Institute of Community Studies,
18 Victoria Park Square,
London E.2.

Dear Mr. Smith,

Your name has been given to us by your former secondary school in Huddersfield as being amongst their academically most successful pupils since the war. With the goodwill of the school and the Huddersfield Education Authority, the Institute of Community Studies is organising research into the educational history and present situation of people like yourself. We are interested in discovering:

(1) What has happened in later life to the most successful pupils.

(2) Their memories of what it was like growing up and going to school, both from the point of view of family life and of school life.

The results of this enquiry will help promote understanding and improvement of our educational system. They may be published, but if so your name would not be used.

If you are not already familiar with the work done by the Institute of Community Studies, you may be interested to know that it is an independent research organisation, supported by grants from charitable foundations, to further human knowledge. It is quite without any political, religious or industrial connections.

We have already visited and talked to many people who were at school with you, and so you may have heard of this work already. Now, as an experiment, we are trying to see if we can build up further vital information by correspondence. We have enclosed two question sheets, and a note about the best way to fill them in. If this experiment is successful and your help proves to be of great importance then we may ask you to help us fill in your secondary school days and after in more detail.

In any case we would like to thank you for your help, and to remind you again that though you may not immediately see the relevance of your information, you may be helping build up small but important improvements in English schools.

Yours sincerely,

Brian Jackson

Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden

The Questions

There are two question sheets. The first is a basic chart that sketches in certain landmarks from birth to the present day. This is quite straightforward to fill in, and if you feel any of your answers do not do justice to the situation there is room at the end for you to point this out.

The second sheet is a more detailed coverage of your schooldays up to the age of 12. In this we are not looking for the 'Yes/No' kind of answers. Rather we hope to read something more informal, more leisurely, more full of particular memories and incidents. This will give us the 'feel' of your schooldays in a way the factual chart cannot. All kinds of odd reminiscence and happenings may help us valuably to build up those days. So it would be of great help if you loosely and informally recorded anything of this nature that comes to mind, even if you cannot immediately see how it bears upon the work.

We do not pretend that this is an easy task in front of you. It will take you some time, and a considerable amount of hard thought about your own past life. But there is, in the end, no other way in which this work can be done. Your memories hold the answers to many of the important problems that confront us in eudcation today. The time and energy you spend on these answers is your contribution to improving our schools of the future.

GRAMMAR SCHOOL SURVEY (CHILD - FACTUAL &KINSHIP) sample no S6 25

1. Were you in a special 'A' stream at primary school? Yes ☐ No ☒

2. Which 11+ list did you pass on? 1st. ☐ 2nd. ☒ 3rd. ☐

3. Which was the first choice of school?

	El	LH	RH	GH	HH	AG	HC	Other
(a) Self				✓				
(b) Mother				✓				
(c) Father				✓				

4. Which forms were you in at school? A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ (Science, L&H (G))

5. School offices pre-School Certificate? Societies.....
Sport .....

6. School Certificate results. Passes... Credits. 7 .. Distinctions 1

Ring distinctions : (E.Lang) E.Lit H Fr Lat Chem Phys Math Bio Other

7. Sixth Form course. Arts ☒ Science ☐ .....
.....

8. Sixth Form offices Sports captain ☐ Prefect ☒ Head of school ☐ Head of house ☐

9. HSC / GCE Advanced result.
good = History.....
v. good= .....
P. Gy. French
O level.....
A level....."good"
....."v good
Scholarship papers taken. Yes ☐ No ☒ .....
.....

10. Special courses taken after full-time education.
Details :

12. Which university or training college? Homerton TC
Subjects and grade of results.....
.....
Length of time (age at leaving)..... 2 .....

13. University posts?.....

14. Army service? .....years old to .....years old
Rank.....

15. Occupations after leaving full-time education

Occupation	from	to	where living
Teaching at Milnesbridge	7 yrs		H.

16. Membership of groups.
Union..... Clubs..... Methodist Church.....Co-op....
Others.....

Kinship (spouse)
grammar school ☒.....
further education.....
.....
occupation... Swissman.....

spouse's parents
Father.. Swissman Mother.....
Other education..... .....
,, ...
occupation.....

child frequency of contact with own parents.. 2 a month
" frequency of contact with spouse's parents.. 2 a week

Most seen brother or sister (frequency of contact).....

Married at 23

Factual Chart

Grandparents

1. Did any of your grandparents receive any grammar, private or public school, or university education?

   Father's side No Mother's side No

   Type of education

2. What trade or profession did your grandparents follow?

   Father's side Insurance agent

   Mother's side Miner

Parents

1. To which kind of a school did your parents go (grammar, ordinary, local, commercial, private, public)?

   Father Ordinary or local In Huddersfield? No

   Mother ~ ~ ~ In Huddersfield? ~

2. Did either of them receive any further education? What kind and at what age did they finish their education?

   Father No Age 14

   Mother No Age 14

3. What trade or profession did they follow?

   Father Chemical Headburner

   Mother (before marriage) Cotton mill worker.

4. As a family have you been fairly active as members of a church?

   Which one? No

Aunts and uncles

1. Did any of your aunts or uncles have a private or grammar school education?

   Father's side No

   Mother's side No

Brothers and sisters

1. What brothers and sisters have you, and what are their ages now?

   1 Sister 24

2. Can you indicate which kind of education (grammar, ordinary, local, commercial, private or public school) each of them received? Also please write in any further education (university, Training College etc.)

   Ordinary or local (Elementary ~ Secondary Modern)

3. What trade or profession does each of them follow? If they are married sisters, what do their husbands work as now?

   Private Secretary.

The Family

1. On an average, about how often do you see:

Your mother
Your father
Brothers
Sisters

} About 4 weeks of the year in periods of a few days.

Yourself

1. Did you start school at the age of five in Huddersfield? Yes
2. Which was your primary school or preparatory school? Stile Common Council School.
3. What was your usual examination position in class? In top five (?)
4. On which 11-plus list did you pass? The first list.
5. Was your school 'streamed' then (i.e. were there A and B classes in every year, or the 11-plus year)? No

Secondary School

1. What offices did you hold at this school (prefect, sports captain, head of house, societies etc.)? Prefect, Soccer captain, Athletics captain, Cricket vice-captain, Deputy head of school, Head of House, Chairman of debating society.
2. What was your School Certificate or G.C.E. 'O' level result?

Failures in None
Passes in None
Credits in Eng. Lit, Eng. Gram., Hist, Geog., French.
Distinctions in Phys., Maths., Chem., Latin.

3. Which subjects did you specialise in, in the VIth form?

Mathematics (Applied + Pure)
Physics

4. What was your H.S.C. or G.C.E. 'A' level result?

Failures in —
Passes in —
Goods in
Very goods in

5. Did you ever need Latin for a course which you thought of taking at university, or did the lack of it hinder you?

No

If you attended a university

1. Which university? Sheffield
2. Subjects read? Chem (1 yr) Maths (2 yrs) Physics (3 yrs)
3. Degree result? II.2 Honours Physics
4. Post degree studies, if any, and results
   None
5. What kind of grant did you receive? Edgar Allen Scholarship (Sheffield University Schol.)
   Supplemented to a State Scholarship.

If you attended a Training College

1. Name and kind of training college?
2. What precisely were you trained for?
3. If you were receiving a grant, what kind was it?

Career

1. What posts or jobs have you held since leaving school? Can you give names and dates please(including Army service and rank)?
   I have worked as a Physicist for the Dept. of Atomic Energy & U.K.A.E.A. since leaving University. (No army service)
   1953 – 1957 Scientific Officer
   1957 – 1960 Senior Scientific Officer
   1960 – Physicist I.
2. What is your present address?
   Eskdale House, Seascale, Cumberland.

Church or chapel

1. Do you yourself now take part in any church or chapel?
   No

If married

1. How did you come to meet your spouse (for instance, at a youth club, rover-ranger group, university or training college)?
   Through a mutual friend
2. At what age were you married? 23
3. What kind of education and further education has your spouse had?
   Local, Grammar & University.
4. What is your spouse's occupation (or what was it when you married)?
   Schoolteacher
5. What trade or profession did your spouse's father follow?
   Putter-up! (Worker @ rag manufacturers)

General

1. What social classes, in your opinion, do we have in the country today? And what would you say is the prime basis of the difference between classes? Are things changing?

I believe the community is made up of many groups, who collect together by virtue of such things as birth, education and employment. The prime basis of dividing people into classes is in general money or employment. For convenience these are called - Upper (U) Middle (M) or Lower (or Working) (L) each of which may be further subdivided into three e.g. UL - Upper working class. The present trend now is a movement of UL to ML or LL classes.

2. What social class do you think people naturally place you in? This will depend on their views on class & on which class they are in themselves. eg a L class would probably place me in M (by virtue of my salary & standard of life). A M or U person may regard me as L because of my birth.

3. Will this change as time goes on?

No.

4. If you feel them to be usually wrong, which social class do you think you do belong to? It is of no consequence to me what people views are on class & which group they choose to put me in.

5. In what social class would you say your parents were, and why?

On the basis of the above classification — Middle Working Class by virtue of my father's wage & financial position.

6. In most normal situations which political party do you feel most sympathetic towards?

Labour Liberal Conservative

Other views

7. Is there any particular political issue which governs your political sympathies? Foreign policy e.g. policy on disarmament and underdeveloped countries.

8. Do you think social class does play, or has played any part in determining people's political views?

Yes

9. Can you name any strong ambitions you had for your future when you were at school? No strong ambitions, I always assumed that my future would be resolved in my last years at University. I probably had some slight leaning towards teaching.

Please add any further comment below and overleaf if you feel that any of your answers are incomplete or misleading

Detailed Chart: Up to the age of 12

Pre-School

1. Where were you living when you first went to school?

   Huddersfield (Birchencliffe)(later Newsome)

2. Can you describe what kind of an area it was, and what kind of people you found there?

   A council estate on the outskirts of Huddersfield, near the surrounding countryside. In popular classification the people were middle or upper working class. My memories of them are that they were all pleasant & friendly people.

3. Can you remember children you played with at all? Would you describe one or several of them? Do you know them, or of them, now?

   I played in a group (or gang) of about 12 children (all boys) & had close friends who lived near or whom I knew well at school. 1) T.M. was one who lived near, similar home background – common interest was money making schemes. 2) P.S. was a school friend, similar background, a leader – interests pets & childish mischief. I know nothing or little of these friends

Education under the age of 12

1. What was your first school?

   Elementary school @ Lindley.

2. What extra help were you able to get when it came to the selection examination?

   None

3. Can you remember anything about passing it?

   Nothing other than it seemed a natural thing.

4. How did you come to choose your secondary school?

   Please see over.

   ~~I do not remember how much the decision was mine or how much it was my parents. My very vague memories are that people I knew to go to Almondbury G.S. (the [illegible] [illegible]) It was the nearest elementary Grammar school – no choice was necessary.~~

5. What happened to your primary school friends? Did they pass or fail?

   Probably ½ of them passed & ½ failed. Most of the ones who passed went to Almondbury G.S. which I went to.

6. How has this result altered your subsequent relationship with them?

   My friends then were drawn from people who attended Grammar School & those who were interested in sport.

Answer to Question 4 (which I appear to have understood, misunderstood or I hope understood).

I do not remember how much the decision was mine or how much it was my parents. The practical choice was between Huddersfield College & Almondbury G.S. I think factors were such things as that people I knew of & that my parents knew of went to Almondbury, that the College had a slight upper-class associations, that the buildings & location of Almondbury G.S were far more pleasant.

7. How did you think the children felt who did not succeed?

Indifferent - I don't think that they or myself realised the implications of 'passing' or 'failing' (exams which I do not like).

8. Can you recall your relatives having anything to say about your result (praise, advice, warning etc.)?

My family lived away from our relatives so that I have no strong memories of any response from them - I imagine only praise was given,

9. Can you remember neighbours having anything to say about it (praise, advice, warning etc.)?

Again no memories of any strong reaction - vague recollection of some praise.

10. Can you describe what kind of a child you were in those years?

I was a happy child, happy at school and at play; healthy - spending most of my non-school time out of doors. My interests were games, birds'egg collecting, stamps, Boy Scouts, cinema - which I think were the interests of most of the children I knew. I do not remember having many intellectual interests.

11. Have you any other incidents, memories, stories, anecdotes about your early school days that you can put down here? (About the teachers and teaching and the friendships or enemies you had among the children).

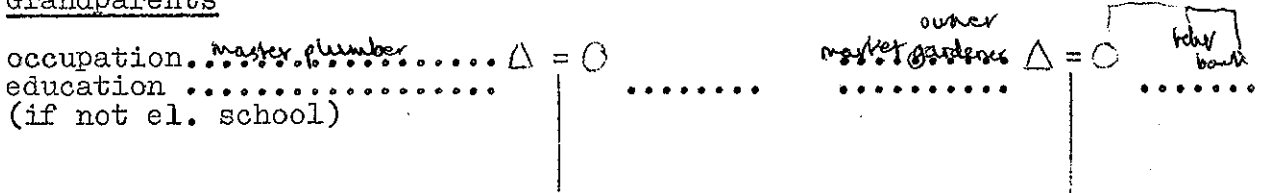
The teachers I remember most easily are one who was very strict; one who disliked me - I think because I was a cheeky child (she was a woman teacher); a Miss Burke who was fond of poetry & read Masefield to us a great deal.

My friendships were confined to boys of my own age. There were 'gangs' in the district but I do not remember any gang fights or 'warfare' or personal enemies.

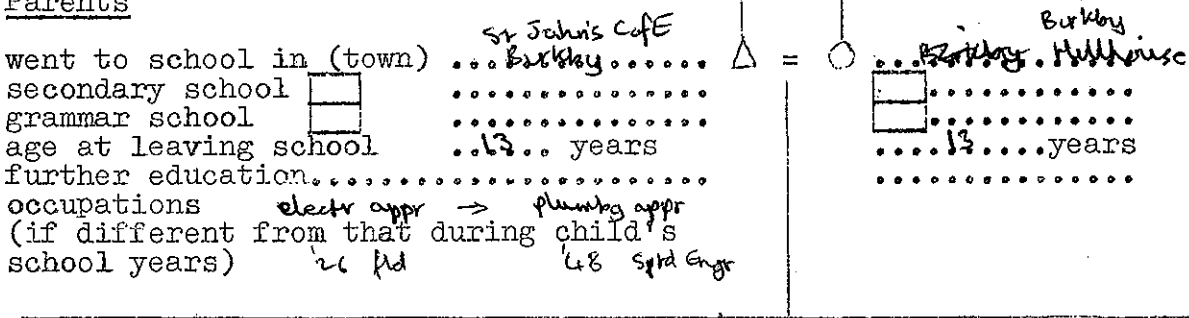
GRAMMAR SCHOOL SURVEY (PARENTS' KINSHIP CHART) Sample No. SGP6

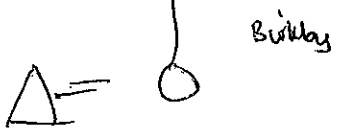
undertaker

Grandparents



Parents





Notes (information for children)

school (university/TC) with age at leaving
age now
present occupation
where living
frequency of contact with parent

(for children's spouses)

Occupation (if man)
education (gs/univ/TC)
parents' occupation
where living
frequency of contact

Siblings (father)

total number = 2b 1s
to secondary school = 1b HH ?
to grammar school =
further education =
training college =
degree =
clerical work = 1.
business =
professional =
living in Huddersfield or died here =

Siblings (mother)

total number = 5b 2s
=
=
=
=
=
=
=
=
=

Cousins (father's side)

living in Huddersfield =
total number =
grammar school = 3gs
training college =
university =

Cousins (mother's side)

=
= 11 gs
= 111 gs
= too young
=

GRAMMAR SCHOOL SURVEY (PARENT) Sample Number SGP6

1. Was the child in a special 'A' stream at primary school? Yes ☐ No ☒

2. Do you know of anybody who refused an 11+ place for their child?
Details:

3. Which 11+ list was your child on? 1st. ☒ 2nd. ☐ 3rd. ☐

4. Which was the first choice of school?

	El.	LH	RH	GH	HH	AG	HC	Other
(a) Self				X				
(b) Spouse								
(c) Child								

5. Which stream at grammar school? A ☐ B ☐ C ☐ or (Science ☐ L&F ☐ G ☐)

6. What were child's School Cert. Results? Pass ☐ Credit ☐ Dist ☐
Distinctions (ring where known) Lit. Lang. F. H. Lat. Chem P M Bio

7. Which course did child take in the Sixth Form? Arts ☐ Science ☐

8. Offices held at school Sports captain ☐ Head of school ☐
Prefect ☒ Head of house ☐ NA

9. Has child taken any special courses since school (apart from Univ/TC)
Details :

10. Which university or training college did child go to? .....
For how long? .....

11. What kind of a grant was child receiving? .....

12. Who were the referees for university or training college? .....
.....

13. What course did child take at university? .....

14. Child's occupations after leaving full time education?

Occupation	From	To	Where living

15. Membership of groups?
Self...Club.....Union.....Church.....Co-op...
Spouse.Club.....Union.....Church.....Co-op...
Child..Club.....Union.....Church.....Co-op...

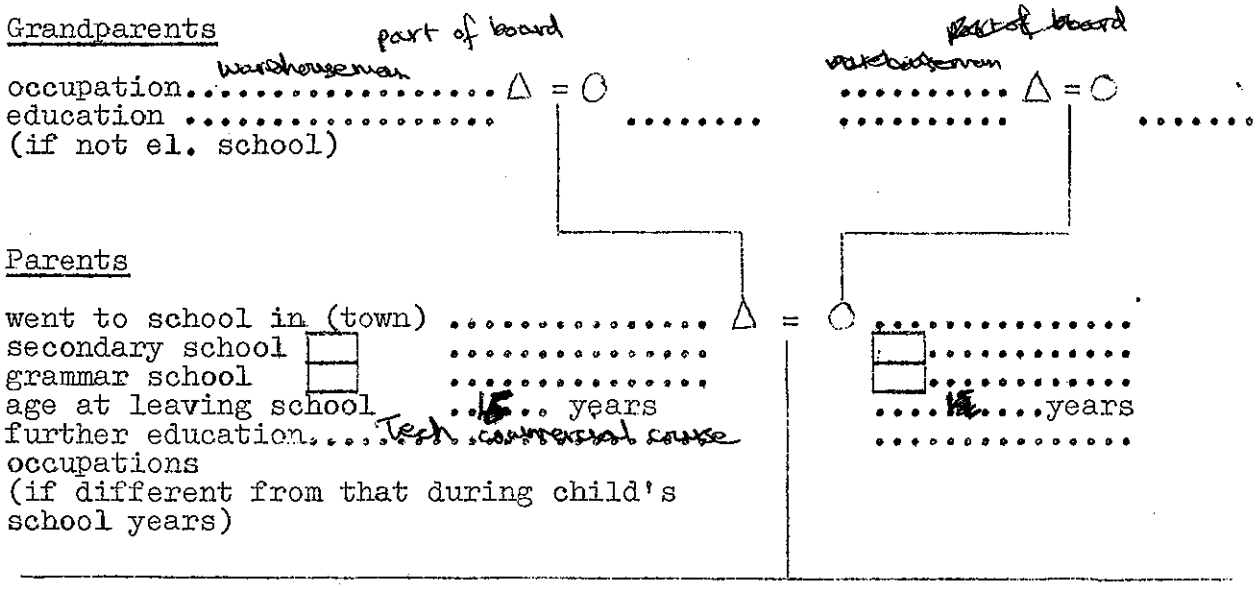
When is child coming home?

When is child available at home? (Phone number)

Other relatives (spouse)?

Addresses or comments on people for sub-samples

GRAMMAR SCHOOL SURVEY (PARENTS' KINSHIP CHART) Sample No. SG125



Notes (information for children)

school (university/TC) with age at leaving
age now
present occupation
where living
frequency of contact with parent

(for children's spouses)

Occupation (if man)
education (gs/univ/TC)
parents' occupation
where living
frequency of contact

Siblings (father)	Siblings (mother)
total number = ...	total number = 16, 15
to secondary school = ...	= 11, 10.
to grammar school = ...	= ....
further education = ...	= ....
training college = ...	= ....
degree = ...	= ....
clerical work = ...	= ....
business = ...	= ....
professional = ...	= ....
living in Huddersfield or died here = ...	= ....

Cousins (father's side)	Cousins (mother's side)
living in Huddersfield = ...	= ....
total number = ...	= ....
grammar school = ...	= ....
training college = ...	= ....
university = ...	= ....

Parkinson Smith's Ave. GH 52 3/7/34 in 4.30

Father dead, def. manual. Mother now works and did during child's school time. 'I'll tell you why not so many children from this kind of background get through - it's because they don't know what grants there are to apply for. The better-off people know the ropes, the people who have teachers for parents get pushed a lot more. Our parents don't know what the opportunities are.' Her mother agreed with Jean, who was very vehement and not a little resentful. 'They should give a lot more advice and encouragement than they do, my education was very haphazard and they never gave me any advice or encouragement where to go or what to apply for. I'd have liked to go to University too, and I've seen girls who're teachers with degrees, who're getting more money than I am and I consider th t I was just as good as they were - I got Advanced in three subjects. They should give everybody a chance instead of just picking iut one or two people who they think are going to be doctors and pushing those.' 'I don't think a person who teaches history up to GCE standard to the lower forms should be asked to do careers as well. It's asking too much - it should be a separate job altogether should careers.' 'MY education was very haphazard - I went to Scarborough and I'd never been to Scarborough before. I liked but there were other things I should have liked to do as well.' 'I'd like to talk to you about that. I'd be very interested.' Single, teaches at Moldgreen, infants.

Said she knew that other girls had gone on to be student helpers, at sixteen, but she felt that having GCE advanced was a help later on, although not strictly necessary. 'I'd find it very hard doing a degree externally.' 'It was ve4y expensive too for my parents, if they hdn't both been working they couldn't have managed. I got a grant of 20 (? 60) and my parents had to pay for lodgings, and buy all my books.

Working Class families and Grammar School Education

Names

The names of all individuals, districts, schools and the town concerned have now been altered. Any names appearing in future reports on work done will be fictitious.

Middle Class Sub-sample.

We have followed up the suggestion made at the last meeting that a small sample of middle class children coming from the same grammar schools as our central sample would be illuminating. After dividing our original pass list up according to father's occupation, we drew six names at random from the upper sections of this. Twelve interviews (six with children six with parents) were followed up. These have proved so valuable that we have decided to expand this section again slightly to twenty interviews (ten children; ten parents).

These interviews, which we are keeping quite separate from our main sample, will be completed shortly. When they are finished we propose to write a full report on them. We would expect to use such a section in our final write-up of the total survey.

A copy of this report will be sent to you when it is finished. You could expect this in about four weeks time.

Main Working Class Sample.

At the same time we are working through the interviews on our main working class sample.

This sample has now been finally drawn and traced. You will remember that it is based on father's occupation, place of residence, and academic attainment. The final figures work out at fifty one boys and forty one girls. These together with the interviews with their parents, make a total of one hundred and eighty four interviews.

Copies of some of our basic tables relating this sample to school and age are appended. Similarly we include the tables analysing exclusions (dead, abroad etc.).

This means that we are committed to, and systematically working through, a total of two hundred and four interviews spread over the whole country. A formidable total, but just within our reach.

Further sub-samples

We are postponing consideration of further sub-samples until most of the main work is cleared away. We are however noting information and ideas which would help were we ultimately able to pursue the two sub-samples we have chiefly in mind -

1. Working class boys and girls who refuse grammar school places.

2. Working class boys and girls of ability who leave early.

Postal Sample.

It may be worthwhile to have certain factual information from all children who reached the appropriate academic level at the schools concerned. We could not possibly collect this in person, and have no resources to employ helpers. We therefore propose to draft a postal questionnaire during January, and as a test of possibility, forward it to twenty pupils who do not fall on our sample. If the results are encouraging we would consider expanding this to all pupils in the late spring.

Children at School.

The suggestion was made that we interview some children still at school. There are obvious difficulties and safeguards to respect. But while we have made no formal decision to open this line up, we have begun, when time and energy permitted, a series of interviews with schoolchildren.

Teachers' Discussion Group.

We have organized a teachers' discussion group in Huddersfield. This is meeting during term time at monthly intervals. Discussions lie generally within the field of the relationship between educational and social problems. They touch our own most immediate concerns at several points. The group is organized under the aegis of the journal The Use of English. It has no connection with the Institute's time or name - but its relevance is clear enough.

Brian Jackson.

3rd January, 1960. Dennis Marsden.

June 14th. 1959

Tracing Ex-pupils of Huddersfield's Grammar-Schools

The Problems

We proposed to take, as our sample, all those pupils from working-class homes who had passed Higher School Certificate or its equivalent between the years 1948 and 1952. In order to trace these pupils we had first to find out which boys and girls had passed the exams. This meant looking through the confidential marks list of Higher School Certificate results for those years. After this, we had to find out if the names could be traced in the school admissions book. From the school records we wanted as much information as possible about the child's progress - the home address, primary school, father's occupation, and the University or Training College, if any, which the pupil had attended after leaving school.

The object of my trip to Huddersfield was to find out how much of this information was available. Because some of it was confidential, I had to secure the co-operation of the various head-teachers. Once I had drawn some names for our sample, I attempted to trace theiparents of the pupils at the addresses supplied by the schools. As a further check I approached Manchester and Leeds Universities, where quite a few of the pupils had taken degrees. I asked the Registrars of these two Universities if they had any more recent records of pupils' addresses, and I hoped that these addresses would help us to trace a larger proportion of the original sample.

The Findings

Co-operation

I approached the heads of Huddersfield College(now the head of Huddersfield New College), Royds Hall Grammar School, King James Grammar School(or, more popularly, Almondbury G.S. - the headmaster favours the other name), Greenhead High School for Girls: all of these teachers were friendly and co-operative. I also saw the Vice-principal of Huddersfield College of Technology, who offered to help as much as he could.

(1) Huddersfield College - This no longer exists as a school. The headmaster is now head of Huddersfield New College, and, more important, the secretary has also been transferred. Mr. Bielby is a very nervous man, who thought very highly of me when I was one of his prefects at Huddersfield College. He found the whole situation very embarrassing, because I have not been to the school for some seven years. He asked no questions about what we were going to do, but immediately provided me with all the marks lists. He also had record cards with the pupils' addresses, fathers' occupations (not very reliable), dates of birth, primary school, and, in most cases, a note on what had happened to the boy after he left school. His records go back as far as 1949, when he became headmaster of Huddersfield College. He said that the secretary had the records for the years previous to his headship. Because the school was closing for the Whit. holiday, I had only time to take the information for the years 1950 and 1949. I also have names going back to 1946, but not further information.

He said he would be pleased to provide me with all the lists, but he could offer no secretarial help.

(2)Royds Hall Grammar School - This is a mixed school, and from next year it will take only secondary modern streams, so that all Huddersfield's grammar-schools will be segr gated. Academically, Huddersfield College for the boys, and Greenhead High School for the girls rate far high r. For this reason, the sixth form at Royds is very small, and I was able to obtain information for the five years previous to G.C.E. The headmaster was not very interested in what we are doing, and he is due to retire this year. His secretary and he were very helpful, and the secretary has been at the school for many years, so that she may be able to provide further information of a more intimate kind. The school has detailed records going back to 1918, but some of the cards lack dtailed information about where the pupils went after leaving school. I think that not many of their sixth form pupils go on to University, and this accounts for the lack of detailed information here. The comments take the form "U" or "TC" for University and Training College", or just "-". The secretary and Old Roydsians Association may fill in the gaps a little.

If we require any further names from Royds, we should take them before the school closes for the Summer. This would avoid the upset caused by the arrival of the new headmaster and the change over to a new school system.

(3)King James Grammar School - When I arrived here, the headmaster had already prepared lists of names and addresses for me. This was helpful, but he may have been reluctant to let me look at the marks lists. The only information missing here was in the primary school list. About 20% of the sample had no primary school recorded on their admission. This information may be available elsewhere in the school records, or in the Education Office.

The headmaster is fairly new to the school, and the school secretary is unable to give much information apart from what is in the records. They were interested in our project , merely in the hope that we would supply them with a more recent list of addresses of old Almondburians.

(4)Greenhead High School for Girls - This school will be preserved on its present site, but the buildings will be extended. The headmistress was quite interested in the survey, and had a faint idea of what we were going to do. She had read "The Rise of the Meritocracy" and remembered the author's name, so I wasn't quite sure how to proceed. She didn't take our survey as a proposed attack on grammar-school education, and for this I was thankful. On the other hand, she was slightly apprehensive about the results of our survey, and confessed that she had little idea of what happened to some of her pupils. She gave us her fullest co-operation.

The headmistress has only been at the school for a year or so. Fortunately, the secretary has been at the school for the whole time covered by our sample, and knows many of the "old girls" quite well. A remarkable number of them have, at some time, returned to teach in Greenhead. All the information I asked for was available, and the secretary knew of more recent addresses, or of marriages. She said that the school magazine would help us a great deal here; also there was a flourishing "Old Girls' Association". I took information for the five years prior to G.C.E because the sample will be very small and we may have to extend it, in time, in both directions.

