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The Influence of Social Class on the Academic  
Progress of Boys within a Boys' Grammar School.

G.E.Whalley.

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from it should be acknowledged.

I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to the Headmaster of the School concerned for his permission to carry out this investigation in the School and for making available information contained in school records.

At the request of the Director of Education and the Education Committee of the Local Education Authority no reference is made by name, in this account, to the Local Education Authority and the School.

G.E.W.

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I. PURPOSE OF THE INVESTIGATION.

A class is a number of individuals who possess certain features in common with each other. A social class, therefore, can be regarded as one of several groups into which a community (of a village, town or perhaps a country) could be divided.

Sociologists and others, however, frequently use the word class and they give it a more specific meaning implying not simply a section of society - a group of people within the community, but one which can be placed, along with the other groups, in an order of status. Thus the members of one class are regarded, by the members of the community, as being the 'social superiors' of the members of a class lower in the list. This superiority might be one of wealth, position and authority, occupation, dress or, more usually, a 'compound superiority' arising from a combination of these and other factors. The relative importance of the individual factors in determining position on the social scale presents difficulties for the social statistician but they are usually apparent and well defined, in a non-statistical sense, to the members of the community as a whole.

In feudal times the class structure of this country was rigid and the differences separating one class from another were easily defined. There were the noblemen (who ruled), priests, merchants, craftsmen, peasants.

The classes were placed, in order of decreasing superiority, in the order given above. Thus a nobleman belonged to a higher social class and possessed more social status than a merchant who, in turn, was of higher social status than a peasant. There was little, if any, social mobility.

It is not appropriate here to discuss the class structure of other countries (for example the rigid 'caste' system in India, the indistinct class structure in the United States of America) or to describe in detail the processes by which the class structure of Great Britain lost so much of its rigidity. Development of trade, the accumulation of wealth, particularly by the merchants, played their part. Marriage between the members of different social groups occurred, mainly due to the amassing of wealth by members of the lower classes. Industrialization, in addition to other effects, brought into being many occupations, intermediate between worker and capitalist - such as that of manager, technician, foreman - and which tended thereby to obscure the boundary between the two extreme social groups.

In recent years this breakdown of rigid barriers between social classes has continued and social mobility has become easier to achieve. Nevertheless social class is not, at the present time, an out-dated concept.

Social class is a subject of interest in itself but it is particularly useful as a method of classification in investigations such as the present

one. It is argued later (Section IV) that occupation is, today, probably the best single indicator of social class. Membership of a particular class is not, however, simply a question of occupation alone, or of rank, or size of home, education, etc. It is concerned with all these matters and many others arising directly or indirectly from them. 'Social Class' is used in this investigation rather than, for instance, the often used term 'Home Background' because the former term involves not only a consideration of those material features which result in a person being a member of a particular social class. When considering social class one is concerned also with the effect upon an individual of his membership of a particular class, his awareness of his social status, his conception of his position in society and of his responsibilities, his attitude towards his possessions, family, future, the members of his own and other classes.

An individual's social class has always to some extent determined the type of education which he or she received. This was more particularly so before the passing of the 1944 Education Act. In many ways this Act followed naturally from a war in which all people, from all social classes, had played an equally important part and during which class divisions had not been so apparent as in the pre-war years. After the war everyone, in all levels of society, deserved a new life and all children deserved the best possible education. This had to include, for all children, secondary education.



Grammar Schools had, until then, been the only secondary schools. They continued and although not the only secondary schools they were, nevertheless, the most desirable ones from the parents' point of view, mainly due to their social prestige and to the occupations open to their products. So the desire for social equality which was so closely linked with the development of secondary education for all children also made it necessary to ensure that entrance to the secondary grammar schools was open to all of the necessary ability whatever their social class.

This desire for equality made it essential that the selection examinations taken at about the age of eleven should be socially just, giving opportunities to all children, irrespective of the social status of their parents. It was essential for another and perhaps more serious reason.

The post-war period brought with it a fight for recovery. Success in this fight for recovery depended essentially upon our scientists, technologists, administrators, economists. It was, and indeed still is, essential, therefore, for the survival of the country, that every child who had the ability to benefit from it, who could perhaps become one of the scientists that the country needed, should be admitted to a secondary grammar school, whatever his social class. In the grammar school he or she would receive the education suited to his or her ability.

One immediate result of this desire and necessity for 'fairness' in

grammar school selection was the abolition of fees in all maintained grammar schools. This resulted in a lowering of the number of children from, usually, middle class homes who had previously failed to be selected by examination but had paid fees, and a corresponding increase in the number of boys and girls of lower social status who were academically more able.

This was a rapid but only a partial solution to the problem of selection for secondary grammar school education. In the years since the passing of the 1944 Education Act, as well as before, much attention has been focussed on the eleven plus examination. Much research and experiment has taken place. Change has occurred with the aim of ensuring that selection is more efficient, that the right pupils are selected and that all the right pupils are selected whatever their social class and financial circumstances. Work by Floud, Halsey and Martin <sup>(1)</sup> which will be discussed later (page 9) suggests that such efforts have achieved success. They discovered that in the areas in which their investigations were carried out virtually all children who could benefit from a grammar school education did, in the years of the investigation, enter a grammar school.

Admittance to a grammar school is not, however, the end of the process. Admittance to such a school does not automatically result in the boy or girl making the most of, or giving the community the full benefit of, his or her capabilities. It is essential to ensure that social class plays

no significant part in selection for a grammar school education but it is equally as important that no child should be at a disadvantage because of social background, within the school to which he or she proceeds after having been selected.

This investigation is concerned with the latter problem, in so much as it affects one school in particular. The secondary grammar school concerned is doubtless typical of many, if not all, grammar schools in that underlying a boy's academic work and progress through the school there is an element of competition closely linked with a continual process of selection.

Thus a boy is concerned with his position in his form after each school examination and the resultant promotion or demotion between forms. Selection and competition are apparent in choice of courses, in General Certificate examinations at all levels, entry to the sixth form and University. A boy's academic progress in a secondary grammar school and his success or failure in all aspects of this 'academic competition' are to a certain extent synonymous.

The purpose of this investigation is to determine if a boy's academic progress in a particular school, a secondary grammar school for boys, is affected by his social class and, if so, to discover how it is affected and why.

Professor Peel has written, "There are four important ways of

conducting educational research: these are by the psychological, sociological, comparative and historical methods. They may all be applied to researches into problems at all stages of education and the last three apply particularly to researches into educational organisation and administration."<sup>(2)</sup> This investigation is essentially sociological. Its purpose is to examine the influence of social class within a boys' grammar school, with particular reference to the effects, if any, upon academic progress with the object of discovering to what extent factors inherent within the concept of social class ought to be taken into account in the organisation of such a school.

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II. PREVIOUS WORK CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECT OF THE INVESTIGATION.

Teachers and others concerned with education tend to believe, usually as a result of observation and experience, that home environment has significant effects upon a child's education at all stages. Professor Lester Smith, when discussing the influence of social class in education, states, "A child from a good home with parents who care about education has advantages in the determination of his I.Q., his streaming, and his occupational prospects." (3) Most writings and research, however, have been concerned with these social effects in connection with selection at the age of eleven.

Fleming has shown that "when average (test) scores are compared there is evidence of differences between pupils of the same age in various social groups - the more prosperous on the whole scoring the more highly, and the differences being most distinct between sections most widely separated by economic conditions." (4)

In 1947 Professor Burt wrote, "When one studies the failures among those who were selected for grammar school and the over-sights among those who were not selected, not a few mistakes, it is seen, might have been avoided had the child's social environment been taken into account." (5)

The Essex Education Committee in their report, published in 1944, stated that "children who are not essentially unsuitable for grammar

schools can be made unsuitable by bad home conditions. Even when conditions cannot be called bad, the lack of any cultural background or of any understanding of the meaning of an educated outlook insidiously cramps the mind of the pupil and retards his progress".<sup>(6)</sup>

Perhaps the most important work on the social influence in secondary school selection is that carried out by Floud, Halsey and Martin in 1951-1953 as part of a wider enquiry into social selection and differentiation in Britain being carried out by the Social Research Division of the London School of Economics.<sup>(1)</sup> Two fairly representative areas in the country were used, namely South West Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough. Social Class within these areas was measured by father's occupation using the categories of the 'B' code of the Government Social Survey as the basis of classification. The distribution of social class within the areas was investigated and this was compared with the social classes of those boys who obtained entrance to grammar schools. It was shown that "virtually the full quota of boys with the necessary minimum I.Q. from each occupational group in the population was awarded places in grammar schools". Floud continues, "If by 'ability' we mean 'measured intelligence' and by 'opportunity' access to grammar schools, then opportunity may be said to stand in close relationship with ability in both these areas today". Finally, "We may reasonably conclude that in very many, if not in most, parts of the

country the chances of children at a given level of ability entering grammar schools are no longer dependent on their social origins".

The work of Floud suggests that the so-called eleven-plus examination as set in many parts of the country is 'fair' as far as a child's social class is concerned. This does not mean that the same proportions of boys of all social classes enter the grammar schools, the boys of middle class origin having, on the whole, higher intelligence than boys in the working class. Thus approximately one working class boy in eight was admitted to a grammar school in Middlesbrough as compared with nearly one in three of the lower middle class boys.

The effects of social class within the grammar school have been examined as a possible contributory factor when investigating such matters as, for instance, early leaving from such schools.

The report 'Early Leaving' published in 1954 <sup>(7)</sup> states that of about 16,000 children from semi-skilled and unskilled families who entered grammar schools in 1946, some 9,000 failed to gain three passes at ordinary level in the General Certificate of Education. The first conclusion in the report is worth quoting in full. "We have been impressed above all with the far-reaching influence of a child's home background. We have traced the school records of children in different social groups and we have found that from the children of parents in professional or managerial occupations at one extreme to the children of unskilled workers

at the other there is a steady and marked decline in performance at the grammar school, in the length of school life, and in academic promise at the time of leaving. This is not a mere development of the better performance at the age of eleven of children in certain groups; it reflects a wide-spread changing of places in academic order between 11 and 16 or 18".

Collins discussed, in the British Journal of Educational Psychology in 1954, causes of premature leaving from grammar schools.<sup>(8)</sup> She found that "increased proportions of unskilled workers in a population are correlated, significantly, but not highly, with increased percentages of premature leavers". She also found that correlation of professional (middle) classes with early leaving was not significant.

Halsey and Gardner published in 1953 the results of an enquiry made by them since 1944 into achievement and social class in four grammar schools in Greater London.<sup>(9)</sup> They were concerned with one age group (the 13-14 year old boys) in the four schools and they came to the conclusion that "middle-class boys tend to have superior academic records despite the fact that, as a group, they do not differ in measured intelligence from working-class boys in the same schools. .... The evidence would suggest that the middle-class boy rather than the working-class boy ..... is better equipped in his attitudes and family background to take full advantage of education in a Grammar School and thus set out on a career leading to an occupation of high social prestige". Two of the 4 grammar schools



in which Halsey and Gardner carried out their investigation were in working class areas of London, the other two being in the suburbs and therefore presumably middle class in nature. They attempted to examine academic achievement in relation to social class by investigating the social composition of 'streams'. Their results show that in the two schools in the working class districts the distribution of the social class groups in the various streams appeared "to be almost random". In the two suburban grammar schools, however, there was "a uniform tendency for the middle class children to appear more frequently in the forms of superior academic status", although the differences were not statistically significant.

Campbell, in 1952, carried out an investigation into the influence of home environment on the educational progress of selective secondary school children.<sup>(10)</sup> A detailed study was made of four groups of children, groups 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b. Group 1a was composed of 25 children who were failing to progress satisfactorily at grammar schools; 1b were 25 children who were "living up to expectations" at the same grammar schools. Group 2a consisted of a further 25 children who were progressing better than expected at Central Schools; 2b consisted of 25 children who were progressing as expected at the same Central Schools.

Campbell showed that groups 1a and 1b were approximately of the same average level of intelligence and primary school attainment but

differed greatly in the "social and cultural level of their homes", group 1b being superior in home background. Groups 2a and 2b were also shown to be of approximately the same average level of intelligence but the same difference in social background was noted, this time 2a being the superior in this respect. "These findings", Campbell concludes, "Strongly confirm the widely held view that certain aspects of home background affect secondary school achievement",

Oppenheim apparently comes to the same conclusion as Campbell when, as a result of a survey concerned with 14 year-old boys at grammar schools, he comes to the conclusion that, at the borderline (in the eleven plus examination), social class was the best predictor of selection.<sup>(11)</sup>

Much work has been carried out concerning progress and attainment in the grammar school. Phillipson,<sup>(12)</sup> Daniels,<sup>(13)</sup> Emmett and Wilmut<sup>(14)(15)</sup> have carried out work concerned with the efficiency of the eleven plus selection examination as a means of predicting grammar school success. These researches are not concerned with the effects of social background but they are nevertheless of interest.

Phillipson<sup>(12)</sup> examined the academic progress of a single year-group in a secondary grammar school. He examined and compared the scores obtained by the members of the year-group in their secondary school selection tests, internal examinations, G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) and in their Primary Tests. These latter tests were to measure the child's work in his or her primary school. Phillipson came to the conclusion that

"there is better correlation between the grammar school examination and the G.C.E. than there is between the grammar school examination and the selection tests. This seems to indicate that the abilities measured by the grammar school are roughly the same as those measured by the G.C.E. - whereas the selection tests do not measure the same ability". Later he continues, "The Scaled Primary T-score predicts grammar school and G.C.E. attainment much more efficiently because it is an estimate of the work in the primary school".

Daniels <sup>(13)</sup> investigated the accuracy with which the various tests used in secondary school selection examinations by a particular local education authority allocated primary school children to the grammar schools administered by that authority. He was concerned with, amongst other things, the relationship between selection test marks and marks gained in internal school examinations. He obtained the following "rather surprising result that ..... the selection test marks predict internal grammar school examination marks better over two than over one year".

Emmett and Wilmut investigated the effectiveness of standardised tests of intelligence, English and Arithmetic in predicting performance in grammar school subjects. <sup>(14)</sup> They also noted a difference of correlation with time and came to the conclusion that "there is some evidence that correlations of the transfer (eleven plus) examination with school success increase with passage of time".

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III. CONSTRUCTION OF THE INVESTIGATION AND SOURCES  
OF INFORMATION.

The investigation is concerned with one school, a secondary grammar school for boys in an industrial town, and the social influences at work within this one school.

The social influences concerned, however, arise outside the school and it was thought necessary to begin with a consideration of the town in which the school is situated and which it serves, in particular its social composition, its system of education and the method by which boys are selected for a grammar school education. The primary schools attended by grammar school entrants are determined largely by the positions of the boys' homes, these homes being in one or other of the social areas into which the area tends to be divided. The geographical distribution of the homes of the boys attending the school at the time of the investigation was therefore examined. An analysis of the social composition of the school as a whole at this particular time was also carried out.

This analysis of the school formed the basis for the first part of what may be called the investigation proper. This was the examination of the academic progress of the boys of several year-intakes. This examination was restricted for reasons given below (page 51) to the first three years spent in the school.

It was possible, as a result of this initial stage, to draw certain conclusions regarding the inter-relation of academic progress and social class. A consideration of these conclusions prompted the second stage of the investigation in which the academic progress of the members of a single year-group was followed for all the years spent in the school - including performances in the General Certificate of Education examinations, leaving ages, occupations undertaken upon leaving school.

The third and final stage followed logically from the others. It involved mainly a detailed analysis of the measured ability, academic progress and social 'background' of the boys of one intake in an attempt to discover which features of their lives connected with, or arising from, their membership of a particular social class could affect their academic progress at school.

This account is therefore divided into three main parts i.e. (i) the preliminary work (the town, system of education, school organisation, social composition, etc.) to which reference has been made, (ii) a comparison of the academic progress of the boys of different social classes for several year intakes, (iii) the analysis of the social 'backgrounds' of certain boys.

This type of small-scale investigation possesses one important limitation. Compared with a large-scale enquiry the numbers involved are small. This reduces the statistical significance of tables, of comparisons

and of other means of examining data. The investigation is not therefore of a highly statistical nature but is a sample study concerned essentially with the social class and progress of individual boys or of small groups of boys.

Most of the information has been obtained from school records. The most important of these are terminal reports and record cards.

The record cards, of which one is kept for each boy in the school, give details of that boy's previous school, his father's occupation, his address. Each year entries are made on the record card concerning the boy's academic progress during the year in terms of his marks in school examinations and in homework exercises. In addition details are entered regarding the boy's sporting activities, his hobbies, his attendance at school, character, attitude to work, behaviour. If the boy attended a primary school in the town his Primary School Record Card would contain details of test scores obtained in secondary school selection tests and other relevant information. In the majority of cases these cards are sent to the boy's secondary school and filed there.

The school issues a report on each boy at the end of each half year. These reports include comments by all masters who teach the boy and remarks by the headmaster and form master concerning general behaviour and progress in school. Copies of all reports are filed and retained.

Record cards and reports give, therefore, a sufficiently full picture of each boy's progress in school. All other documents and correspondence

relating in any way to a boy's school career are filed and were available for use. Other sources of information include admission and leaving registers, local authority reports and personal knowledge of the boys concerned. Finally some information was obtained regarding some boys from masters who taught them (in addition to or in amplification of remarks made on school reports) and also, again in certain cases, from parents.

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IV. THE MEASUREMENT OF SOCIAL CLASS AND OF ACADEMIC PROGRESS.

Social Class.

The meaning of the term social class was discussed on page 1. In that discussion the point was made that an individual's social class is not based upon any single aspect of his mode of life but upon a subtle combination of all: "Occupation, education, expenditure habits, possession of a car, membership of clubs, recreation - these are only a few of the many facts that bear upon social class and might well be taken into account in its measurement". (16)

Occupation, however, is generally regarded as the best single indicator of social class. Occupation is closely linked with income which in turn affects material possessions, dress, holidays and recreations - in fact the whole pattern of the individual's life. A man's occupation brings him into contact with other people and so influences him in the acquaintances he makes. This indirectly affects his recreations, his membership of clubs, perhaps his cultural pursuits. A person's acquaintances will usually also be determined by the area in which he lives. This will again be largely determined by his income. An individual's occupation will usually be connected with the type of education he received. Finally it has been shown that, to the people of this country, occupation and social status are fairly closely



associated. (16)

In this investigation a boy's social class is measured by the occupation of his father.

Occupations were classified in the Government Social Survey as follows:

- (i) Professional and Higher Technical Grades. This group includes those occupations requiring special training, i.e. doctors, teachers, accountants, etc.
- (ii) Business Owners and Managers. This group also includes commissioned officers in the armed forces.
- (iii) Clerical Grades. Bank Clerks, draughtsmen, clerks in general.
- (iv) Small shopkeepers, supervisors of labour at the workshop level, works foremen.
- (v) Skilled manual workers.
- (vi) Unskilled manual workers.

This six-fold division is used as the basis of the present enquiry. It was found to be of no value to use six separate groups, the differences between some groups being so small, if present at all, that such groups together were, in effect, one social group. It was eventually found that the most convenient classification was one in which occupations were classified into three groups corresponding to groups i and ii, iii and iv,

v and vi of the Government Social Survey taken together. These three occupational groups correspond to three social classes which will be called the Middle, Lower Middle and Working Classes respectively, the method of naming used by Floud<sup>(1)</sup> and others.

The three social classes to be used are therefore as follows:

MIDDLE CLASS. This group includes all professional people, i.e. doctors, teachers, accountants, ordained ministers, surveyors, senior officials of the local authority, educational advisors, welfare officers. It also includes directors and managers of business firms, managers of technical departments of engineering works, owners of large shops, managers of large hotels.

LOWER MIDDLE CLASS. This group includes foremen and supervisors of labour at workshop level, clerks, draughtsmen, insurance agents, owners of small shops. (A shop is regarded as small for the purpose of this investigation if normally the owner is the only person who serves in the shop or where there is one, rarely two, assistants and the owner works 'behind the counter' all the time. A shop which entitles its owner to be classified as Middle Class is one in which there is a permanent staff of several assistants with the owner not normally serving customers. Such shops are usually situated in the centre of the town.)

WORKING CLASS. Contained within this group are all skilled and semi-skilled and unskilled workers.

(It is possible, though less common, to allocate an individual to his social class by reference to his so-called socio-economic status judged in terms of his possessing or not possessing certain articles such as a car, telephone, etc. Such a method of denoting social class is perhaps most useful when used in conjunction with the occupation of the father. In this respect it is of interest to note that, in the school concerned in this investigation, during the academic year 1957-1958, 47.1% of the boys placed in the Middle Class by a consideration of father's occupation lived in homes which possessed a telephone. Telephones were present in 25.7% of the Lower Middle Class homes but in only 2.2% Working Class homes. This latter percentage represents six boys. Four of these boys, although classified as working class because their fathers had working class occupations, lived in houses attached to small shops, the shop in each case being the responsibility of the mother. The shop presumably made the possession of a telephone necessary. The other two boys are brothers and thus represent one home. There would seem, therefore, to be some relationship between social class as denoted by occupation of the father and socio-economic status as measured by the possession of a telephone.)

Academic Progress.

The method of streaming used in the school is described in Section VI. It can be stated at this stage, however, that each yearly intake to the school is divided into three forms according to the academic ability of each pupil as measured by the selection tests taken in the primary schools.

On two occasions each year after entering the school the boys in each form are placed in an order of merit as a result of their performance in school examinations and upon the quality of their homework during the preceding six months. On these two occasions certain boys are moved from one form to another - those boys at or near the top of the order of merit in the 'B' and 'C' forms are promoted and a corresponding number from the 'A' and 'B' forms are demoted.

In this investigation a boy's academic progress is measured basically by his performance in school examinations and in homework exercises. Therefore his academic progress is also shown by the forms in which he spends his time at the school and by his position in the form order of merit each half-year.

In certain parts of the work results obtained by boys in General Certificate Examinations are used as an indication of academic performance.

In the main, then, this enquiry is concerned with academic progress as it is recognised and measured by the school itself for the purposes of organisation, reports, testimonials, recommendation for University entrance, etc. - and as recognised by the boys themselves.

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PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

V. THE TOWN IN WHICH THE SCHOOL IS SITUATED.

The town is situated in the north west of the County of Lancashire and its position on the coast, with the Lake District to the north results in a partial isolation from the rest of the county. It is a County Borough with a population of 64,870.<sup>(17)</sup>

The town owes its existence to the rapid industrial development which took place during the latter half of the 19th. century. In this particular case a small village of 8 houses in 1750 developed into a thriving industrial town of 51,712 inhabitants in 1891.

The iron industry which was the cause of this rapid growth declined at the end of the 19th. century and only the rise of shipbuilding enabled the town to continue.

Shipbuilding is an industry which is liable to fluctuations in prosperity and the town suffered greatly during the industrial depression of 1922 and 1923. Both the world wars, on the other hand, were times of great prosperity for the inhabitants, work in the shipyards being plentiful. The local shipyard and engineering firms employed 8,000 men in 1900, 28,000 in 1918 and 4,900 in 1923.<sup>(18)</sup>

The history of the town is similar to that of many - such as Middlesbrough - which arose as 'mushroom' towns during the 19th. century as a result of industrial expansion. Its expansion was, perhaps, more rapid than most and this, together with great fluctuations in prosperity

must have had serious effects upon the people of the town. "One can hardly imagine the internal state of affairs in a town which added 16,880 people in one year, only to lose them in the years following, especially of course in 1919."<sup>(19)</sup>

Because of the isolation of the town it has been difficult to bring in other industries to provide employment. This is important in a town which not only relies upon one main industry but upon an industry which is susceptible to periods of recession following periods of great prosperity.

In effect the entire population relies upon the shipyard and, to a much less extent, upon the local steelworks for its livelihood. Many attempts before and since the 1939-1945 war have been made to bring other industries into the area but without success. Several small firms have been established but they employ together an insignificant number of men and women. Employment, especially for women, is difficult to obtain. The area has one of the highest levels of unemployment in the country. The Lancashire Industrial Development Association in their 1948 report on the area <sup>(17)</sup> said that there was no juvenile employment problem but now, twelve years later, there are signs that such a problem is developing. While in the past boys leaving school at 15 or 16 have had little difficulty in obtaining employment there has always been a shortage of posts for boys wishing to remain in the sixth form but not enter university. This may account for the large number who enter the sixth form of the Boys' Grammar

School, pass to a university and from there to employment elsewhere.

The town is well supplied with recreational amenities but is lacking in facilities which could be regarded as cultural. There is no Art Gallery, no regular series of music concerts and lack of support in the past means that orchestras of national repute when on tour do not visit the town. Although there are seven cinemas there is no live theatre except for one small theatre in which a succession of repertory companies try, from time to time, mainly unsuccessfully, to win regular audiences.

