

A teacher cannot discuss the validity on physiological grounds of such theories but the longer one teaches the more one meets children who would fit into one or other of these categories and whose lack of progress is obviously not due to lack of intelligence.

### **Word-blindness**

There is another divergence from the normal which is quite common in our schools, that is word-blindness. Such children learn to read with difficulty and when they come to write, their work may be unreadable, except to an experienced teacher, because the order of letters is reversed. Such children can be badly mishandled too if it is not realised that these may be quite intelligent children suffering from a specific defect.

'The difficulties experienced by the word-blind are numerous and often great, but it is mainly at school that the difficulties are greatest. All the more because difficulties arise so early in the individual's life, and in spheres which have a decisive influence on his subsequent occupational adjustment, congenital word-blindness often causes nervous reactions which may have a lasting effect on personality structure, especially if deviations due to a character neurosis develop. The fate of the word-blind individual depends less on the extent of his defects, and far more on the understanding, or lack of it, which he meets.'<sup>2</sup>

Here again we have great stress laid on the emotional development of the child.

Dr. Ritchie Russell explains how essential to the learning process are feelings favourable to the individual. 'All animals possess a mechanism in the brain — probably in the hypothalamus — which is powerfully geared to maintaining life, and is for

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<sup>1</sup>*A Neuropsychical Concept of Mental Retardation and its Educational Implications.* A series of five lectures by Lise Gellner, M.D. The Dr. Julian D. Levinson Research Foundation for Mentally Retarded Children, Chicago.

<sup>2</sup>*Reading Disability*, by Knud Hermann, M.D., Chief Physician, Neurological Unit, University Hospital, Copenhagen. Munksgaard.

example thrown into action in response to the afferent sensations from the lips of an infant during suckling. It seems that primitive sensations from the body orifices and viscera must be of great importance in developing the pattern of early motor response, by a mechanism of facilitation . . . This response is full of what we call *feeling* and is also very personal to the individual. It has a powerful effect on encouraging or facilitating responses which are favourable to this *personal reaction* . . . In order, therefore, to consider further the basis of learning let us return to the infant engaged in random movements stimulated by the spontaneous activity of his C.N.S. cells, and consider what happens when a certain motor response is facilitated by hypothalamic mechanisms. This seems to be the basis of learned responses, and it seems likely that if we could understand the mechanisms by which simple motor responses are established, i.e. learned, then we would be more than halfway towards understanding the physiology of learning in the academic sense.<sup>1</sup>

### Infants' schools

The enthusiasts for non-streaming complained of earlier sometimes appear to be putting forward the argument that it is streaming in the lower branches of education that is responsible for the wide divergences in intelligence that appear later. The secondary schools blame the junior schools, and the junior schools blame the infants' schools for streaming. It is significant that the Editorial Board of FORUM that put forward the document to the Plowden Committee did not contain an infants' teacher. For the most part infants' teachers are far too modest. They prefer to listen rather than to lecture. On their behalf it should be made clear that when children enter school at the age of five there are already very great differences of ability among them.

On the one hand children do range over a whole scale of different levels of intelligence, and the best efforts of the most conscientious teachers do not appear to make any radical change. We have seen that there may be a medical explanation for this in that brain cells do die from lack of oxygen. There may also be a cure, but it lies in the field of medicine.

Cutting across this scale are many specific defects also varying in severity which hamper the education of the child. A much closer working of

medical and educational research is necessary if we are to understand and treat these cases.

Streaming is bad because its negative emotional effect hampers the educational development of the child, because, as it is at present operated, it is largely irrelevant and is not based on any diagnosis of the reasons of backwardness, and lastly because for at least 30 years it has channelled educational research into the useless search for a method of evaluating children correct to three places of decimals.

Non-streaming can clear the ground of some of the factors that are a hindrance to education, but it cannot solve all the problems of backwardness.

A great deal of research is needed both by teachers and doctors and, as the document of the Editorial Board has said, the primary schools need much better facilities, including much smaller classes. The road is difficult but the possibility exists to improve the present level of education of our children beyond all recognition.

*It may be worth making clear that the FORUM evidence to the Plowden Committee did not claim that all children are 'equally educable', nor did it make any criticism of infant school teachers. We welcome this contribution and fully agree that more research is needed into the whole question of human learning, the nature of defects in individual children, and the means of overcoming these or compensating for them. Ed.*

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## THE KEEN EDGE

An unusual and striking collection of poems by adolescents has been compiled by Jack Bennett, of Westhill Training College, who includes an analysis of the poems in a book recently published with the above title. The poems reflect the children's deepest experiences. Several of them bear on school, on teachers, and on the 11-plus. The book is published by Blackie at ten shillings and sixpence.