(5)The Vice-principal of Huddersfield College of Technology Again lists were prepared for me, but this time I knew that I would be allowed to look at the marks lists if I wanted to. The College of Technology will require further thought. Quite a few of the students do not come from Huddersfield

what is
The students are older, on average; but, more important from our point of view, they do not take HSC. As a rule they take London External Inter-BSc. as a preliminary to a University course. The College of Technology provides a distinct road of academic progress by means of a different exam, and I think we should have the Inter BSc successes in our sample. The problem of the students ages, and the whole underlying assumptions of technological education may mean that we must take the College of Technolgy into account as a separate ladder. Again, I received the fullest co-operation, although they said I must do my own secretarial work in future.

(6) There was some suggestion of Penistone Grammar School and Honley Grammar School, two grammar schools outside the Borough boundary, taking some Huddersfield pupils. The headmaster of Hoyds Hall told me that this practice stopped in 1945 when the new educational system was first started. Before, when the Huddersfield schools were part fee-paying, it was cheaper to attend a county school outside the boundary, where there were no fees. Perhaps we could check with the two schools to make sure that they took no Huddersfield pupils after 1945, and that their HSC passes after that time do not contain any members of our proposed sample.

(7) Manchester and Leeds Universities - Leeds University would require more evidence of our bona fides before helping us in this survey. In particular they would like a reference "preferably from a person of high standing in the academic world." I wrote back asking them to contact the Institute directly. Manchester were not so suspicious. I extracted from my grammar school lists a set of thirty of so names of pupils who had gone to Manchester. The Registrar insisted that only he was allowed to look at the records of students addresses. In fact the whole check only took him fifteen minutes. Every year Manchester send round a circular to all graduates asking for information of their whereabouts. In only two cases had the University completely lost toudh with a graduate, and I think their tracing methods were not very deep.

Thus, with one or two minor gaps, we should be able to obtain dates of birth, primary schools, fathers' occupations(but only sketchily), and an address for each pupil on our sample. Where we need slightly more information - primary schools, Universities - the records of the Education Committee may help us, or a more exhaustive study of the school records, magazines and old pupils' associations may fill in the gaps.

Mobility

Because it was Whitsuntide, the borough offices and library were closed. This meant that I had no access to the Register of Electors. I had checked the years 1948 and 1949 for Greenhead High School.
thirty-three
Of the ~~forty~~ names which I checked, the Register showed that twenty of the families still lived at the same address. In addition, of the thirteen names which remained, I was unable to check two because the house name given not in the register(e.g. the school had given me a name of a house where the register only had numbers).

I had not time to check on more than five of the remaining addresses(other people were away on holiday, or out). In each case I received sufficient information to trace the address of the person. Three sets of parents had moved out of the district or died.

It would not seem too optimistic to state that

we should be able to trace the parents of 90% or more of our sample as drawn, and 80% should still be in the district.

Manchester - This University probably keeps more detailed records than we can expect from all the higher education bodies on our lists. The use which we make of this information will produce bias of various kinds in our sample, and will need careful thought. Of the twenty-three students, the University supplied new addresses for seven, which gives no indication of parental mobility, since some students may be content to have their letters sent on from their home addresses, while others may have given their own addresses.

I have no indication of the difficulties of following up the students, how many of them now live away from Huddersfield. All the data we have is for parents, through whom we hope to trace the students.

Conclusions

From these results, it looks as though the survey will be possible in the form which we originally proposed it. The size of the sample for five years(1946 to 1950) was just about three hundred. The girls in this sample(100 approx.) were very much more middle-class, judging by fathers' occupations. We can extend this sample down to 1954 or1955 because the girls do not have the break of National Service. The Huddersfield College of Technology may require separate treatment, because the whole nature of the educational ladder provided there is different from that in the grammar schools; different in a way which may throw more light on the town's educational opportunities.

There are some other sources of information which we should examine. The school magazines and pupils associations will help, but will provide a further bias in the sample towards the Establishment. At a later stage we should contact the Education Officer, for information on University grants, and addresses while at University. He may also supply information on primary schools, and alternative channels of education, particularly the self-educated students who have left school but taken HSC in their own time.

At the moment, we have about half the names we require for the final sample, and if we intend to start on September 1st. we should remember that we cannot complete our sample during school holidays.

Early Leavers' Sample

Beaumont Street's record - nobody on the final sample
only 6 w/class & 3 w/class children in 9 years & interest
& 3 of these w/class children went into the C stream

Deighton did rather better as regards passes 1 5 w/class 4 doubtfuls & 1 w/class
but no-one went to U, & the one girl on our sample (no boys) who went
to t C turned out to be on the top-most fringe feather forewoman i/c SU men.
Also a very high proportion of C streamers - in the first two years of
the estate entry Sout of six children who entered were in C stream.
several of them not taking GCE.

No passes in '32

Thus Chose Railway Br. St. on level of boys maximum
& Dtn on girls minimum

Br St sample provided 7 gs passes 5 boys (U to MC nearer) 1 away since
2 girls (1 left
1 marital diffs)

~~Deighton~~ Lin 36' 8 girls of whom only one could have been traced
1 boy

Deighton 8 4 girls 4 boys
1 family left altogether (top layer of w/class)
Br.
saw pts of 1 girl who didn't interest us since in fact she went to t C
int. 2 girls
4 boys & parents.

Class

In the class-rating question we are looking for :-

(a) scale used – whether ratings are now based on money, education etc.
clarity of scale, simple rating or confusion

picture of the working class, who they are in relation to us + our parents

picture of the middle-class, who they are in relation to us + parents

It is not sufficient to put down rating as middle, working etc without also including some indication of the scale used.

First of all the scales :-

(A) A scale where the upper class (of money, birth + privilege) is very remote, all people are much alike and according to how the question is put can be rated middle or working and can be both at one + the same time without contradiction. Below "us" are the dead beats who lack ambition + who are living off national assistance, or by road-sweeping. Both barriers are strong.

(B) A scale where style of living, accent, background are much more important. Here there is a real middle-class, very puzzling as to its essential characteristics since one of them is obviously money, but money will not give you the entry automatically. In this scale, the barrier between working + middle is much nearer to us, floating invisibly just above us. A scale of ambition too, where by a little struggling if only we had enough confidence we might get out. The clash of money + style of living is very puzzling + suggests that although we are working class, there are other sorts of working class, very dissimilar from us. Either we assign ourselves aggressively to w/class or refuse. Our intelligence seems to place us not quite anywhere without p school educn.

(C) A simple educational scale in which our professional training separates us from the working class without giving us that polish necessary for entry to the upper ranks which are very distant indeed. Lack confidence to enter. Differentiation by money is scorned, so that reference to middle-class on any other basis than education is dismissed as snobbery – working-class without educn is working-class regardless of money. Professional class is outside the money scale + quite large.

D. A scale where education brings success + there are no class barriers. Three classes upper/middle/lower, not very carefully defined or differentiated + simple class placings of no great subtlety

Tuesday.

Dear Dennis,

I wrote back accepting the terms over the week-end. I also took the occasion to push in a series of new demands, and to back them up enclosed the outline sketch of the summer's work. Here are copies of both. No reply yet.

The lists arrived today, and I've glanced at them over tea. Hell of a lot of work. You've made a very presentable job out of it. As it comes to me it seems to be slightly incomplete. There are no Greenhead girls for 1954 as we proposed. We'll have to make a decision over HSC equivalents.

HSC pass in any form
GCE 3 'A's
GCE 2 'A's + 2 'O's
GCE 2 'A's + 1 'S'

all seem straightforward.

I think the addition of

GCE 2 'A's + 1 good, other, 'O'

is reasonable enough. But does it mean you will have to check back through all lists? We have todeal with the special circumstances of maths specialists - but I don't think we can regard GCE 2 'A's as an HSC equivalent educationally. That certainly isn't so. If our sample did turn out to be too small over

small then we might check back for
GCE 2 'A's or GCE 1 'A'
which as you point out are partially social equvalents, and it's the social equivalence rather than the academic one that we are concerned with. But it exposes us in many ways, and I feel myself that this is a reserve fall back : no more. Agree?

As for the meeting with PW and MY that will be - failing onslaught of express telegram and sudden curtailing of funds - next Septemeber.

Any leads onto unofficial HSCs?

This is a very meaty account of jazz club life you sent us. I think we've both read it three times!

I'm writing this on THE NEW DESK - it's splendid : I advise one. Weare looking at filing cabinets now.

Sheila sent off the lamp shade today. Sorry about the cold.

Keep writing. Will let you have the lists soon. Expect us now on Sunday August 2nd. by bus.

Brian

dear dennis : nasty about the accident. not really clear how much damage was done. are the police involved?

i must have expressed myself wrongly. i wanted no of girl prefects, because of course i had the boys. but i didn't have boys who tried jobs at 15, so that fitted ok. occupational class very useful. 17% class 1, 76% class 2, 6% class 3. shows how deceptive these figures are i think, when we consider our class 1s and 11s. deceptively limited mobility. not sure about contacts with parents. we ought really to have sub divided but doubt if we can.

about early leaving. is it a chapter or is it a rather full appendix. how is it coming out? be careful over repeating other material, especially descriptive. i fear we'll clag our readers! and remember that some parts of this are better established elsewhere. leakage before eleven plus is done definitively by jean floud. but observe that almost all children with necessary 1q from working class homes get through. i may deal with measured intelligence in final section, but it is a sophisticated matter, and am not sure that it will be relevant. refusal of places is negligible, and of course a triumph. cf Lindsay analysis of Bradford in 1923 where it was over half, or lady simon on manchester in 1936 where it was thirty odd per cent. i don't have figures to hand - downstairs - but don't make an emphasis there. remember this 'selection at lower social level' seems to intrude again into measured intelligence, which varies consistently with economic level, size of family, position in family, age of mother etc. much information known on this. see scottish mental survey of 1947. so careful of 'targets'. need as always i think is for clear emphases, highlights, basic truths, rather than close mirror reflection of life - which is just as confusing as life.

yes my sent copy of letter to me last week. but i had to write twice about it. how do you fancy a spell interviewing for him in bg.

i think pm book on lagas is good.

will post original lists separately.

can you give me details of family size on our main smaple now cf to crowther figures?

Brian

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

The different degrees of parental pressure, aspiration and ambition which we could see at work shaping the child's educational course, finding fulfilment or release through the opportunities promised by a grammar school education, were not restricted in influence to the one child that we selected from each family. Although these working class families were below average size, most of the children on the central sample had brothers or sisters who also sat for the scholarship exam for one of the 20 - 25% of grammar school places in Marburton. There might be two, three, and even four brothers and sisters in a family. What happened to these other children?

As a rule we saw only one child from each family, but occasionally we found parents much more eager to talk about brothers and sisters, and we might come away with a clearer picture of the children who had never gone to grammar school, or [redacted] who had left after taking School Certificate: Mrs. Rippon 'didn't rightly know what University was' where her son Neil had been, but she had a clear grasp of the details of the life of her eldest daughter, Rose. 'She's always been in shops has our Rose. Now she's working in a paint shop up by the Alhambra. She likes that, it's all matching colours, she says, and it's very interesting, very interesting, and she knows all the colours that goes with all the other colours, and she helps all the customers. But she's got a boss that doesn't appreciate anything. If only he'd say that he appreciated it when it was well done she'd like that.' Success was not always measured by the simple standards we had applied when we drew our sample. Mrs. Hammond had a son at Oxford, but she said, 'My youngest daughter didn't pass at all, and she's the brainiest of the lot of them; she could buy and sell the other two, she's ever so quick.' In another large group of families, however, the grammar school child was the apple of a parent's eye, and the parent might be very closely identified with the child's achievement. 'He's always holding our Ruth up to the others. He was onto our Anne last night about it, saying "Our Ruth does this," and "Our Ruth does that," but they can't all be the same can they. He thinks they can all be teachers.'

But usually the talk flitted at random from child to child, and the parents might be puzzled and

suspicious, even resentful, at our insistence on one particular child in the family. Thirty-six of the boys and twenty-one of the girls had brothers and sisters*, their ages ranging from thirteen to over forty. Information and comment clustered thickly around their educational experience, but people found it much more difficult to formulate and discuss family relationships with a stranger. Here we had to recognise a basic limitation of this kind of survey: family relationships are sacred, and there were limits of decency set upon what any member of a family would even think about a relative, certainly upon what he would reveal to casual strangers dropping in for a chat on some seemingly neutral topics - even though we were often surprised at where these limits were set. The most tactful excursions into this field brought replies such as, 'We've never made any difference between our children, we've always treated them alike,' or, 'Oh no, there's nothing like that about our children, thank goodness. They've always got on well together,' and the temperature or the interview would drop markedly for a while. We respected this privacy, even when families might be most reticent where we were most interested. And occasionally people were ready to expand a little when disparity of education had become too great and broken through normal family obligations and ties.

Older brothers and sisters - the overlapping generations.

Free grammar school places had come too late for some of the older brothers and sisters. They had passed for grammar school, but they or their parents had chosen central schools instead, or they had remained at council schools. At one house we visited, the mother brought down half a dozen large paintings executed by her daughter at the art class at the Technical College. They were competent, very innocent, picturesque views of Marburton and district. In the front room were two large book-cases full of well-kept books in their bright dust-jackets; books by Eric Williams, and Nicholas Monsarrat, travel books and book club issues. 'She likes reading. She's always read a good deal.' At the other end of the room was a pile of records and gramaphone. 'Oh, them's hers too. She doesn't like all this modern silly stuff. She likes the older stuff, good singers, real live music.'

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* This is in 55 families because there were two sets of sisters on the central sample.

Like Mr. Waring, the sixty-five year old father of one of the boys on the central sample, this daughter whose age was forty-two found a release for her frustrated abilities in painting, and they did the best they could in their daily work, one as a blender in a mill, the other in a decorating shop, to work with colour.

Finding the way to grammar school.

There were other families unruffled by the grammar school success of one child: Ivor Gledhill was virtually adopted by an un-

- to next page.

married aunt who lived with the family, so that by the time he won an Open Scholarship to Cambridge he had little intimate contact with ~~the~~ his three brothers who remained at the local school, even though they lived in the same council house. Yet such instances are few, Table..... ~~and so abnormal as to suggest that lack of knowledge, information and economic difficulties have proved insurmountable obstacles for most first-generation grammar school pupils from large families.~~

Where there were no middle-class relatives or friends to give advice, parents had to learn from experience as each of their children passed through school; a wasteful process where the success of the child on our lists was built on the wreck of parents' ambitions for older brothers and sisters. Or the progress of older children might represent a gradual awakening to the possibilities of education. 'Well the way it was was this, you see,' said Mr Turnbull uneasily. 'I'll say this to you where I wouldn't say it to some. When you're just married and you're happy together, and you've got your own little family, you don't think ahead like you should. You tend to sit back in your own little world and you think everything's going well, and you don't look around and take everything into account. You think everything's going well and things like that don't seem to matter like they do later on.' His two eldest sons went to Mill Cross, and then Ronald, the youngest son, went to Marburton College. After the mistakes of older brothers and sisters, the younger children in the family could tread more ~~surely~~ securely towards grammar school, the sixth form and university, as parents found out that some primary schools were better than others, and that some grammar schools were a better avenue to university. Mr Thurston sent his two older sons to Thorpe Manor. 'I never thought about it, with Thorpe Manor being just up at the end of the road, and I was getting reports of how bad he was, and then when the exam came he was always top. I thought, "Well, this is a bit Chinese, is this." You see, I never got to know how good he was until after he'd taken his School Cert. I went down and had a row with the headmaster about it. I can't make him out somehow. He said they didn't believe in giving people too much encouragement. He tried to

persuade me to send him back to school then, but I wouldn't have it. I said, "No," I said, "You've messed him up now. He's going to Tech."' The youngest son went to Marburton College and won a place to Oxford, ~~even~~ though Mr Thurston rated him ~~far~~ below his brother in ability.

In these very hit-or-miss first encounters with secondary education mistakes were made; and while the majority of parents pressed on ~~with their belief in the grammar school ideal unshaken~~, three families found that grammar school was not the sure passport to success which they had imagined. Mary Norton's brother was placed in the 'B' stream at the village school where they lived. 'He was fairly average intelligence and he went to a secondary modern school. Then I was the first one that came along that showed any promise, so I was allowed to go to Thorpe Manor.' She was a very shy, colourless girl who didn't show up well at the university entrance interviews, and much to her father's disgust she was set too high a standard* and failed to get into university. When her younger brother passed his School Certificate, Mr Norton said, 'No, I were that disappointed after our Mary that I wouldn't let him go on. They wanted him to go on at school, but I said no, I weren't satisfied with the way they'd carried on with her.' The boy went into the mill like his father. The other children in these families became dyers, joiners, engineers, or shop assistants. They complained of the ~~irrelevance~~ 'impracticality' of grammar school education, the lack of information ~~from school authorities~~, and ~~they detected in the workings of the grammar schools a preferment~~ the dominance of middle-class children. They were curiously like and unlike the children ~~we~~ discussed later in the section on Early Leaving : the distinction seems to be that these children had parents who were not only more interested in grammar schools initially, ~~and they~~ but also had more money so that ~~the~~ unsuccessful experiments in education could be prolonged until it was definitely proved a success or failure.

Grammar school families.

The families we have discussed so far approached grammar school very tentatively, with many false steps and doubtful pauses. They had no grammar school tradition

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* At this time the County authority interviewed each scholarship applicant, and set different minimum standards for each.

~~in the parents' generation.~~ and They are not the families which we termed 'sunken middle class'. If we now ~~turn to~~ consider the brothers and sisters in these other families, we can see what large variations in social climate can be covered by the occupational group we have chosen.

The most strikingly successful family, the Priestleys, ~~who~~ had two girls at Ash Grange during the period we covered. They belonged to Marburton's non-conformist middle class in every respect but that of father's occupation. Mrs Priestley's father and grandfather had been to Abbeyford; she herself had been to the Technical College, ~~and~~ where she had even taught there for ten years. Mr Priestley would have had the family farm, but for ill-health, and he was doubly unlucky when he lost another business in the slump. There were four children : all of them went to grammar school and university, and the eldest girl took her PhD. And there were other families of four children whose success sprang directly from a parent's taste of grammar school. Mrs Johnson said, 'We couldn't stop on. There wasn't the money. I don't know why they let us go really. It seems so foolish to give us a glimpse and then not let us go on. Still, I don't know. It's never wasted is it, education? The children get it.'

When we take into account the successful children from these families, and the large number of ~~only~~ children ~~and children~~ from small families ~~of two where lack of money was not so keenly felt~~, the overall statistics show a success-rate in the scholarship examination which quite masks the differences between the Riggons and the Priestleys. In the nature of the sample, we had selected families where there might be inherited 'intelligence' (without defining too closely what this means), or social and economic conditions favourable to grammar school education. We would expect the brothers and sisters to gain more than an average number of places, and the girls to do less well than the boys because fewer places were provided for girls. In fact, three quarters of all the children in these families gained grammar school places, and one in six of the brothers and sisters stopped on into the sixth form, six of them reaching ed university. (Table.....)

Further small proportions went to ~~central~~ secondary technical schools, some because they did not pass for grammar school, others

from a definite preference. Some children who failed the scholarship examination received a "commercial" education, ~~sometimes with School Certificate subjects in the curriculum,~~ at one of the fee-paying schools which existed ~~parasitically on grammar school education~~* to cater for scholarship 'failures'. ~~By the time all these schools have been taken into account~~ Only seven families had a boy remaining at ~~council~~ secondary modern school, and only eleven had a girl there - this out of a total of fifty-five families. Most of the families ~~agreed~~ said that ~~council school~~ secondary modern education was inadequate for their children's needs - 'You need a School Certificate to whitewash a cellar these days.'

These could be described as grammar school families, yet among their numbers there was a marked process of segregation, whereby those families which already had money or experience of grammar school took a large share of places, while those who have never seen the inside of a grammar school before arrived there and in the universities by a series of happy accidents. Arthur Robinson was the only one of three boys to reach grammar school and university, he came from a poor primary school against the advice of the headmaster there (who recommended Mill Cross) and with little help from the grammar school in the way of careers advice. His brother expressed very well the perplexity with which the family viewed the whole system of selection after his own scholarship results had simply got lost somewhere in the education office. 'Well I don't think our Arthur's brains come from anywhere. I don't think it's this here hereditary at all. I think our Arthur's t'start o' summat, that's what he is. He's t'beginnings o' summat.' Under the prevailing conditions Arthur's education had been the start of something for his own children and himself; not for his younger brothers.

Grammar school education for boys.

Marburton provided fewer grammar school places for girls, and this may account for a curious facet of the survey. Among the sisters who passed were four girls who, parents said, were regarded by their primary school teachers as certainties for grammar school. But even after this restriction we noted at the beginning that working class families were markedly under-represented in the girls' grammar schools ~~when we had difficulty in drawing a large enough number of girls for the main sample. The study of the education of~~ These

* ~~One of these schools has closed down after the recent increase in the number of grammar school places.~~

brothers and sisters ~~of children on that sample~~ provided a pointer. Their parents came from the most ~~enlightened~~ optimistic section of the working class, yet there was still in many families a tendency for them to give their daughters' education second place.

At this point a basic difference between the families ~~of boys and girls on the survey~~ shows up. The girls' families are families of girls; or, to put this another way, if the parents had had any views on the relative benefits of education boys and girls they were left without the alternative, since their families were made up of girls. ~~Where the boys compare well with the national average in respect of family size,~~ The girls' families are substantially smaller, with fewer brothers and sisters and more only children ~~(it is no accident that the largest girls' family belongs most obviously to the sunken middle classes and contains mostly girls).~~ Any Girls' education betrays most signs of economic stress, ~~so that from the top levels of Harburton society downwards parents will spend less money on their daughters' education, or they will take less trouble with it. Thus, in drawing the main sample, we discovered that there were only four instances of private school boys entering grammar school at the age of eleven - two subsequently left to go to public schools - but as many as twelve private school girls entered Ash Grange in one year.~~

Very seldom would parents state this position directly, except perhaps those in the very lowest income groups where such things were taken as common knowledge, or where there were no girls in the family and family loyalties and obligations were not called in question. One woman was so nervous about the way in which she had attempted to block her daughter's career that she refused to be interviewed, and it was only through a relative that we found out what had happened. 'Barbara's mother made her leave at School Certificate, and she was very unhappy. She had wanted to go on and go to a teachers' training college and do music, but her mother said, "No, I can't have two of you at university and Peter's gone," and she made her leave.' This mother had been to grammar school herself, but felt that office work was the best job for her daughter, even though the child had been outstanding both at primary school and later.

Usually the issue was not as clear-cut as this, not so much a direct obstruction to a girl's wishes as a whole climate of opinion which guided decisions about girls' education and careers into the natural "limited success" positions such as office or shop work ~~or work in shops~~. Only if parents wished to encourage their child along some academic course did they run counter to local opinion and habit of mind. The "business course" provided by two of the grammar schools for their 'C' streams was a perennial pitfall for parents with academic ambitions for their daughters. Mrs Johnson had wanted the best of both worlds, academic qualifications and training in typing and shorthand. Like the Ash Grange authorities she failed to realise that if you mark out prematurely a distinctly lowerelevel of possible attainment for one section of children in a school, they are liable to lose interest even in that. 'She was all right at first. She got on very well. She used to be third or fourth in the class, but later on she didn't seem as interested and she came home one day when she was fifteen and she said, "Everybody else is leaving. They're all fifteen, and they're going to leave, and I want to leave as well," but I wouldn't let her do it. But you know she didn't try at all in that last year. She must have lost interest altogether, and when she came to the exam she failed her certificate. She cried then, of course, but it was too late.'*

Perhaps lack of encouragement was the main cause of the ~~xxxxxx~~ girls' poorer scholarship record. Eric Weston had won an Open Scholarship to Cambridge, yet neither he nor his mother encouraged his younger sister ~~to take the late developers examination to go to Thorne Manor.~~ 'I don't think it's as important for a girl is it?' Girls who had passed for grammar school were allowed to go to Howard Court, the ~~central~~ secondary technical school (when we came to draw a sample of children for a study of Early Leavers we found that most of the more intelligent girls from two schools at least went to Howard Court). Even the most delicate parental pressure, which almost amounted to a complete abrogation of responsibility - the family quoted earlier where a mother merely had the forms signed for the child, but left to him the decision of posting the application for grammar school - even here the pressure was for the son of the family only; the daughter's papers went unsigned when she too demurred at going to grammar school.

* Ash Grange stopped the typing course, in an attempt to keep out the kind of girl who preferred to leave at fifteen after taking typing. They still have the same problem of early leaving in the 'C' classes.

This steady parental bias explains those small trends in the statistics, which cannot individually carry any great weight, but which add up to a major statement of limited opportunity for girls in education. More brothers received a commercial education when they failed the scholarship examination; proportionately more of the boys' sisters stayed at ~~council~~ secondary modern school. More of the girls' sisters stopped on into the sixth form and went to university. (Table.....)

The simplest important statement to be made here is that if a girl was successful at grammar school, then her sister would almost certainly have gone to grammar school too; while the most common educational split in the family was a boy at grammar school with a sister who failed to gain a place.

Estrangement.

Almost half the boys, but only one successful grammar school girl in six, had a brother or sister not at grammar school. Only six boys and one girl were in 'minority' positions in having two or more brothers or sisters who did not go to grammar school. And if we take into account ~~central~~ secondary (technical) and commercial schools there were only two boys, Ivor Gledhill and Neil Ripon, in minority position. When we discuss children who have not gone to grammar school, then, the average ~~boy or girl~~ child on our central sample will either be an only ~~child~~ one or have one brother or sister who goes to grammar school, ~~and~~ only a minority will have one or more brothers or sisters who stayed at ~~council~~ secondary modern schools.

Where a boy had a sister who went to ~~council~~ secondary modern school all the members of the family regarded this as a natural state of affairs: there has grown up a feeling that boys are more intelligent in this direction than girls. Their different schools, different jobs and opportunities were all part of being men or women, and there was a decidedly comfortable tone in the way mothers spoke of their daughters who lived just down the road, or on a convenient bus-route. 'No, she never went. I don't think she was as clever as Leslie, and I don't think I was right bothered whether she went or not, somehow. I mean, with her being a girl and Leslie being a boy and the oldest, I think I was sort of more bothered that he should go. She wasn't bothered herself.

She thought it was real that Leslie went, and she had a brother at high school, but she didn't want to go. She always wanted to go into a shop and that's what she did.' - So thus Mrs Keith, who lived on a council estate, almost next door to her daughter; a situation which had been reached by several dextrous transfers from estate to estate. Most of the sisters were younger, and it almost seemed as if the family's ambition had spent itself with the success of an older boy at grammar school. In four of these families an age-gap of seven years or more between a brother and sister further increased the non-educational gap. Yet, if there was no tension here, or feeling of loss of intimacy, there was a definite separation of the grammar school child from the close family group, a feeling that whenever the son returned from Newcastle or Leicester for a short visit he was never in the quick of family life, the life of mother and daughter. Some such exclusion was inevitable, in the normal pattern of working class life: the son's education perhaps carried this further, but went largely unnoticed when it was superimposed on the accepted uneven growth of family bonds.

Where two brothers or two sisters received different forms of education, and where a girl was educated but her brother refused to take an interest in a more academic course, the contrasts between children in the same family were brought much more into the open. Relatives could no longer remain unaware of a lack of warmth or freedom and intimacy among themselves. They accomodated their views of normal family life and the growth of personality to account for what they felt around them.

Jean Ash was the only girl whose sister remained at council school. Her family is in one sense atypical; but, in the acuteness of her discomfort and her feelings of loss and abnormality, she became articulate in a way which alerted us to many of the slighter hints we received from families with more closed ranks. Precisely <u>because</u> her family situation was so unusual, she experienced in her relationship with her sister a much more intense form of the same discomfort that she felt with many of her day-to-day working class acquaintances. And her separation from her family and the life of which they were part made it easier for her to talk about them,

even though she still complained of feeling disloyal.

Her sister, Margaret, was two years older, and when she was born the family were living with Jean's grandparents. Jean's mother and father still lived near these grandparents in back-to-back houses on the same passage-way. During the early years the two sisters were close playmates; and they played together with the many other children nearby, went to parties together, and slept in the same bed at night. Jean felt very keenly the separation when Margaret had to go to school when she was five, and two years later when her turn came to go to the same school she was again disappointed to find herself in a different class. But it was the same school and they still had friends in common, mostly Margaret's friends for she was always the leader. When the scholarship examination came Margaret was away ill: Mrs Ash said, 'I don't think she'd have passed. She's not the type.' Jean, when her turn came, passed out top and went to Ash Grange, leaving Margaret behind with only one year further at school to do before she left school.