A. Education in the town.

Until the passing of the Education Act of 1870 education was provided in temporary schools attached to churches or in several private schools which were founded. Most of these private schools died with the setting up of the first school board in the town in 1873. Within three years the School Board built two temporary and five permanent schools. A Higher Grade School was opened in 1879 and it moved into permanent buildings ten years later. This school became the Grammar School for Boys which moved into a new building in 1930. A Grammar School for Girls was opened two years later. A School for Science and Art, opened in 1877, was the predecessor of the present Technical School.

Thus from the beginning most of the education was provided in schools established by the public authority. A High School for Boys and Girls, not



provided by the local authority or School Board, was established in 1888 and initially did well but degenerated after a few years when the headmaster moved to another school. Since the beginning of the century therefore there have been no serious rivals to the 'provided' system of education and this is still so today. There are no schools within 35 miles of the town which provide, upon payment of fees, education of a secondary nature for boys. There are no private schools for boys of primary school age within the town, the nearest one being too far away for a child to travel there and back daily. Very few boys attend boarding schools outside the town, the large majority of pupils of grammar school ability attend the local grammar schools and these schools therefore tend to receive each year intakes of pupils which represent a truer cross-section of all social classes within the town than is usual in many grammar schools. When there are several grammar schools in a large town the social composition of each will depend upon its geographical position in the town. It has been shown how in London, for instance, the movement of the middle classes to the suburbs has greatly affected the class composition of some schools.<sup>(20)</sup> In the town with which this investigation is concerned there is only one boys' grammar school, in which all social classes tend to be fully represented.

In 1930 the Borough Education Committee published a Scheme for the Re-Organisation of Schools, based upon the recommendations of the Hadow

Report of 1926. Senior Schools providing education of a secondary nature were established and these schools became secondary modern schools in 1944.

Today there are in the town 8 Infants Schools, 7 Junior Schools and 3 Primary Schools (Infants and Juniors) together with 1 Nursery School and 2 Special Schools - all these schools being provided by the local authority. In addition there are 9 Aided Primary Schools, 3 of them Church of England and 6 Roman Catholic.

There are no all-age schools and all children, at the age of eleven, move to the secondary school, grammar, technical or modern, most suited to their ability. In addition to grammar schools for boys and girls there is a Secondary Technical School for boys only and 8 secondary modern schools, two for boys, two for girls, two mixed, one aided mixed school and one special agreement mixed school, both these latter schools being Roman Catholic.

Children are allocated to the secondary school most suited to their needs by means of a series of examinations which each child sits at the ages of eight, nine, ten and eleven plus. These tests consist of Moray House standardised tests in English, Arithmetic and Intelligence. All children, except those who are educationally sub-normal, attending the local authority's primary schools do these tests at the appropriate ages. The tests are taken by the children in their primary schools,

in their normal classrooms. The papers are marked by the childrens' own teachers and the marking is checked by teachers from other primary schools in the town. The results of these tests are recorded, together with the teacher's assessment of each Child's attitude to his work, interests, special aptitudes, temperamental qualities, etc.

Each child's performance in the four series of tests forms the basis for deciding the type of secondary education which he or she will receive. Some note is taken of the reports of the primary school teachers, especially in the case of a 'borderline' child. These 'borderline' children are usually interviewed.

Thus about 90 boys enter the secondary grammar school each year and approximately the same number enter the secondary technical school. The grammar school for girls is a four-stream entry school, this larger size compensating for the lack of a technical school for girls.

All the secondary modern schools follow the same type of curriculum, especially for the first and second forms. French is taught as well as science. In particular the 'A' forms of the technical and modern schools and the 'C' forms of the grammar schools follow the same so-called 'Common Core' syllabus in English, Mathematics, Science and French for the first two years. After two years most of the boys from the 'A' streams in the modern and technical schools and some boys from the 'C' stream of the grammar school sit a Transfer Examination in the four

subjects mentioned. (In the Grammar School for Boys those who take this transfer examination are selected by a meeting of the masters who teach them and they are selected not necessarily because of academic performance alone but also because they seem, in general, to be unsuited to a grammar school.) Performance in this examination is used to select several boys (and girls) who are transferred from one school to another. All pupils under consideration for transfer are interviewed by the headteachers concerned. In fact, in recent years, it has been usual for two or three boys to be transferred yearly from the grammar school and for three or four boys to enter the grammar school from other secondary schools.

All the modern schools and the technical school provide courses, for suitable pupils, leading to the Ordinary Level of the G.C.E. It is now becoming the practice for three or four boys yearly to enter the sixth form of the grammar school after having obtained a sufficiently good G.C.E. at the Ordinary Level in a modern or in the technical school. Such boys are not admitted as a result of an examination but after interview and as a result of discussions between the two headmasters concerned.

B. The inhabitants of the town and stratification into social classes.

The majority of the present inhabitants of the town are the grandchildren or great-grandchildren of the people who flocked to the area from all parts of the country when the town was in the process of

formation. The people come therefore from a variety of backgrounds, many of them are of Irish and Scottish origin. According to the 1901 census, 6.2% of the inhabitants at that time came from Scotland, Ireland provided 4.6%, Staffordshire 4.2, Yorkshire 3.5 and Lancashire 58.6%

Over half the working population are employed in shipbuilding, ship repairing and heavy engineering, all employed in effect by one firm. In 1946, for instance, there were 26,903 workers registered at the local office of the Ministry of Labour as being employed in the town. Of these approximately 13,500 were employed in shipbuilding, repairing and marine engineering. A further 2,500 were employed in iron and steel industries. All other industries in the town together employed about 4,000. The remainder of the population is employed in building and civil engineering, hotels, restaurants, railways, food industries, distributive trades, entertainment and sport and in the national and local government services. (17)

The livelihood of all these people depends directly or indirectly upon the main industries of shipbuilding and engineering.

There are very few, if any, families within the town which could be grouped as Upper Middle Class. The managing director of a large firm could perhaps be classified thus but there is a tendency for such men to live some distance from the town. They are, in any case, few in number because of the lack of diversity in the town's industries. There is, in effect,

no Upper Middle Class.

The Middle Class of this enquiry (referred to, by some writers, as the Middle Middle-Class) includes doctors, teachers, local government officials. Doctors, because of the nature of their work, usually live within the town and, in this particular town, teachers and all local government employees are bound by their contracts to live within the borough. This produces a higher proportion of middle class inhabitants than would otherwise be expected and a proportion which is perhaps higher than usual for an industrial town of this type. Were it not for the 'residence rule' many middle classpeople would doubtless live along the coast or in one or other of the many villages which are within a few miles of the town.

The large body of professional or middle class population tends to live together in certain areas of the town, the boundaries of these areas being fairly well defined. This has obvious effects upon the social composition of the primary schools which are situated in various parts of the town. The middle class areas are all on the outskirts of the town and the working class population, on the whole, lives either in the centre or in the council housing estates, of which there are many, towards the outskirts. In the absence, therefore, of any upper class families it is possible to divide the town into areas which correspond roughly to the

three main social classes used in the present investigation.

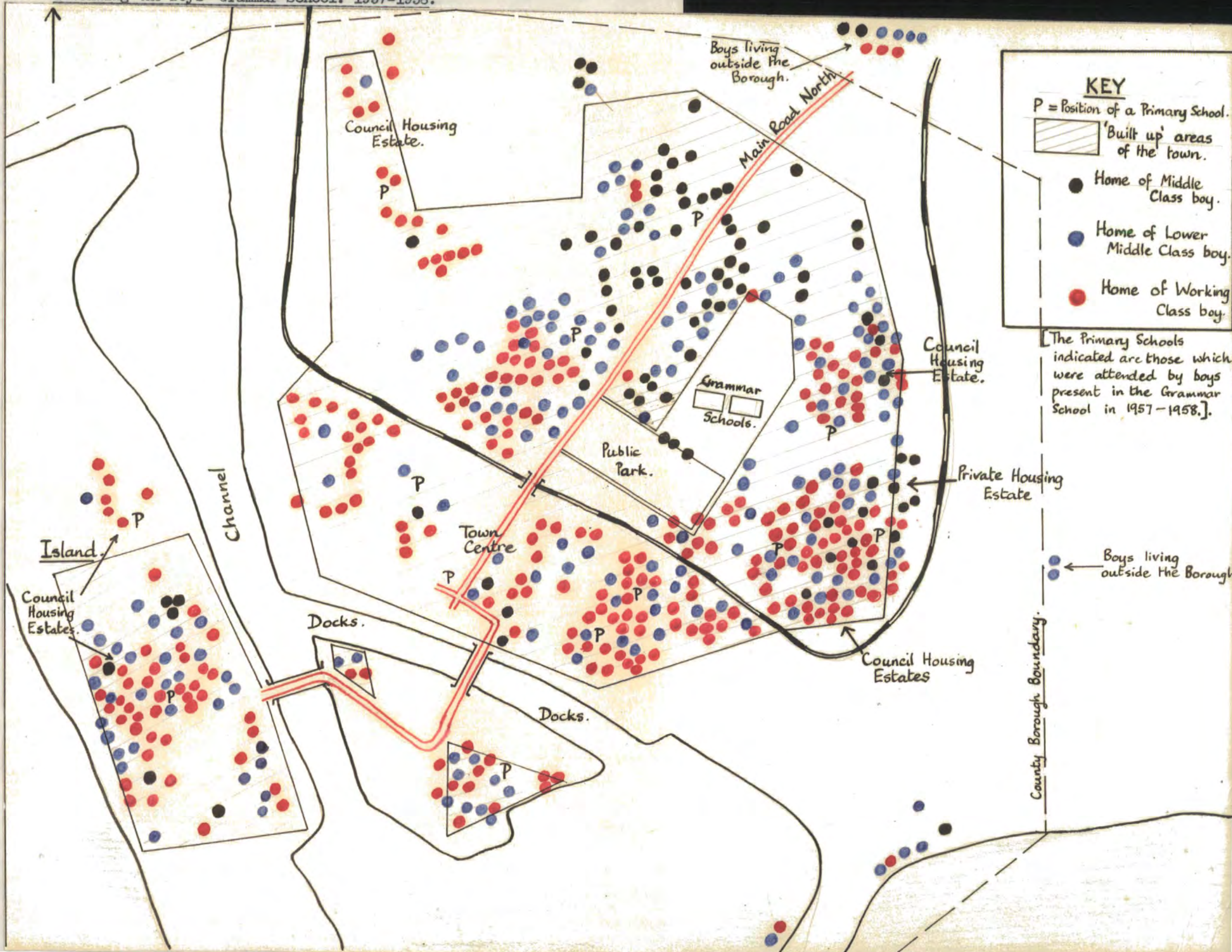
No figures are available to give the number of people in each social class. Ministry of Labour and National Service records classify the insured population according to the industry in which they work but giving insufficient information of the number of managers, foremen, labourers, etc. within each industry upon which an estimation of the percentage social composition of the town could be based.

C. The geographical distribution of the homes of the boys attending the Boys' Grammar School. 1957-1958.

There is one grammar school for boys and only boys resident within the borough attend the school. A boy whose parents move a short distance from the town after he has started to attend the school usually continues his attendance. There are eleven such boys concerned here who were not living within the boundaries of the borough in 1957-1958. They are not included in this geographical survey which is concerned only with the distribution of boys' homes within the borough itself.

On the map on the following page the position of each boy's home is marked by one of three signs which represent the three social classes.

The railway line cuts the town in two and the mainland part, situated south of the railway line, is socially almost entirely working or lower middle class. In fact there are only four exceptions to the





otherwise complete absence of middle class homes in this area and these four exceptions can be explained as follows. Two of them mark the homes of boys whose fathers are the managers of large hotels which are situated in the centre of the town. In each case the family lives in the hotel. The third boy is the son of the owner of two large shops in the district, the family living in the flat above one of them which is situated in the town centre. The fourth apparent exception is a boy whose father is a commissioned officer in the armed forces. His father serving abroad permanently and his mother being dead the boy lives with an aunt. The majority of the working class boys who attend the school live, therefore, either in the area south of the railway line or in the area, composed almost entirely of council house estates, which is east of the Grammar School playing fields and the Public Park.

The middle class boys live almost entirely in the northern suburbs of the town. On the extreme east of the borough there is a small nucleus of middle class homes. Practically all houses in this area are post-war or immediately pre-war and for some time this was the only private housing estate in the borough. Practically all remaining middle class boys, with the four exceptions mentioned, live, then, in the northern area of the town, in the region of the main road north - and around the grammar schools. The middle class area is therefore fairly well defined and the grammar schools

are situated within it.

The lower middle class homes are more widely dispersed. Being an intermediate group this is to be expected. However, lower middle class boys tend to live towards the suburbs and, in particular, in that area of the town which lies north-west of the main road south-north. In this region there are no council housing estates and there is one essentially lower middle class area which lies between the middle class area in the north and the working class area in the south.

The large island which, as shown on the map, forms part of the county borough, has a population which tends to be socially separate with its own social regions. There is a high proportion of lower middle class homes and few middle class ones. Although six are shown on the map three represent three brothers and therefore only one home.

Despite this general relationship between a person's social class and the part of the town in which he lives exceptions will inevitably occur. Two such exceptions are two working class boys living in the north-west (middle class) area of the town and who are the only working class boys from the school in that area. These two boys are the brothers who were referred to in connection with socio-economic status (page 22) and it is thus possible that in this case the occupation of the father is not the most accurate means of indicating social class.

Parents usually send their children to the primary school nearest

to their home. These schools therefore differ in their social composition.

There will be some with few, if any, middle class representatives and, in fact, some primary schools in the town sent no middle class boys to the grammar school during the years on this investigation.

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VI. THE SCHOOL, EXAMINATIONS, ORGANISATION INTO FORMS AND SYSTEM OF INTER-FORM MOVEMENT.

The grammar school concerned is a three form entry school with about 550 boys. In the academic year 1957-1958 the roll was 543.

When each yearly intake enters the school it is divided into three forms (1A, 1B and 1C). Those boys who gained the highest scores in the selection tests are placed in 1A, those with the lowest scores in 1C. Thus a boy's form upon entering the school is an indication of his performance in the selection tests.

During their first year in the school all boys study the same subjects- the same master often teaching the same subject to all three forms. All three forms follow the same syllabus in all the subjects, these being English, French, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, History, Geography, Art, Woodwork and Music. In addition to work done in school, homework is set in all subjects except Woodwork, Art and Music. The amount of homework set to a first form boy is such that it should take him about 1-1½ hours each evening to complete his work.

In February of each year the whole school (except those boys taking external examinations) are examined in all subjects on the subject matter taught during the preceding half-year. In the case of the first forms all examinations are one hour in duration and all three forms take the same examination in each subject. The papers for all three forms are marked by the same master in each subject. Marks in all subjects

are expressed as percentages and the average mark for all subjects for each boy expressed as a percentage. This is the boy's 'Examination Mark'.

A final order of merit for the examination is constructed for the whole intake using the final examination marks. All subjects are of equal importance in the construction of this order of merit.

Throughout the year all boys do at least one homework in each subject each week with the exceptions mentioned above. A mark is given for each homework and at the end of the half-year the homework marks in each subject are added together and the total expressed as a percentage. These percentages or 'Term Marks' are used to compile an order of merit, a boy's position in this order of merit being his 'Term' position. Again all subjects carry equal importance.

Finally all examination and term marks for each boy are added together and expressed as a percentage. These 'Final' percentages are used to construct a 'Final' order of merit. Thus a boy's 'Final' position in his form for the end of the half year is decided. In the case of the first forms the orders of merit based upon 'Examination', 'Term' and 'Final' percentages are constructed for the whole intake. Thus for the first form boys the position of each boy within his form and within the whole intake is known.

A boy's mark and position in 'Term' provide an indication of his work at home, his examination mark and position give an indication of his

work under examinations in school and his 'Final' mark and position indicate his all-round ability and progress at school.

After completion of these orders of merit a meeting is held of all masters who teach the first form boys. This meeting re-organises the intake into a new 1A, 1B and 1C upon the results of the February examination and term marks. In general the policy is to place the first thirty boys in the final order of merit into the new 1A, the next thirty into 1B and the remainder become 1C. This pattern is not adhered to rigidly. The numbers in each form vary. If the boys placed 31st. and 32nd. in final order, for instance, are considered by the masters who teach them to be of 'A' form type they will enter 1A. In general in the cases of boys on the 'borderline' between forms the opinions of masters are taken into account as well as the actual marks obtained.

All forms in the school take examinations in their subjects at the end of each half-year. 'Examination', 'Term' and 'Final' marks and positions are calculated and discussed by the masters concerned and, if necessary, boys are removed from one stream to another. Thus the boys who gained 1st., 2nd. and perhaps 3rd. places in 2B will be considered as possible entrants for 2A. Any boys at the bottom of the order of merit in 2A who, in the opinions of the masters concerned, are not suited in work or attitude to an 'A' form, are removed to 2B or 2C. Should there be much difference of opinion between masters about any boy an

informal vote is taken, the Headmaster making the final decision. Forms taking G.C.E. examinations at either level that year sit practice examinations at the time of the February school examinations and are not subject to inter-form movement.

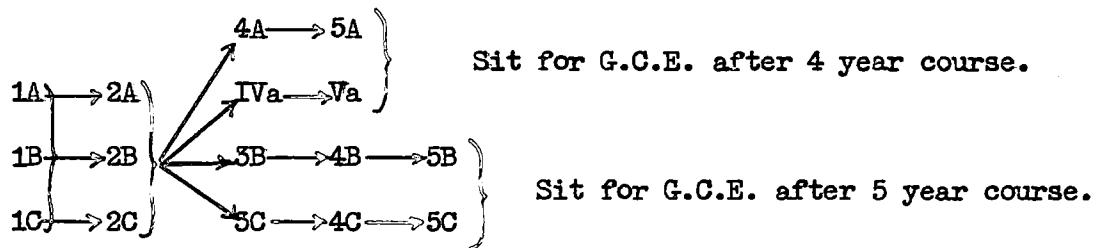
At the end of the school year, in July, all forms (again with the exception of those taking external examinations) sit internal examinations in all their subjects. Examination, term and final marks and positions are calculated as described above and again inter-form movement, if necessary, takes place as in the February.

When an intake is in its second year in the school it is divided, as in its first year, into three forms, 2A, 2B and 2C. At the end of the second year each boy's work and progress are taken into account in deciding whether he shall sit for an Ordinary Level G.C.E. two or three years later. Approximately half the year group become the so-called "Express" stream and prepare to take G.C.E. examinations two years later, namely four years after entering the school. These Express boys are divided into two forms, the 'A' form and the Alpha form. Both forms study Mathematics, French, English Language, English Literature. The 'A' form boys specialize in science subjects, studying Biology, Physics and Chemistry, with either Geography or History. The Alpha form take, in addition to the basic subjects mentioned, Latin, General Science, Geography and History thus specializing in 'Arts' subjects.

The remainder of the year group are divided into a 'B' form and a 'C' form and they sit for G.C.E. at Ordinary Level three years later after five years in the school. Both forms take French, Mathematics, English Language, English Literature, Geography, Woodwork or Art. The 'B' form, however, study Biology, Physics and Chemistry, the 'C' form take General Science.

The 'Express' boys, then, enter either 4A or IV alpha (IVa) and the 'Non-express' boys either 5B or 5C. The members of 3B are academically more able than those of 3C. 4A and IVa are both 'A' forms of equal ability. In fact 4A and IVa are formed of boys from 2A and the upper part of 2B although exceptions to this do occur. It is usually the case that all members of the 'A' and Alpha forms enter the sixth form. A certain number of 'B' and sometimes 'C' form boys also do so.

The general organisation of the school into forms can be summarised as follows:



There thus exists in the school a system whereby a boy can move from



one stream to another and he has two opportunities a year to do so. As to whether a boy is promoted or demoted depends equally upon his work in examinations and upon his work done, week by week, at home.

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VII. THE SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SCHOOL. SEPTEMBER, 1957 - JULY, 1958.

At the commencement of the academic year which began in September, 1957 there were 543 boys attending the school. All boys in the school were classified according to social class upon the basis of the occupation of each boy's father. Each form was then analysed to show how many members of each social class were present in that form. The social composition of the school and the distribution of social class within it during the academic year concerned are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Table.1. The distribution of social class in the main school in relation to streams, all forms in each stream taken together.

Forms.	Middle Class.		Lower Middle Class.		Working Class.		Totals.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
'A' stream. (1A, 2A, 4A, 5A, IVa, Va).	38	25.0	65	42.8	49	32.2	152
'B' stream. (1B, 2B, 5B, 4B, 5B).	13	9.9	46	35.1	72	55.0	131
'C' stream. (1C, 2C, 3C, 4C, 5C).	6	5.1	33	28.0	79	66.9	118

Table.2. The distribution of social class in the school as determined by father's occupation. September,1957 - February,1958.

Form.	Middle Class.		Lower Middle Class.		Working Class.		Totals
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Prefects.	4	19.0	6	28.6	11	52.4	21
U.6th.Arts. 'A' stream.	3	18.75	5	31.25	8	50.0	16
U.6th.Arts. 'B' stream.	2	11.8	5	29.4	10	58.8	17
U.6th.Science.'A' stm.	4	26.6	5	33.3	6	40.0	15
U.6th.Science.'B' stm.	2	14.3	4	28.6	8	57.1	14
L.6th.Arts. 'A' stream.	6	46.15	2	15.4	5	38.5	13
L.6th.Arts. 'B' stream.	1	8.3	6	50.0	5	41.7	12
L.6th.Science.'A' stm.	3	20.0	2	13.3	10	66.6	15
L.6th.Science.'B' stm.	3	23.1	2	15.4	8	61.5	13
5th. Form repeat.	2	33.3	2	33.3	2.	33.3	6
5B	2	8.3	8	33.3	14	58.3	24
5C	2	8.7	6	26.1	15	65.2	23
5A	8	38.0	6	28.6	7	33.3	21
Va 1954 Intake.	4	19.0	7	33.3	10	47.6	21
4B	1	4.0	7	28.0	17	68.0	25
4C	0	0.0	3	15.0	17	85.0	20
4A	8	32.0	12	48.0	5	20.0	25
IVa 1955 Intake.	5	21.7	7	30.4	11	47.8	23
5B	4	17.4	10	43.4	9	39.1	23
5C	1	5.3	6	31.6	12	63.1	19
2A	6	18.7	17	53.1	9	28.1	32
2B 1956 Intake.	3	10.7	10	35.7	15	53.6	28
2C	0	0.0	7	25.9	20	71.1	27
1A	7	23.3	16	53.3	7	23.3	30
1B 1957 Intake.	3	9.7	11	35.5	17	54.8	31
1C	3	10.3	11	38.0	15	51.7	29
Totals:	87	16.0	183	33.7	273	50.3	543

From Tables 1 and 2 it can be seen that the 'C' forms have few, if any, representatives of the Middle Class. The exception to this is 1C as shown in Table 2 but this table shows the composition of the school at the beginning of the academic year and before the re-organisation of the first forms which occurs as a result of the February examinations.

A comparison between the social composition of each form and the social composition of the whole school shows that the form containing the older boys, especially the second year sixth forms and the Prefects are those forms which are most representative and which most reflect the composition of the school as a whole.

The analysis of the first and second forms shows a tendency for the 'B' forms to be most representative of the school as a whole while the 'A' and 'C' streams are abnormal in that the former tend to have more boys from the middle and lower middle classes and the latter have more working class boys than is normal for the whole school.

After the examinations in February, 1958, a number of boys were moved from one form to another. Most of these changes occurred in the first forms and no changes took place in the composition of any fourth, fifth or sixth form. Table 3 shows the new composition of each form affected by these inter-form movements.

One result of these movements in February, 1958 was that the first forms became similar to higher forms in their social composition, 1C losing

two of its three middle class boys. One middle class boy (who had entered the school six months previously as a thirteen-plus transfer from another school in the town) moved into 5B.

Table.3. The distribution of social class in the lower school from February, 1958 to July, 1958.