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<sup>1</sup>*The Physiology of Learning*, by W. Ritchie Russell, Edinburgh, The Royal College of Physicians.

### A New Journal

*New Education*. Edited by Willem van der Eyken. Published monthly from Bracken House, Cannon Street, London, E.C.4. Issues 1-5, November 1964-March 1965. 3s. each.

The death of the *Journal of Education* in March 1958 meant that there was no longer available any monthly magazine produced on a commercial basis concerned with educational ideas. Luckily, FORUM made its first appearance a few months after and so three times a year we have had a journal where forward-looking educators could state their views, plans and ideas. Now, with the public significance of education increasing, we are joined by a new educational journal which has appeared as a glossy monthly and five issues have been published so far.

*New Education* began publication with its first issue in November last, with an editorial board drawn from most sides of technical and higher education and on the schools side including the headmistress of a London comprehensive school and the headmaster of a well-known public school. One can see from these first five issues and from the editorial comment in number 1, it is more concerned with the new techniques and emerging technology of education than with basic educational principles. So it fulfils a complementary role to this journal in encouraging experimentation in the classrooms and colleges and in providing information about the increasing role which audio-visual aids play in the teaching situation today. Articles on educational developments abroad such as 'Sleep-learning' (a special report from Russia in the March issue), and 'Self Teaching, U.S.A.' (a survey of programmed learning techniques assisted by computers from California in the December 1964 issue) give some idea of the way in which this journal is making information available.

There has been an improvement in the range of topics covered from issue 1 to issue 5. The two recent articles on the Dienes structural mathematical apparatus (February and March issues) are of interest to all primary teachers and one hopes that the magazine will try to bridge the two cultures controversy, too. The article by S. H. Burton of the Nuffield Foundation programme of research into the teaching of English in schools was most interesting and challenging.

Besides these, the reviews of research projects are especially valuable; recently these have included 'Anatomy of a classroom', in which two cine cameras were concealed in classrooms to record children's attitudes to learning and teachers' performances, and a report on the forthcoming research on phonetic colour reading by the London University Reading Research unit (February 1965). Each issue also includes abstracts

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The book should be useful to pupils preparing for GCE O and A levels; the extracts are generally long enough to be used as a basis for written homework and classroom discussion. 224 pages, boards, 8s 6d