They no longer had school matters to talk about: Jean was reluctant to talk about Ash Grange at home in case she was thought uppish, and she seldom brought her few Ash Grange friends home because they lived in other parts of the town. Her sister's friends visited regularly, but Jean did not know them now. Margaret went to work in a shop. 'She started going out with boys a lot sooner. She was working, you see,' said Mrs Ash, 'And you do when you're working. Jean didn't really start going anywhere until she was seventeen.' To Jean, 'She was always two years older, but just then she seemed to shoot away from me. Whilst I, well I was still a schoolgirl. She did seem very old. She was older really at fourteen when she left school than I was when I was eighteen. She was much more adventurous. She'd come home and say, "I'm <u>going</u> to do something," whereas I'd say, "<u>Can</u> I do so and so."'

The sisters see each other once or twice a week, but this does not indicate any close sisterly feelings as much as an empty formality. 'We've just got nothing in common. When I go round to see her I've got to <u>think</u> of things to say to her. It's a bit better now we've both got married because we've got household things to talk about. Perhaps when we have some children that'll bring

us closer together.' Jean's mother said, 'They're as different as chalk and cheese.'

By chance this was one of the very early interviews, and although it informed our discussion with the other children on the survey we never found again such a clean division between two close relatives. Perhaps the nearest was this, another family which was unusual from a statistical point of view, yet which again represents a clash between grammar school education and a traditional family pattern. Joyce Teasdale went to university after her elder brother and constant companion had died after taking his School Certificate. A younger brother took no interest in grammar school, and he had formed quite a different set of friendships which never linked with the grammar school organisations which the two older children had joined. Joyce said, 'No, I never have any conversation with him now. He's a very difficult person to talk to. He never answers you. He just says yes or no. You can't have a conversation with him, it's like talking to a brick wall.'

Several parents, faced with these very obvious differences between their children, seized upon the phrase which Mrs Ash had used, 'As different as chalk and cheese.' Or, if they had sent both their children to grammar school, they would say they had done it because, 'We didn't want to make flesh o'one and fowl o't'other.' And yet scarcely anywhere did we find that parents thought education had so deeply changed their children, and made them strangers. The differences were so bold, so fixed and final that it seemed to parents that they had always been there, inborn, clearly visible from an early age. Investigating at a fixed point in time as we were, it would be rash to say that what parents see in their children now is the result of educational separation and moulding. The whole grammar school system is designed on the assumption that children fall easily into 'types', and parents too tended to classify their children into 'grammar school types' and 'not the type.' All we can do is report such suggestive family histories as those of Jean Ash and Joyce Teasdale. There were also discrepancies between the views of close relatives on these matters, discrepancies which hint that the 'chalk' and 'cheese' may not always have been quite so clearly distinguishable. What, for instance, are we to make of the conflicting views of Mr and Mrs Spencer talking about

their two sons, Jeffrey the eldest who had failed but later took his Higher National Certificate at the Technical College, and Harold who passed for grammar school but failed to gain university entrance? Mr Spencer said,'I don't know why he failed to this day. He passed all right when he was thirteen, and we thought he'd have passed when he eleven - the teachers thought he'd pass.' While Mrs Spencer thought, 'You could always see it, even when they were little at home, when they were sitting by the fire. There'd be Harold reading a book at one side, and Jeffrey at the other doing something. He was always better with his hands than with his head, if you understand what I mean. We've always encouraged him to do things about the house.'

And children who have been through the scholarship selection themselves, and, as we reported in the section on primary schooling, wholeheartedly support the examination, were more prone to make the clear distinction than their parents, although they toned down the ~~rather savage~~ descriptions of 'thick' people who had failed the scholarship when they came to speak of their own brothers and sisters. Ronald Turnbull found himself completely unable to cope with the question on what would have happened if he had failed the scholarship examination, and his twin sister (who failed) had just passed. He thought the idea quite absurd, 'Oh no, she wasn't the type. She didn't want to learn things.' Yet he himself had not wanted to learn, he said, until he was half way through the sixth form at grammar school; and Mrs Turnbull sketched in a few details that Ronald had either forgotten or been unaware of in his different grammar school world. 'Our Pat could never pass a public exam. She could always get 100% in any other exams, but when it came to the real thing she always flopped. She was top girl at Mill Cross for two years, and the teachers there couldn't understand why it was she hadn't got through.'

The way in which these brothers and sisters 'weren't the type' to pass for grammar school reflected badly on grammar school selection methods or on grammar school education itself, according to whether one looks at these differences as inborn or the result of moulding. The qualities which grammar school children were said to lack, in contrast to brothers and sisters who did not go to grammar school, were 'maturity' and independence, perhaps

sociability, ~~and occasionally sheer brilliance.~~ Robert Marsland's elder brother had failed at a little church school - Robert himself had benefited from this failure by being transferred to a better primary school. 'Apparently he was one of the intelligent ones, and they told him he ought to have passed. He's totally different from me. It's difficult to say what he was like earlier on, with such a big difference you see, four or five years, but he's a lot rougher than me, and he was old for his age. He's very big, seventeen stone now, six feet. And I was very young for my age. I asked someone how old they thought I was and they said 22,the other day.' He is 27, and contrasted very sharply with the photograph of his elder brother, a huge, pugilistic-looking man, with a very square face and a small, pointed hard jaw with a dimple at the end. The brother had been a professional Rugby League player.

The minds of these brothers and sisters might now be closed to much that was available to a grammar school child; but as a compensation they frequently had a confidence and assurance in everyday contacts, and an undivided sense of purpose in their work which led them to a limited success, precisely because their field of success was ~~limited and~~ bounded but well-defined, And their concept of the good life was not ~~bedevilled~~ overwhelmed by visions of "getting-on" ~~and~~ or the grammar school child's knowledge of limits and unattainable areas of power. '~~Education did cause a bit of difference at first, but you see he's got married now. He got married when he was 23, and everything's all right.~~' And marriage, rather than hardening the lines of division between children, perhaps provided them with a clearer placing of one another within society, and allowed the grammar school child to see a brother or sister as part of his parents' world rather than a failure in his own.

Family Contacts.

We can do little to measure this estrangement within the family quantitatively. Statistics of family visiting provide a guide only in exceptional circumstances, and the fact that Jean Ash saw her sister so often indicates only the strength of tradition in the Ash family, and Jean's pliant nature. Occasionally they are direct pointers : Ivor Giedhill's relatives told us to'tell him we still live here,'; and he said, 'What's my brother doing now? I'm afraid I don't really know. He lives somewhere near

Marburton, and I haven't seen him for a long time, oh, about eighteen months. Somehow I never seem to have the inclination to go and see him. I'll have to stir myself and go to see him sometime.' But the main factor in family visiting was distance. Here the different groups of children show up very distinctly: over two thirds of the children on the central sample had left the district, and more were preparing to leave; but only one in four of the other brothers and sisters who had gone to grammar school had gone away, and all but two of the ~~council~~ secondary modern school children still remained in the district. A normal pattern of visiting for the grammar school children on the central sample might be to see a brother or sister only three or four times a year under these circumstances, a fact which was no definite indication of coolness between relatives.

The main clues to family cohesion were to be looked for in less tangible matters, in accent and tone in speaking of relatives, or the standards which the grammar school child applied to "success". Mrs Lynch spoke of her two sons planning together. 'I've laughed and laughed to hear him and Derek talking. They talk for hours and hours, and it's all about money, how they can make more money. It's really amusing sometimes. Geoffrey says to Derek, "I hear they're doing very well at Blackpool with the hot dogs." They're prepared to do anything.' ~~There was a warmth of feeling and lack of any sign of tension in the way the brothers spoke of one another, yet the demands of their work and education kept them apart so much that they were lucky to meet [illegible] at all.~~

The sense of loss and separation was least in the sunken middle class families, where children took grammar school almost as a birth right, or in ~~these~~ some families where the parents were solidly behind their children's education. Under these conditions warm family ties could be maintained over long periods of separation. Where the parents have succeeded in crossing into the 'upper working class' (or 'middle class' as they might prefer to call it), the grammar school child is likely to feel a common sympathy with a brother or sister, who probably went to grammar school. But parents who ~~have perhaps little interest in~~ are may will education form with a ~~council school~~ secondary modern child a closed group which gives the grammar school child ~~an uneasy feeling~~ his dulled sense of exclusion.

Brothers and Sisters.

1. Start with P. 11. 2nd. Paragraph + follow with example of Jean + Margaret Ash. P. 11— 13 (end of 2nd. paragraph).
2. Make your point more with sub-heading 'Estrangement'. I think your reporting contains fine material, but lacks direction - + the end product is boring!
3. Next state your statistics in the clearest possible manner + make them interesting.
4. Avoid ~~long~~ too many proper names (they become confusing) and aim to give the impression of selecting typical evidence rather than of including everything.
5. Give paragraph 3 (pages 1-2) as a valuable report of the technique + nature of interviewing.
6. Summarise paragraph 2 on page five. Pp. 7- 10 are interesting + boring.
7. 5 pages needed at most —— cut out such bewildering statistics as occur at beginning of Section entitled 'estrangement' (P. 10). Why not leave tables to speak for themselves.

Table.....

Chapter VI

Brothers and Sisters of Early Leavers.

Class of family	Brothers	Sisters	Ash Gr.	H. Ct	Ab.	UorTC
II						
3	1	2	2		1	1
III clerical						
1	-	-				
III Manual						
7	6	12	1	3	-	
IV						
1	1	1	-	-	-	
Totals	8	14	3	3	1	1

Notes

1) The three schools listed above were the only schools attended by any of the brothers and sisters who passed the scholarship.

2) Average size of girls' families = 2.25(all girls)
Average size of boys' families = 3.125 (girls:boys =1.125:2)
The size of the boys' families is brought up by one family of ten children; otherwise, the remaining families are the same size as those of the girls, ~~and~~ there are four only children.

Table.....

Chapter VI

Parent interested in education

Class of family		Mother	Father	Both
Boy	Girl			
II				
1		For	Against	
	1	For	Indifferent	
	1	For	* Strongly for	
III clerical				
1		* Strongly for	For	
III manual				
	2	For	Against	
1		For	Against	
3		For	Indifferent	
1		For	For	For
IV				
1		For	For	For

* leading parent

Table.....

Chapter VI

Children's school careers.

	Boys	Girls
Expelled	1	
Left before 16	3	1
Left after school cert/GCE	4	2
Took GCE Advanced		1
Behaviour problems	4 (all Railway St)	
'A' stream	4	3
'B' stream	3	
'C' stream	5	
Unknown		1

Table 1

Girls passing Higher School Certificate or G.C.E. at 'A' level : 1946-54

(1) Ash Grange High School

	1946	1947	1948	1949
Girls who passed.	19	19	16	17
Girls on working class sample.	2	3	3	5

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Girls passing.	16	14	15	14	15
Girls on sample.	5	3	3	2	2

	Totals	Per cent
Girls passing	145	100%
Girls on sample.	27	19%*

* Note This does not mean that only 19% were manual workers' children.

Table 2

Girls passing Higher School Certificate or G.C.E. at 'A' Level : 1946-54

(2) Thorpe Manor Grammar School

	1946	1947	1948	1949
Girls who passed.	8	4	1	3
Girls on working class sample.	0	2	0	2

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
Girls passing.	7	6	5	6	3
Girls on sample.	2	2	2	1	1

	Totals	Per cent
Girls passing.	43	100%
Girls on smple.	12	28%

Table 3

Boys passing H.S.C. or G.C.E. at 'A' level : 1949-52

(1) Marburton College

	1949	1950	1951	1952
No. of boys passing.	29	26	20	24
No. on working class sample.	11	8	8	6

	Totals	Per cent.
Boys passing.	99	100%
On sample.	33	33%

Table 4

Boys passing H.S.C. or G.C.E. at 'A' level : 1949-52

(2) Thorpe Manor Grammar School

	1949	1950	1951	1952
No. of boys passing.	1	3	4	5
No. on working class sample.	0	1	3	2

	Totals	Per cent.
Boys passing.	13	100%
On sample.	6	45%

Table 5

Boys passing H.S.C. or G.C.E. at 'A' level : 1949-52

(3) Abbeyford Grammar School for Boys

	1949	1950	1951	1952
No. of boys passing.	10	11	0	13
No. on working class sample.	4	3	0	3

	Totals	Per cent.
Boys passing.	34	100%
On sample.	10	29%

Table 7

Table of Boys Excluded from the Central Sample according to school and disqualification.

Reason excluded	Thorpe Mnr.	Abbeyford	Marburton C.
Pupil dead.	0	1	1
Occupation of father : clerical.	3	20	55
Late arrival in district.	2	0	1
Parents dead.	1	1	1
Parents away.	0	1	1
Pupils abroad.	1	0	3
Relatives and selves.	0	0	3
Total pupils not eligible.	7	23	65

Note :

This is a table of progressive exclusion. Some pupils might fall into more than one section. Here they are recorded only once.

Table 8

Table of Girls Excluded from the Central Sample according to school and disqualification.

Reason Excluded	Ash Grange	Thorpe Mnr.
Pupil dead.	1	0
Occupation of father : clerical.	109	26
Attended Private School. (father's occupation : manual).	1	0
Late arrival in district.	0	1
Parents dead.	1	1
Parents away.	3	2
Pupils abroad.	0	1
Total pupils not eligible.	115	31

Note :

As with Table 7 this is a record of progressive exclusion.

Table 9

Table showing percentage of children of manual workers.

(1) Boys

Father's Occupation	Thorpe Mnr.	Abbeyford	Marburton C.
Clerical	3	20	57
Manual	8	11	42
Unknown	2	3	0
Totals	13	34	99
Percentage manual workers :			
Minimum	60%	32%	42%
Maximum	75%	42%	42%

Totals :

Clerical	80
Manual	61
Unknown	5
Total	146
Minimum %	42%
Maximum %	45%

Note : This is a table of all boys appearing on the H.S.C. or G.C.E. 'A' level pass list.

Table 10

Table showing percentage of children of manual workers.

(2) Girls

Father's Occupation	Thorpe Mnr.	Ash Grange
Clerical	26	109
Manual	16	33
Unknown	1	3
Totals	43	145
Percentage manual workers :		
Minimum	37	23
Maximum	40	25

Totals :

Clerical	135
Manual	49
Unknown	4
Total	188
Minimum %	26%
Maximum %	28%

Note :

This is a table of all girls appearing on the H.S.C. or G.C.E. 'A' level pass list.

Table 11

Total Numbers and the Percentage Figures for the Central Sample.

(1) Boys

Total passing.	146	100%
On sample.	51	35%

(2) Girls

Total passing.	188	100%
On sample.	41	22%

Totals

Boys & Girls passing.	334	100%
On sample.	92	28%

Table 14

The "C" Stream at Ash Grange

Composition by social class (top line manual, bottom clerical), as a percentage of children of that class entering the school at 11.

29	30	31	32	34	35	Total
23-28	33-46	41-57	18-24	22-35	22-35	25-38
15-20	21-37	16-26	15-20	5-18	8-18	12-22

Or, in words, out of the children of different classes entering Ash Grange between the years of 1940 and 1945, 25-38% of the manual workers' children finish up in the "C" stream, and 12-22% of the clerical workers' children.

Boys

Marburton College	Abbeyford	Thorpe Manor	
27	9	2	on sample
39	10	2	passed

Girls

Ash Grange	Thorpe Manor	
74	10	passed
52	7	on sample

First Pilot

Boys

We took two boys from Marburton College, one from the year 1952 and one from the year 1949.
We took one boy from Abbeyford in 1949

Girls

One from 1952 and one from 1949 at Ash Grange
One from 1952 at Thorpe Manor.

Second Pilot

We still require another boys interview each, from MC and A, owing to the inadequacy of our original grading. Therefore I propose to take two more boys from the College, and only one from Abbeyford, sincke this will give us a final ratio of three College interviews to one Abbeyford interview - an equal proportion to the number of pupils from each school.

Similarly for the girls : Ash Grange has such an overwhelming proportion of middle-class girls that I feel that the middle class sub sample would do better to cover this more thoroughly. Therefore I propose to take two more Ash Grange girls at this stage, and no more Thorpe Manor girls.

Proposed Extension of the Middle class sample.

Boys One from Thorpe Manor, two from Abbeyford, two from Marburton.

Girls Three from Ash Grange, two from Thorpe Manor.

Statistics from the 1951 Census tables

Education

These are difficult to work with and liable to be inaccurate in some respects(the census takers warn against some inaccuracies). Check these before use in book!

Tables of leaving age of children.

	17-19	20-24	25+
Average WR	7	6	4
Marburton	13	8	6
Harrogate	12	13	12
Rotherham (e.g.)	5	4	3
Rural districts	4	6	4

(Note : Harrogate, etc included for comparison to show very wide variations in educational opportunity and esteem)

Proportion of persons still at school (%)

15-19	14.4	12.5	14.8	14.8
20-24	3.8	1.4	3.6	1.8
	West Riding boys	girls	Great Brit.boys	girls

Census comments on the low proportion of girls who stay on at school and also suggests that the proportion of boys is low.

Doncaster ,York, Keighley, Wakefield, and Marburton are picked out for special mention as places where the % of children stopping on is higher than the average (Marburton 15% still at school 15-19 age)

Statistics from the 1951 Census tables

Social classes (1 to V) by occupation :

Average for G.B.	33	150	527	162	128	
West Riding Conurbn.	22	127	539	187	125	
Huddersfield	28	135	559	163	115	
or	1,299	6,293	26111	7,611	5,360	total 46,674

(figures per thousand - the census-takers note the striking variations in classl, singling out such districts as Harrogate, Ilkley, and Otley for special mention. In comparison with Bradford, Leeds etc, Huddersfield is less rich in the higher social grades, but stands out strkingly amongst the company of Rotherham, Barnsley etc. Also, the industry of the district tends to fall more in class lll, since there are more processing workers, and fewer extractive workers than elsewhere on the Yorkshire coalfield.)

Class lll can be split roughly into manual and non-manual so that the whole population can be divided according to our division for the working class sample (the figures are not exact since we ~~have included some "own account" workers,~~ excluded more business owners who employed fewer than ten men. The latter will cause a slight discrepancy, making the Registrar General's figures show more working class population than our definition would allow).
The figures are obtained from the Registrar General's occupation tables, coupled with his scale of 1 to 11 different grades(Table 1). On this table Class lll was split into catagories below 7 - i.e. clerical workers - and all the totals were added to produce a lll non-manual class from the complete table of occupations for Huddersfield(Table 20).(Numbers excluded as non-manual were : 676,691,693,703,704,715,710-9,741,749,754,755,778,849,890,891,892, 894,974,974) There were no grade 2 class lll workers.

Non-manual, classlll Maximum = 2949 Minimum = 2608
(the discrepancy occurs because some sets of numbers are grouped together in table 20 including, possibly class ll and class lll non-m.)

So class lll gives : total 26,lll of which 23,162 to 23,503 manual.

Therefore ratio of non-manual to manual(approximately on our scale) is :

10,541 to 36,133 or 2.93 : 10
or 10,200 to 36,474 or 2.83 : 10

% manual workers of all grades is 77% to 79%

Table 12

Some Ash Grange Entrance Statistics.

Total entry from local primary and private schools = ~~278~~ 651 (from '29 to '

Manual workers	278	42.5%
Doubtful	63	9.7%
Clerical	310	47.8%
	651	

Therefore Ash Grange takes in during those years 42.5 to 52.2%

manual workers children.

For the separate years:

29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
35-38	37-50	40-55	42-50	48-6&	45-57	45-50	43-51

Chief feeding schools (%manual workers children)

Hillhouse	75	(45-56%)
Birkby	60	(40-50%)
Moldgreen	54	(42.5-54%)
Oakes	51	(37-45%)
Paddock	38	(53-71%)
Crosland Mr	35	(43-54%)
Private sch	32	(3%)
Stile C	30	(33-40%)
Mt Pleasant	33	(45-58%)

Table 13

Form V - "C" Stream

Ash Grange Leavers (a rough estimate of the girls who leave from the lowest form, the "general", "commercial", or "C" stream. One or two of these girls may have gone on into the sixth)

The figures are complicated a little by the inclusion of the German scholars, in some years(possibly all). This was lumped together with the"commercial"course for practical reasons of space, and there was no way of telling to which portion of the form a clerical worker's child belonged. It seems reasonable to assume that the German course had a higher proportion of clerical workers' daughters than the commercial course; so that taken as a whole these figures are on the low side, if we wish to determine grammar school "rejects".

	29	30	31	32	33	34	Average
Man%	38	40	61	44.5	67	65	54
?%	15	25	13	11	22	17.5	17.5
Cl.%	47	35	26	44.5	11	17.5	28.5
Tot.	13	20	23	18	18	23	115

Note The figures of ~~girls~~ university and training college entry are not sufficiently reliable for any analysis to be worthwhile.

The following is an appendix from the first edition of *Education and the Working Class*, that outlines the demographics of the sample. It also includes the operational definitions Marsden and Jackson used for "Working class" and "Middle class" occupations.

This appendix was not included in subsequent editions of *Education and the Working Class.*

Brian Jackson, Dennis Marsden (1962) *Education and the Working Class: some themes raised by a study of 88 working-class children in a northern industrial city*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul): 250-262.

Appendix 2

ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table IX

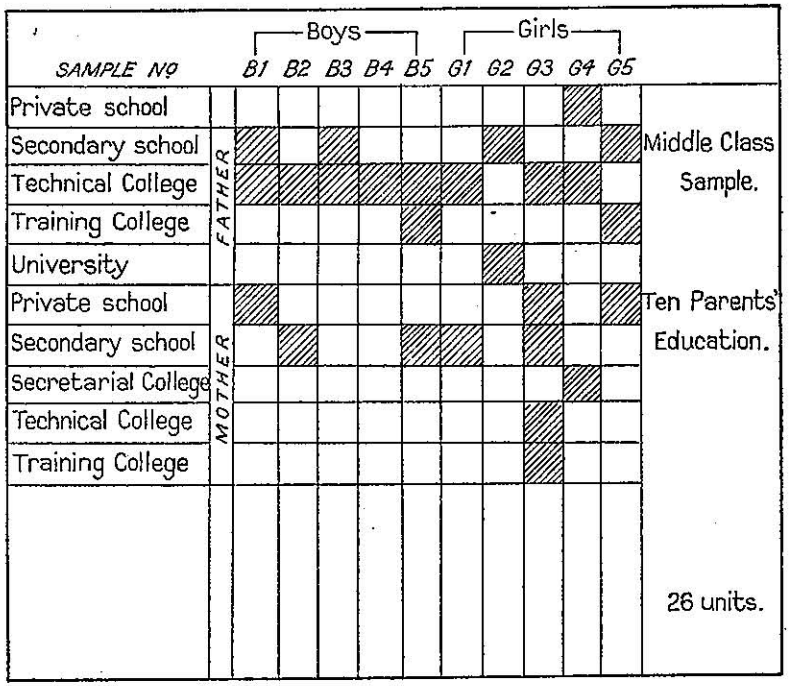

Table X

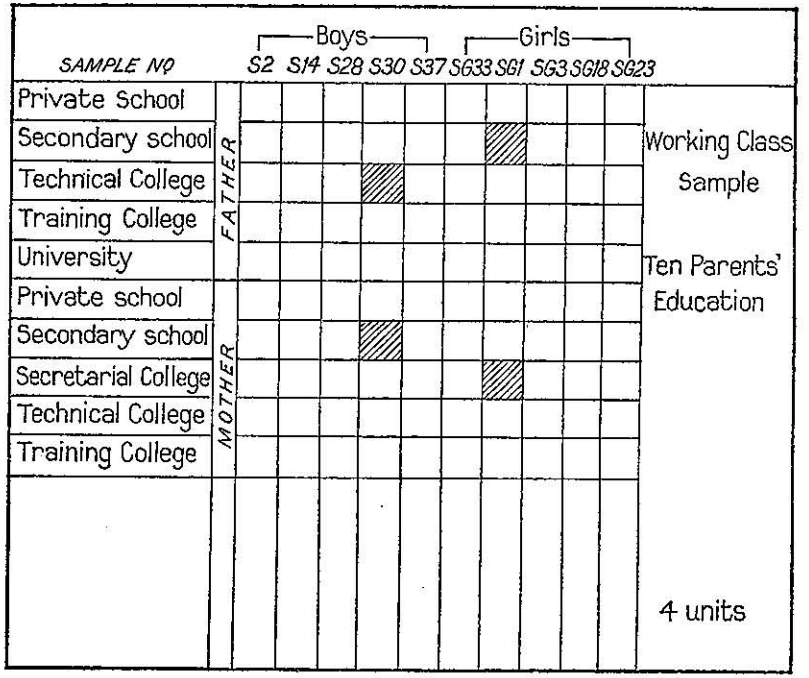

Table XI

Social Class of Children Passing A level 1949-52

	Second Class Grammar Schools	*First Class Grammar Schools*
Higher Professional	6%	14%
Lower Professional	27%	37%
Clerical	25%	13%
Skilled	34%	28%
Semi-skilled	3%	6%
Unskilled	5%	2%
Total %	100%	100%
Number	64	161

Appendix

Table XII

The Fifth Form 'C' Stream at Ash Grange

	Year of Birth						*Average*
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Manual	38	40	61	44·5	67	65	54
Doubtful	15	25	13	11	22	17·5	17·5
Clerical	47	35	26	44·5	11	17·5	28·5
Total %	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Number	13	20	23	18	18	23	115

Notes: (a) This estimate is necessarily rough since it is compiled from school records not designed for sociological analysis. In assigning girls to the class of doubtful occupations, we have been most stringent with those children who might be manual workers' daughters. Probably most of the doubtful families were working class.

(b) The figures are complicated by changes in the naming of the 'C' stream, and subdivision of the classes into 'German' and 'General'. This is too difficult to follow statistically, but it looked as though there was a further concentration of manual workers' children in the 'General' section of the 'C' stream.

Table XIII

Percentage of Manual Workers' Children Leaving from the 'C' Stream
(as a proportion of manual workers' children entering the school)

	Year of Birth						*Total*
	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Manual	23–28	33–46	41–57	18–24	22–35	22–35	25–38
Clerical	15–20	21–37	16–26	15–20	5–18	8–18	12–22

Notes: The same limitations apply to this table as to Table XII.

In words, out of the children of different classes entering Ash Grange between 1940 and 1945, 25 to 38% of the manual workers' children finish in the 'C' stream, with 12 to 22% of the clerical workers' children.

There was no reliable record of how many girls subsequently went to training college. The school records gave only one manual workers' daughter, but this is probably on the low side.

Appendix

Chapter 3

Table XIV

Occupation of 86 Working-class Fathers

Occupation	*Working-class population of Marburton*	*Sample*
	%	%
Skilled	64	78
Semi-skilled	21	17
Unskilled	15	5
Total	100	100

Table XV

Success of Siblings in passing the Selection Examination

(i) 20 families in which a parent had had secondary education

No. of siblings to grammar school etc.	*No. of siblings to secondary modern*
20	3

(ii) 16 families in which a parent had been unable to take up a secondary school award

No. of siblings to grammar school etc.	*No. of siblings to secondary modern*
14	3

(iii) 50 families in which neither parent had passed a secondary selection examination

No. of siblings to grammar school etc	*No. of siblings to secondary modern*
27	20

TABLE XVI

PARENTS' POLITICS AND HOME OWNERSHIP

(main sample)

	Conservative	*Liberal*	*Labour*
	%	%	%
Tenants	21	11	68
Owners	41	16	39

Chapter 4

Table XVII

Grammar School Streaming: main sample

	Boys	*Girls*	*TOTAL*
A Stream	33	33	75%
B Stream	8	4	14%
C Stream	2	0	2%
Unstreamed or unknown	6	2	9%
	49	39	100%

TABLE XVIII

DISTRIBUTION BETWEEN ARTS AND SCIENCE SIXTHS

(main sample)

	Marburton sample	*Oxford sample* *
	%	%
Arts	47	44·8
Science	48	49·4
Mixed	5	5·8
Per cent	100	100
Nos.	88	2,822

* calculated from *Arts & Science Sides in the Sixth Form*

Chapter 5

TABLE XIX

SOCIAL CLASS OF 88 FORMER WORKING-CLASS CHILDREN

I.	15
II.	67
III.	5
unclassified	1
Total Nos.	88

TABLE XX

PROFESSIONS OF 88 FORMER WORKING-CLASS CHILDREN

Teaching	46
Industrial Management	7
Industrial Research	11
Civil Service	7
Medicine	2
Church	3
Military or police	3
Others	9

TABLE XXI

CONTACTS OF 84 FORMER WORKING-CLASS CHILDREN WITH THEIR PARENTS

	Men	*Women*	*Both*
	%	%	%
Daily	18	27	21
At least twice a week	7	10	9
Weekly	7	13	10
Monthly	22	24	22
3 Monthly	20	16	18
6 Monthly	25	10	19
Annually	1	nil	1
Total %	100	100	100
Total Nos.	46	38	84

TABLE XXII

EDUCATION OF BOYS' AND GIRLS' BROTHERS AND SISTERS
(Main sample)

Type of School	*Boys*		*Girls*		*All* %
	Brothers	*Sisters*	*Brothers*	*Sisters*	
Secondary modern	6	13	3	1	27
Fee-paying 'commercial'	5	1	1	2	11
Secondary technical	4	3	0	2	11
Grammar school	15	11	9	9	51
Totals	30	28	13	14	85=100
Sixth form	5	2	3	4	16
University	1	0	2	1	7

TABLE XXIII

NUMBER OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS
(main sample)

	Boys	*Girls*	*Both* %
Only child	13	21	38
One sibling	22	10*	36
Two siblings	8	5	18
Three siblings	5	3*	7
Four siblings	1	0	1
Totals	49	39	100
Total brothers	30	13	43
Total sisters	28	14	42
	58	27	85
Size of family **	2·2 average	1·7 average	1·9 average

* In each of these totals there is a family with two girls on the sample—each girl has been counted separately, so that two families appear twice in these figures.