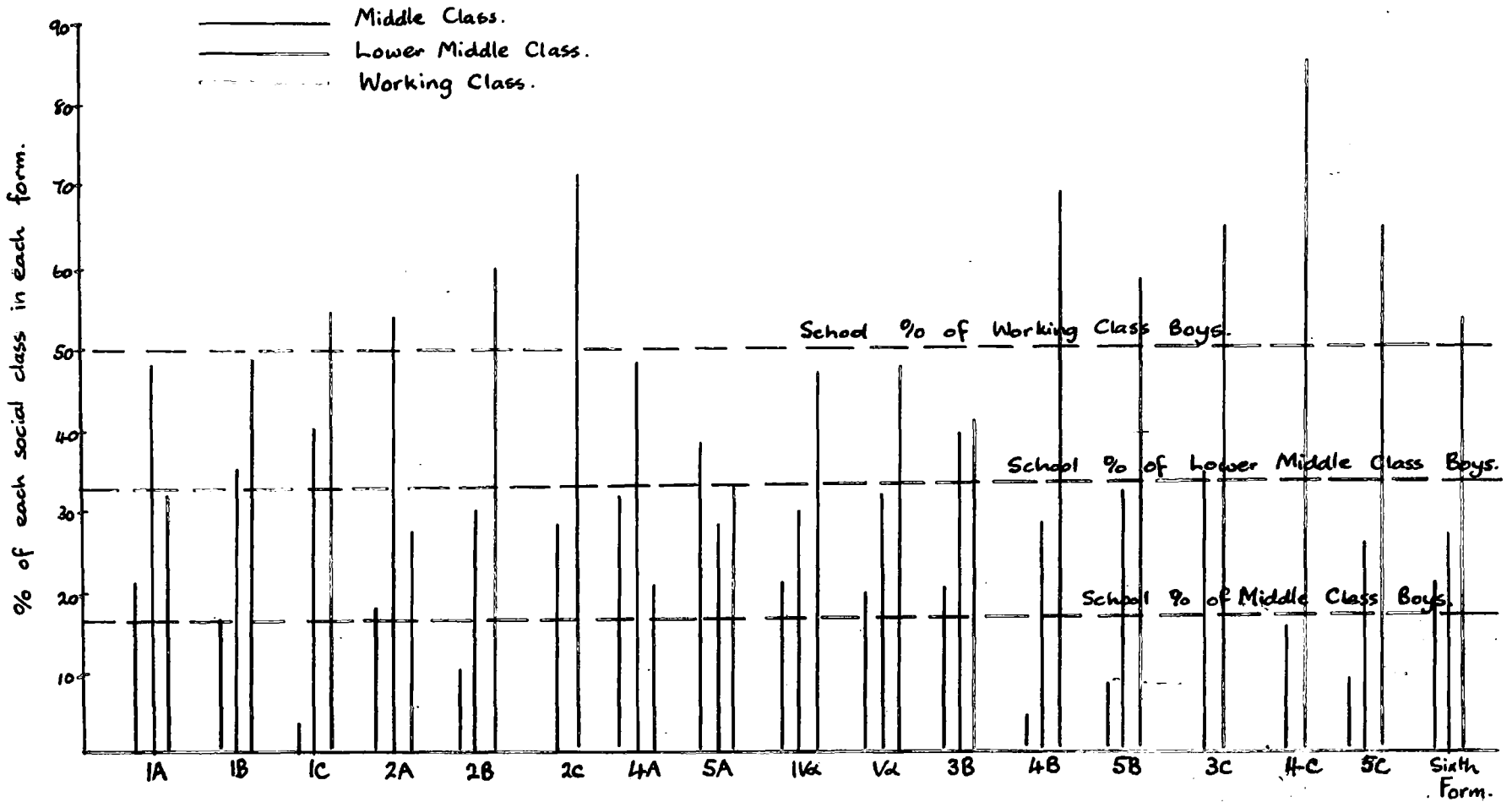
Forms.	Middle Class.		Lower Middle Class.		Working Class.		Totals.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
5B	5	20.0	10	40.0	10	40.0	25
3C	0	0.0	6	35.3	11	64.7	17
2A	6	18.2	18	54.5	9	27.5	33
2B	3	10.0	9	30.0	18	60.0	30
2C	0	0.0	7	29.2	17	70.8	24
1A	7	21.9	16	50.0	9	28.1	32
1B	5	16.1	11	35.5	15	48.4	31
1C	1	5.7	11	40.7	15	55.6	27

The data concerning the distribution of social class in the whole school is also analysed graphically on the following two pages.

These graphs show that:

- (i) All 'A' and 'Alpha' forms have more middle class boys than the

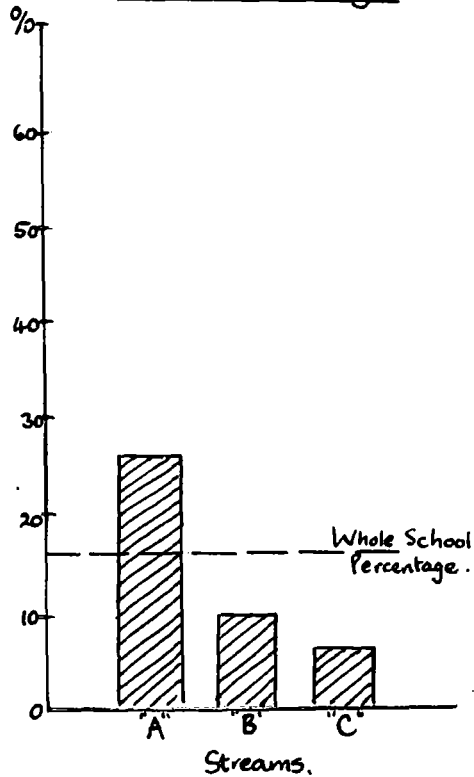
# Social Composition of the School. February-July, 1958.



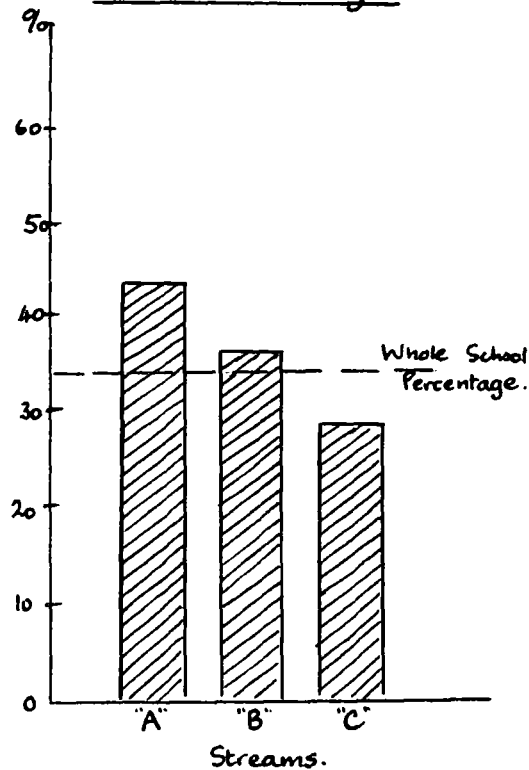
## SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SCHOOL. February-July, 1958.

(All boys below the 6th. form in each stream have been placed in their social class and the number in each social class expressed as a percentage of the total number of boys in the stream.)

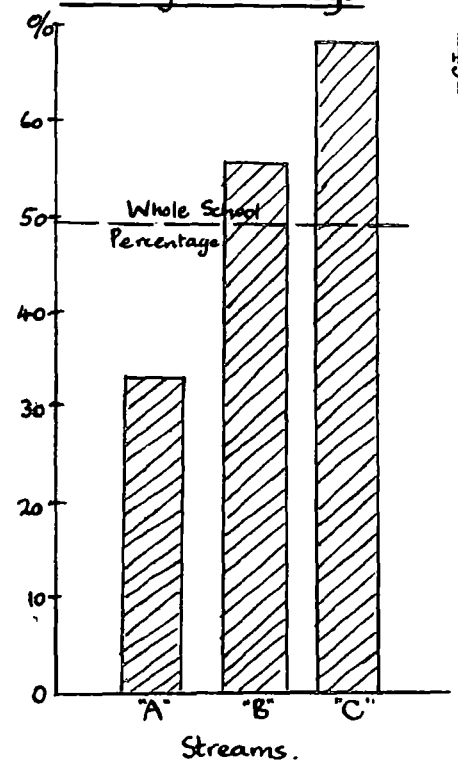
(i) Distribution of Middle Class Boys.



(ii) Distribution of Lower Middle Class Boys.



(iii) Distribution of Working Class Boys.



average for the school as a whole.

- (ii) All 'C' forms have more than the average number of working class boys.
- (iii) Forms 1B, 2B, IVa and Va and the Sixth Form have social compositions similar to that of the school as a whole.
- (iv) The two science forms, 4A and 5A, have an abnormally large number of middle class boys. In both cases they have more than the corresponding 'Arts' form. Most of the middle class occupations in the town, however, are scientific ones - chemists, managers, heads of departments and engineers in the local shipyards. Many of the middle class boys in the school come, therefore, from a scientific background and this may explain why so many of them choose to enter the science stream.

? *Handwritten note*

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THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
SOCIAL CLASS AND ACADEMIC PROGRESS.

VIII. METHOD OF INVESTIGATION.

It was decided to examine, in the first instance, the academic progress of those boys who entered the school in the years 1953, 1954, 1955 and 1956, as the annual intakes to the school. These boys formed most of the population of the school during the academic year 1957-1958.

These four intakes provide suitable information for examination for the following additional reasons: there having been no major changes in selection procedure and internal school organisation since the first of these intakes entered the school, comparison of one intake with another is possible; all the boys concerned commenced their education after the war and during the time that they have been at their primary and secondary schools there have been no upheavals in the life of the town or of the country which have affected, to any significant extent, the social composition and material prosperity of the town.

The intakes consisted of the following numbers of boys:

1953 - 94 boys; 1954 - 88 boys; 1955 - 90 boys; 1956 - 91 boys.

Upon entering the school each intake was divided into a 1A, 1B and 1C according to each boy's performance in the selection tests. As described in Section VI, each intake was re-grouped into new A, B and C forms after six months spent in the school. Further movements of certain boys from one form to another took place after each intake had been in the

school for 12 months and 18 months. At the end of their second year each intake was divided into two Express forms (4A and IVa) and two Non-express forms (5B and 3C).

Little inter-form movement occurs after an intake has been in the school for two years. The progress of the boys of the 1953-1956 intakes is therefore studied in detail up to the beginning of their second year in the school.

The progress of the members of each intake is shown by charts. Each chart shows the progress of the boys of the three original forms which comprised each intake.

Each boy is represented by an arrow. The colour of the arrow indicates the social class, as indicated by the father's occupation, to which the boy belongs.

From these charts it is possible to follow:

- (i) The academic progress - as indicated by the forms into which he is successively placed - of each boy in the four intakes.
- (ii) The academic progress of each boy in relation to that boy's social class.
- (iii) The academic progress, as a group, of all the members of any particular social class in any one form.
- (iv) The various promotions and demotions between forms in relation to the social class of the boys who received such demotion or

promotion, which resulted in the particular distribution of social class within the school in the academic year 1957-1958.

The changes in the composition of the forms will tend to affect the social compositions of these forms. The number of boys in each social class in each form as an intake progressed through its first three years in the school was calculated. These changes in social composition are shown in the form of tables. It should be noted that:

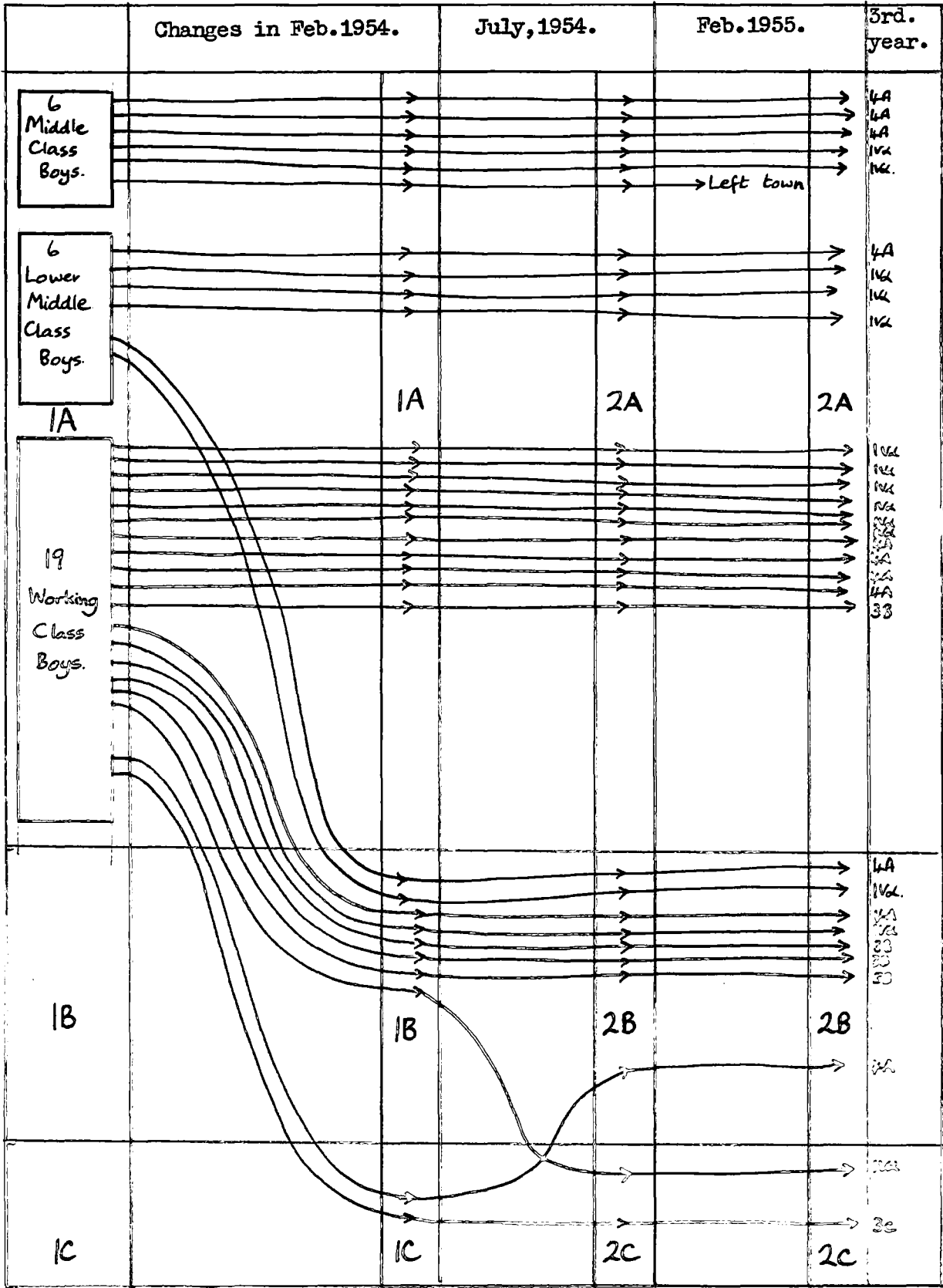
- (i) The total number of boys in each year group is not always constant because in certain cases boys left the school during the academic year. Such changes are noted.
  - (ii) So that the composition of each form upon entry may be compared with the social composition of the intake as a whole, the first table in each set (Tables 4(i), 5(i), 6(i) and 7(i)) shows compositions in both actual numbers and in percentages. The other tables in each set show only actual numbers as it is the movement of individual boys which is of primary importance.
  - (iii) The composition of the forms of the intake during its fourth and fifth years in the school are not shown, forms usually remaining constant in composition after the third year.
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IX.

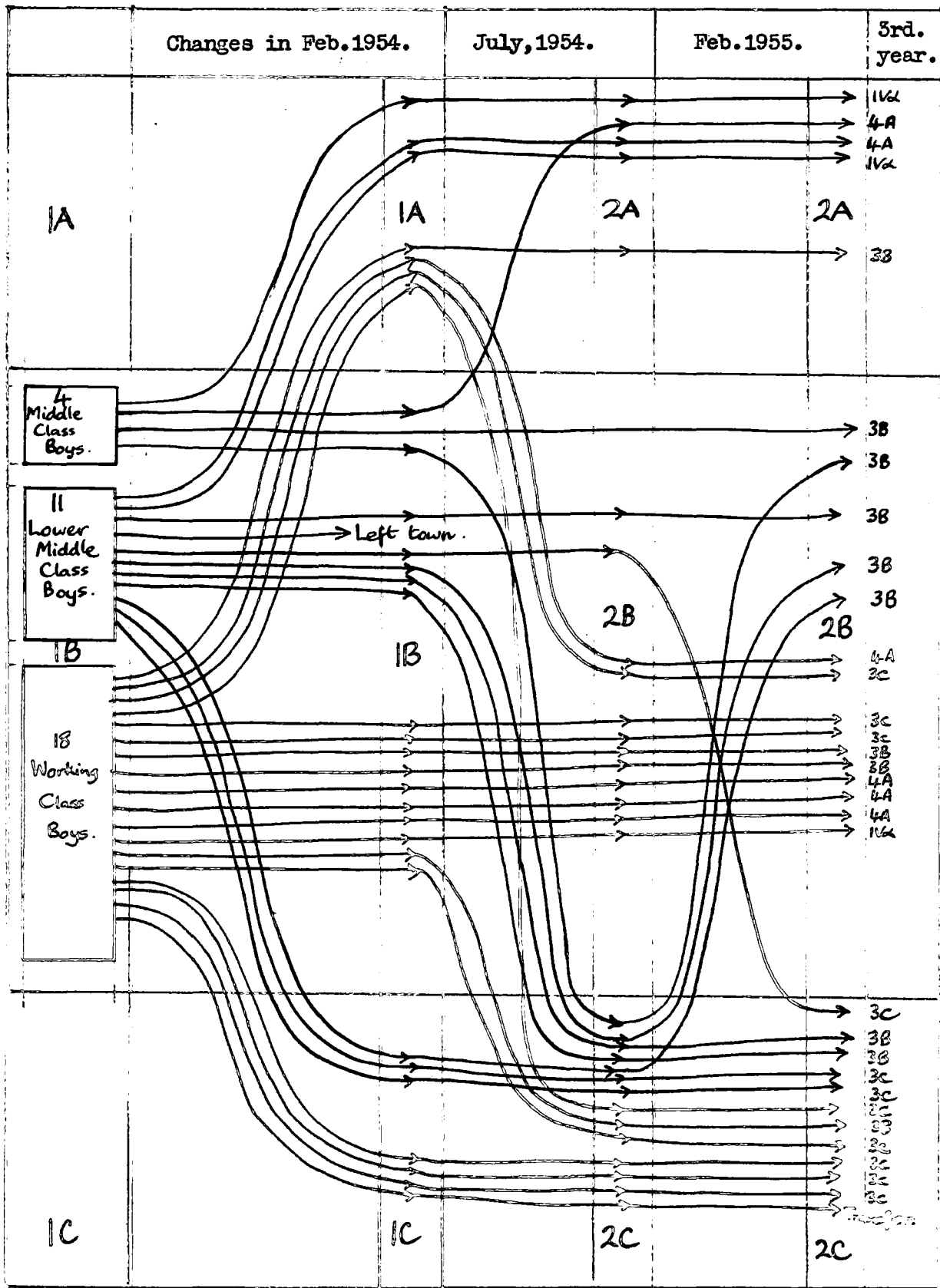
THE SOCIAL CLASS AND ACADEMIC PROGRESS OF BOYS

WHO ENTERED THE SCHOOL IN 1953.

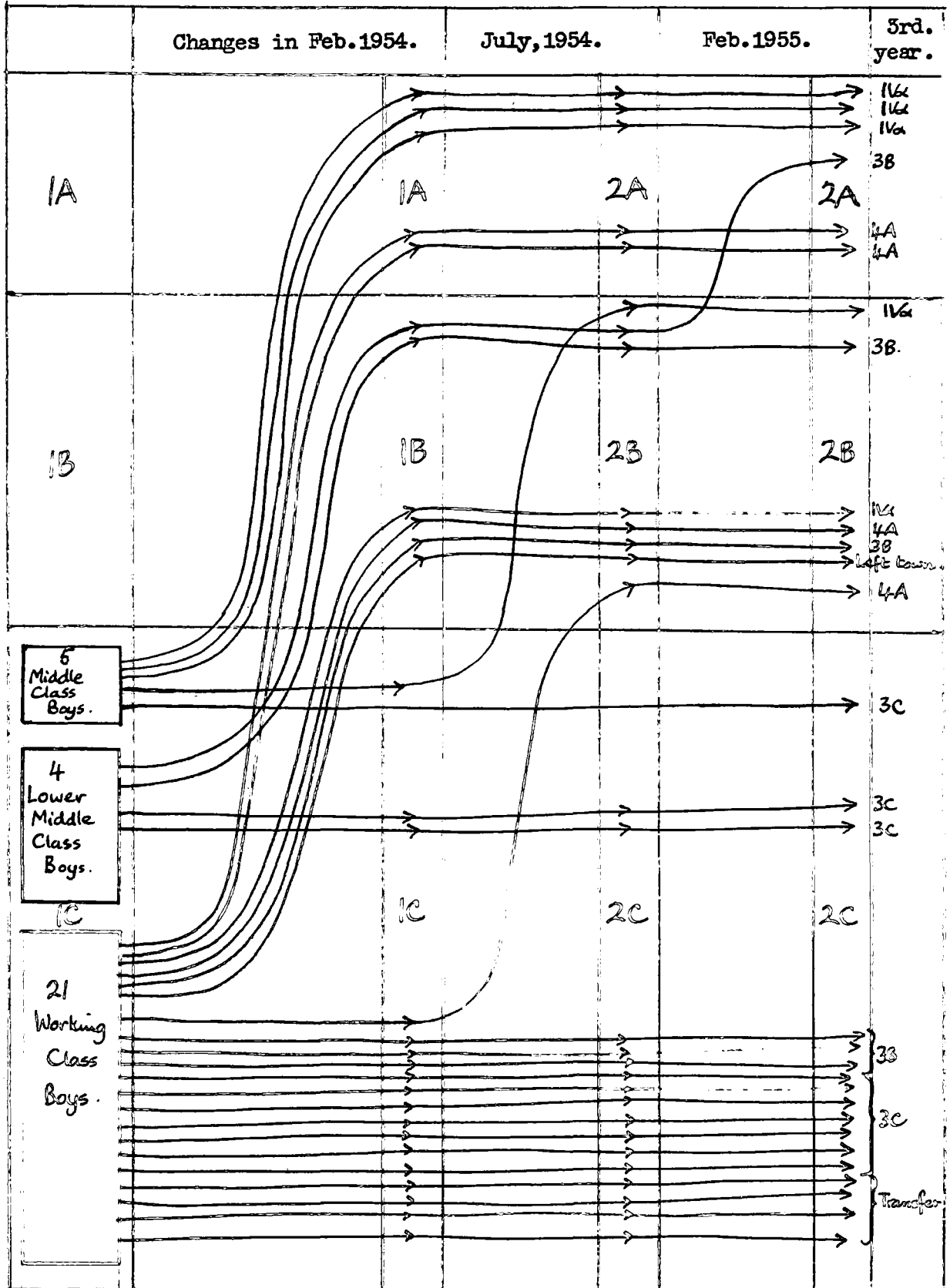
Progress during first and second years in the school. 1953 Intake. 'A' stream.



Progress during first and second years in the school. 1953 Intake. 'B' stream.



Progress during first and second years in school. 1953 Intake. 'C' stream.





The progress charts for the 1953 intake reveal the following facts:

- (i) All middle class boys originally placed in 1A remained in the 'A' form, all of them eventually entering 4A or IVa.
- (ii) The middle class boys originally in 1B and 1C showed a tendency to rise in form, e.g. three of the five such boys in 1C moved to 1A and remained in the 'A' stream.
- (iii) The boys of the lower middle class showed no definite tendency to move in either direction.
- (iv) 12 of the 37 working class boys in 1A and 1B were demoted in the February of their first year. 8 of the 19 working class boys in 1A moved downwards, 2 of them directly into 1C.
- (v) There are some notable exceptions to the tendencies mentioned, in particular the two working class boys who were transferred from 1C to 1A and remained in the 'A' stream, and the middle class boys in 1C who failed to rise from the 'C' stream in the February of their first year.

From the tables showing the social composition of forms for the 1953 intake the following points emerge:

- (i) Upon entering the school the three first forms were, in social composition, similar to each other and to the intake as a whole. There are, however, certain differences to be noted. 1A had more

middle class boys than 1B or 1C, 1C had the highest working class representation and a comparatively low percentage of lower middle class boys. As these original forms are determined in composition by performance in selection tests the differences in social composition indicate a possible variation in performance in these tests between the three social groups. The numbers involved here are, however, small and it is not therefore possible to use them to form a definite conclusion on this point. This matter is dealt with further at a later stage (page 80) taking the four intakes together.

- (ii) Inter-form movement, based upon academic performance within the school, results in a loss of the observed similarity of social composition between the forms. This is mainly due to the upward movement of middle class boys with a corresponding downward movement of other, mainly working class, boys.
-

Table.4. Social Composition of forms. (i) Sept. 1953 to Feb.1954.

Social Class.	1A		1B		1C		Whole intake.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Middle Class.	6	19.35	4	12.1	5	16.6	15	16.0
Lower Middle.	6	19.35	11	33.3.	4	13.3	21	22.3
Working Class.	19	61.3	18	54.6	21	70.0	58	61.7
Totals:	31		33		30		94	

Table.4.(ii) Feb. 1954-Sept.1954.

Social Class.	1A	1B	1C
Middle Class.	10	3	2
Lower Middle.	6	9	5
Working Class.	17	20	21
Totals:	33	32	28

(1 boy left 1B).

(iii) Sept.1954-Feb.1955.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	11	2	2
Lower Middle.	6	6	8
Working Class.	14	20	23
Totals:	31	28	33

(1 boy left 1B).

Table.4. (continued).

(iv) Feb.1955 to Sept.1955.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	11	3	1
Lower Middle.	7	6	7
Working Class.	14	20	25
Totals:	52	29	51

(v) Sept.1955 onwards.