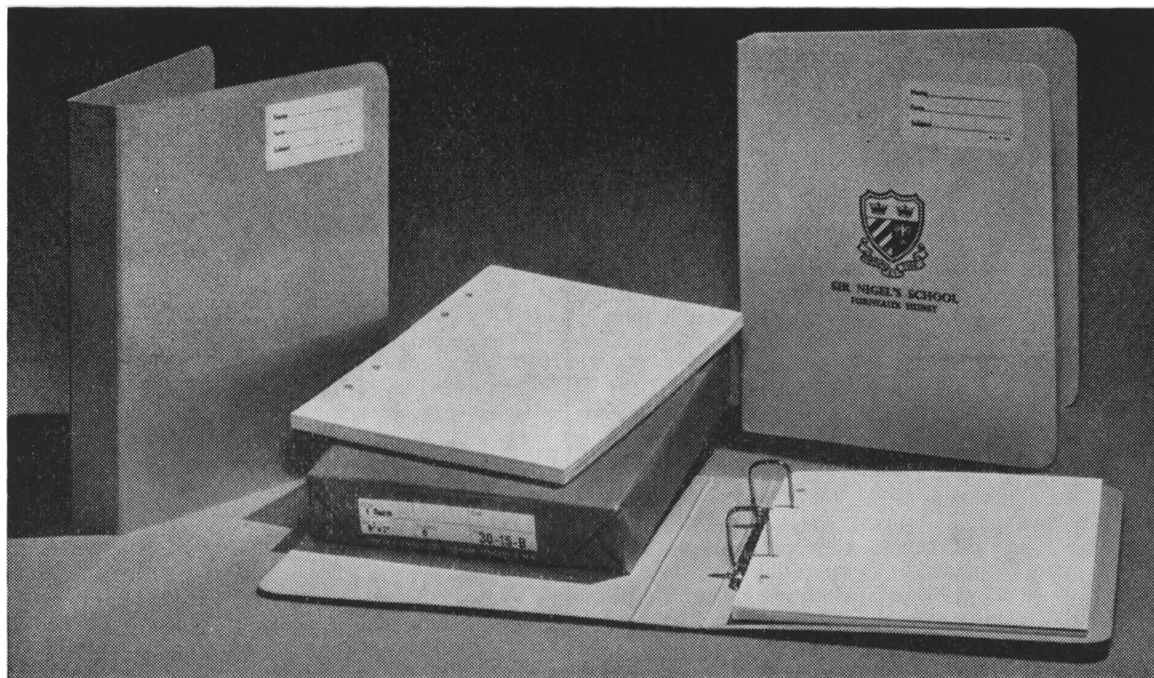
## The Lyric Mood

R. K. MOTTRAM, *Senior English Master at Kingston Grammar School*

This is an anthology designed to show the richness of English lyrical poetry. It contains a hundred and ninety-two lyrics, ranging from the fifteenth to the first half of the twentieth century; one quarter of these are copyright. Although many of them are 'English' in the narrow sense and most are British, a few are by American poets. The book should provide enjoyable reading for senior pupils generally and be of particular help to those studying the lyric as a literary form in GCE whether at O or A level or in Special Papers. The editor's introduction deals with the nature and history of lyrical poetry, and there are twenty-five pages of notes. Since many schools already use Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* as their main source of lyrical poetry, the editor has tried, wherever possible, to supplement Palgrave's selection. 304 pages, boards, 10s 6d

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In fact, one can suggest, after reading these first five issues thoroughly, that *New Education* will soon be regarded as essential monthly reading for every lively teacher in the country, whether in primary school or university.

ERIC LINFIELD.

## Culture and Discrimination

*The Popular Arts*, by Stuart Hall and Paddy Whannel. Hutchinson (1965). 45s.

There are two interesting things about this book: there is the book in itself and there is the reception it has had. The book is valuable because it strives—and, on the whole, successfully—to introduce the note of discrimination into the 'pop' field. It starts from the assumption that, 'The idea of a uniform mass culture standing in bleak hostility to the traditional virtues is not based on fact', and it aims to 'seek out the points of growth' within the cultural order as it is at the moment, partly, indeed, to help those teachers who are concerned with the education of the majority.

This is an undertaking of enormous importance, for it has to be realised that the culture of the majority of children in this country is that of the popular arts and not that of the school. One of the major reasons for the failure of mass education—and, by and large, it has failed—lies in this discrepancy between what is offered (a watered-down high culture) and the real interests of the folk. Whether one agrees with all the judgments made by the two authors—and this is not to be expected—here is something which will put the whole debate about 'mass civilisation' on a better footing. The discriminations provide us with something to start from; the analyses, which are plentiful, stimulate to acceptance or repudiation, an informed response rather than a wholesale rejection based, usually, on ignorance. The authors, both of whom have taught in secondary modern schools for a number of years, provide a number of teaching projects which suggest ways of using films, records and various sorts of reading matter in the classroom.

All this, because it is based on careful evaluative evidence, one would have thought unexceptionable and, at the very least, worth careful consideration. In fact, a number of the press notices have been hostile, as if there is something offensive in the very idea of trying to improve the public taste and thus to heighten people's enjoyment of what they see and read.

There is, of course, the non-evaluative attitude of the social scientist to be allowed for, partly irrelevant though this is in the field in question; but the main

hostility comes from those who appear to resent any suggestion of moral judgment within an area where, traditionally, 'doing as one likes' has been assumed to be the operative principle—indeed, the defining characteristic. The answer to this seems to me twofold. In the interlocked nature of modern communities we cannot be indifferent to affective pressures which are disseminated through centralised, sometimes public, agencies and which might, for instance, weaken public resistance to specious political appeals. After all, political rights carry some social responsibilities. Secondly, we must accept the logic implicit in universal education; we must at least believe in our own enactments. Now, education unavoidably involves a moral concern: it implies 'freedom to' rather than 'freedom from'. Influences which conflict with much of what the schools are trying to do merit attention from the educationist. It is the virtue of the book under review that it leads to a more complex view both of education and of those influences. Paradoxically, its aim, ultimately, is to enable people to enjoy themselves more, not less.

G. H. BANTOCK.

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