** The average size of the families in the three groups of manual workers in the Crowther Report 'National Service' survey (vol. 2 p. 125 and 8) ranges from 3·1 to 3·8.

Appendix 1.

TABLE XXIV

OCCUPATION OF PARENTS

Railway Street 1943		*Former social class (children at Primary school)*
Class II	1	III manual
Class III		
clerical	1	
own acct.	1	
manual	2	
Total	5	
Carthorpe		
Class II	2	III clerical and III manual
Class III		
manual	4	
Class IV	1	
Total	7	

TABLE XXV

SOCIAL CLASS OF GRANDPARENTS

Parents' Class	
II (total 3)	
Both sets of G/p class II	1
Mother's parents class II	1
Both sets of G/p manual	1
	3
Clerical	
III (total 1)	
Both sets of G/p class II	1
III (manual—7)	
Both sets of G/p class II	1
Mother's parents only class II	1
Grandparents all manual	5
IV (total 1)	
Both sets of G/p manual	1

TABLE XXVI

PARENTS' EDUCATION

Selective school	
Class II (total 3)	
Both parents	1
Neither	2
Class III clerical (total 1)	
Both parents	1
manual (total 7)	
Neither	7
Class IV (total 1)	
Neither	1
Passed scholarship, but not allowed to go:	
Class III Manual (total 7)	
Both parents	1
Neither	6
Class IV (total 1)	
Father	1

TABLE XXVII

SOCIAL CLASS OF EARLY LEAVERS

Parents' Class	*Child*
Railway Street	
II	III clerical
III clerical	II managerial
III manual	Two are III clerical (one girl)
	One is IIIe own account
Carthorpe	
II	Both girls II, teachers
III (4)	A girl IIIc
	A boy II
	A boy IIIc
	A boy IIIe
IV	A boy IIIe

TABLE XXVIII

POLITICAL VIEWS OF EARLY LEAVERS' FAMILIES

Father /mother (No. of families)	*Children's political views*
II	
Labour/Labour	Conservative
Liberal/Liberal	Not seen
Non-voter/Liberal	Liberal (doesn't usually vote)
III clerical	
Conservative/Conservative	Conservative
III manual	
Labour/Labour (3)	Communist/Labour
	Labour
	Liberal/Conservative
Unknown/Labour	Labour
Labour/Liberal	Labour
Conservative/Conservative	Conservative
Unknown/Unknown	Not seen
IV	
Non-voter/unknown	Labour tendencies

Parents:	Labour 10	Liberal 14	Conservative 4	Unknown 6
Children:	Labour 5	Liberal 1	Conservative 1	Unknown 2

THE DEFINITION OF 'WORKING CLASS' FOR THE SAMPLE

The problem was how to use the Registrar General's Classification of Occupations to give a sample of occupations which most nearly fitted the social facts of the Marburton area. The problem lies nearly all within the range of the class III.

Broadly speaking we were trying to cut down on the number of people who might be doing clerical jobs, and who lived in middle-class districts on a low income—people who have never worked with their hands at a trade.

At the same time, we wanted to exclude those working men who owned businesses (as opposed to the men who were self-employed at a trade).

Shop and business owners are the main cause of confusion in this classification so that this is the code we adopted:

Those included in our sample

(1) Owners of businesses which do not sell retail goods, nor employ people, whether other members of the family or not.

(2) Firemen.

(3) Unqualified nurses.

(4) Part owners of businesses employing nobody else (not retail).

Those excluded

(1) Owners of small *retail* businesses, regardless of size. (e.g. chip shop owners, coal merchants, mixed shops).

(2) All owners of businesses employing workmen. This is a departure from the R.G.C.O., which would include employers of fewer than ten men with manual workers.

Procedure for drawing the main 'working class' sample

(1) We visited all the grammar schools and picked out from the Higher School for 1946 to 1954 certificate or G.C.E. pass lists all those children with a H.S.C. pass in any form or its 'equivalent'. Equivalents taken were 3 passes in G.C.E. 'A' level, two 'A' level passes with two 'O' level passes, or two 'A' level passes and one good scholarship pass. This was necessary to allow for mathematics specialists who often only took two 'A' level subjects. We only used the boys results for 1949 to 1952.

(2) All the parents occupations on the school records were classified according to the Registrar General's Classification of Occupations, using the descriptions provided by the parents. These were some inadequate descriptions:

(a) Clerks, cashiers, civil servants, were all assigned to 890, "other clerks", in the absence of any further information. This gives them a grading of IIIc which may be incorrect in some cases. The number involved here is four cashiers, ten clerks, four civil servants and three secretaries.

(b) All parents describing themselves as "small business owners' "master tradesmen", "painter and decorator", "engineer", "electrical/refrigeration engineer", "cobbler", etc. were visited.

(c) All parents with manual occupations, skilled or unskilled, were visited.

The information from these visits enabled us to assign all the manual workers, 'business owners', and those connected with small business to their class on the Registrar General's Classification.

(d) The remaining shop-assistants, shop managers, shop owners, and works and production managers of various kinds were not visited, but were classified according to the description which they gave on the school records.

(Note: This places reliance on the truth of these records, and in no case were they found to be inaccurate. In the cases where the parent had moved to an occupation of a higher social rating while the child was at school, the *highest* classification was adopted.)

(3) All parents having a social grading of I, II, or IIIc (clerks, shop assistants) were excluded from the working class sample.

In addition, all small business owners falling within class IIIe (except those working by themselves, "own account") were excluded.

(4) This gave us a set of manual workers' children. We further excluded all 'late arrivals' in the district—children who had not at least been to local primary schools—and one girl who had been to private school.

(5) Two pupils had died. Three parents had died and two had moved away. We could not contact four pupils who were abroad throughout the survey. We also excluded ourselves and one relative. This left us with the sample set out in the following table—39 girls and 49 boys.

(6) Two girls refused to see us, and the parents of two boys also refused to be interviewed. We failed to contact two boys and two girls, but they filled in elaborate schedules which we sent by post. These were not satisfactory, but they helped to complete the statistics.

Procedure for drawing the 'middle class' sub-sample

The intention, in drawing the middle class sample, was to provide a set of twenty interviews (ten with children and ten with their parents) with people of a social grading markedly different from the main working class sample.

(1) All parents with occupations rated III or below on the Classification were excluded from the middle class list.

(2) All these master tradesmen who were employers but who could not be definitely placed in classes IIIe or class II (for lack of information as to the size of the business) were excluded from the list. There were three of these, who were known to be employers in their own right, who were not visited during the drawing up of the working class sample.

(3) We had no systematic information about the size of the shops listed. (Some of these had been visited during the check on "small business owners".) We grouped all persons connected with shops

Appendix

Central Sample

(A sample of working-class children drawn from boys (1949–52) and girls (1946–1954) who passed H.S.C. or G.C.E. at 'A' level.)

	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950
No. of girls passing	27	23	17	20	23
No. of boys passing	**	**	**	40	40
Girls on sample	2	5	2	7	7
Boys on sample	**	**	**	15	12
Total passing				60	63
Total on sample				22	20

		1951	1952	1953	1954
Girls passing		20	20	20	18
Boys passing		24	42	**	**
Girls on sample		5	5	3	3
Boys on sample		11	11	**	**
Total passing		44	62		
Total on sample		15	17		

Total girls passing	188:	Total boys passing	146
Girls on sample	39:	Boys on sample	49

together, regarding shop assistants and small shop owners, together with branch managers, as similar to the clerks whom we placed in IIIc and the lower part of group II. Licensees and commercial travellers were also excluded at this stage, owing to similar difficulties in determining the status of individuals in those occupations. We retained coal merchants, thinking that the nature of the business necessarily involved a larger amount of capital equipment. Owners of chemists' shops were retained as being, probably, pharmacists differently described.

(4) We excluded Haulage Contractors (rated IIIe by the Registrar General, but possibly class II on a level with "garage owner.") The engineering aspects of the district were already adequately represented on our list.

The final list contains approximately one third of the passes, and after late arrivals, and pupils at private schools had been excluded there were 38 boys and 58 girls drawn from the same years as the main working class sample. We selected our ten families at random from these: three girls from Ash Grange and one from Thorpe Manor; five boys from Marburton College and one from Abbeyford.

TABLE XXIX

THE EXAMINATION RESULTS OF BOYS ON THE WORKING CLASS SAMPLE (Notes, containing a key to symbols and abbreviations, are at the foot of the table)

Father's Occupation	G.C.E. 'O' Level or School Certificate Results												Total	G.C.E. 'A' Level or Higher School Certificate Results												Total	University, training college examinations, or courses after leaving grammar school	Pupil's Occupation
	Art	General	English Language	English Literature	History	French	Latin	Geography	Chemistry	Physics	Maths	Woodwork		Biology	Mathematics	Physics	Chemistry	Pure Maths	Applied Maths	Geography	English	French	Latin	History	Scholarship papers taken			
Painter and decorator	x		x		x	x									g	g	g								3g	Apprentice engineer, took O.N.C. Very short Technical College courses for seamen	Ship's 3rd Engineer
Cloth finisher		x				x					x									v	g			v	x	g, 2v	London School of Economics, 2nd year—2·2. Finals—2·1.	Civil Service
Skilled engineer			x			x		x						p	p	g	g								2p, 2g	Pharmacy Diploma, 2 years at Bradford Technical College	Pharmacist
Chemical process worker			x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x										x	x		x	x		Leeds U.* English. Failed 3rd and 4th years	Unemployed
Spinner																					v		v	v	x	3v	Cambridge U. (English Exhibition) 1st year—2·2, 2nd year—2·1, 3rd year—2·1	Publishing manager
Cloth finisher			x		x						x										v	g	v		x	g, 2v	Manchester U.* Languages. Finals—2·1. Abandoned M.A. Took Dip.Ed.	Sec. mod. teacher
Cabinet maker			x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x					x		x	x								Civil Service entrance examination	Civil Servant
Worsted spinner			d	c	c	d	d		p	c	d		p, 3c, 4d			v		v	v						x	3v	Cambridge U. (Minor Schol., Maths), 2nd year—1, Finals—2nd, 4th year computers' (1 year) course—pass	Operations research
Presser			c	p	c	p	c		c	c	d		2p, 5c,d		g	g	g							x	3g	Edinburgh U. Philosophy & History. Manchester U., Theology	Curate
Carrier (own account)			p	p	c	d	c		p	c	c		3p, 4c, d								g	v	p	x	p, g, v	Manchester U.* Latin & French. Finals—2·2. Took Dip.Ed.	Primary schoolteacher
Maintenance engineer			c	c	c	c	f		c	c	c		f, 7c							g	p	p		x	2p, g	Civil Service entrance examination	Civil Servant
Electrical fitter			c	c	d	c	d		c	c	d		5c,3d								g	v	v	x	g, 2v	Manchester U.* History. Finals—2·1. Civil Service entrance examination	Civil Servant
Weaver			c	c	c	d	d		c	c	d		5c, 3d			v		v	v					x	3v	Manchester U.* Maths, 1st year—2·1, 2nd year—2·2, 3rd year—3rd	Research in industry
Brass finisher			c	c	d	c	c		c	c	d		6c, 2d								g	v	v	x	g, 2v	Manchester U. History. Finals—2·1. Failed Civil Service entrance exam. Took Dip.Ed.	Grammar school teacher
Railway porter			d	c	c	d	c		c	d	d		4c, 4d			g		g	g					x	3g	Manchester U. Mechanical Engineering. Finals—2·1	Research in industry
Lead burner			x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x										x	x	x	x		Oxford U. History. Took Diploma of Education	Grammar school teacher
Labourer			c	c	c	d	c		c	c	d		6c, 2d								v	g	p	x	p, g, v	Leeds U.* English. Finals—2·2	Primary schoolteacher
Skilled engineer			c	c	d	c	d		d	c	c		5c, 3d											x		Oxford U. History. Finals—3rd	Manager in industry
Skilled engineer	x		x	x	x	x	x			x	x					g		g	g					x	3g	Leeds U. Maths. Finals—pass degree. Took Dip.Ed. some years later	Sec. mod. teacher
Woollen spinner			c	p	p	p	p		d	d	c		4p, 2c, 2d	g		v	v							x	g, 2v	Failed to win scholarship to take up place at Leeds U. Biology	Kenya Police Inspector
Machine operator			c	c	c	c	c		c	c	d		7c, d			p								x	p, 2g	Leeds U. Mining engineering (Coal Board Schol.) Finals—2·2	Mine Planner
Printer			p	p	p	p	p		c	p	c		6p, 2c			f		g	p		f				x	2f, p, g, allowed	Civil Service exam. Abandoned external economics degree after 5 years	Civil Servant
Assistant storekeeper			c	c	c	c	c		c	c	d		7c, d			x		x	x						x		Manchester U.* Civil Engineering. Finals—2·2	Civil Engineer
Carpenter			x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x					x		x	x						x		Sheffield U. (Edgar Allen Scholarship) Maths. Ph.D.	Technical College lecturer
Electrician			c	p	c	d	d		c	c	d		p, 4c, 3d									v	v	g	x	g, 2v	Manchester U. French. Finals—2·2. Took Diploma of Education	Grammar school teacher
Lathesetter			c	f	c	d	c		c	p	c		f, p, 5c,d			p		g	g							p, 2g	Failed O.N.C. in dyeing at Technical College. Training College after gap of 5 years—Diploma of Education	Sec. mod. teacher
Bus-conductor	p		d	c	c	c	c			c	d		p, 5c, 2d								g	g		g	x	3g	Leeds U. English. Finals—2·1. Evening courses O.N.C and H.N.C. in Engineering	Manager in industry
Electrician			x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x					x		x	x						x	allowed	Cambridge U. (Minor Schol. Maths.) 1st year—1, 2nd year—fail, 3rd year—3. London School of Economics Degree course in Economics	Grammar school teacher
Joiner and carpenter			c	c	d	d	d		d	d	d		2c, 6d	g		g	g							x	3g	Leeds U. Medicine. Unclassified degree	Doctor (Air Force)
Tailor's cutter			c	p	d	c	c		c	c	d		p, 5c, 2d			g		g	g					x	3g	Liverpool U. Mechanical Engineering. Finals—2·1	Research in industry
Fireman			d	c	c	d	d		c	d	d		3c, 5d									v	v	g	x	g, 2v	Cambridge U. (Exhibition in Latin and French) 1st year—1, 2nd year—2·1/2·2, 3rd year—3	Primary school teacher
Engine driver			x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x									g	g	g			3g	Abandoned external science degree at the Technical College	R.A.F. interpreter
Engineering inspector			d	d	d	d	d		d	d	d		8d			v	v	v						x	3v	Cambridge U. (Major Schol. in Natural Sciences) 1st year—1, 2nd year—1, 3rd year—2·2. Wells. Theology	Curate
Woollen spinner	p		d	d	c	c	c		c	c	c		p, 6c, 2d								x	x			x		Oxford U. Theology. Rawden Baptist College	Minister
Weaver	x		x	x	x	x			d	x	x			x	x	x									x		External degree in science abandoned	Lab. assistant
Metal turner		x	d	d	c	c	c	c	c	c	d		6c, 3d								g	g			x	2g	Leeds U. French Finals—2·2. Diploma of Education	Grammar school teacher
Diesel engineer			c	f	f	c	c	c	d	d	d		2f, 4c, 3d		g	g	g								x	3g	Leeds U. Chemistry. Finals —2·1. Ph.D.	Technical College lecturer
Skilled engineer	c		p	p	p	c		d	p	p	p		6p, 2c, d							v			p		p, v	Failed to take up place at Training College. Technical college mining course for managers	Shotfirer/deputy
Woollen spinner	p		d	d	c	c		c	c	c			p, 6c, 2d								x	x			x		Oxford U. Theology. Rawden Baptist College	Minister
Weaver	x		x	x	x	x			d	x	x			x	x	x									x		External degree in science abandoned	Lab. assistant
Metal turner		x	d	d	c	c	c	c	c	c	d		6c, 3d								g	g			x	2g	Leeds U. French Finals—2·2. Diploma of Education	Grammar school teacher
Diesel engineer			c	f	f	c	c	c	d	d	d		2f, 4c, 3d		g	g	g								x	3g	Leeds U. Chemistry. Finals —2·1. Ph.D.	Technical College lecturer
Skilled engineer	c		p	p	p	c		d	p	p	p		6p, 2c, d							v			p		p, v	Failed to take up place at Training College. Technical college mining course for managers	Shotfirer/deputy
Fitter			d	c	c	c	c	c	c	c	c		8c, d							g	g	g			x	3g	Leeds U. English Language M.A.	Laundry manager
Painter and decorator			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x								x		Manchester U. Chemistry. Finals—2·1. Ph.D.	Research in industry
Motor mechanic			d	c	x	c	c	x	d	d	d		3c, 4d		g	p	p									2p, g	Manchester U. Maths. Finals—2·2. Diploma of Education. M.Sc.	Technical representative
Lead burner			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x				x	x	x								x		Sheffield U. (Edgar Allan Scholarship) Science. Finals—2·2	Research in industry
Pattern maker			c	d	d	c	c	d	c	c	d		5c, 4d							v		g		g	x	2g, v	Cambridge U. (Exhibition in Geography) Finals—2·1, Leeds U. Dip. Ed. Blackburn Technical College—O.N.C. in engineering abandoned	Time & motion officer
Woollen spinner	d		p	d		c		d	c	c	d		p, 3c, 4d			g	g			g				x	3g	Manchester U. Geology. Final—1. Ph.D.	Spectrographer
Weaver			c	d		c		c	d	d	d	c	4c, 4d		g	v	v								x	g, 2v	Leeds U. Chemistry. Final—1. Ph.D.	Grammar school teacher
Blender	c		p	d	p			c	d	c	c		2p, 4c, 2d		g	g	v								x	2g, v	Leeds U. Chemistry. Finals—2·2	Dyeing chemist
Percher			c	d	c	c			d	c	d	c	5c, 3d		g	g	g									3g	Technical College external chemistry degree abandoned. Leeds U. chemistry degree abandoned after two years	Telephone supervisors selector
Weaver			c	c		p		d	d	d	d	d	p, 2c, 5d		x	x				x					x		Leeds U. Physics. Final—2·1. Ph.D.	University Lecturer
Painter and decorator	c		c	p		p		p	d	d	d		3p, 2c, 3d	p	p	p	p							x	3p, g	Pharmacy Diploma—2 years at Bradford Technical College	Pharmacist

(1) The pupils are divided into five groups, according to the grammar school which they attended. In the three groups on table XXIX, the first group contains 33 boys from Marburton College, the second group 10 boys from Abbeyford grammar school, and the third 6 boys from Thorpe Manor.
On table XXX the first group contains 27 girls from Ash Grange, the second 12 girls from Thorpe Manor.
Within these groups younger pupils come first.

(2) The symbols used for examination results refer to the old School Certificate and Higher School Certificate taken by most of the pupils. Where possible G.C.E. 'A' level percentages have been converted into the 'equivalent' Higher School Certificate standard for purposes of rough comparison.

(3) 'x' indicates that a subject was taken, but the standard of pass was unknown. The girls (table XXX) tended to take more varied courses than the boys, so there we have indicated only the more exceptional, high or low, marks.

(4) 'f' —failed
'p' —pass (30% in School and Higher School Certificates)
'c' 'credit' (50% in School Certificate)
'd' —'distinction' (70% in School Certificate)
'g' —'good' (50% in Higher School Certificate or G.C.E. 'A' level)
'v' 'very good' (70% in the Higher School Certificate or G.C.E. 'A' level)
'2·2'—a 'bottom second class' degree, the lower part of the second class list. This is the most common degree result.
'2·1'—a 'top second class' degree, the upper part of the second class list.

(5) 'U'—university, 'T.C.'—training college, 'Dip. Ed.'—Diploma of Education, 'O.N.C.'—Ordinary National Certificate.

(6) The subject immediately after the name of the university is the pupil's main degree subject. Special scholarships (e.g. Cambridge Open Awards) are printed in brackets.

(7) '*' against a university indicates that the pupil first tried the entrance examinations of Oxford or Cambridge.

(8) The tables show only the main vocational examinations. We give no indication of the multiplicity of single G.C.E. subjects and other evening courses.

Father's Occupation	G.C.E. 'O' level result or School Certificate															Total	G.C.E. 'A' level or Higher School Certificate result															Total	University, training college, examinations or courses after leaving grammar school	Pupil's Occupation
	German	Music	Art	English Language	English Literature	History	French	Latin	Geography	Chemistry	Physics	Mathematics	Biology	Domestic Science			Domestic Science	Biology Botany Zoology	Mathematics	Physics	Chemistry	Pure Maths.	Applied Maths.	Geography	English	French	Latin	History	Scholarship papers taken				
Electrician																							v		g		g			2g, v	Civil Service entrance examination	Civil Servant
Warehouseman					d		d	p	d			d				p, 3c, 4d							v		g		g	x		2g, v	Birmingham U. Geography. Final—2·2. Leeds U.—Dip. Ed.	Grammar school teacher
Card-setting machine tenter						d		d					d			5c, 3d								g	g		v			2g, v	Coventry Training College	Primary teacher
Electrician																								v	g		g	x		2g, v	Liverpool U. Social Studies. Final—2·1 Birmingham Diploma in Social Science	Social worker
Driver						d			d			p	d			p, 5c, 3d	g	v					v							g, 2v	Homerton T.C.	Primary teacher
Blacksmith																															Scarborough T.C.	Primary teacher
Electrician																															Failed Civil Service entrance examination	Draughtsman
Weaving overlooker					d	d										2p, 5c, 2d		p						g			p			2p, g	Gloucester T.C.	Grammar school and Sec. Mod. teacher
Bus driver								f					d			f, 7c, d		g					p	g						p, 2g	Dudley T.C.	Primary teacher
Grinder			p		d		p					p	d	p		4p, 2c, 2d		p						p			p			3p	Bingley T.C.	Primary teacher
Textile worker								p				p				2p, 7c							g		p		p			p, g allowed	Southlands T.C.	
Abrasive wheel maker				d	d	d			d	d		d	d			3c, 7d		v			v							x		2v	Hull U. Chemistry—4 year course abandoned after 1 year	Lab. assistant
Verger													d	p		p, 7c, d		p					g				g			2g	Neville's Cross T.C.	Primary teacher
Warehouseman						d						d	d			6c, 3d		g	g		g							x		3g	London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene. Failed twice. Abandoned degree in economics by correspondence course	Cookery demonstrator
Iron turner										d		d		p		p, 7c, 2d															Failed external degree in pathology after 4 years	Sweet packer
Groundsman					d	d	d					d				4c, 4d							g		p		p			2p, g	Leicester T.C.	Primary teacher
Lorry driver				d		d			d				d			5c, 4d		g			p							x		p, 2g	Sheffield U. medicine, 1st year fail. Sheffield Technical College 1 year London ext. MB. Sheffield U.—pass medical degree	Doctor
Percher																												x			Manchester U.* English Dip. Education	Grammar school teacher
Textile worker					d	d				d		d				5c, 4d		g			g							x		3g	Manchester U. Science Final—3	Grammar school teacher
Scourer																												x				Primary teacher
Bus driver				d					d							6c, 2d							g	p			g			p, 2g	Homerton T.C.	Primary teacher
Skilled engineer							p					p				2p, 6c															Dudley T.C.	Primary teacher
Refrigeration mechanic				p				d	d			d	p	d		p, 3c, 4d							p		p		p	x		3p	Hull U.* Geography, Finals—3 Dip. of Ed.	Grammar school teacher
Weaving overlooker											d	d	d	d		5c, 4d					g	v	v							g, 2v	Westfield T.C., Maths, Final—2·2 Dip. of Ed.	Grammar school teacher
Electrician									d							7c, d															Durham U. English, Final—3 Dip. of Ed.	Grammar school teacher
Card setting machine tenter					d				d			d		d		5c, 4d								p	p		p	x		3p	Civil Service entrance examination	Civil Servant
Plumber				d	d		d	d	d			d				2c, 6d		g										x		g	Birmingham U.* Botany Final—2·2 Abandoned Dip of Ed.	Technical College lecturer
Beamer																															Leeds U. General degree. Dip. of Ed.	Grammar school teacher
Labourer																															Avery Hill T.C.	Sec. Mod. teacher
Mill engineer					d		d					d				5c, 3d												x			Sheffield T.C. Abandoned external degree in French	Primary teacher
Electrician				d	d	d	d	d				d	d			c, 7d								v	v		g	x		g, 2v	Birmingham U. French & Spanish. Final—2·2	Sec. Mod. teacher
Skilled engineer	d			d	d		d	d				d				2c, 6d									g		g	x		3g	Nottingham U. French. Final—2·1, Durham U.—Dip. of Ed.	Grammar school teacher
Felt worker					d											7c, d			g	g	g							x		3g	Manchester U. Natural Science. Failed after 1 year	Nurse
Electrician					d		d					d				5c, 3d								p	p		g			2p, g	Hockerill T.C.	Primary teacher
Caretaker							p	f								f, p, 5c		p					p		p					3p	Darlington T.C.	Primary teacher
Dyer							p	f								f, p, 5c		p						p			p			3p	Leicester T.C.	Primary teacher
Grinder																															T.C.	Primary teacher
Mill overseer						d										7c, d		p						p	p					3p	St. Catherine's T.C.	Primary teacher
Tuner				d	d	d	d		d				d			2c, 6d				g	g	g								3g	Manchester U. Maths.	Grammar school teacher

No detailed information was available about the subjects in which girls got credits in School Certificate

REVIEWS

Social Class and Social Education

Education and the Working Class. B. JACKSON AND D. MARSDEN. *Routledge.* 28*s.*

Ability and Educational Opportunity. Ed. A. H. HALSEY. *O.E.C.D.* 15*s.*

The last ten years have produced an increasing amount of data which conclusively demonstrates that the ideal of equal opportunity expressed by the 1944 Education Act is not reflected in the process of educational selection. The removal of the crude economic barriers to further education could not, of itself, alter the realities of a complex social situation, interwoven at every point with the whole educational fabric. *Social Class and Educational Opportunity*[1] showed by a striking documentation of the workings of the eleven-plus in South-west Hertfordshire and Middlesbrough how greatly technical equality of access to Grammar School education was affected by social class factors. Since 1955 when Floud, Halsey and Martin published the results of their research, there has been further analysis of some of the elements of the broad social class differences which contribute to the unequal chances of the working-class child. Early leaving,[2] language and learning,[3] family size,[4] inherited *vs* environmental aspects of intelligence,[5] family background[6] have all been discussed as social aspects of the selection process which determines educational chances and increasingly life chances. This research has raised doubts about some of the assumptions on which the process of selection rests, although the necessarily piecemeal nature of most of the enquiries has prevented a detailed critical examination of the whole process of educational selection in relation to the social structure.

Two recently published books have now carried the discussion into the wider area of the total educational environment. *Education and the Working Class* by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden provides a vivid profile of the process of selective education at work in the experience of 10 middle class and 88 working class children, a selection of the products of the grammar schools of Marburton, a city surprisingly reminiscent of Huddersfield. (One wonders whether there is really any valid reason for this concealment, particularly in a

piece of research which does not pretend to be representative.) The second book, *Ability and Educational Opportunity*, edited by A. H. Halsey, is a report of a Conference sponsored by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development held in Sweden from June 11th-16th, 1961. The papers which are included with this report are all concerned in different ways with the problems of the selection of ability which must be faced by any country concerned with the maximization of its educational resources. In different, but complementary ways, these two books suggest fundamental questions which must strike at the very heart of the assumptions on which most education in Britain is based; at the structure of educational administration; financing and school organization; at the curriculum; at the compulsory years; at the problem of the early leaver; at the gap between types of school, at the recruitment and training of teachers and the relationship between them and the parents and children. By virtue of their wider scope, incisive and comparative, these books question the usefulness of many of the palliatives that have so far been effected. Is it enough, ask Jackson and Marsden, to open the grammar schools to the working class child if they learn from these schools only the tradition and not the living reality of expanding educational horizons? In commenting on the new conformists who must assert their new status by emphasizing their superiority, they write:

> There is something infinitely pathetic in these former working-class children who lost their roots young, and who now with their rigid middle-class accent preserve the 'stability of our institutions temporal and spiritual' by avariciously reading the lives of Top People, or covet the public schools and glancing back at the society from which they came to see no more there than 'the dim', or 'the specimens' (p. 219).