Social Class.	4A and IVa.	3B and 3C.
Middle Class.	11	3
Lower Middle.	8	12
Working Class.	24	28
Totals:	43	43

(1 boy left 2A, 5 transferred to other schools from 2C).

(vi) Sept. 1955 onwards.

Social Class.	4A	IVa	3B	3C
Middle Class.	4	7	2	1
Lower Middle.	3	5	7	5
Working Class.	14	10	12	16
Totals:	21	22	21	22

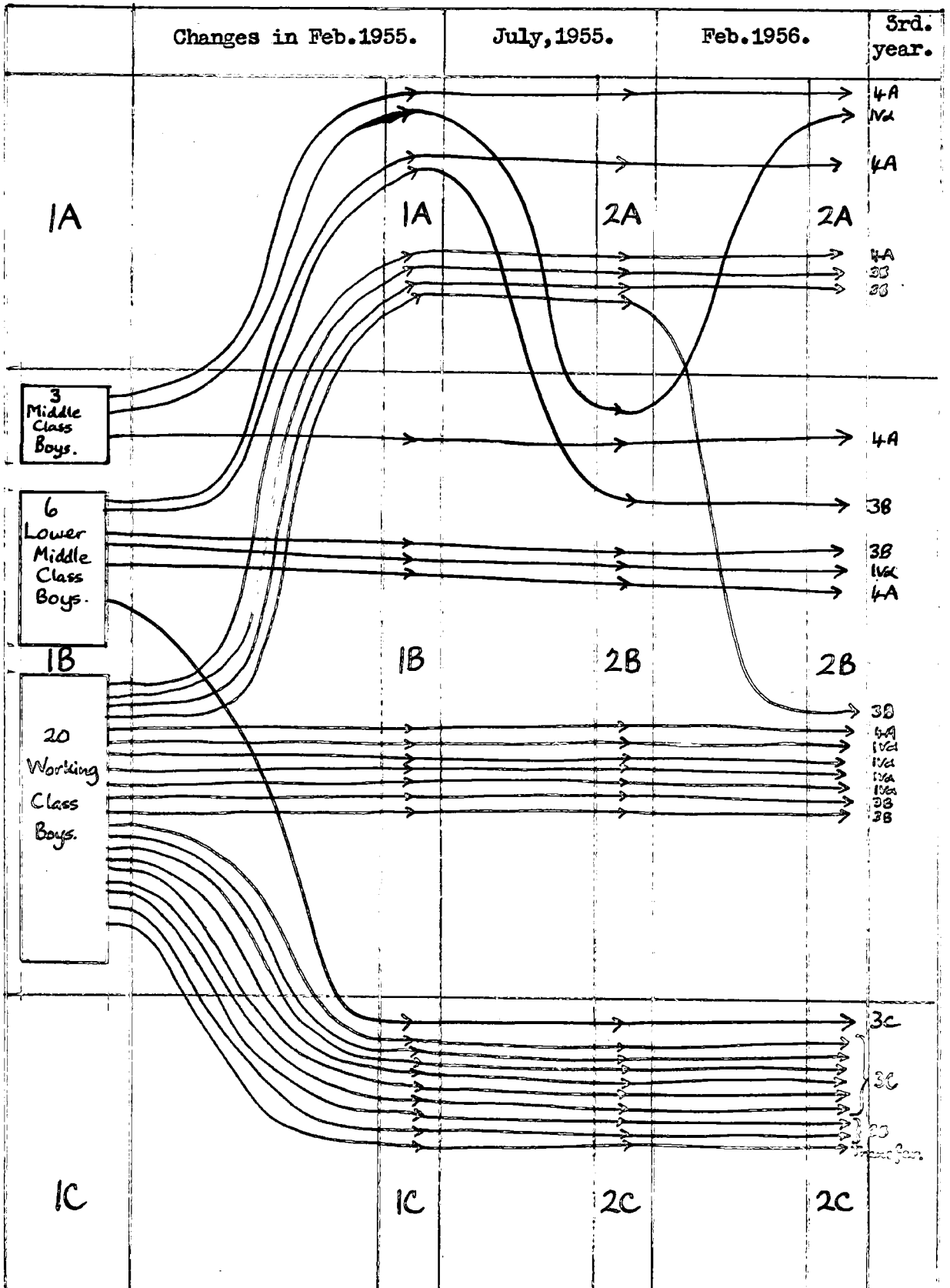
X.

THE SOCIAL CLASS AND ACADEMIC PROGRESS OF BOYS

WHO ENTERED THE SCHOOL IN 1954.



Progress during first and second years in the school. 1954 Intake. 'B' stream.



Progress during first and second years in the school. 1954 Intake. 'C' stream.

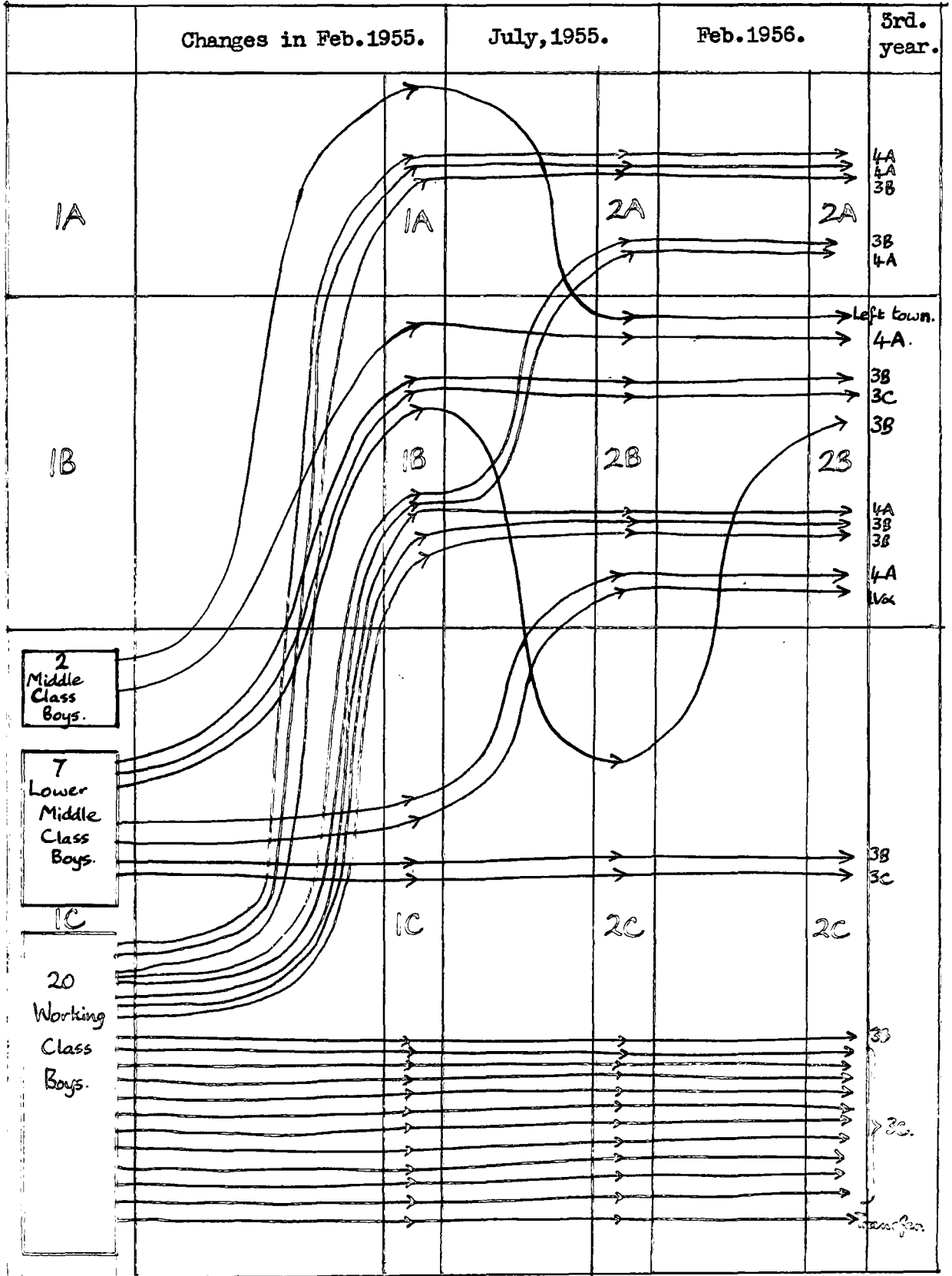




Table.5. Social Composition of Forms. (i) Sept.1954 - Feb. 1955.

Social Class.	1A		1B		1C		Whole intake.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Middle Class.	8	26.65	3	10.3	2	6.9	13	14.8
Lower Middle.	9	30.0	6	20.7	7	24.1	22	25.0
Working Class.	13	43.35	20	69.0	20	69.0	53	60.2
Totals:	30		29		29		88	

(ii) Feb.1955 - Sept. 1955.

Social Class.	1A	1B	1C
Middle Class.	9	4	0
Lower Middle.	10	7	5
Working Class.	13	17	23
Totals:	32	28	28

(iii) Sept. 1955 - Feb. 1956.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	7	5	0
Lower Middle.	9	9	4
Working Class.	12	16	23
Totals:	28	30	27

(3 boys left from 1A).

Table.5. (continued).

(iv) Feb. 1956 to Sept. 1956.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	8	4	0
Lower Middle.	9	10	5
Working Class.	11	18	22
Totals:	28	32	25

(v) Sept. 1956 onwards.

Social Class.	4A and IVa	5B and 5C
Middle Class.	11	0
Lower Middle.	13	9
Working Class.	16	33
Totals:	40	42

(1 boy left from 2B and 2 boys were transferred to other schools from 2C).

(vi) Sept. 1956 onwards.

Social Class.	4A	IVa	5B	5C
Middle Class.	7	4	0	0
Lower Middle.	6	7	6	5
Working Class.	9	7	16	17
Totals:	22	18	22	20

It is sufficient at this stage to make the following comments concerning the inter-form movement of the boys of the 1954 intake.

- (i) The middle class boys showed a tendency to rise into the 'A' stream. In fact all but one middle class boy entered an Express Form.
- (ii) The lower middle class boys, as a group, showed no marked tendency to rise or fall in form.
- (iii) 16 of the 33 working class boys in 1A and 1B moved down. Of these 16 boys only one showed a subsequent upward movement.
- (iv) In the original 1B there were 20 working class boys. 9 of these boys were demoted to 1C after six months in the school, they all remained in the 'C' form for two years and all entered the Non-Express forms but for one boy who was transferred to another secondary school in the town. 4 working class boys moved into 1A from 1B. One of the 4 returned to the 'B' form six months later. Only one of the four entered an Express form.
- (v) The original 1B and 1C were similar, almost identical, in social composition. 1A, however, had a higher proportion of middle class and a lower proportion of working class boys than 1B and 1C. Inter-form movement caused, as with the previous intake, changes in social composition with the result that the 'A' form acquired even more middle class boys and had fewer working class boys than when originally

constituted. As there was some difference in the distribution of social class between the original 1A and 1C before inter-form movement occurred the difference in social composition between, for example, the 4A and 3C of this intake is most marked.

- (vi) Again there are exceptions to the main trends in movement between forms, the most notable being three working class boys who rose from 1C to 1A and remained in the 'A' form, two of them entering 4A.

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XI.

THE SOCIAL CLASS AND ACADEMIC PROGRESS OF BOYS  
WHO ENTERED THE SCHOOL IN 1955.





Progress during first and second years in the school. 1955 Intake. 'C' stream.

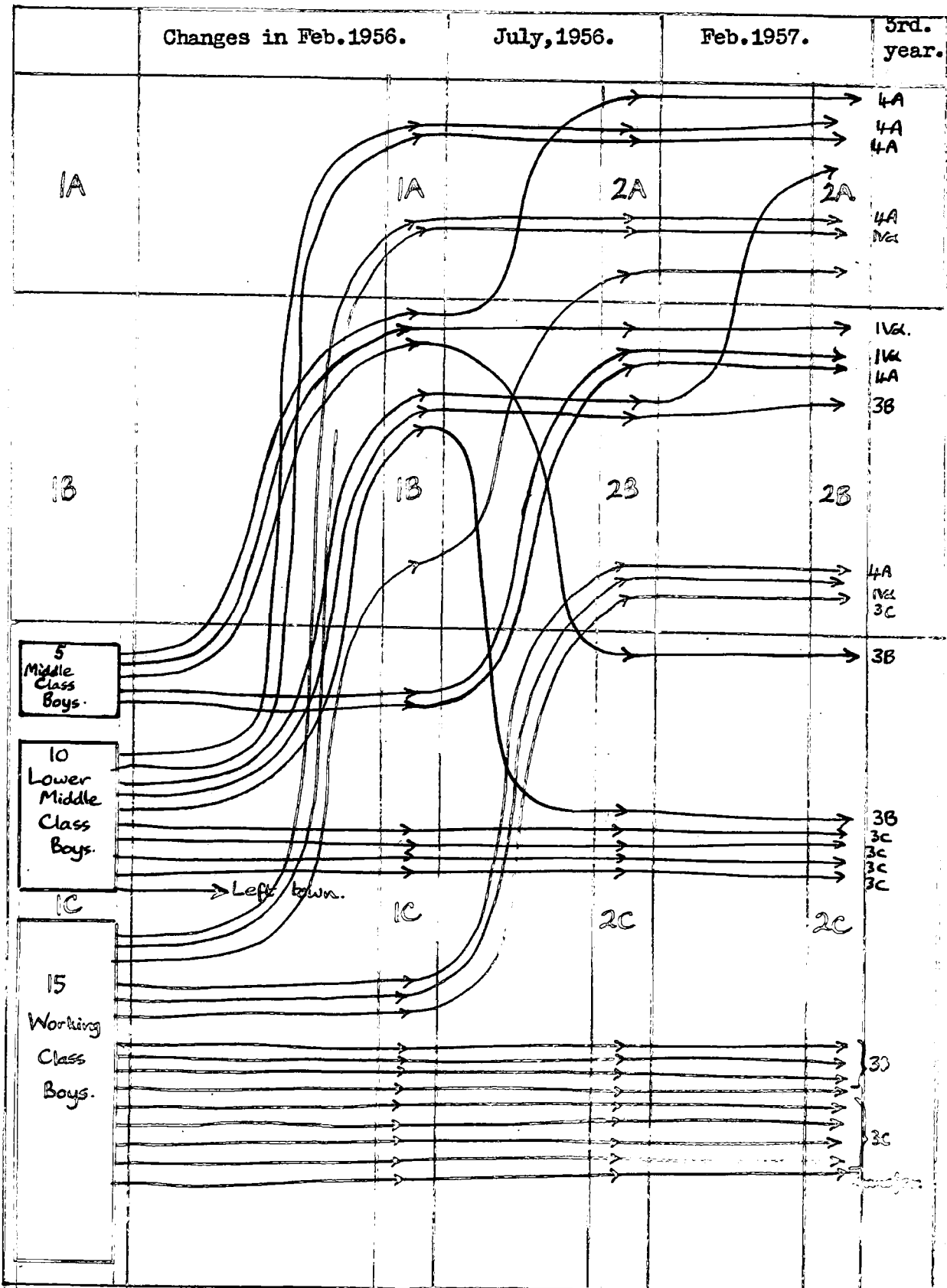




Table.6. Social Composition of forms. (i) Sept.1955 to Feb.1956.

Social Class.	1A		1B		1C		Whole intake.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Middle Class.	5	16.1	6	20.7	5	16.65	16	17.8
Lower Middle.	13	41.95	13	44.8	10	33.35	36	40.0
Working Class.	13	41.95	10	34.5	10	50.0	38	42.2
Totals:	31		29		30		90	

(ii) Feb.1956 to Sept.1956.

Social Class.	1A	1B	1C
Middle Class.	7	6	2
Lower Middle.	14	12	9
Working Class.	9	12	17
Totals:	30	30	28

(iii) Sept. 1956 to Feb.1957.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	9	5	1
Lower Middle.	13	14	8
Working Class.	10	11	17
Totals:	32	30	26

(1 boy left from 1A and one from 1C).

Table.6. (continued).

(iv) Feb.1957 to Sept. 1957.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	9	5	1
Lower Middle.	15	12	8
Working Class.	8	13	16
Totals:	32	30	25

(1 boy left 2A).

(v) Sept.1957 onwards.

Social Class.	4A and IVa.	5B and 3C.
Middle Class.	12	3
Lower Middle.	18	15
Working Class.	16	20
Totals:	46	38

(2 boys transferred from 2C)

(vi) Sept.1957 onwards.

Social Class.	4A	IVa	5B	3C
Middle Class.	8	4	3	0
Lower Middle.	12	6	10	5
Working Class.	5	11	9	11
Totals:	25	21	22	16

(The numbers of boys in IVa, 5B and 3C are lower than the totals shown for the same forms in Tables 2 and 3 due to the presence in these forms of boys who did not enter the first form of the school as members of the 1955 intake but were transferred later from other secondary schools. They are included in Tables 2 and 3 but not in Table 6.)

The inter-form movements of the 1955 intake follow the pattern of the other year intakes considered.

- (i) One middle class boy left the school during his first year. 12 of the remaining 15 middle class boys in the intake entered the Express form although 5 of them did not rise to the 'A' form during their first year. Three middle class boys did not enter express forms but were placed eventually in 3B. One rose from 1C but returned to the 'C' stream before entering 3B. The others maintained their positions in the 'B' stream. All three, perhaps, could be regarded as exceptions to the observed tendency.
- (ii) No particular trend is apparent in the movements of the lower middle class boys. It is worthy of note that three such boys from the original 1A, having moved down to 1B, returned to the 'A' form at the end of the year, taking the places of three other boys from the same social class who had previously been promoted to 1A from 1B. Thus the lower middle class representation in the forms concerned remained more or less constant.
- (iii) As with the other intakes examined a high proportion of the working class boys moved downwards, i.e. 11 of the 23 such boys in 1A and 1B.
- (iv) This intake also shows some exceptional movements which require explanation. Two working class boys rose from 1C to 1A. Three working class boys who were promoted from 1C to 1B are, to some extent, exceptional but of greater interest is the fact that while two of them entered Express forms the third was placed in 3C.
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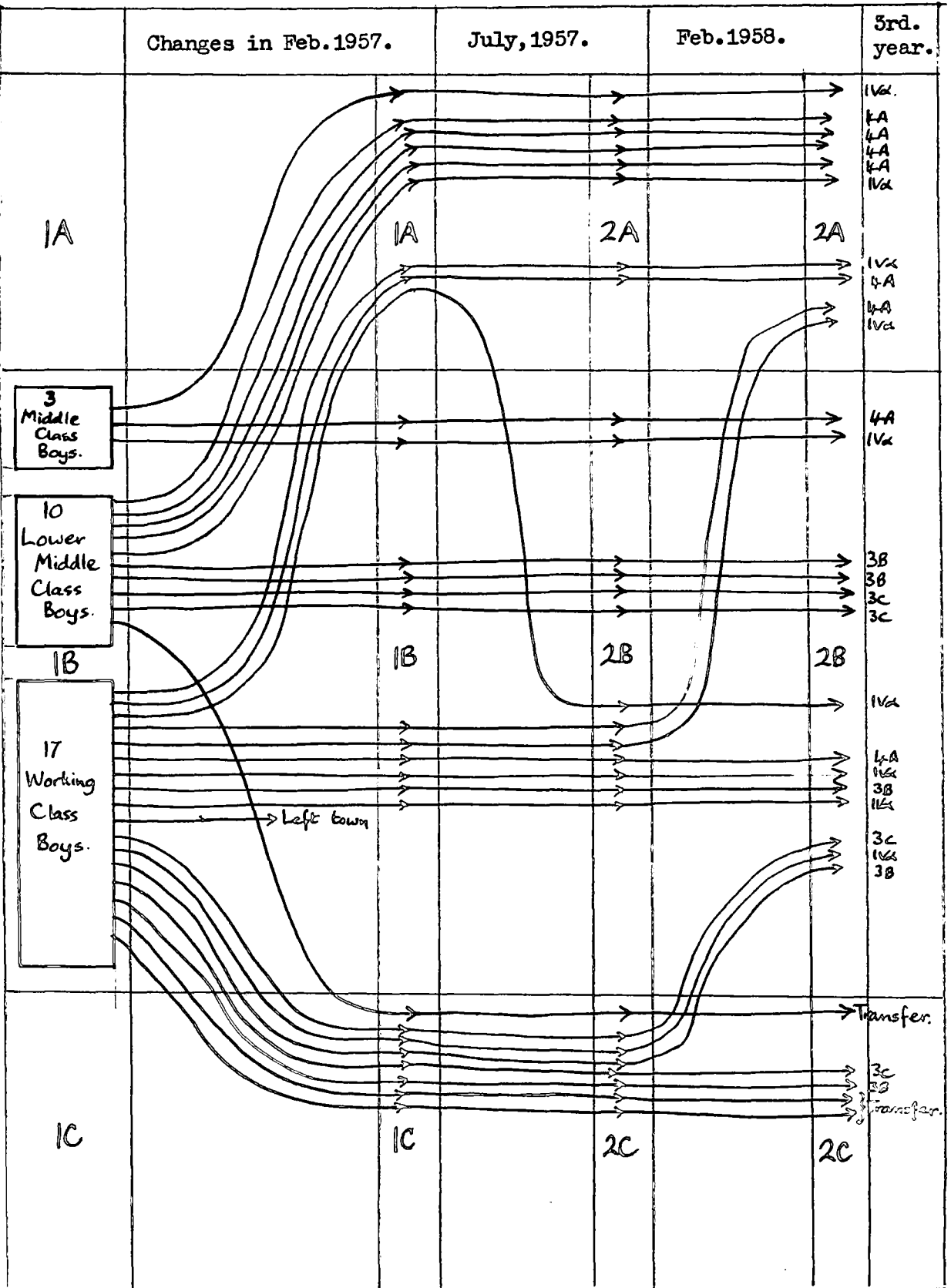
XII.

THE SOCIAL CLASS AND ACADEMIC PROGRESS OF BOYS

WHO ENTERED THE SCHOOL IN 1956.



Progress during first and second years in the school. 1956 Intake. 'B' stream.



Progress during first and second years in the school. 1956 Intake. 'C' stream.

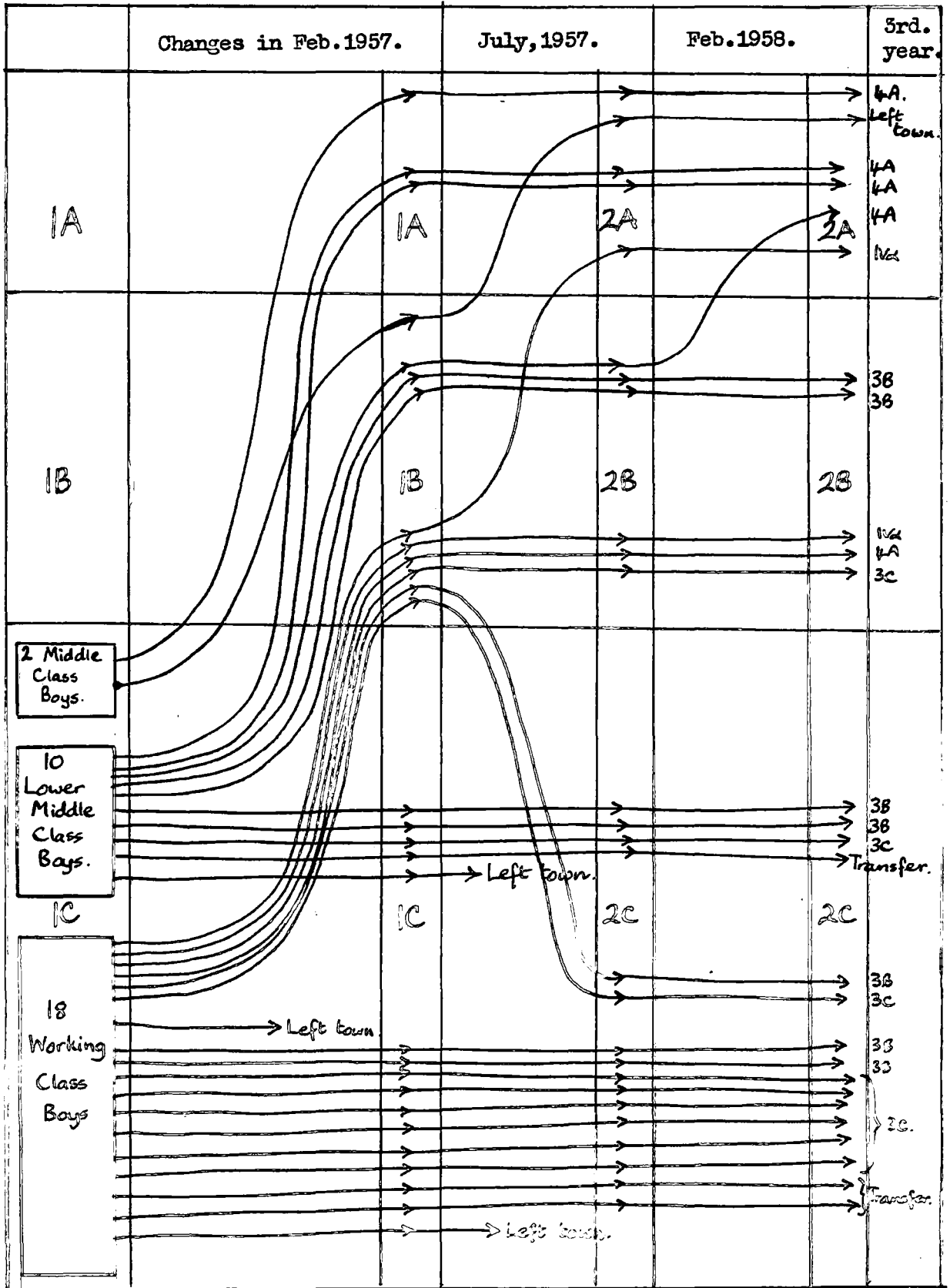


Table.7. Social Composition of forms. (i) Sept.1956 to Feb.1957.