It may be idealistic but it is surely not idle to question some of the operational assumptions which have become implemented as rigidities in the educational structure. Such 'acts of faith' are of course a necessary beginning to the operation of any educational programme but they should not be allowed to become so much a part of the situation that they are accepted uncritically, as untested, unexamined, unquestioned acts of policy. Most of the working assumptions of education in Britain today derive from highly controversial and far from definitive premises. We do not *know*; our

tools of testing have only a limited use; our methods have a limited value; they cannot and should not become ends in themselves.

The question of ability is the touchstone of this discussion. A number of contributors to the O.E.C.D. Conference made clear the inadequacies of a unitary concept of ability, where in fact what was needed was a view that embraced a 'whole range of human skills and excellencies, literate, numerate, and manual.' Not only is ability something which cannot be treated in the singular only—'the ability to pass examinations'—but also it is much more the result of society and culture than the property of individuals. Human abilities are learned and developed in different ways by different societies; economic and social development may therefore be seen as a means of creating ability. Any change in the definitions of the school curriculum or the demands of society will bring to light new abilities and new talents that formerly lay hidden. The fact that abilities are more and more defined through the educational process in modern society suggests that a premium should be placed upon educational flexibility.

Significantly the O.E.C.D. delegates agreed to abandon the metaphor of a 'pool of ability' which implies that in a given society so much and no more potential ability is available. While clearly genetic limits exist they are not the main factor which limits the release of human talent, intelligence and energy. At any rate in the immediate future it is the factors of environment, economy and the educational system which provide the major barriers to the release of ability. The rejection of the 'pool of ability' implies eventually a rejection of educational selection based on the assumption of a simple hierarchy of superior/inferior intelligence. It is true that *measured intelligence* does correlate with school performance to a high degree. It is also true that in tests of measured intelligence middle-class children score more highly than working-class children and are generally more successful scholars. But as Jackson and Marsden point out: 'Because children do less well in terms of measured intelligence this does not mean that they are unintelligent; and certainly it has nothing to say about the possession, or not, of the many other human qualities that make the mature man or woman.' We simply do not know how much measured intelligence is a reflection of environmental factors. Just as there is found to be a direct correlation between the national income per head enjoyed by a country and the amount of human ability which can be mobilized,

so the advantages enjoyed by the successful child in intelligence tests may be the result of the superior standard of living of his home which in turn releases in him a greater amount of ability.

Whether or not intelligence is randomly distributed between the social classes, as Halsey suggests,[5] does not affect the dangers which arise from basing a whole system of élite education on the assumption that *measured intelligence* is the most satisfactory predictive guide we have to educational and consequently life performance. The earlier the test is taken, it is argued, the more will it be a test of true intelligence and not just acquired factual knowledge. The result, however, must be to increase the influence of non-educational factors of background, speech, language, skills and the values which induce competition and the will to succeed in tests of one sort or another. Educational classification may be a necessary means of dividing large numbers into manageable units but when these units become the basis of definition for an élite on one side and a group of rejects on the other, the ends are defeated by the means. Children after all are not equal and one would not wish that they were, but because it is statistically and administratively convenient we are often tempted to assume that the measurable distinctions are the true realities. There is a real danger that we assume that because the law applies equally to all citizens in respect of the compulsory attendance of their children at school after the age of 5, that these children are thereby equally endowed, that all start the race on equal terms and that any selective test at 7 or at 11 is a 'fair' test between equals. How equal is the 'only' child Unity to her class-mate Faith, the third child in a family of ten? How equal is Grace, whose mother is a Jamaican immigrant, to Charity the daughter of the local bank manager? In real terms, rather than the assumptions of idealism or bureaucratic expediency, it must be recognized that a wide variety of social experience up to the age of compulsory schooling produces broad inequalities among the children who enter the schools.

And what of the schools? It is too easy to assume that they play a neutral role in the process of social selection. Social classes define a way of life, a background of the known, against which the way of life of the school must be assessed. The schools are acting as social selectors less through the difficulties of testing abilities at entry than they are through the high rate of attrition as the result of performance. As Halsey points out, changes in the rank order of children on entry to the grammar school in England are systematically related

to social class origin. Much of academic selection, after all, must be in terms of 'giving teacher what he wants'. Not only are the four main methods of assessing ability—school marks, attainment tests, intelligence tests and teacher's estimates—socially conditioned, but also the schools themselves impose conditions which affect performance in many subtle ways, and demand assumptions about life on the part of the pupils which they may not be equipped or able to meet. The kind of 'middle-class' assumptions on which our educational selection procedure rests are perhaps typified in certain of the tenets of the grammar school—'I see grammar school education very strongly as a matter of communicating middle-class values to a new population', remarks one of the headmasters interviewed by Frances Stevens for her book *The Living Tradition* (quoted by Jackson and Marsden). Yet in the grammar schools the gap between these middle-class values and the skills and assumptions of the children is widening by virtue of the increasing number of working-class children who are being admitted. As a result of the pressures of competition and the high premium placed on examinations the dice may be loaded 'more and more heavily against children from underprivileged homes and in favour of those who come with an initial set of cultural advantages in the shape of parental supports and pressures, which are in the same direction as those of the school' (*Ability and Educational Opportunity*). Jackson and Marsden note how great the advantage of the middle-class child may be simply in terms of communication and the fact that the world of the grammar school is a meaningful and understandable world to his parents who feel no difficulty in talking to the teachers as equals and arguing out their children's case. The working-class parent can in most cases see it only as an alien world, full of incomprehensible educational tags he cannot readily understand, a world which every day widens the gulf between his son or daughter and himself.

It is clear from both of these books that the world of the school and its culture is the major unexplored region. There is a pressing need for detailed sociological analysis of the school which can clarify some of the ideological as well as methodological aspects of the teaching process. A little is known about the grammar school but even here one is left with questions about such vague concepts as 'character'. Almost nothing is known about the rest.[7] What actually goes on in the schools? What are the values and assumptions that lie behind their organization and administration and curriculum? For

what is the curriculum selected? Are all school subjects throughout the system defined in terms of the 'academic' quality of the few? Are traditional teaching methods and subjects such as Latin and Physical Education merely sacred cows or do they have a value which can be explained and defended in the richness of creative activity, the encouragement of imagination and the spirit of critical enquiry.

It would be misleading to suggest from the foregoing consideration of some of the points raised by these two books that their authors were lacking in charity toward the work of the schools or that they or myself were unaware of the harsh realities involved on the 'shop-floor' of the class-room. One is impressed by both the charity and the balance exhibited by both books and appalled by the ignorance and lack of self-criticism in the schools, well illustrated by Jackson and Marsden in their plea for the constructive keeping and use of records. *Education and the Working-Class* raises many critical questions about our educational and social responsibilities at home; *Ability and Educational Opportunity* provides a perspective which allows us to see our experience as one which is shared in all its difficulties by other European nations and the U.S.A.

The generally agreed aim among all the countries represented at the O.E.C.D. conference is that the individual must be afforded the opportunity for the attainment of his full human stature. This involves not merely a conception of formal equality of opportunity but also a recognition that the ability to profit from education is a result of social experience. As Halsey points out, in his Introduction to the book under review, the influence of social factors on educational attainment must lead to the moral conclusion that 'equality of opportunity must be redefined in a stronger sense to include also the opportunity to overcome such obstacles to the development of one's ability'. Such a view when combined with the assumed duty of the state to mobilize the full potential of its human resources poses radical questions for social and educational policy. Whatever the virtues of one system or another, one set of subjects or one kind of teaching method we cannot afford rigidity, inflexibility and isolation if we are to pursue these goals. The social cost of inflexibility in the educational process as the result of narrowness of view and unwillingness to encourage outward looking, critical inquiry, imagination, and interest in the real world, for all our children, is likely to be very great.

J. A. JACKSON

NOTES

[1] J. Floud, A. H. Halsey and F. M. Martin. *Social Class and Educational Opportunity*, 1957.

[2] Central Advisory Council for Education (England). *Early Leaving*, 1954; and *15 to 18*, Vol. 1, 1959, Vol. 2, 1960.

[3] B. Bernstein. 'Language and Social Class,' in *British Journal of Sociology*, XI, 3, 1960.

B. Bernstein. 'Some Sociological Determinants of Perception,' in *British Journal of Sociology*, IX, 2, 1958.

[4] *op cit.* J. Floud, et al.

[5] A. H. Halsey. 'Class Differences in General Intelligence,' in *British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, XII, Part 1, 1959.

For the opposite view see: J. Conway. 'Inheritance of Intelligence and its Social Implications,' in *British Journal of Statistical Psychology*, XI, Part 2, 1958.

[6] *op. cit.* J. Floud, et al.

See also the paper by J. Floud in A. H. Halsey (ed.) *Ability and Educational Opportunity* and her discussion of 'la famille éducogène'.

[7] A forthcoming book will help to fill the gap in our knowledge of the secondary modern school: W. Taylor. *The Secondary Modern School*, Faber and Faber.

EDUCATION AND THE WORKING CLASS.

By D. MARSDEN and B. JACKSON. (*Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.*) 28s.

This book is an investigation of pupils who gained Higher School Certificate or G.C.E. at "A" level in four grammar schools in a Yorkshire industrial town, between 1949 and 1952

in the case of boys, and between 1946 and 1954 in the case of girls. Ten of them are described as being from "middle-class" families, and eighty-eight from "working-class" families.

By a process of intensive interview the authors sought to explain why the proportion of middle-class children was substantially higher in the schools than it was in the population at large, and why so many of the working-class children chosen for grammar schools were leaving at fifteen. This precise problem is no longer serious, but the "wastage" has shifted upwards to the sixth form and to University entrants, so that although its terms have changed its essential nature has not. The book is therefore relevant and topical.

The authors' answer is that the middle-class families support their children in obvious and subtle ways to get the "most" out of school—a thesis which is confirmed by their discovery that the great majority of the successful working-class pupils come from families which have middle-class characteristics, either because one or both of the parents have fallen in the social scale through financial misfortune, or because the parents have acquired middle-class aspirations through education, family contacts or social connections.

The second part of the authors' explanation is that the schools consciously "accept" middle-class children, and reject the whole complex of values associated with the working class. They talk in terms of two cultures—one a national middle-class culture with strong local characteristics which the teachers themselves accept, and the other firmly rooted in the working class which is highly local and inward-looking.

The book is well-written, it is fluent and easy; only at times does it condescend ("the odd Van Gogh and the few Penguin classics in the book-case may not mean much, but they do seem to point, if slightly, to something. Whether or not education has enlarged or sensitized their personalities in new ways . . ." is a particularly flagrant example) and it has a kind of sanctimonious seriousness. Nevertheless what it says is well said, and is an interesting argument.

How true is it ? The authors decided to use social anthropological techniques on their own home town and their own contemporaries, and to do this moreover by means of intensive interviews. In the hands of unscrupulous or even high-minded and self-centred people this often means that the behaviour of the subjects is in the eye of the beholder. The authors basically reject the more accepted kind of sociological investigation, citing its best examples, Miss Kerr's *Ship Street* and *Coal is our Life* (Norman Dennis and others) as "fundamentally hostile reportage." All sociological investigation is subject to major limitations and certainly this one is unduly handicapped by its profound subjectivity.

Their use of class as a technique of analysis is very rough, as they acknowledge on page 53. The infinite variety of working-class life is really not susceptible to the blunt instrument of the Registrar General's categories. Furthermore, their policy conclusions are strongly dependent both upon the geographical nature of this town about which they make a number of unverifiable assertions (such as that it has more Rolls-Royces per head than any other place on earth), and the fact that the age group to which they refer entered the universities about a decade ago—that is to say, before Conservative affluence had in any sense hit the country. Their grammar-school entrants had in many cases gone to the grammar school before the 1944 Act, and could in only a few cases have entered later than the year in which it first came into operation. This severely limits their analysis of the grammar schools, and is only briefly acknowledged in a footnote on page 94, where it seems a quarter of the years of schooling of which they were writing were war-time years. Since the schools were nothing like normal until 1947 this suggests that over two-thirds of the time of which they are writing was a period in which the teachers were elderly, tired, inefficient and in many cases unqualified. Now, fifteen years later, the situation may well be different.

Their critique of the grammar school acknowledges the importance of the intellectual excitement which the academic programme gives, though in their view the academic programme "influenced their children to accept, to belong". Such basic curriculum changes as the switch to science may well have changed a great deal of the atmosphere in the grammar schools.

There is a long section, intended to be moving, but which becomes heavy-handed, about eating sweets in the streets and turning up to cricket matches in tee-shirts with cowboys on. This is better done in the "William" books.

Nevertheless, despite one's criticisms of the partiality of this enquiry and of its smallness, obviously this is a contribution to knowledge about the social influence of the schools. It now needs to be followed by a more up-to-date enquiry in a wider number of areas.

JOHN VAIZEY.

FIGHTING TERMS.

By THOM GUNN. (*Faber.*) 12s. 6d.

Fighting Terms was originally published in 1954 by the Fantasy Press, which in the early 1950's published also the first volumes of Donald Davie, Charles Tomlinson and Elizabeth Jennings. For the American edition of 1959 Mr Gunn made extensive changes, many of which he now considers unsatisfactory. This volume is much closer to the original than was the American edition, but it omits "A Village Edmund," and "Contemplative and Active," and deposes "Carnal Knowledge" from the beginning of the volume to the middle. There are a few other changes, for, as Mr Gunn says, "I have made quite a few minor alterations in language and punctuation where the earlier version was unclear."

The best example of this kind of revision occurs in the last stanza of "Helen's Rape," which originally read:

> Helen herself could not through flesh
> Abandon flesh; she felt surround
> Her absent body, never fresh
> The mortal context, and the mesh
> Of the continual battle's sound.

As G. S. Fraser pointed out in *Critical Quarterly* (Winter, 1961) the syntax and the punctuation of this stanza are so clumsy and cryptic that one can only guess at the meaning; whereas the new version removes the uncertainty:

> Helen herself could not through flesh
> Abandon flesh: she felt it bound
> Her absent body, felt afresh
> The mortal context, and the mesh
> Of the continual battle's sound.

Despite Mr Gunn's claim that he has made alterations only when the earlier version was unclear, some of the changes occur where there was no obscurity. The original version of "Carnal Knowledge" runs:

> . . . an acute girl would suspect
> That my self is not like my body, bare.

This now becomes

> . . . an acute girl would suspect
> My thoughts might not be, like my body, bare.

The second version may be a shade smoother than the first, but it seems to me less effective and no clearer. Nor do the alterations to the second stanza of "A Kind of Ethics" clarify or improve the original, which was perfectly comprehensible as it stood.

These points are of minor importance: what matters is that everybody interested in contemporary verse can now get hold of the earliest collection of poems by a poet who, at the age of twenty-five, was already a writer of remarkable distinction. "The Wound," "Lazarus Not Raised," "Helen's Rape," "Looking Glass," "A Mirror For Poets" and "Incident on A Journey" have the intellectual force and verbal assurance that only a major talent can command.

The early verse of an enormously gifted writer often has a peculiar tang and freshness that he never recaptures, even though he may later surpass his youthful achievements, and *Fighting Terms* contains a great deal of such verse, which is of interest also

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AMONG NEW BOOKS

EDUCATION BY CLASS

Education and the Working Class. By Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden. Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd. 28s. net.

A31

By the Rev. Sydney F. Clark

"YOU can lead a horse to the water but you can't make it drink." But according to this fascinating book you can't even lead enough working class children to grammar school education even though fees were abolished in 1944. And when they do go to grammar school, not as many successfully complete the course as would be expected from their ability.

Why is this? Why are children of manual workers early leavers from grammar schools? And why are grammar schools, and particularly the sixth form, still middle class institutions?

Reasons for this state of affairs are suggested from interviews with 88 working class children who took GCE at A level between 1949-52. They come from the industrial Yorkshire town given the fictitious name of Marburton—incidentally a good Baptist centre. There is a comparison of the attitudes of a sample of 10 middle class pupils. The work is factual, human and racy.

In the 1951 census, 78 per cent. of the population of Marburton was classified working-class. But of the town's grammar school pupils passing A level between 1949-52, only 36 per cent. were classified children of working class. In seeking reasons for this, the authors find a complex of social pressures. Often the working class is totally ignorant of the education system. There is the desire of boys to bring home a wage, and of girls to wear smart clothes and hold down a job. This is particularly acute in districts where contemporaries are already doing just that. Middle class children, on the other hand, are steadied by a family educational inheritance. Working class children often feel out of it in grammar schools and sixth forms.

The book is particularly interesting when it goes on to discover what the 88 people from working class homes, who were aged between 24 and 33 when interviewed, are doing now. No less than 46 became teachers; 11 were doing research in industry, seven were industrial managers, two doctors, three ministers —one went to Rawdon College—and there are civil servants, colonial police, and people in the Forces, a cookery demonstrator, social worker and an unemployed man.

But what is particularly interesting is their present attitude. They seem to want to preserve things as they are. They have moved from working class to middle class themselves, and if they desire any change it is to make the selective system in education ensure that working class children do not get into grammar schools in any large numbers. Pupils who were early leavers they regard as intellectually inferior. I hope I am being just here. You can read the evidence of what grammar school education continued to "Advanced Level" can do to your outlook in this book. It will make you put some questions, I hope.

Among means by which working class children may be encouraged to stay on is the suggestion that older pupils should be treated more as young adults. This might mean starting the sixth form earlier down the school, providing a more adult approach to education sooner.

It is also suggested that the sixth form might be taken out of the school altogether and a sixth form college draw its members from all the town's schools; making it a halfway house between school and university.

Of course, with a work of this kind, one is left with a great many questions. Can you divide the classes so exactly in these days? Does this show anything more than that grammar schools were not geared to the 1944 Act opportunities by 1949-52? What difference has this added 10 years' experience made?

But this is a valuable survey, a little wide, perhaps, always to hit the mark. But valuable in that it shows how much there still is to do before advantages of modern society are really available for all. It is a call for more research. And Baptists have a particular interest in the strata of society with which this book deals.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF HUDDERSFIELD EDUCATION COMMITTEE

Telephone: Milnsbridge 2178

Headmaster: A. R. Bielby, M.A.

HUDDERSFIELD NEW COLLEGE
NEW HEY ROAD
HUDDERSFIELD

ARB/MEM

23rd February 1962

Mr. Dennis Marsden,
17 Queens Road,
Edgerton,
Huddersfield.

My dear Marsden,

Thank you very much for your letter with the promise that we shall be able to talk about this matter. I now enclose the statement which I made after my first reading of your book, which I hope will fill out some of the points I made in my letter.

I wrote in much the same way to Brian Jackson, though, as I did not know his address, I had to write through the Institute of Community Studies. I have not heard from him yet. I hope, however, that you will let him see the comments on the book which I enclose. I foolishly did not get a spare carbon copy made at the time when it was typed. I have been interested in reading the various reviews of the book in the papers that I see, and one, which is of especial interest to me, is in the Methodist Recorder.

Please let me know when you will be able to come and talk about these matters. I should like to make as much time free as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Headmaster.

COUNTY BOROUGH OF HUDDERSFIELD EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

Telephone: Milnsbridge 2178

Headmaster: A. R. Bielby, M.A.

HUDDERSFIELD NEW COLLEGE
NEW HEY ROAD
HUDDERSFIELD

ARB/MEM

15th February 1962

Mr. Brian Jackson,
c/o The Institute of Community Studies,
18 Victoria Park Square,
Bethnal Green,
London, E.2.

Dear Jackson,

I should like to thank you and your colleague, Dennis Marsden, for sending me a copy of your book "Education and the Working Class". I have read it with a good deal of interest and thought the first part well written and well observed. I became increasingly worried as the emphasis was put on a particular selection of "working class" children. I should like to explain to you why I was worried and, indeed, have given one reason in a letter I have sent to the Times Educational Supplement, which they may publish this week. That letter was rather more concerned with the leader about your book than with the book itself.

What I should like to do, if I may, is to send you in the course of a day or two, not a full and critical commentary on the book: I am not able to do that for I have only read it once, and not consecutively, but some of my first impressions are some of the reasons why I am worried by it.

I am quite certain you have something very important to say about some of the working class homes, especially those which in the psychological sense suffer from an inferiority complex and, so, are on the defensive, if not a little truculent, when they come into contact with the grammar school.

It is because I am afraid that you have not altogether been able to look at the problem objectively, but are still involved, or at any rate seeking release, that I find some parts of the book unfortunate. I think it could have been a good deal better had your observation of the working class home been as detached and objective as your observation of the middle class home.

But I shall become a schoolmaster again if I am not careful and I don't know whether you want this. In some ways I wish you had discussed the findings of your book with us in the school beforehand, but enough for now.

Best wishes in your further writing.

Yours sincerely,

P.S. I am sorry I do not know your address. I understand Mr. Darke does, but he has been away from school ill for some ten days or so.

Comments on, and thoughts prompted by, Jackson and Marsden "Education and the Working Class" after a first reading.

15.2.62

1. I read the first part of the book with considerable pleasure - the writing was terse and perceptive, and the observation good. I became worried as my reading proceeded because both the writing and the observation seemed to me less good - as though the writers were too involved in the situations described, and could not stand back and see all sides objectively.

2. It became clear that their main concern was with that minority of the 'working class' group which was disgruntled at school. Despite their repeated recognition that these dissidents were a minority, a 'vivid' minority, the tendency was to equate them with the majority.

3. The obsession with 'class' worried me. Teachers do not think of working-class or middle-class children. They judge pupils on ability and on character as shown by attitude and behaviour (how else judge character?) Even adults joining a new group (e.g. a new job or a new club) expect to meet new patterns of behaviour: many of us are not at home in certain groups, not because of a 'class' difference, but because of differences in habits, customs, interests and pre-suppositions. Most children learn to adapt themselves to the grammar school as they learn other things. Reactions against this, in the form of truculence, etc., come from lack of social confidence and a resentment that other people are different. These are among the usual "perplexities of growth" (page 186), but, repressed, become a permanent chip on the shoulder - an obsession with 'class'. The girl 'confident' at school, 'unsure' at home (page 135) is in a more normal transitional stage.

4. Yet the educated man must learn to move freely in groups of various interests. It is impossible to accept "the work" and not "the school" (page 103) - as though learning was an acquisition of facts leaving the person unchanged. Some technical college instruction has this quality, but a good school is primarily a community in which pupils (and masters) grow.

5. One feels that the authors are winning their own release from these problems by writing this book - in this sense their 'findings' came first and determined their selection of material to stress. One hopes that this cathasis will release their real abilities for more objective further research. Nevertheless there is a problem and they have brought it to the surface and focussed attention on it. I know of working class parents being advised by neighbours when one child has been awarded a grammar school place "Don't send her there, she'll only grow away from you". There is a need to bridge this break in communication between the grammar school and some working class homes. How difficult this is is not always realised, for (i) the best teachers are already fully committed in their work and (ii) it is difficult to help the hypersensitive.

6. The 'us', 'them' attitude is seen most clearly in the unedifying story of the prize (page 131) - a travesty of what happened. It is a pity that a passage like this, which is not said to be reported speech, was not checked. (Another inaccuracy is in the history of Marburton College which, in fact, began as a boys' not a mixed school, page 8).

7. The 'anti-school' group highlighted was, however, a particular group centred in one or two strong personalities. It is a pity that their subsequent careers were not dealt with separately. It might have revealed a fault in them rather than in the school. There have been misfits since then, some from affluent homes, but never another group such as this one.

8. The book fails to follow up items of real significance. There is a suggestion that the church bridges classes (pages 23, 134), that 48 of 88 have church loyalties. Questions not asked are:

   (i) How is it that the church does do this?
   (ii) Does anything else?
   (iii) Why so large a percentage with church loyalties?
   (iv) Has the decline of church loyalty affected the situation?

9. The reference to Youth Clubs is relevant here (page 109). The text does not distinguish between Church Youth Clubs and Civic Youth Clubs, but Heads did. It was the Civic Youth Club which often pulled against the grammar school, especially at the age of 15 when in one week the modern school leaver became a man.

10. There are a number of places where the authors show themselves unfamiliar with school organisation

(a) for instance (page 100)
one reason for a 'rapid' stream is to save 35 periods per week teaching time in the Main School. This makes possible a third year Sixth Form. A Headmaster with a limited staff (and the number is fixed) has a choice between

two five year courses and a 2-year Sixth

or one five year course plus one four year course and a 3-year Sixth

(b) the suggestion of different <u>standards</u> of entry into the Sixth (page 125) for middle class and working class children is monstrous. No doubt the canniness of working class parents makes them demand a higher mark before they 'risk' an extra two or three years' schooling.

(c) I cannot accept the suggestion (page 230) that teachers do not want to see working class parents.

11. Despite all the confidence of the book that schools have regard for class there is a recognition of the facts that

(i) Heads do not know the 'class' of children's homes (page 198)

(ii) The L.E.A. does not ask for information about parents' jobs

There seems to be inconsistency here.

12. Another assertion

that <u>nominally academic</u> selection is in fact <u>social</u> selection (page 210) is inconsistent with the recognition, only reluctantly accepted, that working class children did better at winning office than middle class children (page 132), and this is inconsistent with the stated "failure of the grammar schools to enlist potential leaders from the new generation of working class children" (page 249).

13. The main value of the book is the stress it lays on the poor communication between the grammar school and the working class home. I think the emotive writing at the end gets nowhere. I should like to know what 'working class values' are - I think human values are not tied to any particular 'class'. I should like to know how the grammar school has "foundered on a rock: the working class" (page 215), and just **exactly** what is meant by an 'open' school (page 224) - in terms of organisation and the "vision of greatness" or even those Sixth Form excellencies which ~~term~~ on questions of 'response, evaluation, judgment, imagination', mentioned on page 129.

14. These comments are not meant to be factious - remember the Headmaster himself is a first generation grammar schoolboy from a working class home. In fact, I should like very much to discuss the matter of the book with you whenever you are in Huddersfield. I think it a pity that so little reference was made to the school before the findings were publicised, nor that the findings referred to a period ten years ago so that in some ways judgments are already ten years out of date. I think you will find that in the last ten years the position has changed very much in Huddersfield. I hope that the book, while airing a real problem, does not damage the schools to which it refers.

Jaky — send this on to Dennis please

Dennis: I've replied, & said you wd too.

21, Beechwood Avenue,
Farnborough,
ORPINGTON,
Kent.

19th. July, 1968.

Dear Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden,

"Education and the Working Class".

When your book was first published I read a number of notices in both the educational and lay press and came to the conclusion that there was "nothing much in it"; perhaps another conclusion can be drawn from this! However, the book has recently been added to our library at Bromley Technical College and was warmly recommended to me by the librarian. I have just completed my reading of it and have to say that I cannot remember when I last read such a fascinating, stimulating, and depressing document.

First of all I derived great interest from the book in so far as I, personally am an ex-grammar school boy drawn from the working (albeit "sunken middle "class) and can see many parallels between my own career and some of the "88". I obtained my H.S.C in 1941 and went straight into the R.A.F. (ground type) my subsequent career was not altogether unlike that of Mr. Henry Dibdo (p.165) although I never got as far as saving £4000! Still, I have at long last found not my niche, but real fulfilment in Technical College teaching having gone to Garnett College for a year's training three years ago. I have just completed my second year of teaching English and Social Studies at Bromley and I must say that as far as I can determine my colleagues are a completely different animal from the various "teachers" that are described in your work and I count myself exceedingly

fortunate in working in a humane institution! our Department of General Studies (full time "O" and "A" level) resembles not the grammar school but the "junior college" advocated in your conclusions. In all departments there is no suggestion of the grammar school ethos. We do advise parents and students about things like university entrance, Student apprenticeships and opportunities in general.

The thing that really shook me about the personalities of the "88" adults in general and the teachers (and their teachers) in particular was the lack of warmth in their human relationships. In many ways the expelled grammar school boy Derek Ackroyd (p.248) was to me the most sympathetic character mentioned.

My observations confirm much of what is brought out by relating to subtle selection at 11+. In our locality we have two primary schools, one in an affluent area which streams its intake at 5+!! and drives the As every inch of the way. (the headmaster is a socialist!) and one in the old village which is "unstreamed". The affluent school has a very active P/T. Association which simply pours money into the place, the village school has no association but nevertheless enjoys good P/T relationships and gives an impression of kindness and understanding of all the small children. I am very glad that my two little girls are "zoned" for the village school. I believe a "determined" parent can still "cross the zone border", but I would not wish to.

The activities of the Associations for the Advancement of State Education will not have escaped you; I think it is significant that these bodies have mushroomed in predominantly middle-class areas; this seems to me to be yet another instance of spurring "us" on and keeping "them" out. (I seem to have got "us" and "them" reversed here — it all depends upon your point of view).

Have you conducted a survey of "letters to the editor"

of a local paper in an area where it is proposed to make a grammar school "comprehensive" or even "bi-lateral" (see Oxford Mail 1955-1960)?

I, and many of my colleagues had already come to most of the conclusions at which you arrive although we had hardly expressed them in such a telling manner. How do we go about changing the existing situation? One would hope that now there are three years being spent in Training Colleges that these latter would at least bring your work to the notice of future primary school teachers and that University Depts. of Education would do the same for our future grammar school teachers. It is time too that the education committees of the N.U.T. and N.A.S. opened the eyes of their members as to how much the teachers are responsible for all those "early leavers".

I wonder whether it would be worth your while completing a similar survey of working class children who have successfully completed full or part time courses at a Technical College (ideally Marberton). Obviously this is not a thing which can be done immediately as full time courses at techs. are, relatively, in their infancy. I can't see a teacher (ex. mod. school and tech. col) saying "I think we should go back to what it was before and change everybody and keep it select" (p. 182) - still one never knows.

Finally, I would like to say that I hope your book is read by those who ought to read it as well as by those such as myself who were already converted. I would be pleased to assist in any future survey on this subject which you may be contemplating.

Yours sincerely,

John Ford.

EDUCATION AND THE WORKING CLASS

RECENTLY I attended the meeting of a Parents' Association of a Primary school situated in a suburban middle-class district. The subject under discussion was whether or not competition was desirable in the schools. One father present, speaking in favour of competition, stated that it was necessary to initiate children into the rat race at an early age and instruct them as to how to push aside their fellows. At this a murmur of approval went around the hall and from all sides I heard mutterings of "it's only human nature".

The parents present apparently gave no consideration as to why, if this was human nature, it was necessary to teach the children the art of the rat race.

by Sheila Leslie

I recalled this incident when reading *Education and the Working Class*, by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden, issued under the auspices of the Institute of Community Studies. The authors interviewed 88 persons in a northern industrial city. These 88 were stated to have come from working-class families, passed the 11-plus, attended Grammar School, and from there had entered University. The authors also interviewed the parents of the 88, in order to provide the reader with details of the home background.

Jackson and Marsden were surprised to find that no children of unskilled workers were among the 88 interviewed, and that a large number could be described as 'sunken middle class', the grandparents on either one, or both, sides having been part of the middle class.

The authors also discovered that those who had stayed at Grammar School until the age of 18 years and then entered University, were not the brightest children in their schools, as most of these had decided to leave school upon taking G.C.E., or in some cases without taking this examination.

The interviews with the parents of these 88 revealed that they were all persons who regarded themselves as superior to their neighbours and not part of the working-class district in which they were living. In the cases of those who were termed sunken middle class, the children had been spurred on educationally because of the parents' strong desire that they should regain the social status which the parents themselves had lost.

While a few of these parents voted for the Labour Party, a great many were Conservative or Liberal. However, one father who was an active Labour Party worker stated that the working class had always been forced to turn to the middle class for representation and assistance. He had hoped that his son would use his education to become an educated Labour leader. Instead, his son became a Time and Motion Study Officer.

It was clear that those who were successful within the education system were those whose main desire was to climb up the social ladder. The working-class child who came from a home in which the local way of living and manual work was not despised, lacked this impetus and so was unable to make use of the education system.

The writers felt that as the Grammar School bases itself upon the Public School, the way of life and values taught within it are those of the middle class and are contrary to the experience of the working-class child.

Interviews with working-class Grammar School pupils who had been unable to conform and so became early leavers, revealed criticism of rules forbidding children to eat ice-lollies or sweets in the street. The Grammar School was also troubled by working-class children eating fish and chips out of the paper. As one girl put it: "all the things one would do naturally".

One of these ex-Grammar School pupils complained that the headmistress had instructed the girls not to speak to the gardeners or caretaker, inferring that these were not the kind of persons with whom one consorted socially.

The authors noted that those children successful in the educational system conformed completely to the Establishment. Their favourite reading matter was by Winston Churchill, Earl Montgomery and Anthony Eden.

It was interesting to compare this reading matter with that of a young man who had failed at Grammar School and was reading such books as *Women in Love, The Rainbow, Mice and Men*, and *Crime and Punishment*.

PUPILS INTERVIEWED

The interviews with the 88 revealed that they all voted Conservative or Liberal. In most cases, however, they stated that they did not take politics very seriously: "We just laugh about it and joke about it. We treat it like trifles."

Others had a definite dislike of all nonconformity. "I dislike all extremists. I don't like the fitters at work, for example. I don't like these nuclear disarmers and people like that. All these extremists. I'd like to send a lad of mine to a Public School."

All these graduates had developed a strong admiration for the Public Schools. In discussing State education they were opposed to comprehensive schools and in favour of the retention of the Grammar School system. Many thought that too many working-class children were attending Grammar Schools. One graduate gave the opinion: "Abbeyford was a very good school. You got lots of boys who came from good homes there. You got boys coming to school in cars . . . But later on, when we got further up the school and you didn't have to pay any more, it changed a bit . . . you began to get all those boys from the estates." Another graduate wanted school fees brought back. "I think you should still have to pay to go to Grammar Schools. It became much worse after they let anybody go who wanted to without paying . . I think we should go back to what it was before and charge everybody and keep it select."

The authors also interviewed a few working-class children who, while successful at Grammar School and University, could find no niche in society when they were forced to follow a career. One of these, Henry Dibb, on leaving University returned first to work in a mill, but stated: "I used to work such long hours, and then to do that all my life—it would be hell." Eventually he emigrated to Canada, working as a clerk, milkman and bus conductor. Then he heard of a job on an isolated weather station, several hundred miles north of the Arctic Circle. He stayed there for three years and came home with £4,000 to his account. After spending a year in his home town doing nothing except sleeping and watching television he enrolled for a course at the London School of Economics, finding some relief in a return to student life, but no nearer a solution as to what to do with his life.

Those who attempted to enter industry in managerial positions found that they could climb no higher than the junior rungs, as the higher positions were reserved for Public School boys. Some of those who took junior managerial positions found it difficult to settle down, and the authors remarked that when these managers ordered their workmen about, they were giving orders to men who could have been their own fathers: "These difficulties are inlaid with those other problems about background and class, which education seems not to have resolved at all."

TEACHING FOR RESULTS

The authors also interviewed ten middle-class graduates who had attended Grammar School, and perhaps the most telling comment upon the education system was made by one of these who had entered the teaching profession: "The way we teach, we teach for results. I want the passes, the schols. and all those things. Tests all the time and scrub the teaching methods, forget about the educational side . . If a boy asks a question it might raise some interesting matters . . . We've got no time for any questions or anything that leads off the syllabus. You've got to get through it. What I want now is a head of department in a really good school, and then I'd do what our head of department has done. I'd put on the pressure really hard. Really work those children, tests, tests, tests and get the results . . . and that would establish me, wouldn't it? It would give me a reputation."

It is interesting to compare this attitude with that of a Derek Ackroyd who had been expelled from Grammar School for 'independent-mindedness'. He had become an unofficial leader—'the kind of man who in industry might be a shop steward, or a leader of [illegible] strikes'. He occupi[illegible] with the day-[illegible] of the peopl[illegible] which he liv[illegible]

COM[illegible] SPIRI[illegible]

The authors com[illegible] unlike the political atti[illegible] the working-class gradu[illegible] whom politics was not c[illegible]ted with life, Derek Ackro[illegible] politics were rooted in the co[illegible]munity: "On this estate you've got more community spirit than you would have, say, down Edgefield (a middle-class district)—real community spirit. We've got to think first of all of getting this on a local scale . . . then on a national scale . . . then on an international scale. I take it that's brotherhood."

The authors were of the opinion that if secondary education was revised to include within it working-class values, society would in time be managed by a genuine meritocracy. Socialists, however, are able to understand that education in capitalist society has as its purpose the fitting of individuals into class society. This conformity of those who rise to the top is not an accident of the system, but its purpose.

The reformer's viewpoint upon education is that it should provide greater opportunity for working-class children to climb up the social ladder.

The socialist believes that the purpose of education should be to develop the abilities and intellects of all children, irrespective of the job in which they may eventually be engaged.

Grammar school and working class

by Harry Davies

Mr Davies, who is headmaster of High Pavement School, Nottingham, is working on a book to be called "Culture and the Grammar School."

THE recent study, "Education and the Working Class," by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden, has aroused much attention among those concerned about the place of the grammar school in modern society. The book appears to me to give a misleading picture of the grammar school today, in its relations with working-class children and their parents, and I would like to offer a different view.

The evidence in the book is obtained from a small sample of 88 boys and girls, in one Northern city between 1949 and 1952; on this basis the authors come to the conclusion that the grammar school today is an incurably middle-class institution unsuited to the task of transmitting our cultural inheritance to working-class children. Throughout there is an assumption of a clear cut difference between working class and middle class which is alien to my own experience.

My own school consists largely of lower middle-class and working-class children and I find myself often quite unable to distinguish the one from the other. A more helpful distinction would be between first generation grammar school children and those with at least one grammar school parent. Even since 1952, many cultural influences have helped to blur class differences in the adult world. In the world of the teenager, with its revolt against parental standards, we find young people from all kinds of homes coming together to accept similar leisure time pursuits, spending habits, clothing: in fact, we see here many signs of a subculture which is quite different from that of home and school.

It is dangerously easy to make generalisations about working-class and middle-class culture, and what this book succeeds in showing is something considerably less than its authors imagine. They tell us that, by 1952, these schools had not yet geared themselves effectively to the fact that many more working-class children were entering their doors. But during the past decade many grammar schools have tried to do precisely this, and with varying degrees of success are turning to this as one of their major tasks.

It is perhaps time to ask what are the values for which the grammar school stands? Among these, I should emphasise a liberal outlook which generates respect for facts and respect for persons, tolerance, a readiness to discuss rather than to dictate, a belief in the value of disinterested service. The school must be creative, in that it d e v e l o p s good taste and discrimination, judgment, a conception of personal responsibility. It must transmit our cultural heritage in art, literature, politics, and religion, and, at the same time, encourage an openness to new ideas and developments in a rapidly changing world.

It may be said that these are middle-class values, but I cannot see that a boy from a working-class home is in any way harmed if, so to speak, these values "take" and he is influenced by them for the rest of his life. Richard Hoggart has made it impossible for us to ignore the cultural strengths of a good working-class background; but I detect no essential conflict between these and the standards I have mentioned.

In so far as I can recognise him, the working-class boy is, in his own words, unwilling to be "pushed around." He is not much impressed by what "Beyond the Fringe" has led us to identify as "a smooth man." He has a simple directness, a willingness to ask questions, to demand explanations, and to protest vigorously when he thinks he is unfairly treated. It is quite wrong to attempt to submerge these valuable qualities beneath a superficial conformity, and I should condemn as insensitive and out of date a grammar school which placed heavy emphasis upon middle-class manners, accent, and conventional gentility.

We cannot pretend, however, that all working-class children find it easy to understand their school environment; standards at home *are* different from those at school, and will continue to be so whether the school calls itself grammar or comprehensive. Not all parents are sensitive enough to be able to develop some way with their sons, though quite a number do. By the time he reaches the Sixth form, the boy has probably acquired interests, attitudes, and values which almost inevitably tend to separate him from his friends outside school and even from his own family.

The grammar school, then, can hardly be blamed for the tensions which may arise when a working-class boy experiences an education which is outside the range of his parents. It can be blamed, however, if it fails to understand what is happening, or if it does nothing to help. The atmosphere of the school must be humane and sympathetic, liberal and permissive. Authority must be approachable. The school must work with the parents, make them to some extent conscious of what is happening to their son, and as the boy approaches the top of the school may think it wise to do the same for him. It is encouraging when a Sixth-former can approach his headmaster and say, "Can you help me, sir? I've got parent trouble." Serious friction in the home need not last long and is by no means confined to the working classes.

When the grammar school goes about its task of handing on "our central cultural inheritance," it faces its main problem. The danger, and temptation, would be to think of it in some such terms as "civilising the mob." Here the implication would be that of an élite sharing their precious treasure with the barbarians outside the gate. Such an authoritarian approach is indefensible. There should be no attempt at an imposition of "culture," no dictation of a code of morality. Each boy must be encouraged and helped to think things out for himself and, starting from where he is, to work out his "own" standards of morality and achieve his "own" cultural values. A working-class boy who is interested in music may come by a natural transition to prefer Brubeck to Presley, and later Mozart to Brubeck. We help him to learn to discriminate, and to appreciate with deeper understanding and a greater subtlety.

The mistake is to think of some cultural objective, finally attained by the teacher and therefore admirable, which the boy must reach. The boy must, rather, be given the widest possible range of opportunities to develop himself, and be encouraged to choose those areas of human experience which mean most to him.

The acute class consciousness which afflicts the inhabitants of these islands, now becoming considerably overlaid, is neither the invention of the grammar school nor is it caused by its existence. The grammar school is attempting to cope with most difficult problems of social mobility at a time of rapid social change. If it were abolished, the same problems would remain to be dealt with by the comprehensive school. It is a great encouragement to find teachers, many from working-class homes, who come into teaching not as drifters who are unable to find a secure place in society, but because they wish to join in the work of social integration, the achievement of a synthesis of what is best in what the working-class boy brings with him from home with what the grammar school has to offer in the way of standards. It is my hope, and there are some indications of success, that the grammar school is helping to produce the classless society of the educated.

HOME TOWN

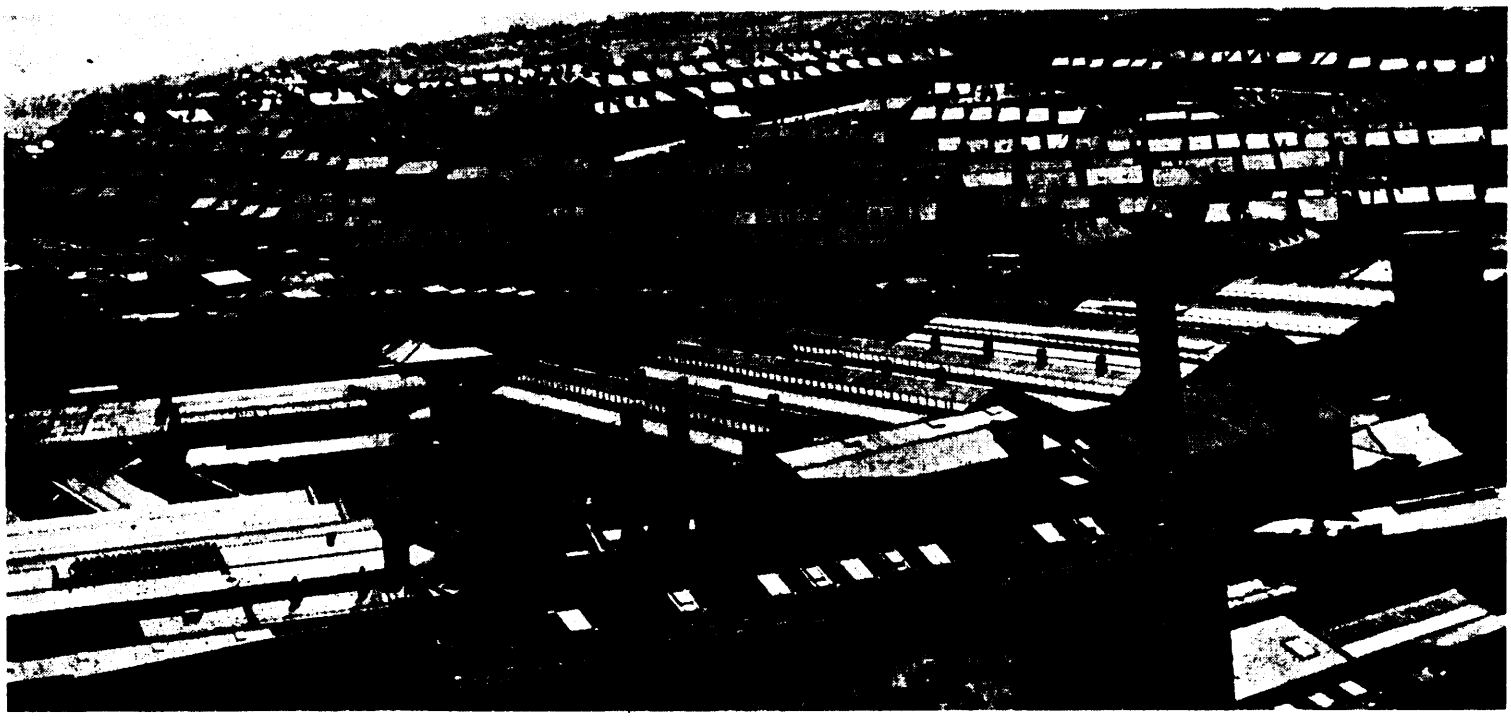
A critical look at the two Englands: the industrial North and the commuting South. What do people who live there really think of their environment?

Are 'dynamic social and economic changes' affecting the two kinds of community? What does the future hold for them?

HUDDERSFIELD

THERE are scenes of absolute and incredible desolation down the valley into Huddersfield. The last four miles is a mixture of tips, smallholdings and factories, jumbled up with chimneys, black. Huddersfield at no time gnawed the greenness, it never crept over it as Birmingham perhaps did; it never surrounded itself with a crawling mass of semi-detacheds. Instead it replaced nature; it obliterated nature at one blow. It was a wholesale violation. Now trees don't grow but mills and houses. Huddersfield is embedded, rooted. It grows. It is like any jungle. For the old mills die and support themselves precariously between their more robust neighbours, and the old stone slates drop out of the roof until a skeleton remains. The old boilers, the old machines are thrown out and rust red in the rain. What is still alive grows on. None of the debris is moved until it gets in the way. The base of the valley is about half a mile

HUDDERSFIELD EXAMINER



HOME TOWN

HUDDERSFIELD

A31

GEOFF VARLEY

in width and consists entirely of what has been thrown away and what is still in use. The immediate valley sides are too steep for building. They are used mostly as tips. The tips stream like vomit down the sides of the valley. By them are the outlines of deserted henruns and smallholdings. Here the hens are said to have one leg shorter than the other.

It is about seven miles to the highest part of the Pennines and a little farther to Lancashire. From this point downwards to the town there is little or no change in colour. Prevailing shades are variations on black and brown. The moors are black and brown. Years ago farmers built dry-stone walls across parts of them which are now falling down. There are empty and broken-down farmhouses and barns and cottages. But the story of the town is an industrial one. Any relics are left-overs from previously thriving industries. Thus the canal in the valley; and elsewhere, driven horizontally into the moors, are old coal-shafts with small slag-heaps covered with moorgrass. The outlines of many of the lower hills are made irregular with old quarries and tips for the unusable stone—the whole overgrown so that it looks almost natural.

To the north of the town, in the direction of Leeds (the two towns are divided only by rhubarb fields, hoardings for the *News of the World* and industrialised villages) is the vast acreage of the ICI Dyestuffs Division. This is a mysterious place where the men come out at five all colours and die of cancer at the age of 40—so they say. It is a huge mess of red rusting vessels and pipes and different coloured vapours. It smells. Still it is widely stated that 'where there's muck, there's brass'.

Trees have been virtually eliminated in Huddersfield. Only recently they cut about ten down by the roadside and planted flowering cherry trees, made rose-beds and put down seats where the old people sit and watch the lorries go by in the summer evenings. Parks (strictly ornamental) are kept down by a mixture of pruning and air pollution. It is a violent black world, a replacement of nature, a replacement which itself grows. But it is ugly in one way only. It has its own magnificence. The few parks are really only concessions and manage to be some of the ugliest things in town. Recently someone from the Parks Department complained that Huddersfield had less than half the recommended acreage of park land for its size of population (more than 100,000). He regretted that Huddersfield seemed to have less than its share of 'public spirited business men' willing to donate land for parks. But there isn't really the space anyway.

Nearer the town you get, the less broad the accents become. In the industrialised villages, up to several miles from the centre, which were most of them 'made' by some handloom weaver grown rich, accents are broad, more dialect is used. Nearer the town, a more standardised, a more careless language is employed, one which has been subject to more outside influences. The change of accent and of locutions is also considerable from grandparents to parents to grandchildren. Proverbial phrases, dialect words which have their origins in farming, or in the woollen industry, or in local legend, pass out of use. Old houses in the centre of the town being pulled down for re-development are occupied mostly by coloured immigrants. The nobs tend

to move farther from the centre and the tendency seems to be to go and have your own house built near Almondbury, the only part of Huddersfield with historical pretentions, and where perhaps you strain for a southern accent. But at least people don't come to retire here; there are really no suitable sites for the bungalow. You move rather in the direction of the Dales or Scarborough.

Standards of living have suddenly altered in the last five or six years. You now get coloured bathroom suites, steel sinks, spin-dryers, etc. But there is still the smell of wool grease at 5 p.m. in the buses, still the carefully preserved atmosphere of stale cigarette smoke, the dreaming, bored motionless bodies in wool-greasy overalls and macks. The theatre was demolished some time ago—the site is to be redeveloped. At about the same time as the riots over coloured immigrants in Middlesborough, there were several successive Saturday night skirmishes. These had no connection with colour prejudice but were glorified brawls after closing time and the crowds assembled to bait the police.

There is still a lot of opposition and misunderstanding as far as education after the age of fifteen is concerned among the working class. It is still something whose effects are unknown. 'Think you're daft, not sending your kids out to work. Get some money in before they get wed.' Or 'you're still at school aren't ta lad?' Meaning university. The local grammar schools seem to fail in many cases to take these attitudes into account, even if they recognise them. The authors of the recently published book *Education and the Working Class* are old boys of the most prominent grammar school in Huddersfield and conducted their survey from a sample of Huddersfield people. The headmaster of the grammar school lately has introduced even more features of public school culture; such things as gowns for prefects, a complete hierarchy of privileges from top to bottom of the school, school society dinners, special ties and badges. This must seem incongruous in a school of 1,000 pupils built about four years ago on a campus in company with a girls' grammar school and a secondary modern school. Half the teaching staff seems to be guilty of romantic attitudes. On arrival half of them set about devising means of giving the school a sense of tradition. So unsatisfactory head boys are appointed; intelligent people of superior character are driven into childish antagonism, or simply leave. Real talent is wasted. There is a wide and unexamined assumption that Oxbridge is the best and provincial universities are inferior, and are specially for people of inferior ability. Whether this is so or not is unimportant. The assumption remains unexamined. This school is a brick box on a windswept plateau where the saplings grow at forty-five degrees, and is without corridors because it happened to be built during a credit squeeze. Some staff were put off by this, 'it's awfully bleak', but soon put the uncomfortable fact away in their subconscious and strove on with the indoctrination of imported standards. But surely a school placed in such an extraordinary position, with pupils coming from a town of such individuality need not work for a rootless and foreign uniformity. This kind of education sometimes has the most disastrous effects on students when they do arrive at university.

The *Huddersfield Examiner* suffers from lack of competition. It is claimed it has a readership of 98% and the *Huddersfield Weekly Examiner* is read by the other 2%. It is a Liberal newspaper. (The town has strong Liberal traditions and they manage to keep at least one of the two Labour men out of Parliament by a pact with the Conservatives.) In common with most provincial evening dailies it has gone in for more and more national and international news, probably from imitation, not for fear of being superseded. These stories are all obtained from agencies and as a result individuality suffers. Photographs are of poor quality. It is not an avidly read newspaper. Its main function and service seems to be that of the old *Advertisers* and the papers is taken mainly for entertainments, situations vacant, wills, local courts cases and sports news. It could provide more of a service than it does, present a different kind of local news, but it is frightened of giving offence. But journalism is and always will be wide open and one feels it is about due for another revolution.

Huddersfield has three main industries: textiles, heavy chemicals and dyestuffs, electric motors and tractors, etc. The last two grew out of the first. Concern is frequently expressed at the state of the woollens—the uncertain prospects of the industry attract few young workers, the labour force is decreasing, the Japanese now make worsteds of the same quality as Huddersfield and no longer need to pirate trademarks. The heavy woollens section is under severe competition from abroad. But it is a fairly safe industry. You occasionally lose finger-ends if you break the safety regulations. But you don't catch mysterious diseases.

On the tractor assembly-line you can work nights all the time. Once they gave a gold watch to a man who worked about 30 years non-stop on nights. He looked like a ghost and was seen flitting about the streets occasionally, pale-faced. Another man had a series of abdominal operations but still went back on nights. Some people said he had had his ovaries out. 'It's the nights that do it. It's not natural.'

I.C.I. is really regarded as a place where West Indians can work, or semi-skilled labourers. Young people rarely work there for more than six months, unless they have to. For most of the apprenticeship you labour for a fitter and most of the 'fitting' is semi-skilled pipe-work. Still they pay you as a tradesman and the money's good. This 60-year-old foreman had worked there all his life. All the men he worked with at one time in a certain shed had died of cancer of the bladder except him. He said he felt as fit as a fiddle. It was this stuff you breathed in and it wouldn't dissolve.

There is still a considerable fear of occupational diseases, especially of cancer, and they never tell you you're due to peg out. But things are changing fast. They've cleaned up the river by running a sewer alongside of it and they put some fish in the river. It's still occasionally blue or green or soapy though. Black smoke is illegal and smokeless zones are being introduced. A large section of the town centre is being gradually razed to the ground and rebuilt. Gangs of children have been planting trees on the bare hillsides. With these benefits and changes will eventually come, one supposes, red-brick, gables, pebble-dash, yellow-painted houses—they've got them already in the posh areas. But at least no one will ever come to Huddersfield to retire.

mainly for women

From the spring/summer collection of Berg of Mayfair, this white wool collarless coat is a charming reminder that the longest winter will inevitably at last give way to spring. The coat is edged with white braid and worn with a white fringed stole. The approximate price is 24½ gns.

WOMEN TALKING *by Lena Jeger*

IT is strange to read a book in which one expects to find some mirror of experience and then suffers instead a sensation of having walked into a brick wall in a fog. This happened to me over "Education and the Working Class," by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden. The authors, very briefly, are concerned with what happened to 88 working-class children who went to grammar schools in a northern industrial city. There were dislocations, traumas, tensions, cartloads of misery as "working-class" children were confronted by a "middle-class" environment.

I found nearly all of this unrecognisable and I am therefore haunted by the fear that grammar schools are getting more snobbish (which I don't believe), that teachers are less wonderful (which would be sad), or that children are getting less robust (which I do not want to believe). Working-class children have been going to grammar schools for a very long time. All five in our family went, thirty-odd years ago. My father had a stern idea that exams were there to be passed and getting one's scholarship was a matter of course.

If money counted we were working class. Both my grandfathers were colliers. My father came to London after serving in the ranks in the First World War and was glad, among the unemployed heroes, to get a job as a Post Office sorter, gradually working up to a wage of about £5 a week. He kept this job till he retired. We stayed all the poorer because all five of us went to grammar schools. The careful, often ingenious economies that made our education possible were never a matter for reproach, and it was years before I appreciated their extent.

Neither of my parents had any secondary education, but neither did they look on the end of schooling as the end of education. In miners' homes there were always books, borrowed from the minister or bought for a few pence secondhand and lent around the cottages. I remember a Pear's Encyclopaedia which I read over and over under the oil lamp. Then one rich day my father bought a very old copy of Hall and Knight and he was so excited by the new world of algebra that we all had to share it, often with severe resistance. And there was the little library of Sunday school prizes, only taken down after one's hands had been scrubbed clean.

Perhaps we were lucky in our Celtic roots. After all, this book which I cannot understand is about English families in a northern town, so my problem may be geographical. But fundamentally I think the English take education least seriously of all, imposing on culture an aristocratic aspect which creates problems unknown in wilder countries.

When we lived in London we went to grammar schools in a suburb just in Middlesex, a very middle-class area. For me the most incomprehensible sentence in Jackson and Marsden's book is on page 133: "Sometimes classmates forgot such a child's working-class origins." I do not think we ever remembered them. All we were conscious of was money—that some were poorer than others. We accepted this as immutable and insignificant a fact as that some had blue eyes and some had red hair. Now that class has even less to do with money surely the edges are more blurred? In our school among the most well-off were children whose parents were teachers. Now my teacher friends tell me that they teach few children whose parents, by definition "working class," earn as little as they do.

The children in this book had some problems about the decorum imposed by the schools. But for us there was nothing so rigid as the conformist, uncompromising working-class standard of my parents. It was we who had to blacklead our shoes every day. It was my mother, not the school, who would not let us suck oranges in the street or put our elbows on the table. In fact I found the slightly Bohemian manners of my middle-income friends a liberation after our rigid mores.

But perhaps the real difference between us and the unhappy children in the book was that we all went to co-educational schools. Sex is so much more important than class to the young. What matter who your father is, if the captain of the First Eleven takes you home on his crossbar, or the pale Byronic English master lends you a book with his own name in? Certainly our ambitions were never towards middle-class emulation. When we formulated them at all they jumped right over the moon, to Norma Shearer or the Duchess of York.

It is not my experience that the tensions between the generations vary greatly from class to class, nor that they have much to do with schools. My middle-class friends are as worried about the dirty, beat phases of their young as are the poorer ones about winkle-pickers and loud motor-bikes. There are uncounted ways in which a child can grow away from home and behave impossibly. But I do not think, for instance, that many of the young on the Aldermaston march ask each other what their fathers do for a living.