Social Class.	1A		1B		1C		Whole intake.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Middle Class.	4	12.9	5	10.0	2	6.7	9	9.9
Lower Middle.	15	48.4	10	33.3	10	33.3	35	38.5
Working Class.	12	38.7	17	56.7	18	60.0	47	51.6
	31		30		30		91	

(ii) Feb.1957 to Sept. 1957.

Social Class.	1A	1B	1C
Middle Class.	5	4	0
Lower Middle.	17	10	8
Working Class.	10	16	19
Totals:	32	30	27

(1 boy left from 1B and 1 from 1C).

(iii) Sept.1957 to Feb.1958.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	6	3	0
Lower Middle.	17	10	7
Working Class.	9	15	20
Totals:	32	28	27

(2 boys left from 1C).



Table.7. (continued).

(iv) Feb.1958 to Sept.1958.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	6	3	0
Lower Middle.	18	9	7
Working Class.	9	18	17
Totals:	33	30	24

(v) Sept.1958 onwards.

Social Class.	4A and IVa	5B and 5C
Middle Class.	7	1
Lower Middle.	20	12
Working Class.	19	21
Totals:	46	34

(1 boy left 2A, 6 boys transferred from 2C to other secondary schools).

(vi) Sept.1958 onwards.

Social Class.	4A	IVa	5B	5C
Middle Class.	4	3	1	0
Lower Middle,	13	7	8	4
Working Class.	9	10	9	12
Totals:	26	20	18	16

The movements of boys in this intake follow the observed pattern. As before there are exceptional movements of which the most important are:

- (i) The demotion of a middle class boy from 1A to 1B and his subsequent placing in a Non-express form.
- (ii) The promotion of 5 of the lower middle class boys from 1B to 1A and the subsequent placing of all of them in the Express forms. It is worthy of note, however, that 5 of the 15 lower middle class boys originally placed in 1A moved downwards at the same time. The lower middle class representation in the forms therefore remained fairly constant despite the movement of boys from this social class.

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The evidence obtained from an examination of the 1953-1956 intakes suggests the following conclusions:

- (i) The original 1A, 1B and 1C of each intake were similar but not identical in social composition. The differences observed between them were in most cases slight but they are more apparent if the four intakes are combined as in the following table.

Table.8(i). Social Composition of original forms. 1953-56 intakes combined.

Social Class.	1A		1B		1C		Totals.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Middle Class.	23	18.7	16	13.2	14	11.8	53
Lower Middle.	43	35.0	40	33.1	31	26.0	114
Working Class.	57	46.3	65	53.7	74	62.2	196
Totals:	123		121		119		363

It is seen that the combined 'A' forms have a higher middle class and a lower working class representation than either of the other forms. The combined 'C' forms have the lowest middle class and the highest working class representation. It is possible that these are chance differences and when the  $X^2$  test is applied to the compositions in Table 8(i) a probability value of greater than 0.1 is obtained indicating that the differences in social composition shown are not significant. If, however, the  $X^2$  test is applied to the extreme forms, 'A' and 'C', a probability value of <sup>between</sup> 0.025 and 0.05 is obtained, indicating a slight significance in these differences at the 5% level.

The figures in Table 8(i) suggest that although the three forms of an intake on entering the school are similar in social composition the 'A' form is probably of slightly higher social status with a tendency to have more middle class and fewer working class boys than the other two forms, especially the 'C' form. This would indicate that the boys of higher social class tend to achieve higher performances in the selection tests concerned here than do boys of lower social class.

(ii) However, when inter-form movement occurred, based upon academic

achievement within the school, it was observed that the similarity in social composition between the forms of an intake was lost. This is again illustrated by combining the four intakes:

Table.8(ii). Social Composition of first forms after inter-form movement in the February of each year. 1953-56 intakes combined.

Social Class.	1A		1B		1C		Totals.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Middle Class.	31	24.4	17	14.2	4	3.6	52
Lower Middle.	47	37.0	58	51.7	27	24.3	112
Working Class.	49	38.6	65	54.1	80	72.1	194
Totals:	127		120		111		358

(A total of 5 boys left the school before February of their first year.)

These changes in social composition are due to the differential movements of the members of each social class as follows:

Middle Class.

- (iii) Those middle class boys originally present in the 'A' form, almost without exception stayed there. Middle Class boys in the original 'B' and 'C' streams usually rose to a higher form, in the majority of cases reaching the 'A' form and invariably remaining in the 'A' form. Exceptions to this were few. There were 53 middle class boys in the 1953-1956 intakes. After spending six months in the school 16 moved into a higher form, only 3 were demoted. Of the 16 who were promoted only one did not enter an Express form. Of the 3 who were demoted one returned to the 'A' form after six months in his new form, a second eventually entered an Express form.

The third boy was placed in 5B.

(iv) Lower Middle Class. Many lower middle class boys changed form but the number of boys from this social class in any one form remained fairly constant. In all the intakes studied, however, slightly more lower middle class boys moved upwards than moved in the opposite direction and in all 'C' forms, after the intake had spent six months in the school, with the exception of the 1953 intake, there were slightly fewer lower middle class boys than in either of the other streams. The members of this social class, therefore, did not show, as a group, any marked tendency to move in any one direction, although there is some indication of a slight upward movement.

(v) Working Class. After six months in the school a large proportion of the working class boys in all four intakes were moved to a lower form. The majority remained in their new stream. In each intake some working class boys moved upwards but for all intakes concerned taken together the number who were demoted exceeds the number who received promotion.

For the four intakes together 35 working class boys were moved to a higher form after six months in the school but 7 of them were moved down again six months later. A total of 51 working class boys were demoted after six months in the school but only 2 of them gained promotion after a further six months. Thus many working class

boys are demoted and the majority remain in their new stream and fail to regain their former position.

(vi) The various movements of the members of the three social classes are summarised below:

Table.9(i). Inter-form movement in relation to social class, 1953,1954, 1955 and 1956 intakes combined. (The movements shown are those occurring in the February of the boy's first year in the school).

Social Class.	Total.	Moved upwards.		Moved downwards.	
		No.	%	No.	%
Middle Class.	53	16	30.2	3	5.7
Lower Middle.	114	29	25.4	22	19.3
Working Class.	196	35	17.8	51	26.0

The resultant movement is therefore:

Middle Class: An upward movement of 13 boys.

25.7%

Lower Middle Class: An upward movement of 7 boys.

6.25%

Working Class: A downward movement of 16 boys.

8.25%

Table.(ii). Inter-form movement and social class, 1953-1956 intakes.

(The movements shown are those occurring after the February of a boy's first year in the school).

<u>Social Class.</u>	<u>Moved upwards.</u>	<u>Moved downwards.</u>
Middle Class.	10	3
Lower Middle.	16	13
Working Class.	19	22

The resultant movement from Table 9 (ii) is therefore:

Middle Class: An upward movement of 7 boys.

Lower Middle Class. An upward movement of 3 boys.

Working Class: A downward movement of 3 boys.

- (vii) Thus it appears that during their first two years in the school, middle class boys, and to a lesser extent lower middle class boys, rise in position at the expense of working class boys who move downwards. (It is to be noted that the total downward movement is not as great as the upward. After six months the 'C' stream of an intake is usually made smaller than the 'B' and the 'A'. There is thus an upward movement without a corresponding downward movement.)
- (viii) As a result of the movements described the 'A' stream is not only a form of higher academic ability than the 'B' and 'C' but the 'A' stream also becomes, as a whole, a form of higher social class than the 'B' and the 'C' of higher social class than the 'C'. This is illustrated, in the following section, by a comparison of the social characteristics of two forms of widely differing academic status.
-

XIII. SOCIAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FIFTH FORM 'A' AND 'D' STREAMS.

The 1958-1959 Science 'A' fifth form is compared with the 5C (i.e. the 'D' stream) of the same year. The former consists of members of the 1955 intake which is the intake selected for the detailed analysis of relationships (Sections XVI and XVII). The 5C concerned here, being a Non-express form, is composed of boys of the previous intake.

'A' Form.

- (i) Composed of 25 boys, i.e. 8 middle class, 12 lower middle class,  
5 working class.
- (ii) 11 of the boys live in semi-detached houses on town outskirts.
  - 6 live in terraced houses on the island, away from the industrial areas.
  - 2 live in terraced houses away from the town centre.
  - 3 live in flats, 1 in the industrial area, 2 over shop premises.
  - 2 live in a village outside the town.
  - 1 lives in a terraced house near the town centre.
- (iii) 12 of the boys have one or both parents who attended a grammar school.
- (iv) At a 'Parents' Evening' held so that the parents could meet and talk to the school staff about G.C.E. work and their son's future 20 of the boys were represented. In addition the father of one boy was away from home at his work and the parents of another boy arranged to see the Headmaster on another occasion as they were unable to attend.
- (v) 1 working class boy has an out-of-school job, i.e. delivering newspapers



in the village in which he lives. He carries out this work each weekday evening. One lower middle class boy delivers newspapers on Sunday mornings only. One middle class boy worked as an errand boy for several months on Saturday mornings only in order to earn money for a scout camp, it being a condition that the boys concerned with the camp had to obtain a proportion of the money required by work.

- (vi) 11 of the boys play in school sports teams.
- (vii) 21 members of the form are members of scout troops and/or take an active part in some school activity.
- (viii) No members of the form have been reported to the Headmaster for serious misbehaviour.
- (ix) The average I.Q. for the form when they entered the school was 122.

'D' Form.

- (i) The form consists of 19 boys of whom 2 are lower middle class and 17 are working class.
- (ii) 1 boy lives in a semi-detached house towards town outskirts.  
2 live in terraced houses on the island.  
1 lives in a flat in the industrial area.  
1 lives on a council housing estate on town outskirts.  
1 lives in a terraced house away from the centre of the town.  
13 live in terraced houses in the centre of the town.

- (iii) 1 boy in the form has a parent (his mother) who attended a grammar school.
- (iv) The parents of 9 of the boys were present at the 'Parents' Evening'.
- (v) 14 of the boys have permanent spare-time jobs, the majority delivering newspapers. Two of the boys are the sons of newsagents and they thus deliver newspapers for their fathers.
- (vi) 5 of the boys play for school sports teams.
- (vii) None are scouts and none take any part in a school activity (apart from those mentioned in vi).
- (viii) The average I.Q. on entry was 118.
- (ix) During their fourth and fifth years in the school 6 of the boys were reported to the Headmaster for serious misbehaviour. As a result 4 were suspended from school for several days. One, not now included in this survey, was expelled from the school.

There are other observable differences between the two forms of which the most obvious are that the 'A' form as a whole has a much higher standard of dress and their attendance at school is considerably higher.

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The work in the preceding five sections is concerned with the progress of boys during part of their school careers. In the following section the progress of an intake is examined for all the time spent in the school.

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XIV.

THE SOCIAL CLASS AND ACADEMIC PROGRESS OF BOYS

WHO ENTERED THE SCHOOL IN 1949.

A. Inter-form movement.

In the first instance the progress of the three forms of the 1949 intake has been shown by charts and by tables showing the changes in composition of forms.

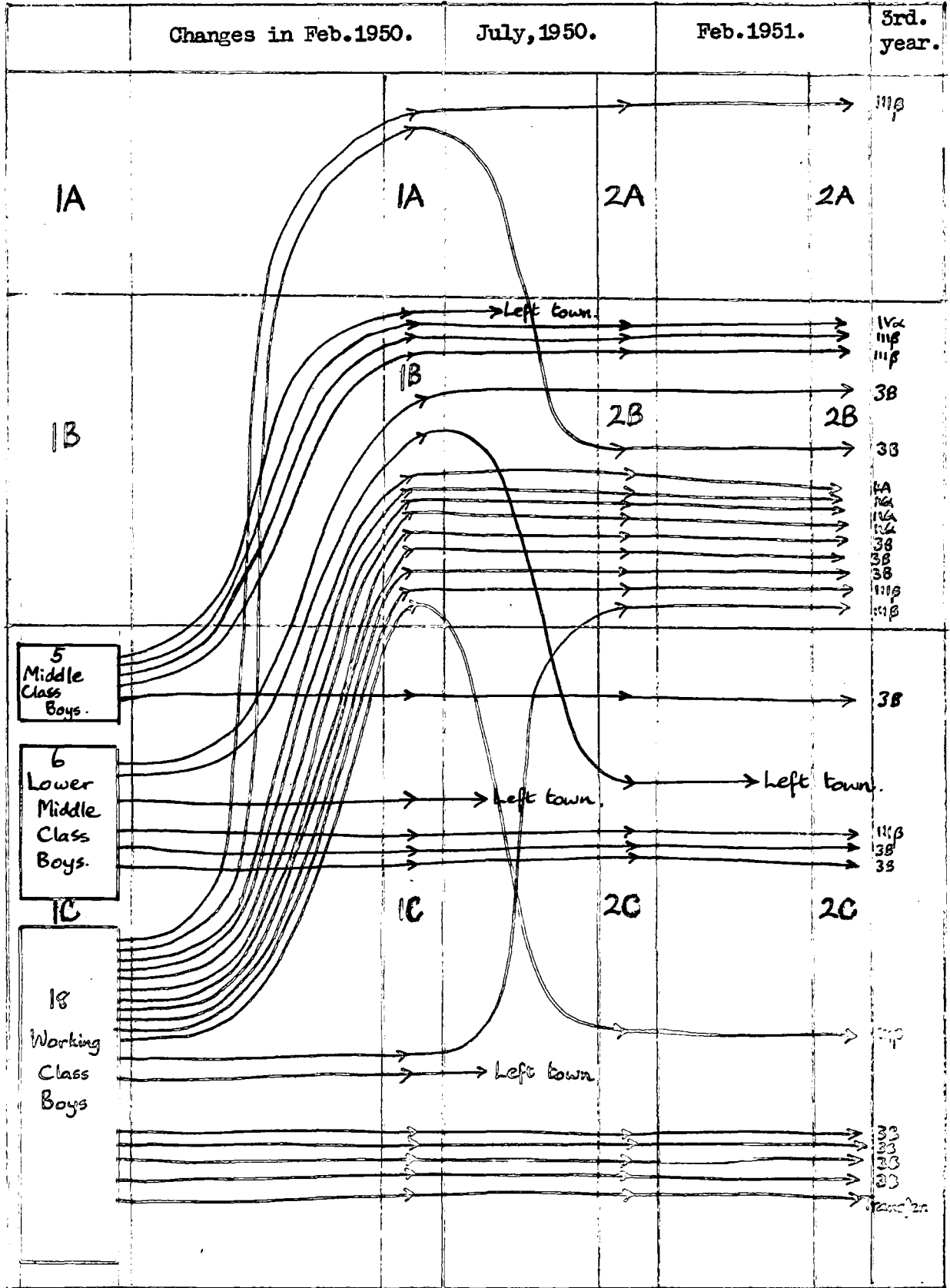
These tables and charts show that the original 'A', 'B' and 'C' forms were similar in composition. Differences that did exist cannot be regarded as significant. 1A, for instance, possessed 5 Middle Class boys but so did 1C. 1B had only two such boys. After the February examinations in 1950 many boys changed forms, in fact 44 boys of the total intake of 87 moved into a different stream from the one into which they were originally placed.

The division of the Non-express boys into 'B' and 'C' streams at the end of their second year is a process which began with the 1953 intake. Previously it was the system to have 'Arts' and 'Science' forms for the Non-express as well as for the 'Express' boys. Thus there was a 5B and a III Beta (IIIB), the former containing boys who concentrated on science subjects and the latter comprising those who spent more time studying arts subjects. Both forms had equal academic status and were not comparable with the 5B and 3C of later years. The 1949 intake is not typical of the other intakes already examined in that the social composition of the 'Express' forms and the 'Non-express' forms is almost exactly the same.





Progress during first and second years in the school. 1949 Intake. 'C' stream.



1949 Intake. Changes in composition of forms.

Table.10. (i). September 1949 to February, 1950.

Social Class.	1A		1B		1C		Whole intake.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Middle Class.	5	17.8	2	6.6	5	17.2	12	14.0
Lower Middle.	8	28.6	11	36.6	6	20.7	25	28.6
Working Class.	15	53.6	17	56.6	18	62.1	50	57.4
	28		30		29		87	

(ii). Feb.1950 to July,1950.

Social Class.	1A	1B	1C
Middle Class.	4	5	3
Lower Middle.	11	7	7
Working Class.	15	17	18
Totals:	30	29	28

(iii). Sept.1950 to Feb.1951.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	5	6	1
Lower Middle.	10	6	8
Working Class.	15	20	12
Totals:	28	32	21

(1 boy left 1A, 1 from 1B and 4 from 1C).



Table.10. (continued).

(iv) Feb.1951 - July,1951.

Social Class.	2A	2B	2C
Middle Class.	3	6	1
Lower Middle.	10	5	7
Working Class.	15	21	11
Totals:	28	32	19

(1 boy left 2B, 1 left 2C).

(v) Sept.1951 onwards.

Social Class.	4A, IVa	5B, IIIb
Middle Class.	5	4
Lower Middle.	11	10
Working Class.	23	21
Totals:	39	35

(3 boys left 2B, 2 left 2C).

(vi) Sept.1951 onwards.

Social Class.	4A	IVa	5B	IIIb
Middle Class.	4	1	1	3
Lower Middle.	8	3	5	5
Working Class.	10	13	11	10
Totals:	22	17	17	18

In general the pattern of inter-form movement is similar to that of the other intakes which have been considered. The total numbers of boys of each social class who moved up or down in the February of their first year is shown in Table 11.

Table.11. 1949 Intake. Inter-form movement in relation to social class, February, 1950.

Social Class.	Total in intake.	Moved upwards.	Moved downwards.
Middle Class.	12	4	2
Lower Middle.	25	7	4
Working Class.	50	14	13
Totals:	87	25	19

The middle class boys tended to maintain their position in their age group or to move upwards. One of the 5 middle class boys in the 'A' stream was moved into the 'B' stream and remained there for two years but he left the town and the school at the end of his second year and his subsequent progress cannot be examined. Records, however, show that, this boy's position being fourth from the bottom of the 1A form order after the February examinations, he was transferred to 1B. He was placed bottom of 1B in the July examinations at the end of his first year in the school. Records also mention that the boy's mother, while he was attending the

school, was suffering from a prolonged and serious illness. The boy's attendance was poor, he was absent for a total of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  days in the first year in school and for 33 days in his second. This latter attendance was the worst in the whole intake for that year. This boy failed to fulfil the promise expected of a boy placed originally in an 'A' stream and he failed to behave in the way which would seem to be typical of his social class. There is, however, evidence that the boy had difficulties at home with which he had to contend, these difficulties providing possible social reasons for his comparative failure in his first two years in the school. One other middle class boy moved downwards after six months but he was placed 1st. in position in his new form and moved back to his original stream six months later.

Four lower middle class boys were demoted. All four entered Non-express forms, one of them entered the 6th. form. This latter boy failed in two of the three subjects which he sat in the G.C.E.(Advanced Level) examination. None of these boys showed an indication of recovery of position after the initial demotion. Six of the seven lower middle class boys who were promoted entered the Express forms. Three of them entered the sixth form.

1949 is typical of the 1953-1956 intakes in that a high proportion of the working class boys in 1A and 1B moved down but, in the case of the 1949 intake, there was a large movement upwards of working class boys.

In fact 14 working class boys were promoted. 13 working class boys moved to a lower form. The school careers of these 27 boys are summarised as follows:

Of the 14 who were promoted 10 entered the 'Express' forms, 8 became sixth formers and 4 went to university. (This latter number does not include 2 boys who left school to perform their National Service and who may eventually enter a university).

15 working class boys were demoted. 3 of this number left the school after only a short time and are therefore excluded from this summary. Of the remaining 10 boys, 3 went into one or other of the Express forms, 2 entered the sixth form, none went to university. Of the 10, one boy remained in the fifth form and sat G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) examinations three times. Four sat the whole examination twice and one boy, although he proceeded into the sixth form, re-sat single subjects at Ordinary Level on two further occasions. Of the other 4 boys, one failed in all subjects. There was, therefore, of the 10 boys, all originally placed in the 'A' or 'B' streams, only three who obtained G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) results which were sufficiently good not to require repetition of the examination after a further year in school. These boys, who all sat in seven subjects, obtained 3, 4 and 5 passes respectively.

The general pattern of movements already observed is, therefore, again apparent. The subsequent progress of the boys concerned seem to

justify the various promotions and demotions that were made. Thus over 25% of the working class boys in the intake moved to a lower form soon after entry. But a slightly higher proportion of boys from the same social class were promoted at the same time and their subsequent progress, in most cases, justified this action.

One is thus presented with the possibility of sub-class factors which influence a boy's progress at school. Such adverse factors need not necessarily be looked for only in the cases of those boys who were initially moved to a lower stream. For instance two of the four promoted working class boys who did not enter an Express form are known to have lacked a normal home background. Both these boys moved up from 1C to 1B. One, however, soon returned to the 'C' stream and remained there for the rest of his school career. He failed in all the six subjects in which he was examined at G.C.E. (Ordinary Level). His parents were separated and the boy lived with his grandmother. The other boy remained in the 'B' stream but he passed in only two subjects at Ordinary Level. His parents were divorced.

These more detailed aspects of the subject are dealt with in the discussion on the causes of the relation between social class and academic progress (Sections XV, XVI and XVII).

B. 1949 Intake. G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) Results.

In this year-group many boys who intended to enter the sixth form only sat, at the Ordinary Level, the examination in those subjects that they would not take in the sixth form. In calculating the number of passes at Ordinary Level for this analysis a boy has been credited with a pass in any subject in which he was successful at Advanced Level but did not take in the Ordinary Level examination. If any boy sat for the examination on more than one occasion the total number of passes is recorded but the same subject is not counted twice if passed twice.

Several members of the original intake left the school before taking G.C.E. examinations. Such boys are omitted from this analysis.

The following table shows the number of passes in G.C.E. gained by the members of each social class.

Table.12. The relationship between social class and results gained at G.C.E. (Ordinary Level). 1949 intake.

Social Class.	No. of boys in the social class.	Total no. of passes obtained.	Average no. of passes per boy.
Middle Class.	8	49	6.1
Lower Middle.	21	97	4.6
Working Class.	45	216	5.0
Totals:	72	362	5.0

On average, then, middle class boys gained one more pass each at Ordinary Level than did working class boys and slightly better still than lower middle class boys. This higher number of passes per boy gained by members of the middle class could be due to their higher intelligence although it was observed that the distribution of these boys within the order of merit at selection did not indicate any higher level of ability within the group.

Table.13. The relationship between G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) results and original forms. 1949 intake.

Original form.	No. of boys in form.	Total no. of passes obtained.	Average no. of passes per boy.
1A	24	143	5.9
1B	24	117	4.9
1C	24	102	4.2
Form after six months.	No. of boys in form.	total no. of passes obtained.	average no. of passes per boy.
1A	28	171	6.1
1B	24	130	5.4
1C	20	61	3.0

The original first forms are arranged upon selection test results. The forms after six months depend upon results gained in internal school examinations and for homework. Table 13 would seem to indicate, therefore, that school examinations and homework marks are a better indication of success at the Ordinary Level of G.C.E. than are the selection results.

C. Entry to the Sixth Form. 1949 Intake.

Boys who entered the school in 1949 but who left before they reached the fifth form have been omitted from this analysis if they left the town because their parents moved elsewhere, namely for non-educational reasons. One boy was transferred to a secondary modern school after two years in the grammar school. He was omitted from the G.C.E. analysis but has been included in this present one as he can be regarded as having failed to enter the sixth form because of lack of academic progress.

Table.14. The relationship between social class and entry into the sixth form. 1949 intake.

Social Class.	No. of boys in social class.	No. who entered sixth form.	Percentage.
Middle Class.	8	7	87.5
Lower Middle.	21	9	42.8
Working Class.	44	22	50.0
Totals:	73	38	52.0



Table 14 shows that over half the boys who remained at school until the fifth form entered the sixth form. A very high proportion of the middle class boys entered the sixth form. This again may be due to ability and will, of course, be linked with the number of passes gained at the Ordinary Level of G.C.E.

Of the original 12 middle class boys who entered the school in 1949, 7 entered the sixth form, one left after three years in the fifth form (his future occupation is not recorded) and the remaining four left the school, for non-educational reasons, during their early years there.

Table.15. The relationship between entry to sixth form and original forms. 1949 intake.

Original form.	No. of boys in form.	No. entering sixth form.
1A	24	16
1B	25	12
1C	24	10
Form after six months.	No. of boys in form.	No. entering sixth form.
1A	28	22
1B	24	14
1C	21	2

More of the original 1A entered the sixth form than of the original 1B and more of 1B than 1C. This would be expected if, as is the case, entry to the sixth form depended upon ability. The differences between the numbers entering the sixth form is much more marked, however, when considering the re-constituted forms. Again, as with the G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) results, if entry to the sixth form is regarded as an indication of success, then internal examinations and homework marks are a more efficient means of predicting success than are results in the selection tests.

D. The social composition of the Sixth Form. 1949 intake.

The sixth form originally consisted of 58 boys. The proportions of each social class in the sixth form compared with the 1949 intake as a whole are given below in Table.16.

Table.16. The relationship between the social composition of the sixth form and the 1949 intake as a whole.

Social Class.	Sixth Form.		Whole Intake.	
	No.	%	No.	%
Middle Class.	7	18.4	8	10.9
Lower Middle.	9	23.7	21	28.8
Working Class.	22	57.9	44	60.5

There is seen to be a higher proportion of middle class boys in the sixth form compared with the intake as a whole but this seems to have been achieved by having fewer lower middle class rather than working class boys, the latter having a 57.9% representation in the sixth form compared with 60% in the whole intake.

E. The relationship between social class and the results gained at G.C.E. (Advanced Level). 1949 Intake.

If a boy sat the examination on more than one occasion the total number of passes is recorded in this analysis but the same subject is not counted twice if passed twice. Of the 58 boys who entered the sixth form, three left before completing the course and the fourth, being still at school at the time of this investigation, is not included. The total number of boys shown in Table 17 below is therefore lower than the total who originally entered the sixth form.

Table.17. The relationship between social class and G.C.E (Advanced Level) results. 1949 intake.

Social Class.	No.of boys in social class.	Total no. of passes obtained.	Average no. of passes per boy.
Middle Class.	6	14	2.3
Lower Middle.	9	21	2.3
Working Class.	19	50	2.6
Totals:	34	85	2.5

Thus, at the end of the school course, those working class boys who entered the sixth form obtained, as a group, a better result at Advanced Level than did either of the other classes and the other two classes did equally well. The numbers involved in this analysis are small and chance could have played a part in the above results.

F. Entry to University. 1949 Intake.

One of the most important functions of a grammar school is the preparation of boys for entry to a University. A large proportion of university graduates and the majority of working class undergraduates reach their university through a secondary grammar school.

Table 18 shows the proportion of each social class within the 1949 intake which gained entrance to a university immediately upon leaving school. This analysis does not include the four boys whose occupation upon leaving school is not known nor does it include the one boy still at school at the time of the investigation. The numbers given in Table 18 are of those boys who entered a university upon leaving school.

Table.18. The relationship between social class and University entrance. 1949 intake.

Social Class.	No. of boys in social class.	No. of boys who entered university.	Percentage.
Middle Class.	7	5	71.4
Lower Middle.	19	5	26.3
Working Class.	42	14	33.3
Totals:	68	24	35.3

Thus 35.3% of the intake entered university upon leaving school. This figure would seem to be high. Figures published by the Ministry of Education show that, in 1958, maintained grammar school in England and Wales sent approximately 17.5% of their leavers to the Universities. (21) The high percentage of boys who entered and continue to enter university from the school is perhaps due not only to educational influences within the school but partly also to lack of suitable employment for boys leaving school at the age of 18 and to an excellent system of L.E.A. University awards which ensure that no boy of the necessary ability should be unable to enter university for financial reasons. This is particularly important for the large number of working class boys concerned.

Table.19. The relationship between University entrance and original forms. 1949 Intake.

Original form.	No. of boys.	No. entering University.
1A	23	14
1B	22	4
1C	23	6
Form after sixth months.	No. of boys.	No. entering University.
1A	27	16
1B	23	7
1C	18	1

Again the middle class boys have a good record, five of the seven

who entered the sixth form gaining entrance to university. A sixth boy went to a Teachers' Training College.

There is little difference between the original 1A and the re-constituted 1A as far as potential university undergraduates is concerned. Nevertheless the internal examination and homework system shows itself to be the more efficient predictor in this respect.

G. 'Wastage' in the Grammar School. 1949 intake.

It is essential for the individual as well as for the community as a whole that there be no wastage of ability.

It has been shown that there was considerable wastage of ability, before the passing of the 1944 Education Act, at the age of eleven.<sup>(22)</sup> The abolition of fees in grammar schools and increased efficiency in the compiling of selection tests has undoubtedly reduced wastage at that particular stage and the most serious wastage in the educational process at the present time is probably at the age of 15 or 16 years. In the school with which this investigation is concerned no boy from the 1949 intake left school before sitting for G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) unless he was moving to another part of the country where presumably he entered a similar school and completed his course. The only exception to this was one boy who was transferred to a secondary modern school in the town.

It has been shown that over half the intake entered the sixth form. It is reasonable to assume that a boy entering the sixth form requires five passes at Ordinary Level G.C.E. If this is accepted as a basis for sixth form entry the following is an analysis of the progress of those boys in the intake who obtained five passes or more at Ordinary Level.

24 entered University; 1 entered a Teachers' Training College;  
1 surveyor; 1 pharmacist; 1 analytical chemist; 1 local government;  
1 Art School; 1 insurance company; 1 technical assistant in local  
manufacturing firm; 3 clerks; 1 accountancy; 1 apprentice engineer;  
1 apprentice electrician; 1 apprentice draughtsman; 1 police force;  
2 National Service; 2 not known.

One boy with less than five passes entered the sixth form. Therefore of the 44 boys who obtained at least five passes only seven of them did not enter the sixth form. Of those that did three failed to complete the sixth form course, i.e. one emigrated to Canada with his parents; one left after a few months to enter industry as a technical assistant; the third was taken seriously ill, was absent from school for almost a year for this reason and did not return when recovered. As shown, the proportion who entered university was high.

Collins, after analysing a small sample, found no evidence to suggest

that four year (or 'Express') courses leading to G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) tended to encourage premature leaving.<sup>(25)</sup> Five boys from the 1949 intake Express forms failed to enter the sixth form. Two of them were lower middle class and two were working class. One of the five had only three passes at Ordinary Level, the others remained at school for a second year in the fifth form. They obtained 9,8,8 and 7 passes respectively in the two years and became a surveyor, an accountant, a pharmacist and an analytical chemist. Again there is no evidence of wastage and the four year course does not seem to have encouraged premature leaving.

It is nevertheless true that a higher proportion of middle class boys than working class boys remained at school after the age of 15 or 16. The differences in length of school life are shown in Table.20.

Table.20. Length of school life in relation to social class. 1949 intake.

<u>Social Class.</u>	<u>Length of school life.</u>
Middle Class.	6.9 years.
Lower Middle.	6.2 years.
Working Class.	6.1 years.

There is thus a tendency for boys of middle class origin to stay at school longer.

In this grammar school there is little wastage of ability in the



case of one intake, at the 15-16 year old stage. For all the intakes concerned there is the possibility of wastage at a much earlier stage, mainly in the intake's first year in the school, when boys were demoted from 'A' or 'B' streams and remained in their new form, failing to achieve that success of which, according to the selection examination results, they were capable.

#### H. The 1949 intake and social mobility.

The social class which a boy eventually enters depends usually upon his occupation and this in turn depends, to a very large extent, upon his education. Before the passing of the 1944 Education Act there was thus a limit upon the amount of social mobility which could occur, free secondary education being available for a comparatively small number of children.

It has been pointed out by Mrs. Floud that post-elementary education of some sort and preferably of the 'Grammar' type is an "indispensable condition of entry" to all but the lowest levels of the middle class which has expanded so rapidly during the last 100 years. (24) Since the 1944 Education Act came into operation the chances of a working class child entering a grammar school have greatly increased and this very entry to a grammar school begins the process of social mobility. Any

considerable rise in social class, however, requires the child to succeed in public examinations, especially the G.C.E. examinations, and very often to take a university course.

It has not been possible in this investigation to measure the extent to which a boy's aspirations regarding social class influence his educational progress in a grammar school. Himmelweit reports (25) that 13-14 year old working class boys seem aware of the significance of a grammar school education for rising in social status but that they were not as concerned as middle class boys to obtain higher marks in examinations or to take part in extra-curricular activities of the school.

The data available for the 1949 intake in the present enquiry is sufficient, however, to illustrate the efficiency of a grammar school as a means of bringing about social mobility.

Of the 42 working class boys who entered the school in 1949 and for whom records are complete, 14 , or a third of them, entered university. It is not yet known if all these boys will successfully complete their university courses but those who do will almost certainly enter occupations which place them in the middle class. These fourteen boys are the sons of: 3 boiler makers, 2 firemen, 2 fitters, 1 plumber, 1 bricklayer, 1 shipwright, 1 painter and decorator, 1 'bus driver, 1 crane driver, 1 'moulder'.

In addition to the boys who went to university upon leaving school no records are available of the members of the intake who entered a university after completing their National Service, after part-time study at a technical college or at the expense of a large industrial concern.

Table 21 shows the number of boys from each social class who entered university immediately upon leaving school in the years shown.

Table.21. Social Class and University Entrants. 1951-1956.

Year.	Middle Class.		Lower Middle Class.		Working Class.		Totals.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1951	2	13.3	6	40.0	7	46.6	15
1952	4	17.4	7	30.4	12	52.2	23
1953	2	10.5	8	42.1	9	47.4	19
1954	4	15.4	6	23.1	16	61.5	26
1955	4	26.6	6	40.0	5	33.5	15
1956	5	20.8	7	29.2	12	50.0	24
Totals:	21	17.2	40	32.8	61	50.0	122

From Table 21 it can be seen that over six years half the boys entering university from school were from working class homes. It is estimated that about 45 working class boys leave this school from various forms each year. Thus over the six years concerned approximately

270 such boys left the school. 61 of these boys entered a university upon leaving. These boys will tend to enter middle class occupations along with those who enter university later and those who take up a middle class occupation in other ways than through a university.

This rapid social mobility and expansion of the middle class is likely to continue, perhaps on an even larger scale, in future years. There would seem to be an urgent need for an investigation on a national scale, on the lines of that being carried out at the present time by the Social Research Division of the London School of Economics, to discover the effects of both these phenomena upon the individuals concerned and upon the community as a whole.

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The evidence provided by the 1949 intake suggests the following conclusions:

- (i) The inter-form movements which occurred during the intake's first and second years in the school were, in general, the same as those for the 1953-1956 intakes but they were not so pronounced, i.e. not all middle class boys were promoted and slightly more working class boys were promoted than were demoted.
- (ii) Middle Class boys obtained better results in G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) than either of the other two social groups. Working Class boys,

as a group, obtained a better result in the same examination than the lower middle class group.

- (iii) Of the 8 middle class boys who sat G.C.E. (Ordinary Level) 7 entered the sixth form. 50% of the working class boys entered the sixth form compared with 42.8% of the lower middle class boys.
  - (iv) Working Class boys obtained a better result in G.C.E. (Advanced Level) than either of the other two groups who, in the case of this intake, did equally well. One can conclude from this that working class boys, though they may find their home background a disadvantage during their early years in the school find it less so towards the end of their time spent in the school. It could also be argued that only the most able boys of working class origin survive the various processes of selection in the school and so enter the sixth form and take G.C.E. examinations at advanced level.
  - (v) The middle class sent the highest percentage of its members to university, the lower middle class least.
  - (vi) Internal school examinations and methods of re-grading provide a more accurate prediction of G.C.E. performance than does the secondary school selection examination.
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AN ANALYSIS OF THE OBSERVED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN  
SOCIAL CLASS AND ACADEMIC PROGRESS.

XV. METHOD OF INVESTIGATION.

One must conclude, as a result of the preceding work, that there exists in certain cases some connection between a boy's social class and his academic progress. For instance practically all middle class boys seem to possess factors which promote academic success. One cannot, however, therefore conclude that social class is responsible for this successful progress.

It is obvious that many factors may affect academic progress at a secondary grammar school. Among such factors must be included a boy's ability, his diligence, his capacity for work, his ability to concentrate, the personality and teaching ability of each master concerned, the size of the form in which the boy is taught. We are here concerned with the possible effects of social class but a clear distinction between social and non-social factors is obviously impossible to draw. A boy's reaction to his teachers and his ability to work hard and with determination, for instance, could be influenced by his parents and this attitude is possibly linked with the parents' membership of a particular social class.

One factor which will obviously affect each boy's progress is his mental ability as measured by the secondary school selection tests. In previous sections the form in which a boy was originally placed

has been used as a broad indication of this measured ability in that he was placed in that form mainly upon the results of his selection tests. But no ability gap exists between the 1A and 1B or between the 1B and 1C of an intake and there is not necessarily a significant difference in selection test performance between the 'top' boy of 1B and the boy in lowest position in 1A. This is especially so when test scores are the main, but not the only basis for selection. It is thus possible to argue that the inter-form movements which have been shown to occur concern only those boys who are on the borderline between the two forms. In order to examine this possibility a further analysis of the inter-form movements of one year-intake was carried out, taking into account the selection test performances of the boys. The 1955 intake was selected for this purpose, it being possible to draw upon a more extensive personal knowledge of this intake than of any other. In certain cases the records are incomplete. The complete sets of test scores of 68 members of this intake were available and are used in the following analysis.

The ability range of each form and of each social class of the 1955 intake was examined and the inter-form movements were studied with regard to the selection test performances of the individual boys concerned. A detailed study was then made of the social backgrounds of



boys whose progress appeared, in view of their test scores, to be abnormal. Only such boys can provide the material which can be used to assess the influence of social class upon academic progress.

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XVI. 1955 INTAKE: SELECTION TEST PERFORMANCES IN RELATION TO  
INTER-FORM MOVEMENT AFTER SIX MONTHS.

The 68 boys for whom records were available include 10 from the Middle Class, 31 from Lower Middle class and 27 from Working Class homes.

It is of interest to examine the performances in the selection tests of the members of the three social classes. Each boy's score in the four sets of tests was averaged to give a mean Arithmetic score (A.Q.), a mean English score (E.Q.) and a mean Intelligence score (I.Q.). These mean scores for the members of each social class were again averaged to give a mean A.Q., E.Q. and I.Q. value for each social class. The results are as follows. The range of scores for each social class are shown in brackets after the mean score.

Average test scores for each social class. 1955 intake.

<u>Middle Class.</u>	<u>Lower Middle Class.</u>	<u>Working Class.</u>
A.Q. 122 (117-128).	A.Q. 120 (102-132).	A.Q. 119 (107-137).
E.Q. 118 (106-126).	E.Q. 121 (112-133).	E.Q. 118 (110-131).
I.Q. 121 (111-132).	I.Q. 121 (112-137).	I.Q. 120 (113-132).

The numbers of boys involved in this analysis is small and any conclusions drawn can only be tentative. No one social group appears

to have obtained noticeably better performances than another but a comparison based upon an addition of the three mean scores for each social class suggests that the Middle Class and Lower Middle Class groups with totals of 361 and 362 respectively had better performances than the Working Class group (357).

The mean scores for each boy were used to produce a mean score for each form upon entry. The results are as follows:

Average test scores for each form on entry. 1955 intake.

<u>1A.</u>	<u>1B.</u>	<u>1C.</u>
A.Q. 125 (113-137).	A.Q. 119 (110-127).	A.Q. 116 (102-126).
E.Q. 125 (117-133).	E.Q. 118 (111-130).	E.Q. 115 (106-123).
I.Q. 126 (119-137).	I.Q. 120 (116-127).	I.Q. 116 (111-122).

Thus, as expected, the original 1A obtained, as a whole, higher scores than 1B and 1B higher than 1C.

The three forms were re-constituted during the inter-form movements which occurred in February, 1956.

Average test scores for each form after six months. 1955 intake.

<u>1A.</u>	<u>1B.</u>	<u>1C.</u>
A.Q. 123 (107-132).	A.Q. 121 (109-134).	A.Q. 117 (102-137).
E.Q. 121 (112-133).	E.Q. 118 (106-131).	E.Q. 118 (110-130).
I.Q. 123 (113-137).	I.Q. 120 (111-132).	I.Q. 118 (112-129).

All three mean scores for the re-constituted 1A are seen to be lower than for the original 1A; all three mean scores for the re-constituted 1C are higher than for the original 1C. The various promotions and demotions which occurred after six months resulted, therefore, in a lessening of the differences in measured ability which existed between the original forms. This tendency towards a more uniform distribution of ability between the three forms is in contrast to the increased social differences which were brought about at the same time.

Clearly, then, the movements of boys to higher or lower forms in the February of their first year was not due simply to their possessing more or less mental ability than their fellows. It would seem that with each form there was, after six months in the school, a greater range of ability and less diversity of social class mainly due to the consistent upward movement of middle class boys.

It is worth noting that the use of school internal examinations and homework marks as the basis for streaming an intake resulted in the formation of three forms which, because of the wider range of measured mental ability they contained, should have been less efficient as teaching units than the original forms.

In order to trace the movements between forms of each boy in the intake the 68 boys for whom records were available were then placed in an order of merit according to a simple addition of each boy's mean scores.

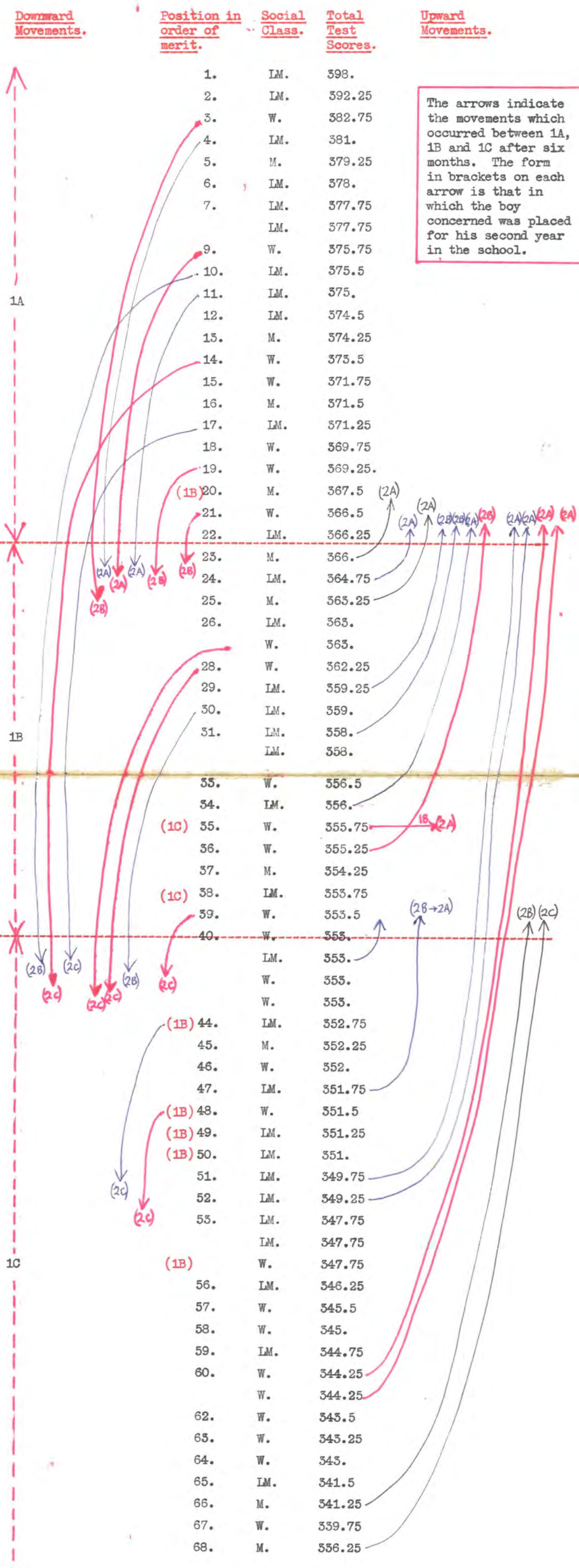
In the discussion which follows the individual boys concerned are denoted by their positions in this order of merit. (Table 22).

The test scores are regarded as the most important but not the only factors taken into consideration when selecting grammar school entrants and when placing these entrants in an order of merit. Therefore compiling a list based upon test scores alone, as in Table 22, and then dividing this order of merit into three forms means inevitably that several boys will appear in a form other than that in which they were originally placed. Such a boy is placed 35th. in Table 22. The red lines in that table represent the division between the forms and this boy therefore appears in 1B although he was, in fact, originally placed in 1C. It is most likely that his mental ability alone is responsible for his promotion in the February of his first year. Similarly little, if any, social significance can be attached to the fact that the boy placed 48th. was demoted to 1C.

Some inter-form movement of boys originally placed on the borderline between two forms is to be expected. Thus boys placed 19th. and 21st. were moved down from 1A to 1B and boys placed 23rd., 24th. and 25th. were promoted to 1A from 1B. It is, however, of possible significance that the two boys who were demoted were Working Class boys whereas the promoted boys were from the Middle (two) and Lower Middle (one) Classes.

For the same reason the demotion of the 39th. boy from 1B to 1C is not unexpected.

Table.22. Inter-form Movement in relation to social class and combined test scores.1955 intake.



It is reasonable to assume that certain boys will be demoted because of lack of diligence in their work, because they were nervous examinees, because of poor health at the time of the examination or for similar reasons. However, such boys might be expected to improve their position at some later date. For similar reasons, unconnected with social class, some boys may receive promotion which they later fail to justify.

With these considerations in mind, and omitting the boys placed near the borderline, the subsequent progress of the demoted boys is summarised below:

3rd.	Demoted 1A to 1B, 2B, IVa, Va, Sixth Form.
4th.	1A to 1B, 2A, IVa, Va, Sixth Form.
9th.	1A to 1B, 2A, 2B, 3C, 3B, 4B, 5B.
10th.	1A to 1C, 2C, 3C, 4C, 5C.
11th.	1A to 1B, 2A, 4A, 5A, Sixth Form.
14th.	1A to 1C, 2C, Transferred to Secondary Modern School.
17th.	1A to 1C, 2C, Transferred to Secondary Technical School.
19th.	1A to 1B, 2B, IVa, Va, Sixth Form.
21st.	1A to 1B, 2B, IVa, Va, Sixth Form.
26th.	1B to 1C, 2C, 3C, 4C, 5C.
28th.	1B to 1C, 2C, 3C, 4C, Left School.
30th.	1B to 1C, 2C, 3B, 4B, 5B.

Thus most of the demoted boys, i.e. those with positions 3, 4, 11, 14, 17, 19, 21, 30, ultimately entered a form consistent with their position on the original order of merit. All of these boys, who were originally placed in 1A, i.e. in the first 22 of the order, entered Express Forms. The other boys, and especially those in 9th., 10th. and 28th. positions, suffered demotion without showing any permanent recovery. It is for such boys that social background may be the cause of failure. (Case Studies A, B and C.)

Again omitting the borderline cases the progress of the promoted boys is summarised below:

Position.

29th.	Promoted 1B to 1A, 2B, 4A, 5A, Repeat 5A, Sixth Form.
31st.	1B to 1A, 2B, 3B, 4B, 5B.
34th.	1B to 1A, 2A, 4A, 5A, Repeat 5A, Sixth Form.
36th.	1B to 1A, 2B, IVa, Va, Sixth Form.
47th.	1C to 1B, 2B, 2A, 4A, 5A, Sixth Form.
51st.	1C to 1A, 2A, 4A, 5A, Sixth Form.
52nd.	1C to 1A, 2A, 4A, 5A, Sixth Form.
60th.	1C to 1A, 2A, IVa, Va, Sixth Form.
60th.	1C to 1A, 2A, 4A, 5A, Sixth Form.

In the last five cases listed, i.e. boys placed 47, 51, 52 and the two placed at 60th., there is evidence of exceptional promotion which was subsequently justified. The social background of each of these five boys is examined in Case Studies C, D, E, F and G.

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XVII. CASE STUDIES.

In collecting information concerning individual boys the main difficulty was that of deciding which facts were relevant. Parental occupation has been used to indicate social class and much information will stem from this - the father's position in the community, the size of the house in which the family lives, the size of the family in relation to the size of the house, the education of the parents, parental income and the material possessions of the home. Of interest also could be the attitude of the parents when this is measurable, the 'atmosphere' of the home, the parents' interest in their son's future, should this interest be apparent. Such factors could possibly influence a boy's academic career. They are connected directly or indirectly with the concept of social class.