I agree with the authors of this book that there is a tragic wastage of poorer children who leave school too soon. If I were Minister of Education with limited funds I would not give another penny to the universities until I had increased grants of children at school after 15 to something very near student level. Until you do this, you cannot be sure that the right children are going to universities.

"How can we open education to the working class?" ask Mr Jackson and Mr Marsden. Who makes the working class feel that education is not open to them? The worst disservice is to undermine confidence, to destroy the feeling that all give as well as take. After all, Tawney used to say of his WEA days that he learnt more than he taught. Is this not true any more?

["Women Talking" next week will be by Monica Furlong]

The grammar schools are now MIDDLE CLASS NURSERIES

DAILY HERALD Thursday March 29 1962

—but let us shed no tears over that,

says MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE

IN a Socialist home like mine half a century ago, there was one incontrovertible certainty.

This was that public education, as it expanded and extended, would correct and in time eliminate the anti-social ignorance and self-interest which delivered the poor into the hands of the rich.

As secondary school and university places multiplied, we were convinced that the electorate, instead of falling for every foolish stunt and promise, would judge wisely and choose to represent them the candidates who seemed most sagacious and enlightened.

My father (who had himself left school at 13) promoted public education with the zeal of a crusade. He was so sure of the rightness of his own views that he assumed they would automatically recommend themselves to others as a result of further schooling.

I occasionally ventured to question this assumption.

No doubts

If, I argued, the products of grammar and public school education were, almost to a man, bourgeois in their ways and conservative in their views, how could we be sure that proletarian children, similarly educated, would react otherwise?

My father brushed aside my doubts. In state secondary schools, he insisted, the outcome would be different.

Working-class intellectual and moral standards would be raised without thereby destroying zeal for the cause of Socialism and its chosen instrument, the Labour Party.

Having a deep veneration and love for him, I accepted this reassurance.

Looking back now, I can see that our own modest suburban home illustrated the fallacy of his position. Insensibly, we were being absorbed into the very way of life to which, as Socialists, we were most opposed and found most abherrent.

Though I was sent, first, to an elementary school and then to a borough secondary school, I was all the time being drawn into the bourgeoisie.

Dilemma

By the time I found myself at Cambridge, the process was well-nigh complete. Like many another similarly placed, I tried to resolve the dilemma by political extremism.

A social-democratic bad conscience has gained many a recruit, transient or permanent, to the ranks of Communists and fellow-travellers.

Since my time, this process of educating the working-class into adopting middle-class ways and attitudes has gone on at an accelerating pace.

Extending public educational facilities, advocated with such fervour by pioneer Socialists like my father, has failed to realise their expectations. Hire-purchase, not the co-operative fellowship of their dreams, has been the beneficiary.

Blazers have blossomed in Thornton Heath, and the Socialist revivalism of my youth has been submerged in the exigencies of 11-plus and the GCE.

An interesting investigation of how it has all worked, and is working, is provided by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden in their "Education and the Working Class" *(Routledge & Kegan Paul, 28s.)*

Explored

The method they have employed is to take a small "sample" (how I abominate the word!) of some 80 working-class children who have been subjected to higher education up to grammar-school and/or college or university standard.

They explore their family circumstances, their academic and subsequent careers, their personal reactions before, during and after their progress through the upper reaches of the State educational system; and the economic, social and cultural consequences to them, as individuals and as citizens, of this particular sort of education.

The conclusions reached are the rather obvious ones that the process leads to a certain amount of personal disequilibrium, and that those who stay the course necessarily tend to acquire a new social status, and a whole new set of values that go therewith.

In other words, State higher education proves, on investigation, to be middle class rather than working class in its essential character and aims.

Eton and Winchester, and Oxford and Cambridge, are its prototypes; not the old board schools and mechanics' institutes of the first Education Acts.

The working-class child at a grammar school is carried, either quiescently or kicking and screaming, up the social escalator, to emerge speaking as far as possible like a BBC announcer and attired more like Professor Higgins than like Alfred Doolittle.

Ladylike

It is, indeed, a sort of Pygmalion process, whereby many Elizas are moulded, with deliberate or unconscious intent, into a ladylike product.

Is this necessarily undesirable? It may distress old-style Labour Party demagogues, and reduce the Labour vote in housing estates and dormitory suburbs.

But can we really contend that greater economic stability and prosperity should not be allowed to find expression in a more easeful and secure way of life, and in a corresponding diminution of social, economic and political resentments?

Must chokers and cloth caps continue to be worn to keep alive the pristine memory of Keir Hardy? Are slums to be perpetuated so that the Communist Manifesto should still have a cutting edge?

Bourgeois ways are but the outward and visible manifestations of better economic circumstances, and arise just as inevitably in Communist as in capitalist societies. In themselves, they are neither good nor bad.

A savage who puts on a pair of trousers does not thereby become civilised, but in the process of becoming civilised, he will assuredly take to covering his nakedness.

Thus, the mere fact that State higher education tends to promote middle-class attitudes and ways is neither a condemnation nor a justification of it.

Hypocrisy

I freely confess that, however it may have distorted or eliminated my class loyalties, I personally am glad to have had the opportunity to enjoy a standard of life which provided facilities for seclusion, travel and studious pursuits, and enabled me to consort with the rich and the poor, the educated and the uneducated, as I wished.

It would be sheer hypocrisy for me, or any other beneficiary under existing arrangements, to contend that others must be deprived of what we have enjoyed for fear of sullying their proletarian purity.

More important than the class connotation of the State educational system is its inherent quality; the degree to which it produces more intelligent, more humane, more perceptive and considerate individuals out of the working-class children passed through it.

Muggeridge

IN HIS SECOND ARTICLE ON THE STATE SCHOOLS SAYS:

Prizes go to the phoney elite

Bingo for the rest

IN my father's version of an educated Socialist society leisure played an important part. Nationalisation of the means of production would lead to greater efficiency.

Hours of work would be correspondingly reduced, and in the free time thereby made available happy educated workers would organise symphony concerts, engage in readings from Shakespeare and Milton, disport themselves in folk-dancing, participate in dramatic and debating societies and other cultural pursuits.

It cannot seriously be claimed that things have worked out so. A good deal of the literacy acquired through the State educational system is dedicated to completing pools coupons.

Leisure

The television screen, rather than cultural pursuits, provides the readiest and most popular means of occupying leisure hours.

Investigating the consequences of higher education to a group of working-class children, Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden, in their "Education and the Working Class" *(Routledge and Kegan Paul, 28s.)*, reach the conclusion that, for most of them, the educational process was seen as, primarily, a means of getting on in the world. It had meant moving into, and staying in, an A-stream.

Scoring high marks and acquiring various certificates and qualifications were avidly pursued as an end in themselves.

In this, Jackson and Marsden found, the teachers were ardent accomplices. As one of them put it:

I reckon I can do A level

chem, in four terms. Four terms flat out mind. We have to go really fast. We have tests twice a week, but we get the results. For instance, last year I got an open at Pembroke, Cambridge, and an exhibition at Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and then I got half a dozen places. I've got 14 places in the last two years and then these opens. I do pretty well; my results are all right. The way we teach, we teach for results. I want the passes, the schools, and all those things. Tests all the time, and scrub teaching methods, forget about the educational side.

Few teachers would care to go on record in such blatant terms. The attitude expressed, however, is by no means uncommon.

It is about as different from my father's expectations as the Kinsey Report is from "Romeo and Juliet".

What, then, has gone wrong? The root error lies surely in the concentration of purpose on producing an elite rather than attempting to give the whole community some notion of the pleasure and edification of a disinterested quest for greater understanding.

"Can we not," Jackson and Marsden pertinently ask, "begin by accepting the nation, and rooting our schools and colleges in that acceptance, instead of endlessly improving the amenities and efficiencies of an elite system?"

And again:

There is something infinitely pathetic in these former working-class children who lost their roots young and who now with their regid middle-class accent preserve "the stability of all our institutions temporal and spiritual" by avariciously reading the lives of top people.

Adopted

Secondary schools like the one I went to have moved steadily in the direction of becoming like public schools.

Gowns, blazers, speech days, precepts, etc., all the appurtenances culled from "Tom Brown's Schooldays," not to mention the *Magnet* and the *Gem*, have been avidly adopted.

The Battle of Waterloo may have been won on the playing fields of Eton, but the class war was assuredly lost in the classrooms of State secondary or grammar schools.

From the first grisly, and often fatuous, intelligence tests onwards, the prizes go to the most conformist, pliable, and, in a narrow sense, quickest-witted.

The others too often fall by the wayside. Since they cannot learn a lot, they tend to learn nothing. The stud horses are exercised excessively and fed too carefully; the rest are just put out to graze among television's Top Ten and the pulp magazines.

So snobbish and utilitarian a view of education necessary destroys its point. It produces a phoney elite with certificates and long playing records, and a vast array of near-illiterates who increasingly resemble Orwell's proles.

Extremes

"Monitor" and Bingo represent its two extremes. William Hickey and the soap opera script-writers are its chroniclers.

When every scrap of originality and mental zest is sorely needed, it elevates memory at the expense of thought, and inculcates the habit of conformism instead of the questing, questioning spirit which our troubled, confused times so urgently requires.

The wooden horse which, introduced into the bourgeois citadel, was to lead to its capture and sack opens, and out steps a polite and genteel crocodile of boys and girls who ask nothing better than to take out citizenship papers.

"Was it for this I taught thee speech?" Prospero bitterly asks Caliban. A like question arises when one considers the outcome of all the effort and hopes and public money which have been invested in our State educational systems.

So seemingly unsatisfactory a result is liable to create the feeling that perhaps the whole process has been misguided from the beginning.

Nostalgia

There are those, like Richard Hoggart, who have gone so far as to suggest that working-class life had a more authentically cultural content before the 11-plus and the school certificate impinged upon it. They think with a certain nostalgia of Caliban in his grunting, speechless, days. Fish and chips take on a glamorous hue by comparison with processed cheese and instant coffee.

The working-class family gathered round the kitchen range, blissfully unaware of O levels and set books but secure in their own rooted tastes and standards, seem an image of domestic felicity and cultural well-being.

This picture is as fallacious as the comparable Victorian one of the virtuous poor, or as the 18th century one of the noble savage.

Nothing pleases the well-to-do more than to be told that riches are a vain pursuit, or the sophisticated that true happiness is to be found in the jungle and the desert.

The educated likewise can find compensation for the disappointing outcome of public education by persuading themselves that people were better without it.

3 Daily HERALD Friday March 30, 1962.

MALCOLM MUGGERIDGE

Concludes his analysis of State education

WE'RE WORSHIPPING A FALSE IMAGE

WHAT our State educational system signifies is, quite simply, a social revolution that did not happen.

The early Socialists believed, and rightly, that ignorance made exploitation possible. They wanted to abolish ignorance, and education seemed the readiest instrument for the purpose.

My father read voraciously, taught himself French and to play the piano in the intervals of working a 12-hour day to earn a living, and devoting his evenings and much of his week-ends to Socialist propaganda, and, later, to his duties as a Labour Borough Councillor.

His books (Carlyle, Shaw, Ibsen, Tawney, Blatchford, the Fabian Essays, etc.) were dog-eared from much study.

Spared?

He wanted future generations to be spared this excessive effort. They must have the schooling he missed, and undertake easefully the studies which had presented him with so many difficulties.

State schools must provide for the children of the poor the enlargement of understanding which the school fees paid by the rich procured for theirs.

Yet, as we have seen, what has come to pass is almost the exact converse of what he expected.

State education, as it exists today, tends to extinguish mental energy like his or to channel it into careerism and social pretentiousness. The originality of his mind and the adventurousness of his disposition would scarcely have survived subjection to the examination treadmill which emerges in all its stark unloveliness from the pages of Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden's "Education and the Working Class" *(Routledge and Keegan Paul, 28s.)*.

Learning

He read and studied because he passionately wanted to learn, not to surmount a grade. His efforts were directed towards bettering his own mental equipment, not towards social or financial advancement for himself and his family.

Is this to say that his efforts were wasted? Not at all. Because a social revolution has not happened does not mean that it never will or can happen. Our State educa-

tional system is a reflection on those who have fashioned it, not on those who conceived it.

Men *are* better in a state of knowledge than of ignorance. Not even intelligence tests can quite destroy intelligence. Nor does a maniacal obsession with examination results totally preclude a grasp of what examinations are supposed to be about.

If some of the most ignorant and opinionated boobs in Christendom have taken high academic honours it is also true that the light of human understanding can survive even 11-plus, as it has the Dark Ages, Torquemada, the Third Programme, and Stalin.

Nor need we follow Richard Hoggart*, and imagine that a valid and virile working class culture has been snuffed out by state education and the mass communication media which have battened upon it.

The idea of a Fall is endemic in all mythologies, sociological as well as religious. Hoggart's working class cultural Garden of Eden is as legendary as the one from which Adam and Eve were expelled.

No television screen whiled away inane hours, but the pubs were full, and many of those who emerged at closing time stumbled on their homeward way.

As I well remember, there was as much keeping up with the Joneses in back-to-back tenements as there is today in housing estates. Pianos and aspidistras were as much status symbols as motor-cars and washing machines are nowadays.

It is true, of course, that the Labour Party in power failed to develop an educational policy in keeping with its avowed social purposes.

The need

The false image of the elite public school was left intact, with the result that State grammar schools have largely fallen into the hands of those who admire the public school's products and seek to emulate its methods.

We need to be delivered from the prevailing obsession with this false image.

As every revolution throughout history has shown, there is a large reservoir of unused ability in all settled societies. We need this ability as never before. It will not, however, be discovered by schools which try to be like Eton and Winchester, and universities which are set in the dreary mould of Oxford and Cambridge.

If the originals have ceased to perform a useful purpose, how much more must this be true of the copies.

In the days of the British Empire a need existed for an elite such as the public schools are adept at producing. How ironical that, when the Empire's brief days are over, our State grammar schools should be geared to turn out phantom administrators for it!

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* *Author of "The Uses of Literacy" (Penguin Books).*

The White Settlers of Britain

By CHARLES CURRAN*

DISCONTENT in Britain has moved to a new address. It used to reside among the manual workers. There it thrived on slumdom, insecurity, mass unemployment; and it found its voice in the Labour movement. But now that voice is muted. For our post-war revolution has removed the old grievances of the manual worker. Today the State accepts a semi-feudal responsibility for him, supplying him with full employment, a subsidised house, lifelong welfare services, and a pension when he is too old to work. To a great extent, he has gone back from contract to status. Consequently, his political outlook has changed. He has come to resemble the traditional Frenchman; his heart may be on the Left, but his pockets are on the Right. At each general election for a decade it has become harder to get him to vote Labour. He sees the Tories as the guardians of his security. He prefers to do his gambling with bingo and the football pools rather than at the polling station.

But this is an imperfect world. The amount of discontent in any human society seems—like its stocks of matter and of evil—to be irreducible. You can change its shape, its location, its outward manifestations. You cannot get rid of it. The revolution that has swept away the old problems has merely replaced them by others. Now that the ghost of mass unemployment has gone, a substitute spectre is haunting our politics. Its name is inflation. It strikes fear, not into the manual worker so much as into the hearts of the new men—the products of the revolution.

In the process of draining off discontent from the masses, the Tories have called this new class into existence. Now, it seems, it is turning against its creators. Its opening roar was heard at Orpington. There are more roars to come.

Who are the members of this new class? They are the white settlers of post-war Britain.

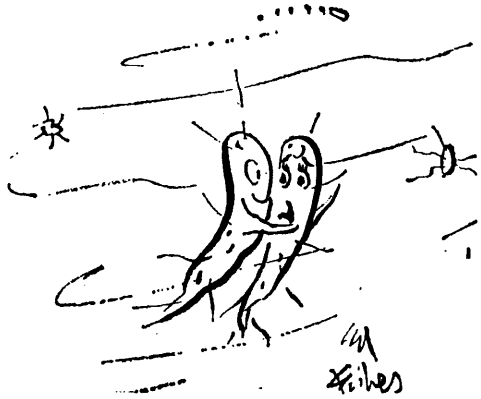
They have been chosen by examination. At the age of eleven-plus they are plucked from working-class homes and placed on the educational escalator built by the Butler Act. The escalator carries them up from Coronation Street to the grammar schools, Redbrick, Oxbridge. Then they step off in order to become the commissioned officers of our society. They are the managers, the executives, the administrators, the accountants, the salesmen, the acolytes of Admass. It is a process of emigration, both geographical and psychological. They move up from one class to another. They move away, also, from their original surroundings. Their greatest concentration is in south-east England —although there are electorally significant clusters of settlers around all our industrial areas, notably in Greater Birmingham. But the zone that they have made their own is the region that lies just beyond the London green belt. Here, in the counties of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Hertfordshire and Bucks, the settlers have their maximum density. They have colonised extensively in what was once—and, to a diminishing extent, still is—the land of the upper middle class. It is traditionally Tory territory.

Emigration from one class to another is a process that necessarily produces psychological changes. You get a clinical picture of them in the recently published *Education and the Working Class* (Routledge, 28s.). The authors of this book, Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden, turn a microscope on a group of boys and girls who have travelled up the escalator from working-class Huddersfield. Their findings are noteworthy; they can be supplemented and corroborated by any politician who has had experience of the settler vote.

Basically, the settler seeks to detach himself from his past. He has put his class origins behind him. He is no egalitarian. He feels that his success in getting on to the escalator marks him off from those who failed to do so. He tends to regard them as the victims, not of a defective social order, but of their own lack of ability. The political implications are obvious.

As an emigrant, he sets out to create his own style of living. The key step here is the decision to buy a house and to equip it with a telephone. By making this decision he crosses a psychological Rubicon. It separates him from the mass, the dwellers in council houses supplied with cut-price shelter by their feudal overlord. (The importance of the telephone as a status symbol for the process is something that is familiar to advertisers and market research agencies—though not, as a rule to politicians. The telephone now is what the grand piano was to the pre-1914 artisan; a badge of achievement.) Inside his house the settler seeks to make a way of life that will differentiate him from the class that he has left. There is significance in furniture—as Mr. Dennis Chapman showed in a recent study that came out of Liverpool University called *The Home and Social Status*. It threw a floodlight on the domestic Briton.

Introversion is the mark of the settler's way of life. But this is not peculiar to him. For if one generalisation can be made with safety about post-war Britain, it is that most of her inhabitants now prefer to look inwards, not outwards. This tendency exhibits itself in all sorts of ways; the absorption in TV, the popularity of do-it-yourself, the boom in home decoration, the family unit that seeks non-gregarious pleasure in the family car. Consequently, politics come more



'But we're supposed to be asexual.'

* Member of Parliament for Uxbridge.

and more to be seen simply as an extension of the citizen's personal circumstances. Political issues are assessed by the yardstick of 'But how does all this affect me?'

Now the settler has suddenly started to wave this yardstick. He is brandishing it at Tories and Socialists alike. For his personal circumstances, so far as politics are concerned, give him an interest in one matter only. That is inflation. The Socialists raised the spectre, and the Tories have failed to exorcise it. When you look at it through the settler's eyes, you have no difficulty in seeing the reasons for his anger.

He is angry with the Left. Full employment gives the organised worker a sellers' market for labour. This enables the unions, year by year, to extract wage increases that outstrip any rise in production. Consequently, the value of money drops. But the organised worker can, to a great extent, contract out of this process by renewing the squeeze. The settler, however, cannot.

Consequently, he is bitterly hostile to the unions, and to Labour as the party of the unions. Does this make him a True Tory? If by True Toryism is meant the castration of the unions, the settler would respond enthusiastically to any cry of all hands to the knife.

But the Tory Party, of course, cannot raise any such cry. For one thing it cannot forget the millions of workers who now vote for it to defend their security. For another, it can hope to cope with inflation only by getting the unions to co-operate; and it will not do that by declaring war on them.

The settler's disgust with Toryism, however, does not stem solely from what he regards as Tory timidity, or its vote-catching readiness to pander to the unions. There is another reason for it. Living as he does on an income from which tax is deducted at source, the settler looks up in anger. Above him he sees the Wicked Rich. Their misdeeds are charted in every gossip column.

Just as the organised workers are able to contract out of inflation by means of trade union pressure, so are the Wicked Rich able to contract out—by means of expense accounts, and capital gains, and speculations in land, and all the other ways of making money without benefit to the Inland Revenue. How numerous the Wicked Rich really are; how far it would be worth while, in measurable cash terms, to grapple with them; whether penal taxes on them would justify the powder and shot necessary for the job—all this, to the settler, is totally irrelevant.

To him, the Wicked Rich are dodging inflation, and the Tories are letting them do it—just as they are letting the unions do the same thing. This is a bi-focal blow that rouses his rage against Right as well as Left. He has suffered more or less patiently throughout the 1950s, hoping that presently the Tories would master inflation. Now his patience has run out.

For inflation, so far as he is concerned, is all that matters. It rouses him now as intensely as the fear of mass unemployment used to rouse the class that he has left. If the Tories are to regain his confidence, they will have to make war on the Wicked Rich—not as a matter of economics, but as a matter of psychology. Unless they do, Orpington will be duplicated throughout the white settlements of Britain.

largely completed—with agreement on the non-controversial points—leaving the Ministers to devote themselves in July to an intensive and hardly interrupted bout of political bargaining. Others less optimistic (more realistic? or just more sceptical about such advance without hitches?) see the experts at work till the summer recess, a pause for reflection, for Commonwealth consultation or for diplomatic contacts, and the 'crunch' in the autumn only. For some time yet all prophecy is premature; and, hardly distinguishable yet never quite dispersed, there hangs upon the horizon the cloud which might loom at any time to set both plans and prophecies awry. Can anyone (even perhaps the French negotiators, whose skill and good faith are not in the least in doubt) be sure that *le Général*, when he has time to turn his thoughts to Brussels, will really want the British in . . . or what his terms will be?

Hoggartsville and All That

A31

HANNAH GAVRON

ONE of the fashions now current in British Sociology, and more particularly among the left of the Labour Party, is to sentimentalize working-class life, to paint a romantic picture of it, rather in the way that the followers of William Morris romanticized Merrie England. This way of thinking is not new, it has its roots in Marxism and the peculiar growth of the British Labour Movement, but only recently has it become respectable in academic circles. After all the Webbs may have studied the working-classes, and worked hard to improve their lot, but they never wrote about them with *love*.

Hoggartsville is by now familiar to us all. It is a world brimming over with extended family life, warmth and neighbourliness, and in this era of affluence, status seeking and acquisitiveness, it has come to be considered an oasis of calm if not quiet. Admittedly the lavatory must be shared with others, there are no bathrooms, the walls are damp, the children all sleep in one room with their parents, and the women are old and tired before they are thirty—but then Man does not live by bread alone.

I do not wish to concern myself here with the accuracy, or not, of this particular view, but to pay some attention to the other side of the coin—the dislike of the middle-classes. The deification of Hoggartsville is usually accompanied by arguments designed to show that for an individual to move from the working-class to the middle-class is for him to fall from grace, to leave the Garden of Eden and walk the paths of original sin. (Echoes of this argument can be heard in the debate between Right and Left in the Labour Party.) A comparison of two of the best sociological books published recently, *Family and Kinship in East London* and *Family and Class in a London Suburb*, both by Peter Willmott and Michael Young, reveals the first book to be glowing with warmth and affection, and the second to be detached if not openly hostile. This is not to say that sociologists should not have preferences or even prejudices. But if, as they intend, their conclusions are to lay a base for future social policy, then it is important to see that these conclusions are indeed based on fact and not feeling. For this reason it seems timely to bring this hostility towards the middle-classes out into the open.

An excellent opportunity for doing this is provided by a recent book by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden—*Education and the Working Class*,* which is concerned with the very real problem of how to open our education system to the working-classes. It is a fascinating book, which, compared to many recent sociological studies, has the enormous advantage of appearing to be about real people as opposed to a set of statistical equations. By now most people will have either read the book or its reviews so that I do not intend to summarize it in detail. What I do wish to discuss is precisely this antagonism towards the middle-classes that the authors are unable to hide, and which emerges in particular from two of the central themes of the book. These are, firstly, that the grammar school culture is essentially middle-class, designed to perpetuate middle-class values, and as such is an alien institution to the working-class child. Secondly, the effect of such an education is to alienate this child from his background and make out of him a rigidly orthodox adult concerned to preserve the hierarchical organization of society, anxious to forget his working-class background. Although these two points are obviously linked, I would like to consider them in turn.

The authors devote a great deal of space to describing the grammar school values, which as they point out are themselves modelled on those

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* *Routledge and Kegan Paul, 28s.*

of the Public School. They show sympathetically but clearly how the ideals of team spirit, loyalty to the house, playing the game, obeying the prefects, and so on are all quite out of touch with working-class life. However, where I part company with the authors, is with their assertion that these are the values upon which middle-class people normally build their life. Anyone who has read the collection of essays—*John Bull's Schooldays* (originally published in the *Spectator*) will know that with one or two exceptions the authors who were undoubtedly middle-class, if a little unusual, disliked and rebelled against just those values the authors call middle-class. Simon Raven in *The English Gentleman* contrasts his own experiences in life, after having been expelled from Charterhouse for homosexuality, with those of his classmates who accepted and conformed to the code. Even allowing for the size of Mr Raven's ego there can be no doubt as to who was better equipped to face reality.

In fact, as has been suggested before, the grammar school imitation of Arnold's muscular Christianity is no more part of the middle-class ethos than it is of the working-class. It is, essentially, an aristocratic ideal left over from feudalism, and, after all, the creation of the public schools in the nineteenth century (upon which the grammar schools are modelled) was aimed precisely at making little aristocrats out of the sons of the rising industrial middle-classes. Thus the grammar school culture, which—let's face it—we all dislike, is as out of touch with the whole of contemporary Britain as the Gentleman whose passing so distresses Mr Raven. The difference between the middle-class and the working-class at the moment, is that the working-class, faced with an educational system out of keeping with their needs, reject it, while the middle-class, prizing education possibly above all things, grab it on the best terms available.

The Working-Class Child

Now to turn to Messrs Jackson and Marsden's second theme—that of the adverse effects of a middle-class education upon working-class children, in particular transforming them from working-class (good) to middle-class (bad) citizens. The grammar schools, the authors demonstrate, by forcing these children into a middle-class mould, cause them to tear up their roots, while giving them no guidance as to where to put down new ones. The result is that the children become men and women who are conformist, who are insecure, who look down the hierarchy with scorn and up with admiration and respect, who fill their three-bedroomed houses with G-Plan furniture—contemporary but not too modern—listen to pop-classical music, pretend they don't like television, and read *Readers Digest*. They have become, the authors imply, typical members of the middle-class, they have exchanged Hoggartsville for Orpington, but the cost, the authors say, has been very high—for one third of the group were emotionally disturbed.

Several points need to be made here. Firstly education, by widening the horizons will inevitably separate a child from his parents, and this is true of any class, upper, lower, or middle. No amount of talk about working-class culture being incorporated into the school culture will alter this. Also it is worth bearing in mind the point made by an angry correspondent to the *New Statesman*, that the psychological shock administered to the working-class child at grammar school is nothing compared to the shock administered to those who are rejected by the grammar school and told to remain where they are.

Crossing the Class-Barrier

Secondly I do not think it correct to infer, as the authors do, that these people have become average middle-class citizens. The grammar school did not teach them to be conformist, rigid, insecure, and so on; nor are these characteristics in any way typical of the middle-class. There is after all more to middle-class life than the lonely conformism of suburbia. Surely it is *moving over the class barrier* from working-class to middle-class that has made these men and women so uneasy and thus so status-conscious. Therefore what is to be deplored, is not that they have *become* middle-class, but that the process of so doing is difficult enough to leave a permanent mark.

Finally, the fact that one third of the sample were in the author's opinion emotionally disturbed, is worrying but not surprising. I am at present engaged in a small piece of research among the working-class (who stayed put) and I have factual evidence to show that well over one third of my sample is emotionally disturbed. Estimates of the distribution of neurosis among general practice populations vary from 10 to

over 50 per cent, but no one who has worked in the field of mental illness would be surprised to hear that one third of a given group of people show signs of emotional disturbance.

All this boils down to the following. The authors, along with a great many people both inside and outside the Labour party, would like to see an educational system which embraces working-class culture, and enables working-class children to be well-educated but remain in Hoggartsville. I am not so sure that this is possible. The authors and their supporters feel that working-class culture is destroyed by middle-class values. I think this involves a romantic view of the working-class (after all, no one, not even Hoggart, has ever really told us precisely what working-class culture really is), and is also based on a deliberate misrepresentation of middle-class values.

The trouble with the British left is that they unfailingly equate middle-class symbols with the enemies of the labour movement, socialism and the working-class. For this reason they must always describe the prosperous in terms which reveal their prosperity to be an illusion, which show the economic victories of capitalism to involve such great cultural losses as to render them useless. I do not think we will ever solve the problems of the working-class and education, or the working-class and anything else for that matter, when this attitude of mind is the starting point for discussion.