Data was collected from record cards, correspondence which had been filed, details of examination performances. In certain cases the homes were visited informally, the parents of the majority of boys concerned were interviewed - again informally, the interview consisting of a conversation regarding the boy and his work at school and not of series of questions which were the same for all the parents concerned. Much information was available from a personal knowledge of all the boys for whom case studies were carried out.

In the first instant case studies were made of boys selected

(on pages 122-3 ) because their academic progress at the School was not successfully predicted by their performance in the secondary school selection tests. (Case Studies A - I). Boys A, B and C did not progress as well as expected. Boys D, E, F, G, H and I showed progress that was much better than expected. Each boy changed considerably and permanently his academic position at school. The case studies of these boys form Appendix I. What can be deduced from a consideration of the home background concerned?

It is not difficult to find, for the three boys who were demoted, social reasons which could be responsible for their comparative failure. A and C come from materially poor homes. They had few, if any, previous grammar school contacts. Their parents certainly had no experience of this type of education. In both cases admittance to a grammar school must have opened up a completely new and strange field of experience which must have taxed their powers of adaptation to the full. This task must have been rendered more difficult by the illness and permanent unemployment of A's father and the death of C's. The boy B also lacked a normal home background due to the permanent absence abroad of his father. It is reasonable to suppose that this could affect his work at School, especially as his mother seems to have been unable to supply sufficient positive interest and encouragement to compensate for the absence of the father.

These three boys have the following features in common with each other: each came from an abnormal or incomplete home background, caused by the circumstances of the father; all took little, or no, interest in extra-curricular activities; they had few hobbies; had no apparent interest in sport; all three lived in regions of the town with low grammar school representation.

Case studies D - I are of boys who received promotion. With the exception of I this promotion meant the movement of each boy from the 'C' to the 'A' form and to permanent positions in the latter. The progress of I is not so spectacular but nevertheless of the same order as the others in that he was promoted from bottom position of the 68 representatives of the intake to 1B and, despite a subsequent demotion to 2C, he eventually gained a permanent place in the 'B' stream.

Boys D - I all possessed normal and complete home backgrounds, in each case the family appears to have been a happy and united one which suffered no inconvenience or hardship due to lack of money. Except for I they all took some part (E, G and H considerably so) in the extra-curricular activities of the School; E, F and H took an active part in school sport; all six boys lived in areas of the town with much higher grammar school representation than A, B and C; the father of three of them attended a grammar school.

For all these boys it is possible that home background influenced, at least to some extent, academic progress at the School. It is

necessary, however, to consider whether they had inevitably to come under these influences, good or bad, because of membership of a particular social class. To what extent are the 9 boys concerned typical of the social class to which each belongs? A study was therefore made of the home backgrounds of several other members of each social class. These case studies (E - W), arranged according to social class, form Appendix II. For the purposes of comparison the data obtained from all the case studies is summarised in Tables 23, 24 and 25. The following aspects are included in these tables:

Case Studies. Summary of Data.

- (i) Education of the parents.
- (ii) Acquaintance with grammar school. Has the boy a relative who attended a grammar school or is there any such contact through which he could learn of life at a grammar school, especially before he entered the school?
- (iii) Parents' Attitude. This is scored A, B or C as follows:
  - A. An intelligent interest in boy's work and future, together with active and sensible encouragement.
  - B. Parents show some interest but their attitude, while not harmful, does not lead to active encouragement or positive action.
  - C. Parents take little or no interest in boy's progress at school, make no attempt to understand his problems and difficulties, fail to give encouragement.
- (iv) Home. Scored as follows:
  - A. House situated in a 'pleasant' part of the town, well decorated, well furnished, not lacking in material comforts, well organised.

In general providing a happy and stable background to the boy's education.

B. Home generally adequate, providing essential material comforts, unexceptional.

C. Inadequately furnished, poorly decorated, overcrowded, providing generally an unsuitable environment for the boy's growth and development.

(v) Facilities for Study. Scored as follows:

A. Room to self, quiet household in quiet part of the town.

B. The boy has room to himself but house small and noisy or perhaps situated in a busy, noisy (usually industrial) part of town. Also given this score if sharing a room with brother or sister but room occasionally available for quiet study alone, house in quiet area.

C. No facilities for quiet study, overcrowding.

(vi) Extra-curricular activities. Scored as follows:

A. Interests many and varied in nature, at home and school.

B. Interests few and usually restricted to one particular sphere.

C. Takes no part in school activities, no regular hobby, no apparent interests.

(vii) Part-time job for remuneration.

(viii) 'Cultural' level of home. Scored as follows:

A. Perhaps some appreciation of art apparent, 'good' music at least occasionally listened to, books, boy likely to hear and take part

in intelligent conversation.

- B. One or other parent or adult member of household concerned with one 'cultural' pursuit, but this in isolation and not pervading the whole life of the family.
- C. A complete lack of any aspect of the life of the family or its members which could be regarded as cultural.

(ix) Travel. Scored as follows:

- A. Travels away with family on holiday at least once each year, frequent trips, lasting no more than one day, with family. Generally takes part in school excursions, including journeys abroad, and scout camps. Often travels away from home alone or with friends - cycling, walking.
- B. Travel limited to one, rarely two, occasions each year, i.e. one holiday with parents, or scout camp, or school excursion.
- C. Little or no opportunity to travel away from town.

(x) Size of family.

The number of children in the family is stated in the tables, this number including the boy concerned in the case study. If he has no brothers or sisters he is recorded as 'Only Child'.

(xi) Progress.

As expected: Proceeded in the stream into which originally placed.

Better than expected: A marked rise in position.

Worse than expected: A fall in position to membership of a lower stream.

Table.23. Summary of Social Background: Middle Class boys.

Progress.	Slightly better than expected.	As expected.	As expected.	As expected.	Better than expected.	Better than expected.
Size of family.	3.	Only.	2.	3.	2.	2.
Travel.	A	A	A	A	A	A
Cultural level of home.	A	A	A	A	A	A
Part-time work.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Extra-curricular activities.	A	A	A	A	A	A
Facilities for study.	A	A	A	A	A	A
Home.	A	A	A	A	A	A
Parents' attitude.	A	A	A	A	A	A
Previous acquaintance with grammar school.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.	Yes.
Parents' education.	G.S.	G.S.	G.S.	G.S.	G.S.	G.S.
Case Study.	I.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.

Table.24. Summary of Social Background: Lower Middle Class boys.

Progress.	Not as expected.	Better than expected.	Better than expected.	Better than expected.	As expected.	As expected.	As expected.	As expected.	As expected.
Size of family.	Only.	Only.	3.	Only.	2.	2.	2.	Only.	2.
Travel.	B	A	A	A	B	A	A	A	B
Cultural level of home.	B	B	A	B	B	B	B	B	B
Part-time work.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.
Extra-curricular activities.	B	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Facilities for study.	B	A	A	A	B	A	A	B	B
Home.	B	B	A	B	B	A	A	B	B
Parents' attitude.	B	B	A	A	A	A	A	B	B
Previous acquaintance with grammar school.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	No.	Yes.	Yes.	No.
Parents' education.	G.S.	Elem.	G.S.	Elem.	Elem.	Elem.	G.S.	G.S.	Elem.
Case Study.	B	D	E	F	O.	P.	Q.	R.	S.



Table.25. Summary of Social Background: Working Class boys.

Progress.		Not as expected.	Not as expected.	Better than expected.	Better than expected.	As expected.	As expected.	As expected.	Not initially as expected.
Size of family.		3	4	Only.	Only.	2.	Only.	6	3.
Travel.		C	C	A	A	B	A	C	C
Cultural level of home.		C	C	B	B	B	B	C	C
Part-time work.		Yes.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.	Yes.
Extra-curricular activities.		C	C	A	A	A	A	C	B
Facilities for study.		C	C	A	A	A	A	C	B
Home.		C	C	B	A	B	B	C	C
Parents' attitude.		C	C	A	A	B	B	C	B
Previous acquaintance with grammar school.		No	No.	Yes.	No.	No.	Yes.	No.	Yes.
Parents' education.		Elem.	Elem.	G.S.	Elem.	Elem.	Elem.	Elem.	Elem.
Case Study.		A.	C.	G.	H	T	U.	V.	W.

The six Middle Class boys whose case studies I, J, K, L, M and N are summarised in Table 23 form an homogeneous social group. They exhibit a striking uniformity in social background. This, to some extent, is to be expected. Each boy's father has a middle class occupation. The link between occupation and education is apparent in that each father received a post-elementary education, all of them at a grammar school, three of them at the grammar school which is the subject of this investigation and which their sons attend. The fathers must all be of above-average intelligence, they have similar educational backgrounds and will tend to have similar ideals and patterns of behaviour. All the Middle Class boys have high ratings for all the factors of the analysis shown as Table 23. All had some acquaintance with grammar school life before entering such a school, none have part-time jobs.

The nine Lower Middle Class boys (case studies B, D, E, F, O, P, Q, R and S; summarised in Table 24) show greater diversity in their social backgrounds. Four of the nine fathers concerned were educated at grammar schools, one of them at the grammar school concerned here. Five of the boys had no acquaintance with the life of a grammar school before entering his own grammar school. Two of the nine boys have part-time jobs. The ratings for this group as a whole are not so high as for the middle class group but no lower middle class boy has the lowest rating for any factor.

The working class group (Table 25) provide the greatest diversity in social background. For several of the eight boys concerned the ratings for all factors are high. Thus H has the highest rating for all but one of the factors. G has the highest rating for all but two of the factors. Three of the boys, however, (i.e. A, C and V) have the lowest rating for all factors. This diversity is also to be expected. The occupations of the working class fathers are many and varied, ranging from an unskilled labourer on the one hand to a highly skilled tradesman on the other. Despite this lack of uniformity within the working class group there are apparent certain general feature which distinguish the group from the middle and lower middle class groups. All the working class fathers but one received only an elementary education, five of the eight working class boys have part-time jobs.

All the middle class boys in this sample, and in the intake as a whole, progressed as well as expected or better than expected.

The one lower middle class boy, in the sample of boys from this group, who did not progress as well as expected has the lowest set of ratings for his group. Three lower middle class boys progressed better than expected. The ratings of social background for all the lower middle class boys are so high, however, that there appears to be no significant difference between the backgrounds of these four boys and the other members of their group.

The analysis of the working class boys shows clearly a social

difference between those boys whose progress was better than expected and those who progressed worse than expected. The boys G and H progressed better than expected. Both were originally placed in 1C but both eventually entered 2A and remained in the 'A' stream . Both boys score highly in the analysis for all factors. Both could, in most respects, be regarded as middle class, except for the occupation of each boy's father.

On the other hand the boys A and C, whose progress was, in each case, worse than expected had the lowest rating for all factors.

It is perhaps worthy of note that the six boys (D, E, F, G, H and I) whose progress was considerably better than expected include four who have no brothers or sisters.

This is a sample study and the numbers involved are small. On the evidence presented, especially by the working class group, it appears that there is a marked social difference between the boys who do better and those who do worse than expected in their grammar school careers. There is also a marked social difference between what could be termed the typical middle class and the typical working class boy. This is not only shown in the education of the parents and the 'cultural' level of the homes, for instance, but also in the fact that none of the middle class boys have part-time jobs whereas five of the eight working class boys are employed in this way each evening. A 'typical' member of any social class

is, however, difficult to define and the greatest significance must be attached to the variations in social background between those boys whose progress was better or worse than expected within one social class.

The limited number of case studies made fail to show that any one factor is responsible for a boy's unexpected progress at school although it is not necessarily to be expected that a more extensive survey would reveal any one basic factor. Thus although a parental grammar school education appears to be linked with good progress at school the fact that the parents did not attend a grammar school does not inevitably have an adverse effect upon the son's progress. This would seem to apply to the majority of the factors. Most of the factors are, of course, connected. It seems that a man with a middle class occupation, for instance, has a pleasant home in a non-industrial part of the town, his son will have a room to himself and will enjoy good facilities for doing homework. The father will take the boy on frequent holidays and will encourage him in his work. One can therefore conclude that a boy may be helped or hindered by his general social background rather than by any one specific factor.

It is now possible to consider to what extent the boys A - I, whose school progress was probably influenced by social background, inevitably received such influences because of their membership of a particular social class. It seems that if a boy has middle class parents he will possess a home background which promotes academic progress, especially in

the school concerned in this investigation. No such conclusions can be drawn regarding the other two social class groups. It can perhaps be concluded that, in general, should a boy belong to the lower middle class, he is more likely to possess a favourable social background than an adverse one and that the most unfavourable social backgrounds are possessed by working class boys. These latter conclusions must, however, be tentative.

When considering the variations in the working class backgrounds it must be remembered that there will be, today, some parents of grammar school calibre who did not attend a grammar school because of inadequate provision of places in these schools and because of comparatively inefficient means of selection in pre-war years. Such parents will tend to have lower middle class or working class occupations.

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XVIII. CONCLUSIONS.

Although there is no reason why the school concerned here should not be typical of urban grammar schools, especially in industrial towns, it must nevertheless be emphasised that the conclusions drawn here are in respect of one school in a particular town.

In a sample study of this type the numbers of individuals involved must inevitably be small. General inter-form movements are examined for all boys of five year-intakes. The analysis of social background involves one year-intake and, in particular, 68 boys for whom records were available. Case Studies are given for several boys from each social class. The intake and individual boys concerned are chosen as being as far as possible typical of the larger groups they represent. The conclusions given, however, are in respect of these boys only.

From the investigation the following conclusions can be made:

- (i) For all the intakes involved a considerable amount of inter-form movement took place during the first two years spent in the school and particularly after six months. The most noticeable and consistent aspect of this process was the movement to the higher streams, usually the highest stream, of middle class boys.
- (ii) Performance in internal school examinations and in homework exercises, upon which the inter-form movement is based, appears to give more efficient prediction of academic performance, judged in terms of G.C.E. results and university entrance, than does performance in

secondary school selection tests. Streaming according to internal school performance appears to be the more efficient of the two. This is in agreement with the conclusion reached by Phillipson,<sup>(12)</sup> that the abilities measured by the grammar school are roughly the same as those measured by the G.C.E. - whereas the selection tests do not measure the same ability.

(iii) A home background which promotes academic success in the school does so in the first instance in that it enables the boy to adapt himself rapidly to his new school. Middle Class boys have an advantage here in that usually at least one parent will be grammar school educated. In addition to this the school itself is essentially middle class, with middle class ideals and patterns of behaviour and it is situated in the middle class area of the town. Many lower middle class and some working class boys have this advantage but most, especially from the latter group, have no previous grammar school contact. They are faced with problems of social adaptation as well as with new academic work. The former problems must be solved first. Thus a certain length of time must elapse before their academic work at the school is of the standard predicted by their selection test performances. It is relevant here to note that Daniels<sup>(13)</sup> concluded that selection test marks predict internal grammar school examination marks better over two than over one year. Emmett and Wilmut stated that there is evidence that correlations



of the eleven plus examination with school success increase with passage of time.<sup>(14)</sup>

- (iv) It is difficult to estimate how long this process of adaptation takes for all the boys of an intake. One can, however, conclude that (a) the process is still taking place after six months and that (b) any inter-form movement based upon internal school work after only six months is inadvisable.
- (v) The consistent promotion of middle class boys and the demotion of boys of lower social status results in the formation of forms of differing social composition. Thus the 'A' form contains a higher proportion of middle class boys than either of the other forms. Some of these boys may not be academically of the 'A' form type but they, together with the promoted boys from other social classes, help to set, in the 'A' form, a high academic standard. Such boys will also give to the form a higher social standard in a wider sense, in dress, behaviour, attitude to work, to school, to careers. Halsey and Gardner have shown that for 13-14 year old boys in grammar schools<sup>(9)</sup> those of middle class origin have, on the whole, higher ratings than working class boys for industriousness, sense of responsibility, interest in school affairs, good behaviour and good manners. Though few in number such boys will tend to set a high standard to which the form, in general, rises. This concentration of boys with high ratings for social background would not perhaps have a very great influence were it not for the presence in the re-constituted 'A' form of

those members of any social class who were originally allocated to that form. They will tend to be the stronger members of the form academically having survived the inter-form movements. The standard of this form, both academically and socially, will therefore be exceptionally high.

The 'C' and 'D' forms become of lower social status, lacking their share of lower middle and middle class boys. In the majority will be boys originally allocated to the 'C' stream. Into the 'C' form will come, after the first six months, boys of 'A' or 'B' standard academically who have failed to do justice to themselves in examinations or in their homework. These boys will inevitably feel that they have failed in their new school and the process of 'settling in', perhaps previously going well is now seriously disrupted and a new start has to be made in a new form. They will then 'settle in' to the 'C' form standard. Hence the production of 'A' and 'C' stream 'types'. Thus the gap, both social and academic, between the extreme forms becomes wider. Inter-form movement, even if administratively possible, eventually becomes difficult to carry out successfully. Mistakes in streaming in the early stages of the grammar school career become, therefore, increasingly more difficult to correct.

- (vi) As stated in (iii) it is probably advantageous in the early stages of a boy's grammar school career if he has, through his parents, brother or some other close relative, some previous knowledge of the life of such a school. Otherwise no single factor appears to be responsible for the favourable environment possessed by most middle class boys and some lower middle and working class boys. They tend to have certain material

advantages such as a room at home for exclusive personal use, for home-work, etc. Probably, however, the greatest significance should be attached to the fact that the boys whose progress was as good as or better than predicted had parents who, as far as can be estimated from interview, were interested in and enthusiastic about their son's work and progress at school.

These conclusions could influence the organisation of a secondary grammar school as follows:

- (i) An intake to such a school, if streamed on entry, will be streamed according to selection test results. Any re-streaming based upon internal school performance only should be delayed until the end of the first school year or possibly later.
  - (ii) Most working class boys and many lower middle class boys are first generation grammar school entrants and their parents will usually not be conversant with the working of a grammar school. Meetings with parents to explain the purpose and organisation of a grammar school would seem to be essential.
  - (iii) The case studies illustrate the variation in social background with regard to such matters as books available to be read at home, reliable newspapers taken, facilities for travel and in the general 'cultural' level of the home. Here lies the importance of school societies, concerts, discussion groups, school expeditions, library, as well as general education subjects such as art and music.
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XIX. FURTHER STUDY.

- (i) It is essential that there be further investigation into those aspects of social class which affect a boy's progress at school. This must include an enquiry into the help and encouragement which parents give their children. Such investigations should be more extensive than the present one, involving larger numbers of pupils.
- (ii) This enquiry has been concerned with one school. It would be of value to know more of the effects of social class in other types of secondary school. Such studies would seem to be essential in view of the increasing number of Comprehensive Schools in this country. One of the chief advantages of this type of school is said to be that they reduce, perhaps eliminate, social class effects.
- (iii) This enquiry ends when a boy leaves school. This is a necessary limitation but it would be of interest to follow the careers of the boys concerned after leaving school and particularly at university.
- (iv) Much work has been carried out on the predictive value of secondary school selection tests. Mention can be made of the work of Wrigley,<sup>(26)</sup> Richardson,<sup>(27)</sup> Bosomworth,<sup>(28)</sup> Peel and Rutter,<sup>(29)</sup> Yates and Pidgeon.<sup>(30)</sup> The present enquiry suggests that in certain cases social class or home background must have some influence upon attainment in a grammar school and that it should be taken into account when attempting to measure the predictive value

of a series of tests. There is need for further investigation into the value and efficiency of tests of the type commonly used, taking into account the social class of the pupils involved.

In the examination of test scores in this investigation it was observed that some boys were near to the top of the order of merit for combined scores due to them possessing high scores in two tests but they nevertheless had a low score in the third. Examples are provided by the working class boy who is described in Case Study A. His average I.Q. is 132 (4th. of 68), his E.Q. 131 (2nd.) but he had an A.Q. of 113 (58th.) The working class boy C had an A.Q. of 109 (63rd), an I.Q. of 123 (20th.) but an E.Q. of 130 (3rd.) A third working class boy who was eventually transferred to a secondary modern school and for whom a case study is not given had an average A.Q. of 137 (1st.) but an E.Q. of 118 (37th.) and an I.Q. of 118 (39th.)

A further investigation into the predictive value of various tests when administered to boys of different social classes would deal with such matters. It would be concerned also with the use of verbal and non-verbal tests when applied to boys of various social classes. The former type, testing as they do 'accumulated experience' may perhaps favour boys of higher social class.

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APPENDIX.I.

Case Studies A - I.

For each Case Study the information is arranged as follows:

1. Forms. The forms in which the boy was placed are shown in chronological order. His form position in the first and second forms is shown in brackets after the name of the form. This position is his final position (i.e. examination and 'term' combined) at the end of the academic year concerned.
2. Progress. Progress is stated as being 'as expected' if the boy continued in the stream in which he was first placed, or 'not as expected'.
3. Test Scores at Selection. The four sets of test scores are recorded for each boy together with his position in the year group of 68 boys for A.Q., E.Q. and I.Q. based upon the average of these scores over the four sets of tests.
4. Home. Position and size of house, facilities for study.
5. Family. Size of family, occupation of father, education of parents and of other close relatives, the parents' acquaintance with the life, aims and organisation of a secondary grammar school, the interests of the parents in their son's progress at school and in his future, the position of the parents in the local community.
6. Travel and cultural activities. Newspapers taken by the family, books available in the home, membership of local public library, interest in music, holidays or shorter periods away from home, facilities for travel, possession of a car.
7. Spare-time activities. Membership of school games teams, clubs and societies, hobbies, spare-time paid work.

A. (Working Class.)

Forms: 1A,1B (6th.), 2A,2B (34th.), 3C,3B,4B,5B. Progress not as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 113 (58/68); E.Q. 131 (2/68);

I.Q. 132 (4/68); Position for combined scores: 9/68.

Family. Father, a 'plater' in local shipyard. For most of son's first and for all second year in the school father was unemployed. Younger brother and sister. Money scarce. Mother admitted at interview that she experienced difficulty in affording money for school meals. Interview revealed that boy had until then tried to prevent parents applying for free school meals, normally available in such cases, apparently ashamed of his parents' financial circumstances. During winter of his second year, although dressed according to school uniform regulations, he lacked warm and waterproofed clothing.

Neither parent attended a grammar school. No apparent interest in son's progress and future. Enquiries concerning frequent absences from school regarded as unjustified interference on the part of the school authorities.

Home. Council estate on island which forms part of the Borough and about three miles from school. Small house, 2 bedrooms, living room, kitchen. Over-crowding apparent when home was visited; very unsuitable conditions for satisfactory homework. Rooms sparsely furnished, grimy, in need of decoration. Few toys and other personal possessions visible.



Travel and cultural activities. No regular holiday away from home, journeys outside the town, of any length, very infrequent. Complete absence of books in the home. 'Cultural' level of home low.

Spare time activities. No sport, takes no part in any out-of-school activity. Only hobby is that of line fishing, a hobby shared by his father.

General. Attendance poor, absent on average 1 day per week during first year and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  days per week in second. Attendances usually of short duration, he seldom completed a full week's attendance. Usually absences due to minor illness but later, in second year, caught on two occasions playing truant.

B. (Lower Middle Class).

Forms: 1A, 1C (9th.), 2B (33rd.), 3C,4C,5C. Progress not as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 123.5 (25/68); E.Q. 128.25 (5/68);

I.Q. 123.75 (14/68); Position for combined scores:

10/68.

Family. Father, a Works Supervisor working permanently in Africa. Visits home infrequent. An only child, lives alone with mother. Mother shows some interest in son's work at school but this interest not apparently producing positive help and encouragement. Father receives terminal reports from school but has, on several occasions, written directly to school for additional reports.

Home. A small terraced house in heavily industrialised part of the town. Situated very near to shipyard, area noisy, much smoke and soot.

Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Holidays infrequent, no scout camps, no interest in music, very few books bought, reads little.

Spare time activities. No sport. Some interest in photography, attended meetings of school Photographic Society regularly during third and fourth years in the school. Hobbies appear to play an insignificant part in his life. Much time spent with boys, some from his own form, in town, cinema, football matches.

General. In class inattentive and generally badly behaved.

C. (Working Class).

Forms: 1B,1C (28th.), 2C (17th.), 3C,4C (Left School). Progress not as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 109.5 (63/68); E.Q. 130 (3/68);

I.Q. 123 (20/68); Position for combined scores: 28/68.

Family: Father had been employed in local shipyard as a 'brass finisher' but died shortly after boy entered the school. Neither parent attended a grammar school. Boy eldest of a large family; after father's death money, never plentiful, became scarce. Boy left school, possibly due to financial hardship of family; work at school, however, poor and did not justify his remaining in attendance. On leaving he obtained employment in a brewery, work entirely manual.

Home. Terraced house near town centre, one of oldest areas in the town, dingy, houses crowded together.

Travel and cultural activities. No holidays, seldom leaves town.

General 'cultural' level of home very low.

Spare time activities. Took no part in any school activity. No hobbies.

While at school he delivered newspapers each evening. Much time spent aimlessly in streets.

General. When at school always untidily dressed, clothes in poor condition, seldom wore school uniform. Pleasant in attitude.

D. (Lower Middle Class).

Forms: 1C, 1B (16th.), 2B, 2A, 4A, 5A. Progress better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 124 (22/68); E.Q. 116 (44/68);

I.Q. 111.5 (67/68): Position for combined scores: 47/68.

Family. Father, a draughtsman in local shipyard. Father also plays in a small dance orchestra; with two incomes, therefore, family appear to lead a comfortable existence, certainly no financial hardship. Neither parent attended a grammar school. Both take an interest in son's school progress but not a constructive interest. At interview father was mainly concerned to discover if the boy was behaving himself. If not he would "deal with the matter". Boy is an only child.

Home. Terraced house on the island. Comfortably furnished. Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Holidays infrequent, no car. Attends at least one scout camp each year, form hikes, member of school expedition abroad in fourth year. Able violinist, member of school orchestra. Little, if any, of family income spent on books.

Spare time activities. No sport, spasmodic member of photographic society. Violin lessons and practice occupy several hours each week. Scout, hiking, member of Youth Hostels Association. Visits cinema normally once per week.

General. Works hard, neatly. Mischievous; often cheeky. Parents aware of and concerned about this.

E. (Lower Middle Class.)

Forms: 1C,1A (15th.), 2A (28th.), 4A,5A. Progress better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 121 (31/68); E.Q. 112 (60/68);

I.Q. 116.5 (50/68); Position for combined scores: 51/68.

Family. Father, a draughtsman in local shipyard. Both parents educated at grammar school, father attending a neighbouring school. Boy's two brothers, one younger, one older, both attending school concerned here at the time of this investigation, both in 'A' forms, having been placed in 1A when they entered the school. Apparent that father discussed with his sons their work and activities at school. Both parents keenly and intelligently interested in their sons' progress and work. Parents comparatively young; at interview one received impression of parents and boys forming a close family unit, sharing same interests. Mother showed that she was well aware of sons' qualities, hopes, ambitions, as well as their faults and limitations. Her views obviously carefully formed and realistic.

Home. Semi-detached house in suburbs, about 1 mile from school, social level of area high. Boy shares bedroom with younger brother. House well furnished.

Travel and cultural activities. Family holiday together each year. In 1957, for instance, a caravan holiday in south of England. At least one

scout camp each year. Keen supporter of hikes and other school activities. Books bought for and by the boys. Boy here concerned is an able pianist, interested in classical music. Keen and competent artist. 'Cultural' level of home high.

Spare time activities. Plays football for junior team, captain of school junior cricket team. Geography Society, dramatics (make-up).

Main hobbies Art and Geology. Scout, member of Troop Band.

General. Like his brothers, a willing and public spirited member of the school. All three well known in school for willingness with which they offer themselves as volunteers for work, especially of an out-of-school nature, and for efficiency with which they carry it out.

F. (Lower Middle Class).

Forms: 1C, 1A (14th.), 2A (16th.), 4A, 5A. Progress better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 121.25 (50/68); E.Q. 114.75 (51/68);

I.Q. 113.25 (63/68); Position for combined scores: 52/68.

Family. Father in charge of a department of a local chain of stores.

Neither parent attended a grammar school. An only child. Both parents obviously interested in son's work and future, given every encouragement and material help. Well supplied with equipment necessary for out-of-school activities. No evidence of the 'pampering' sometimes found in an only child family. Popular with a wide circle of friends of both sexes, spends much time in company with his friends.

Home. A terraced house on the island. House comfortably furnished. Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Occasional holidays with parents.

Attends several scout camps each year, two camps abroad. Member of school party which visited European Continent during fourth year in school.

Reads very few books; some ability as a pianist; plays guitar.

Spare time activities. No sport at school but plays tennis. Active member of school scout troop; form hikes, member of Youth Hostels Association; camping cycling.

General. Works neatly and hard. Spends a considerable time each evening doing homework, especially so in earlier years in the school.

G. (Working Class).

Forms: 1C, 1A (11th.), 2A (15th.), IVa, Va. Progress better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 119 (57/68); E.Q. 112 (61/68);

I.Q. 113.5 (62/68); Position for combined scores: 62/68.

Family. An only child; father a 'gear-cutter' in local shipyard - a job requiring accurate measurement and manipulative skill. An old boy of the school. Parents take an intensive interest in their son's school progress. Particularly in early year at the school he showed signs of 'pampering' by parents. He suffered some mild ragging on this account from other boys.

Home. A large terraced house in a main street near town centre. Home well furnished, room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Possesses a comparatively large number of books. At least one holiday with parents each year, usually by car. Weekends trips frequent. Member of most Geographical Society excursions, of both long and short duration. Travelled with this society to European Continent in third year in school and to Iceland in fourth.

Pianist.

Spare time activities. No sport. Activities of Geographical Society take up a considerable amount of his time. Chess Club. Most of his time spent indoors, reading working, etc. Never mixes with boys of his or any age who live near his home.

General. A serious minded boy who works hard and carefully, especially with homework. Obviously receives every encouragement at home.



H. (Working Class).

Forms: 1C, 1A (16th.), 2A (9th.), 4A, 5A. Progress better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 106.5 (67/68); E.Q. 116.5 (42/68);

I.Q. 121 (26/68); Position for combined scores: 60/68.

Family. Father, a 'turner' in local shipyard. Family a close united one.

Only child. When interviewed parents' concern for son's future obvious.

Both concerned that son should choose a career not simply because it offered high financial reward. Obviously proud of son. Neither parent attended a grammar school., Both anxious to learn of the working of such a school.

Home. Semi-detached house on town outskirts but on the west side and some distance from typical middle class area. Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Holiday with parents each year. Has taken part in form hikes, school excursion abroad in fourth year, biological excursion, of one week duration, in third year. Some, but not many books bought. Interest in modern music, plays guitar (received lessons in the playing of this during second year in school). Possesses many gramophone records.

Spare time activities. Sport is main out-of-school activity. Junior Athletics Champion, Intermediate Athletics Champion three years later. Represented school, with distinction, in athletics, Soccer, Rugby, Cricket. Member of Fencing Club.

General. Takes considerable care with his work, especially homework.

I. (Middle Class.)

Forms: 1C,1B (50th.), 2C (5th.), 3C,4C,5C. Progress slightly better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 118.75 (57/68); E.Q. 106.25 (68/68);

I.Q. 111.25 (68/68); Position for combined scores: 68/68.

Family. Father, a manager in local shipyard, educated at grammar school. Boy has two brothers, both older, one at University, the other at the school and four years older than the boy here concerned. Family a closely knit unit. Both parents obviously proud of their sons, they give them considerable help and encouragement. Father especially spends much time with sons, particularly at weekends, sharing their interests.

Home. A large semi-detached house near the school. Well and comfortably furnished. Boy has room to himself.

Travel and cultural activities. At least one holiday each year with family, frequent shorter journeys by car. The boy possesses more books than do the majority of boys concerned here, he reads widely.

Spare time activities. Practically no sport, little interest in out-of-school activities. Keen cyclist, model maker. He and brothers possess a small racing car, he has a thorough knowledge of engines.

General. This boy began his school career in 1C and spent most of his time in the 'B' stream. Both his brothers were members of the 'A' form.

APPENDIX. II.

Case Studies J - W.

J. (Middle Class.)

Forms: 1A (1st.), 2A (4th.), 4A, 5A. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 121.75 (29/68); E.Q. 125.5 (15/68);

I.Q. 132 (3/68); Position for combined scores: 5/68.

Family. Father a graduate in engineering, carrying out original research in local shipyard, post of considerable responsibility, recent award of a national decoration for this work. An old boy of the school, did not enter sixth form, served apprenticeship before university. Father stated at interview that his early leaving from school was due to lack of finance. His son is constantly reminded that he, the only child of the family, is more fortunate; he receives much encouragement to obtain maximum benefit from the opportunities he enjoys. This parental encouragement often excessive. On one occasion he suffered a minor breakdown during an examination, being dismayed at having done a poor paper and therefore having "failed" his father.

Home. Semi-detached house in suburbs, well furnished, room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Frequent holidays with parents, usually in car. Annual camp with scouts, attends most school and form excursions. Reads extensively, possesses many books - many on engineering topics. He shares his father's interest in the latter subject.

Spare time activities. An able swimmer, otherwise no sport, perhaps due to ungainly size. Member of school scout troop, attends meetings of Student Christian Movement (the only member of his form to do so), plays

chess well. Main hobbies are engineering, model making, photography and stamp collecting.

General. Not popular with boys in his, or any other, form. Of unstable temperament, very anxious about school work and the future.

Case exceptional in the amount of interest shown by parents in their son's future.

K. (Middle Class.)

Forms: 1A (12th.), 2A (15th.), 4A, 5A. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 127.5 (8/68); E.Q. 123.75 (16/68);

I.Q. 123 (18/68); Position for combined scores: 13/68.

Family. Father an assistant engineering manager in local shipyard, old boy of the school. One younger sister. Receives every encouragement from his parents who take a deep interest in all aspects of his school career. This encouragement expresses itself, amongst other ways, in their readiness to buy anything necessary for participation in school activities.

Home. Large semi-detached house on outskirts of town, room to self, house well and comfortably furnished.

Travel and cultural activities. Frequent holidays with family, at least one each year. Keen reader, an extensive general knowledge of a wide range of subjects. This partly due to reading but also, perhaps, due to his meeting business acquaintances of his father and from conversations with father who travels extensively in connection with his work.

Spare time activities. No team sports but an able swimmer (House team), form hikes, cycling, radio, stamps, photography.

General. Quiet disposition but holds firm views on many subjects. Slight stammer which is obvious only when he is nervous, not a disadvantage.

L. (Middle Class.)

Forms: 1A (4th.), 2A (3rd.), 4A,5A. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 126.25 (13/68); E.Q. 120 (30/68);

I.Q. 125.25 (11/68); Position for combined scores: 16/68.

Family. Father, the sales manager of a large local firm, an old boy of the school, committee member of Old Boys' Association. Two other children (twin girls), family a closely knit unit taking part in walks and other activities together. Father knows personally many members of school staff and thus keeps in close touch with boy's school progress.

Home. A large semi-detached house near the school. Comfortable, well furnished. Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Family car used frequently for short weekend drives with family together. Family holiday each year. Attends annual camp with school scout troop (two of these abroad), other camps of shorter duration during the year. Attends almost every form hike and school excursion. Keen reader, especially books concerned with his hobbies, possesses many books. Pianist.

Spare time activities. Football, Rugby, Athletics, School and House teams. Scout, able swimmer (House team), Fencing Club member, hiking, cycling, photography. Interested in science, much time spent experimenting - chemistry and wireless particularly.

General. Polite, self-reliant, active mind, popular with his fellows.

M. (Middle Class).

Forms: 1B, 1A (19th.), 2A (23rd.), 4A, 5A. Progress slightly better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 126.75 (11/68); E.Q. 115.5 (49/68);

I.Q. 121.5 (24/68); Position for combined scores: 25/68.

Family. Father, local estate agent, an old boy of the school, vice-president of Old Boys' Association. One sister, attending teachers' training college. Parents have obvious interest in their son's work and progress at school. Father knows Headmaster and many members of school staff, discusses with them his son's work at school.

Home. A semi-detached house in the suburbs. Well furnished, room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Frequent holidays and shorter journeys from home with parents. Scout camp each year, school excursions and form hikes. Member of school party which visited France at end of his fourth year. Pianist, reads little.

Spare time activities. Rugby, member of House and School teams. Plays cricket and tennis but not in school teams. Excellent swimmer (House team). Cycling, fishing, breeding and rearing of tropical fish and hamsters. Responsible for presentation to school of a tank and equipment for tropical fish.

General. Of a pleasant and lively disposition. Upon leaving primary school his headmaster gave him a particularly high rating for confidence, co-operation, sociability and perseverance.



N. (Middle Class).

Forms: 1C (1st.), 2B (6th.), 4A, 5A. Progress better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 117 (46/68); E.Q. 118 (37/68);

I.Q. 117 (48/68); Position for combined scores: 45/68.

Family. Father, an Inspector of Factories. One brother, three years older, attends the school. Father attended a grammar school. Both parents show intense interest in boy's future. Father in constant touch with Headmaster and several masters concerning the boy's work and progress. All reports, timetables, marks and form positions are studied carefully by the father and filed for reference. Homework is supervised and examined each evening. The boy is made to do some academic work each day of school holidays according to a carefully planned programme.

Home. A large semi-detached house in suburbs. Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Family own a caravan parked on shores of lake some twenty miles from home, frequently used by family in summer, the two boys staying there alone for much of the holidays; holidays away from home, usually each year, with family. Sometimes holiday with brother only. At least one scout camp each year, two abroad. Shares family interest in music. Possesses many books about natural history, his favourite subject.

Spare time activities. No sport; form hikes, scouting, stamp collecting, a keen photographer, ornithologist.

General. Small in size, immature, not popular with other members of form. Standard of work fell in 4A; in 5A sat only 4 subjects at 'O' level G.C.E. Remained for a second year in 5A.

O. (Lower Middle Class.)

Forms: 1A (7th.), 2A (5th.), IVa, Va. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 131.5 (3/68); E.Q. 129.75 (4/68);

I.Q. 136.75 (1/68); Position for combined scores: 1/68.

Family. Father a wireless operator in Merchant Navy. Therefore away from home for considerable periods of time. One sister, several years older, attended a local secondary modern school. There are no obvious indications that the mother or father take a particularly great interest in their son's school progress. Nevertheless they provide what appears to be a happy and stable background to his life.

Home. A small terraced house near town centre. Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Holidays infrequent but he attends at least one scout camp each year; takes part in form hikes and other school excursions. Reads fairly extensively.

Spare time activities. Takes little part in after-school activities.

Does not play for a school sports team. Keen hiker, camper. Member of scout troop attached to a local church. Attends this church regularly and takes part in many activities arranged by the church.

General. Extremely popular with the other members of his form. Apparent ability to maintain high position in his form without effort.

P. (Lower Middle Class.)

Forms: 1A (2nd.), 2A (1st.), 4A, 5A. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 131 (4/68); E.Q. 128 (6/68);

I.Q. 133.25 (2/68); Position for combined scores: 2/68.

Family. Father, a draughtsman. Neither parent attended a grammar school, they received an 'elementary' type of education. Thus they have no first hand knowledge of grammar schools; at interview they showed themselves anxious to rectify this so that they could follow closely their son's progress. Their main concern, however, was to give him every encouragement and to "leave the rest to him". One younger brother.

Home. Semi-detached house in a street composed mainly of terraced houses, approximately 1 mile from the school. Room to self. Home comfortably furnished and well maintained.

Travel and cultural activities. One holiday each year with family, usually taking the form of a tour by car. At least one scout camp each year, member of a school party which travelled abroad during fourth year, attends all form hikes. Possesses some, but not many, books. Reads widely, books usually borrowed from town and school libraries. Main family occupation each evening is listening to radio and watching television programmes. Neither parent reads extensively, the 'popular' type of newspaper is taken. The father has few outside interests. Mother, and sometimes father, returns from time to time to village from which family

came to attend functions there.

Spare time activities. No sport, scout, radio enthusiast, photographer, stamp collector, a keen hiker, active member of Youth Hostels Association.

General. An intelligent boy who adapted himself with ease to the life of the school. Has ability to tackle problems, to think clearly about a new situation, to decide himself upon his action. Should there be any aspects of this boy's social class which could be of disadvantage to him at school he appears to have too much self-confidence for such aspects to cause harm.

Q. (Lower Middle Class.)

Forms: 1A (20th.), 2A (12th.), 4A, 5A. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 121.75 (28/68); E.Q. 132.5 (1/68);

I.Q. 123.75 (14/68); Position for combined scores: 6/68.

Family. Father, an assistant librarian, an old boy of the school. His work brings him into contact with several masters from the school and he uses such contacts to enquire of and to discuss his son's work and progress. He left school without entering the sixth form for financial reasons, is therefore determined that his son shall have every opportunity to enter sixth form and have a university education. One other son, four years younger, at secondary modern school. The family is outstandingly a happy one.

Home. Detached house in small village three miles from town. Both boys have room to self. Comfortably furnished. Large garden, both boys have intense interest in natural history and are encouraged in their keeping of animals, care of injured birds, examination and collection of specimens.

Travel and cultural activities. Family usually takes a short holiday together each year. Boy attends two or three scout camps each year. As a result of father's occupation he has contact with many books on a variety of topics. Knowledge of books and authors is extensive. He has a great interest in archaeology, has for several years assisted in

digging carried out by local enthusiasts, the father making the necessary contacts.

Spare time activities. Outstanding as a sportsman, captain of school junior rugby team. Scout (patrol leader). Spends much time working on local farm, partly through interest, partly to earn money necessary for scout camps, etc. Delivers newspapers at weekends.

General. Serious minded, hardworking, has firm and serious views on many matters. Main interest is medicine and, encouraged by parents, he is aiming with determination towards a career in this field.

R. (Lower Middle Class.)

Forms: 1A, 1B (12th.), 2A (27th.), 4A, 5A. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores. A.Q. 124.5 (20/68); E.Q. 122 (20/68);

I.Q. 128.5 (7/68); Position for combined scores: 11/68.

Family. Father, a member of commercial staff of a local firm. Mother, with part-time assistance of father) runs a small sub-post office and general store. Boy well supplied with pocket money and with all items (always of excellent quality) necessary for scouting, camping, etc.

An only child.

Home. Flat above shop in terrace of houses in industrial area of town.

Travel and cultural activities. Holidays with parents infrequent because of business, short one day trips by car common. Spends several weeks each year on holiday with relatives in south-east England. Attends most form hikes and school excursion, including one abroad. At least one scout camp each year. Possesses some, but not many, books. Interest in music.

Spare time activities. Infrequent member of house rugby team, good swimmer (house team), scout, camping, hiking, member of Youth Hostels Association. Visits cinema normally once each week. No other members of the school live in immediate vicinity of his home, much of spare time spent in company with boys described in Case Studies D and U.

General. Find's difficulty in giving serious attention to his work. Parents aware of this and expressed concern, blaming the boys with whom he is friendly for this attitude to his work.

S. (Lower Middle Class.).

Forms: 1C, 1B (19th.), 2B, 3B, 4B, 5B. Progress slightly better than expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 108.5 (64/68); E.Q. 120.25 (29/68);

I.Q. 116 (52/68); Position for combined scores 59/68.

Family. Father, a clerk in local shipyard. One sister, two years older. Neither parent attended a grammar school but they take a deep and informed interest in the education of their son. Both parents are regular attenders at local parish church, carry out much voluntary church work, father, son and daughter members of church choir. Family appears to be a happy one, the members devoted to each other. Boy is seen more with parents and sister than with other boys of his age, although he is popular with the members of his form at school.

Home. A terraced house near town centre, typical industrial area. House in a wide main street that runs through this area and is therefore larger and more spacious than other houses in the vicinity. Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. No car, little travelling, apart from annual holiday with parents. No scout camps. Some interest in church music.

Spare time activities. Plays no sport at school, is not a member of any school club or society; this is perhaps not unexpected due to his Youth Club and Church activities in which he plays a leading part. No hobbies about which he appears enthusiastic.

General. He works carefully at school, usually thorough.



T. (Working Class).

Forms: 1A (18th.), 2A (22nd.), 4A, 5A. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 126.5 (12/68); E.Q. 122.25 (19/68);

I.Q. 121 (28/68); Position for combined scores: 18/68.

Family. Father, a joiner in a local firm. One sister, several years older. Neither parent attended a grammar school. At interview they mentioned their lack of knowledge of a grammar school, the subjects studied and the various activities that take place. Regretted that they were unable to advise their son regarding choice of subjects, etc. Father's encouragement of his son in his work consists of ensuring that the boy "keeps at it". Anxious that his son should enter the sixth form and university so that he would eventually obtain a post providing a higher salary and more security than was possessed by father himself. At the same time concerned that his son should be happy in whatever work he undertook. This the father regarded as being of prime importance.

Parents obviously proud of their son and of his place in a grammar school. They anticipate with pride the career upon which he will eventually embark, accepting - almost welcoming - the fact that this will result in him entering a social class higher than their own.

Home. Small terraced house in village, some four miles from school.

Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. Family seldom travel together, no car,

family holidays rare. Attends at least one scout camp each year, member of the school party which visited continent in fourth year, takes part in form hikes. No apparent interest in music or art, reads very few books.

Spare time activities. Scout, member of school junior rugby team, otherwise takes no part in school activities. This probably due to his having to return home by 'bus immediately after school. Works at weekends and in holidays on local farm. Delivers newspapers each evening. Some knowledge of, and certainly an interest in, sailing.

General. Primary school headmistress gave him a particularly high rating for reasoning power, speed of working and for practical ability. He is extremely self-confident and very sociable.

U. (Working Class.)

Forms: 1A (22nd.), 2A (26th.), 4A, 5A. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 122 (27/68); E.Q. 128 (6/68);

I.Q. 121.75 (25/68); Position for combined scores: 15/68.

Family. Father was a 'Brass Finisher' until about the time the entered the school, then took employment as a merchant seaman. Away from home, therefore, for considerable lengths of time. An only child. Little known of attitude of parents towards their son's education. Their influence does not appear to be great. Has uncle who is a science graduate with research experience in industry, another uncle is a chemist.

He receives much encouragement from both relatives, obtains advice regarding subjects to be studied, learns of university life. He has determined views about his own future.

Home. Terraced house on island. Room to self.

Travel and cultural activities. One holiday each year, usually with mother. Also travels with mother to visit relatives in distant parts of the country on several occasions each year. Parents not natives of the town. At least one scout camp each year, member of several school excursions, including one abroad, attends form hikes. Little money spent on books, interest in music, mainly modern instrumental and revue. Well supplied with pocket money. For several months during his fourth year in school he bought, with pocket money, one extended play record each week.

Spare time activities. Scouts, hiking, member of Youth Hostels Association. Takes no part in sport. Several short lived interests in various school activities, especially photography and athletics. Outside school hours he associates with a small group of boys which includes those described in Case Studies D and R. This group visits cinema, 'Fun-fairs', etc. together.

General. He works hard, work always carefully and thoroughly done, especially in the subjects in which he finds particular interest.

V. (Working Class.)

Forms: 1C (22nd.), 2C (18th.), 3C, 4C, 5C. Progress as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 112.75 (60/68); E.Q. 114.75 (51/68);

I.Q. 116 (52/68); Position for combined scores: 62/68.

Family. Father, a garage hand in a small local garage. Boy youngest of a large family of six children, three married and living in the neighbourhood. This is the only one of the family, including parents, who has attended a grammar school. Parents appear to have little interest in their son's progress at school.

Home. Small terraced house in what was a separate mining village but now part of the town. Shares bedroom.

Travel and cultural activities. Holidays rare. Boy seldom travels away from home. General 'cultural' of home is low.

Spare time activities. Plays no sport at school, takes no part in any school activity. When not at school he has few interests other than those of his elder brothers, i.e grey hound racing, duck or pigeon shooting. Several members of the family possess grey hounds, the racing track is near the boy's home. He delivers newspapers each evening.

General. Boy appears to take little care with homework, shows no interest in or enthusiasm for his work at school.

W. (Working Class.)

Forms: 1B, 1C (14th.), 2C (15th.), 3C, 4C, 5C. Progress not initially as expected.

Mean Test Scores: A.Q. 112.25 (61/68); E.Q. 124.75 (15/68);

I.Q. 116.5 (50/68); Position for combined scores: 39/68.

Family. Father, a 'sailmaker' employed in local shipyard. Brother four years older also attended the school; sister, two years older.

Neither parent attended a grammar school.

Home. Council house on estate situated less than a mile from the school.

Shares room with brother.

Travel and cultural activities. Family seldom take a holiday together; few books in the house, one 'popular' newspaper taken. When travelling away with school sports teams the boy always purchases the 'Times' newspaper which he reads thoroughly during the journey. During third year at the school he developed the habit of visiting the Public Library to read newspaper and periodicals, in particular the 'Times' and 'Listener'. Converses well on matters of topical interest, better informed on current affairs than the majority of boys of his age.

Spare time activities. Spends a considerable amount of time each evening with homework. During Christmas and Easter holidays of fourth year some time was spent each day in Public Library Reference Room working according to a rigid timetable. Keen and successful cross-country runner, captain of junior team, eventually elected secretary of the school club. No other

school activities. Works at weekends and occasionally on weekday evenings, usually as a messenger boy for a local shopkeeper.

General. Initially he had few friends at school, possibly because few other boys from the housing estate on which he lives attended the school. Eventually, through sporting activities, he made friends with, in particular, several 'A' form boys of the intake immediately following his own.

He has firm views concerning his future, wishing to teach English. This decision taken after a considerable amount of thought. He has the support of his parents in this but he experienced some difficulty in convincing his father of the value of a University training as opposed to a course at a Teachers' Training College.

Reports and examination results show a marked improvement in work during third and fourth years; placed 1st. in 4C.

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