Huddersfield Probed

IT is an open secret, I think, that Huddersfield is the town of Marburton, the centre of the investigation into the effects of grammar school education carried out by Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden and published under the title "Education And The Working Class."

This book, reviewed in our columns on Friday, has created quite a stir. Both Jackson and Marsden are Huddersfield men. Jackson's home is in Moldgreen. Marsden comes from Marsh. They were at Huddersfield College and are graduates of Cambridge University, where they were at St. Catherine's College. Both are in the early thirties and themselves have what might be called a working-class background.

January 7, 1962

October 24, 1963

What We Read

HUDDERSFIELD'S choice in reading matter from public library sources appears to reflect a trend which has been apparent in recent years.

We prefer non-fiction to fiction.

This is revealed in the 1962-63 report on Library Services by Mr. R. K. B. Aldridge, the Borough Librarian.

The books in greatest demand have almost all been non-fiction, he says, and lists the preferences for the period under review as follows:

Osbert Sitwell's "Tales My Father Taught Me," Phyllis Bentley's "O Dreams, O Destinations," Brian Jackson and Dennis Marsden's "Education And The Working Class," Edith Sitwell's "The Queens And The Hive," Lord Boothby's "My Yesterday, Your Tomorrow," Cecil Woodman Smith's "The Great Hunger," and Anthony Samson's "Anatomy Of Britain."

Two of these books, Dr. Bentley's autobiography and "Education And The Working Class," written by two former pupils of Huddersfield College, have a strong local interest.

Dennis Marsden
Extracts from an interview conducted by Paul Thompson
Pioneers of Social Research Series
12-13 April and 17 May 2002 in Emsworth, Hampshire.

Dennis Marsden on *Education and the Working Class*

Reviewed by Dennis Marsden, September 2006

Origins of *Education and the Working Class.*

DM (Dennis Marsden): I don't know. I don't know how they worked, I don't know how the other institute members worked together, I wasn't close enough, because I wasn't there very long, you see. I mean, we went off to do *Education and the Working Class* in '59, so this was some time … and I was only a kind of a foot soldier at that time.

PT (Paul Thompson): So you did quite a lot of interviews…

DM: I did … for Wanstead, and Woodford And then I did, which I found fascinating, I became really interested in how much people would tell you, and how easy it was to get in, chat around and so on, although I was quite a shy person really. But I was also desperate by that time, terribly interested in that sort of development.

PT: Did you get trained to interview?

DM: No. Not at all, no. They just turned me loose! What I did, though, which was very important, was, I wrote a letter to Michael Young. To get the job, I wrote a letter to Michael Young, in which I described my background and how I was coming from the working-class and so on and so forth, and how I now felt totally kind of displaced from that, but terribly interested in social life, and I think it was on the strength of that that he hired us, he hired me, and then later on, I think that was the germ of the idea for *Education and the Working Class*.

…I thought that was really … I used to think people told you the truth, as it were, and what you got was how it was, until I met Peter Townsend later on, and he kind of hinted that it wasn't.

DM: It was kind of meant to be discovering working-class lives… I'd written this letter to Michael Young, and so Brian said, "Why don't we do this book about Huddersfield?" you know, "Change and Community" it was going to be called, and we sketched out what became *Working-Class Community* later on, and it was meant to be some of the old things, brass band, Bowling Club, the pub, Working Mens' Clubs. I don't know what else we did. Plus something about young people, how young people were, the Jazz Club, which we were members of, and a café, or something like that, a working-class street. It was sort of sketched out. And Michael Young was at the "Fink Institute", "having a fink" as Peter Willmott put it at the time! And so he said, well, he'd consider it, but would we do some writing? So we actually knocked up a chapter which became "The Working Men's Club" chapter, we went and did it. And also, I think Sheila wrote a biographical piece which I think, I think that's in. I'm not sure whether that's in. And I did, I began to do one on the mill, which became "Life in the Mill", because I did a job in a mill for about a month, as participant observation. So, anyhow, we produced, we produce one

chapter, I think, knocked together one chapter. Whereupon Michael Young, they'd just got the big grant from the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust, which had just had its Terms of Reference changed by an Act of Parliament – I don't know whether you knew that – but they were tied to housing, and the reason why they suddenly got into all the other things is, they changed their Terms of Reference, you know, because housing had been taken over by the public sector at that time, although not since. And so Michael said that they'd got, I think they got £75,000, or something, which was huge in the 1960s, as you can imagine. And he said he didn't want our book, but would we write a book on grammar school? Which, presumably, partly came from … he was terribly interested in meritocracy, and partly from the letter I'd written. So, and we said yes we would. I think I said at the Conference last year[*], I said it was terribly easy. We bought a tea of halibut and chips, and then after tea, we kind of got down on the mat and sketched out what the sample would look like, who we'd talk to. They would be people like ourselves, who'd been to grammar school – from a working class background - been to grammar school and been academically successful, and then what happened to them? And it was interesting. In these days, I don't think any of us was on the phone, Brian stayed in Cambridge mostly, I went up to … I did the bulk of the legwork as it were for it, and he did it when he came up in vacations, he got a lot of vacation as a primary schoolteacher, and I did quite a bit of the travelling about, but he did too, to get the people. The design was that we'd follow up the ones we could get via the parents. And fortunately, because Huddersfield was very stable at that time, although not since, we could trace quite a large proportion. I don't know whether we've got the exact details, but what's really weird as well is that, without any credentials, we bowled up to the School and got the samples, you know, even without an introductory letter, I don't think.

PT: I mean, the whole thing is so different, isn't it.

DM: You'd have to go through ten … ten Ethical Committees!

Sampling.

PT: How did you get the idea of sampling?

DM: Oh, that was what you did. The Institute sampled, didn't it? It was going to be there as a kind of design for the *Education and the Working-Class*. You had a sample of people and you talked to them, basically, and you taped it. That gave you loads of vivid data and then you wrote about it. But the statistics for education were known at the time, they'd had their big Social Mobility Studies – Halsey, Floud and Anderson – and David Glass, Social Mobility in Great Britain. What they didn't know was what the reality was, you know, so it was an ideal design for putting in some qualitative research.

PT: And there were some variations, weren't there, between what Michael suggested and what you did?

[*] Dennis Marsden, "The Changing Experience of Researching Family and Intimate Relations" Celebrating Classic Sociology: Pioneers of Contemporary British Qualitative Research, University of Essex, UK. 5-6 July, 2001

DM: That's right, yes. I mean, Brian was very mistrustful of Michael and said, "It's a good job we live in …" you know, we were based in Yorkshire, we didn't want to be down in London! And, in fact, Peter Willmott didn't like Brian at all, and he said, "If you take my advice, you know, you won't carry on with this partnership. It won't do you any good". "He's no good for you," kind of thing! Which, in some ways, had a certain amount of truth, perhaps. He could see I was a bit under the spell of Brian. But we had one meeting, after a bit. Michael wasn't happy about the design, and so we had a meeting, somewhere in Bethnal Green, some very peculiar place. It wasn't the actual Institute, it seemed to be some kind of café place or something, and I don't know whether Brian was ill, or whether he was extremely nervous. He was really fed up and scowly, very scowly, and said he felt sick all the time. And Michael had two proposals – one was to leave the girls out, and the other was to make it a random sample of sixth formers, rather than a working-class sample, which was exactly what we didn't want, since the whole focus was on working-class, and a random sample would have given us, what, 25 per cent or less even, of working-class, and mostly middle-class. So that was a sort of edgy experience, that meeting. But what was very useful out of that was that the middle-class chapter came out of it. We agreed to do an extra sample, which actually turned out to be extremely interesting, in terms of what the Huddersfield middle-class was like, which was very much different from the Southern middle-class, the public school middle-class. Because they all went through the local Grammar School, which we'd gone through, there was much less social distance, and there were still very old style, you know, there were some very interesting people. They were redolent of the nineteenth century, the Huddersfield entrepreneurs. You know, they were businessmen, they were, not Coketown exactly, but Hard Times sort, you know, practical. There were some wonderful people I met at odd times, doing the research for *Change in Community*, which went on in the interim, we always still did bits and pieces of that.

PT: What about the girls, though? You didn't explain.

DM: Well, Michael Young wanted to cut them out, and we insisted that they be kept in, and he kind of buckled under. There is a myth that they weren't in. Because Michelle Barratt wrote somewhere that they weren't in, and we were accused of it for years after, much to our annoyance. And she was very shirty when I pointed out, I once met her and she said, "So, what am I supposed to do? Apologise? I'm so bloody apologetic", you know! She wasn't apologetic at all! But it was, you know, very early kind of intimation that girls' lives were different.

Methods.

PT: Can I ask you, when you say "the fieldwork", so what kind of methods were you using by that point?

DM: We hadn't got a method, you see. I think the thing about the Institute that was attractive but also, I think, an Achilles heel, was that they were, I think they were determinedly amateurish – in a best sense, rather than the worst sense – in that they, to some extent, despised academic sociology - which was why it was quite sad that Peter Willmott had to get a degree and get special coaching - that they'd almost prided

themselves in not being specialists. Which was probably a good thing, since what they were doing was not really an English mode, was it? It would be seen, in England, as journalism. Whereas in America it was perfectly acceptable, ethnomethodology - not ethnomethodology, but qualitative methodology had been practised ever since the Chicago School and before.

PT: Yeah. Yeah. So it was more anthropology than sociology, in terms of method, at the Institute, wasn't it?

DM: Yes, it was. Yeah. Well, no, it wasn't really anthropology. You see, it was a survey method, wasn't it, which wasn't anthropological.

PT: Yes, but combined with this observation that you're talking about.

DM: Yeah. Well, though, they didn't do much of that, did they? Yeah, we were using anthropology. But, I mean, that was just … I don't know where we got that from – Zweig, or somebody like that. We just kind of made it … it just happened, that was the way to do it. We did interview individuals, but informally – or I did, rather.

PT: And you kept a note about them?

DM: I didn't record them. I think that's the other thing which we didn't say yesterday was that, as Michael Young was priding himself, he got a better record by remembering what had been said. And you do get something different; you do get something which is heightened and more vivid and less hesitant, and smoothed out, than by using those little tape-recorders. I don't know why they didn't record I think the tape recorder, itself, was a bit daunting, it had little spools that went round on top of it, things waved around and it was a bit hypnotic, and it was about that size, it wasn't a very big thing, it was quite small, quite handy, but a bit off-putting. It was a funny colour as well, and we never thought it would be useful, and we were a bit embarrassed about using it, quite honestly. We didn't think you could.

PT: And would you write that up afterwards, or did you keep notes at the time?

DM: I'm sorry to use the turd image again, but it was like a massive turd which had to be evacuated as soon as possible, either on the day, or I used to make notes, scribbled notes, and key words and such. I think we prided ourselves on having rather good memories, but I wouldn't have liked to check that. But I'll say a bit more about that. I realised it was absolutely not on when I first interviewed an Afro-Caribbean for Workless, and I realised that the speech patterns that he used were just so different, with whole words and bits of sentences missed out, or transposed, and also the emphasis, that I did then begin to record for that book. But before that, we almost prided ourselves in that method. We had a kinship chart for Education and the Working-Class, where we filled in the chief kin, and there were some…

PT: And you also, I remember noticing in *Education and the Working-Class*, there's lots of vivid visual details too.

DM: Yeah, the homes and things.

PT: Yes. Who was doing that?

DM: I think both of us did that, yes. I mean, that was part of the brief, I think. I remember the potty under the table, that is one of Brian's, the un-emptied potty.

PT: But would you say you learnt a way of writing up, through working with Brian?

DM: I suppose we did, but not consciously. We kind of swapped … I did the first interviews. I was sent away to do three pilots. One of the pilots I did on me, which was rather fun, I'm afraid that I began my career with fraud, I produced a version of an interview with myself, in which I describe various kinds of puzzlement, and even put in gestures and pauses, and things like that. And they said that was a very perceptive interview! Not surprising! But then there were another two which were done on people, I don't know where we got the people, but I remember Brian being terribly excited by the stuff. So we did reflect backwards and forwards.

PT: And in writing, was that very much a joint thing? The process of writing?

DM: Yeah, it was kind of to and fro. I think, in the end, if you look at the vision, and you look at the kind of life that is celebrated most, it's nearer to what Brian's was. And my end is … I think I was more the middle-class end anyway, I think I did more on that, and I did more on the school leavers bit. But also, the pain, the pain end was my end. The man who's going to jump off the balcony, and all his friends down at the bottom, saying, "Jump, Henry, jump!" That was a very close friend of mine, and we were in that sort of alienated group, we'd have been the centre of that alienated group. In fact we could have been in the sample. Some people would have put themselves in. But in terms of vision, I think it has the kind of vision that I wouldn't have arrived at, in a way, from where I was in Huddersfield. And you get some of that contrast if you look at the difference between that and Breakthrough. Brian was writing *Working-Class Community*, and that's, really, if you look at Brian's life, he partly never got out of that. It's a bit like, Michael Young was a bit sentimental about the working-class, but, in a way, I think Brian was a bit sentimental about it there. And he certainly was in *Working-Class Community*. Yet those people were there, at the best, that working-class, that idealistic … you know, the man who remembers when you're in the higher places, that Mr. Bleasdale, I think it is, that that sort of idealistic working class man was there in the sample. I think they may have more emphasis than some of the others, the more vicious end, as it were, or the more middle-class end. Really, the shading is more weighted towards that. It's all in there. I think, in that sense, we were an ideal combination; I was more towards the respectable end. But I remember they were expecting, the Headteachers were shocked, the Headteachers were violently hostile to the picture that's produced, when we did go and talk to them about it. They wanted to suppress it and all sorts; they couldn't believe that this was how people in their school felt! So it was quite interesting in that respect –having given us a free run, and we got in and got away with the data, as it were, and then written it up.

PT: So how did you get round that problem?

DM: We just, I mean, we got the data, but we went to the schools, we got lists of parents, they got the School Registers out. At that time they had the parental occupations in, so we copied out all the ones that had got – between certain years –who'd got working-class

occupations for parents. We then went to the addresses they gave, and traced them as far as possible, and got a very high proportion, because they hadn't moved, because it was a very stable population, as I say, in Huddersfield, at the time.

PT: But when the schools objected, what was your line then?

DM: Well, they couldn't do anything then, could they? I mean, it was a bit tough, you know! Yeah. I mean, Brian, interestingly, Brian had been given a reference, by the Headmaster, to take to Cambridge, whom he hated and the Headmaster hated him, he steamed it open and found it to be unfavourable, like, "Do not accept this student..." I don't know what it said exactly, he then took it to the Headmaster and handed it back, and said, "I'm not having this". And he thinks it's partly because he didn't have a reference that St. Catharine's let him in, because they thought he was a bit unusual, compared with the sycophantic kind of reference that people like me took. And he had a rather prickly relationship with St. Catharine's, too.

Contemporary thoughts on *Education and the Working Class*.

PT: Yes. Well, we can talk about that later on. But there's one thing, I don't know whether you want to talk about that now, or tomorrow. You've talked about the process of writing Education and the Working-Class, but you haven't really given what you think about the book now.

DM: I think it was an extremely good book, and I think it was a book of its time. I think what's amazing is it had such an enormous impact with such a very small sample, but I think it convinces at the level of myth, rather than fact. People set the 'A' level question is, "Criticise the methodology". That's nit-picking. It's not about that. It's got a kind of emotional truth, and captures a moment.

PT: But when you say it succeeds at the level of myth but not fact, what do you really mean?

DM: Well, you couldn't possibly base any kind of scientific conclusions on that sample of eighty-eight from one area's Grammar Schools. But it's never been repeated, and it was enormously successful, it sold hundreds of thousands – although we never made any money out of it. So, at some level, it must be emotionally convincing, it must be coherent. It has a coherent argument, and it performs, I think, one of the ideal functions of qualitative research, which is to explain what's going on. When you've got large data sets with fairly striking messages but you don't understand what it is, or, at least, you've got the wrong idea of what it is, it gives you a different explanation of what's going on. But it also works at the level of novel, I think; it communicates people, through people. It gets pictures of people. Which is, you know, that's always what I thought that Peter Townsend has lost!

CELEBRATING CLASSIC SOCIOLOGY: PIONEERS OF CONTEMPORARY BRITISH QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

5-6 July, 2001

Dennis Marsden

The Changing Experience of Researching Family and Intimate Relationships

I must thank Paul for giving me this stimulus, to think through my last 40 years of research. *Education in the Working Class* was written in 1959, I realised with a shock! I like the idea of being a pioneer of qualitative research sociology too: it rather appeals to me. Perhaps I can evoke a thought provoking episode at a recent conference. I was queuing for the loo one night, and a woman came up to me and said, "Didn't you used to be Dennis Marsden, who wrote *Education in the Working Class*?" And I agreed, "Yes, I was". But I felt, internally, "Well, I'm not really that Dennis Marsden any more!" And the sense of strangeness increased when I went to a session later on, on the period of the 1960s and education, and, I tried to correct the speaker as to some information that she was giving out, and she turned to me and she confronted me, and said, "No, I'm sorry. You're wrong". She said, "I've researched this period, and it was as I say. I'm afraid you'll just have to take my word for it".

This raises, two sorts of questions, or two sorts of thought. One is that I used to be much more famous than I am now, and I've had this *Education and the Working Class* as a millstone which I acquired at the beginning of my research career, so a famous evanscent. But the other thing is, of course, how far can you believe what qualitative research says? Can you believe what they say?

I'm going to revisit about three bits of work, some, as I was just saying to Janet Finch, "pre-Feminist", if I can use that phrase, and some are very definitely post what's happened in Feminism. But all my work has been, apart from one or two deviations, about family and marriage. It has all been qualitative, but done with rather different kinds of approaches, so I want to pick out methodological moments of how and why, why I changed. It's really creating a kind of narrative out of contingencies, a social construction

of a career that doesn't really have this kind of coherence. It's also giving a bit of a context, which was lacking when my data was plucked from my reluctant grasp and put in the Archive as I left Essex. And I draw a little on what various people have said throughout this session. I began with quite a coherent talk, and it's finished up a kind of mass of Sellotape and whatnot, from trying to write in what various people have said. It's going to be a sort of "owning up", but I'm afraid not a very deep one. To begin with *Education and the Working Class*, which is about family - although it very nearly wasn't. Brian Jackson and I grew up in Huddersfield at the same time, myself from a respectable home-owning, teetotal, chapel-going family, Brian from a Council estate, much more a rough and ready lifestyle. So, in a way, we had a lot going for us as a team, insofar as we could cover the whole of the working class, or quite a large chunk of it, in terms of perspective. We went to the same Boys' Grammar School in the 1950s. But we didn't come together until we arrived, accidentally, at the same college in Cambridge, 1951-1955, and we both experienced the acute tensions between our home lives and our university experiences.

Our response, though, was not *Education and the Working Class* initially, it was to about doing a community study, which were all the go at the time, although, in fact, the community studies were were very often family studies, as some of them made explicit in their title, some not. But ours was going to be brass bands, bowling clubs, work in the mill, Working Mens' Clubs, the purpose being to show that life wasn't changing as quickly as the media pundits had it, you know, "We've never had it so good", embourgoisement and all that, we didn't buy it. And, indeed, we went to see Richard Hoggart, and L.S. Lowry, the painter, who also celebrated the survival of the traditional way of life. Coming out from National Service in 1957, the Institute of Community Studies work caught our imaginations very powerfully, and I got a job as an interviewer, knocking on doors in Dagenham, Woodford and so on. It was quite good experience as a beginning, but we also tried our proposal for a community study on Michael Young, .

Michael, however, was either writing, or had just written, *The Rise of the Meritocracy*, and was obsessed by education, and I'd written to him, a kind of autobiographical letter when I applied for my job, describing my plight as being a kind of **déraciné** working-class person who didn't really know who he was, or where he was, and that may have influenced Michael, to ask us to do research on education, rather than this rather abortive

community study. The only thing we did was, we negotiated with him to include girls – he wanted to leave out girls. He also wanted the study to be a random sample of grammar schools, which would have given us two-thirds working-class. We weren't interested. So we compromised. We kept in girls, he allowed us girls. We did mostly working-class, but put in a small middle-class sample. And this is actually very useful. It's very useful to have that antidote, or that counterpoint, to working-class life. Again, I dipped into autobiography. Michael asked us to do some pilots or something. I interviewed myself, I produced a fake interview where I was both subject and object of the interview! And as is very common now, but wasn't then, I interviewed a couple of friends as well. The eventual design, of course, was much better than the community study for answering our purpose, which was to ask, "How far is our experience of tension generalisable to a wider group of working-class pupils in our situation?" In retrospect, our view of research was extremely naïve, and thank goodness it was, in some ways, or we'd never have done it. It was astonishingly easy to do. After a treat of halibut and chips, we felt as though we'd won the pools, to get this job! We designed the study on the carpet, one evening. It only took about an hour or something. It was to be a sample of working-class boys and girls, traced by their parents, still resident in Huddersfield, with our equivalent to 'A' levels, Higher Second Certificate, our own age – 25, at the time. Although it was 88 individuals, which is quite big as qualitative studies go, although not as big as Peter Townsend's, for example, the sample was criticised by the press at the time, as being not adequate. But the curious thing is that that book had an enormous impact. Partly because it was written, as Michael Young recommended, to be available to general readership, and, indeed, it went into Penguin very quickly after that. But also, I think, because it operates not so much as data, but at the level of myth, a myth which spoke to the times about loss of community and so on, which fitted very well in the 1950s.

A curious thing, in terms of autobiography, was that although we told the reader that we wanted the reader to look at us looking at our colleagues, in fact, we gave no information about ourselves. We didn't put ourselves in the sample, although we could have been. It wasn't until much later, I think about eight years later, that I wrote an autobiographical note, in response to an invitation from Ronald Goldman, to a book unfortunately called, *Breakthrough*. Brian did not contribute on that occasion.

The following is an autobiographical account of Dennis Marsden's experiences as a working-class grammar school pupil in Huddersfield and Cambridge Undergraduate. His experience covers the same period examined in *Education and the Working Class*.

It was published in the following book:

Ronald Goldman (Ed.) *Breakthrough: autobiographical accounts of the education of some socially disadvantaged children*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968): 106-123.

BREAKTHROUGH

Autobiographical Accounts of the Education of Some Socially Disadvantaged Children

EDITED BY

RONALD GOLDMAN

I don't know if you'd like to include this in the Readiness collection. The whole book by Goldman is very relevant, though the title is misleading ...

Best wishes

Dennis

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VII

DENNIS MARSDEN

Sociology Research Officer, University of Essex

In 1951 at the age of eighteen I was the first of my family ever to go to Cambridge. Subsequently, Brian Jackson and I traced 88 ex-grammar-school pupils of about our age, who like us had come from working-class homes in Huddersfield. We asked them and their parents to describe their education and changing family relationships, and we wrote a book about these experiences called *Education and the Working Class*. The story of my own education repeats some of the main themes of the book, perhaps linking and highlighting them in a slightly unusual way. However, in the present volume of essays I think it's worth making the case again. The working-class child who gets through the education system by the conventional grammar-school route is frequently the subject of unusual forces and circumstances. And he may become a puzzled and insecure adult.

My aunts found *A Taste of Honey* appallingly immoral, *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning* remote but more recogizable. They belonged to a respectable, even Victorian, family of a type which tends to be overlooked in these times of Hoggart and Sillitoe. My father would recall how, when he was a child, on Sunday they were never allowed to sing a comic song or tell a joke, and how he himself had been brought in and made to stand at the cellar head for two hours because he had called somebody a devil. On Sunday evenings they would assemble for singing at the piano. Propriety of behaviour and thrift, with both money and feeling, were the roots of their respecta-

bility; keeping up appearances, keeping up one's standard of living, looking after one's money, keeping a tight rein on emotion. Deferential, upward-looking and prim, the family had initially at least a strong belief in the virtues and rewards of hard work, and a powerful sense of guilt and personal salvation. Below them, all around, was a rough working-class whose downfall was drink, a menace to both morals and pocket.

The seeds of respectability were there in my grandfather's day. He was a gas-meter inspector, not a great job, but one with some status and security. My father, his twin brother and five sisters were all born in a village suburb of Huddersfield, and until comparatively late in life never moved out of a radius of half a mile of one another. They nearly all worked in the mills as menders, spinners or weavers, but they eventually achieved minor supervisory posts, or met and married through their religion thrifty men who bought their own houses and usually other houses besides. Yet they were staunch Labour supporters, wavering only very little towards the edges of an old-fashioned Liberalism. If they did in any way identify with a higher class it was not the body of local burgesses or the small mill-owners and tradesmen with whom they had to do each day, but some remote professional or even higher class whom they never saw. They were nonconformist by tradition, although in fact more of them were church members than chapel. My aunts lived a rich organizational life centred on the church and Mothers Union, and through this they had a wide range of contacts. Sometimes they met socially their children's teachers, even head-teachers. There were, however, limits strictly set as to how much and in what way one could participate without attracting a charge of social climbing.

My father had a small, shy talent which was crushed by the circumstances of his upbringing and working life. He was a brainy boy, and recalled often with wry pride that he used to get nine out of nine on his school reports, three for reading, three for writing, and three for arithmetic. More than once an essay of his on 'A Loaf of Bread' or 'The Adventures of a Penny' had been so successful that he was taken into the upper school to have it read out. Unfortunately, when my father was

only five his father died, and left my grandmother to bring up a large family as best she could. There was no possibility of my father sitting the scholarship, even though his older sisters must have been working by then. At thirteen my grandmother took him to a local mill and asked them to set him on: 'He's a poor fatherless lad, and Ah want to do t'best Ah can for him'. The best they could do was five shillings a week, sweeping up, fetching fish-and-chips for the older men who could afford them, and doing all the most boring jobs in the mill, such as reaching in, hooking threads over the end of a tool which someone pushed through the comb in a loom. As the experience came across to us children in my father's description the parallel was with the blacking factory days of Charles Dickens (in *David Copperfield* which incidentally, along with *Martin Chuzzlewit*, my father won for a Sunday-School prize). The acute consciousness of a wasted life, the bruising and blunting of a shy personality by the rough world of the mill, became the more unbearable to my father as he never got away from that world or even that particular mill. Not altogether joking, he would say for the shocked amusement of the rest of the family, 'If Ah'd known then what Ah know now, Ah'd have thrown meself in t'cut' (canal).

A tougher, more resilient, more adventurous man might have risen above this. He did try to break out. As a young child I recall his neat drawings of loom gears and shuttle mechanisms from his Tech. classes. He also learned cloth designing. But the depression further handicapped him when, with a young family, he was prevented from changing his job from the small mill where he worked to a larger place with more opportunity for his skills. As it was, his efforts merely resulted in his being given still more odd jobs to do without him attaining any one outstanding skill. Before I went to grammar-school these Tech. classes stopped, as in the evenings a more than physical weariness would overtake him. I chiefly remember him spasmodically reading, dropping into a doze, waking to listen to the Home Service. In his middle forties, he looked desperately round for an escape and contemplated a panic emigration, to Cumberland, to Devon, or to Norwich. He was offered a partnership in a firm, but he hesitated too long. After that his working life

was a slow decline, made bitter-sweet by our success at grammar-school.

My friends who met him in later years would have found it difficult to imagine his earlier reputation as something of a deep freethinker. The shelf at home still holds an Esperanto dictionary. He had once given a paper on Malthus to the chapel Young Men's group, and for a time he was a chapel trustee. He was a member of the committee of a Refugee Relief organization, and also of a Friendly Society. Yet, ironically, as he saw his children enter (as he thought) a less socially-trammelled world by means of education, his own confidence ebbed and his sense of imprisonment grew.

He still remained, in a dulling routine, surprisingly literate. He read Hardy, Conrad, Galsworthy, Jane Austen, Dickens, the Brontës, and a host of others. When we went to school he found a limited delight in poetry, from *Palgrave's Golden Treasury* and a curious volume called *1001 Gems of English Verse*. He admired particularly the famous bits from Shakespeare, for their high diction and, as he said, deep thought. Regularly we all went to the library, and if what my mother read was usually something romantic, at least it was in a library book, so the joys of a good read were early and constantly impressed on us by example. This literacy ran through the rest of the family. My father's eldest sister could occasionally win national crossword puzzles, and wrote letters to the papers.

My father and mother had met through chapel, my mother having come down from Cumberland into service in the house of a big mill-owning family. The widows and spinsters of the house had strong financial and spiritual links with the local chapel, and all the servants had to attend service there three times on a Sunday. After chapel, suitably chaperoned by a plain friend, my mother and father would walk out. Typically their courtship was long and cautious. My father was thirty-two when they married, by which time they had amassed enough capital to buy a house, and my mother had delivered an ultimatum that she could stand the big house no longer. Her family come little into the story of my education. Having been thus severed from her source of growth, she lived out her life very intensely through us children. Our month-long visits to Cumber-

land once a year were like a foreign adventure into a more free and easy world of council-house dwellers and hard drinkers. For my mother's relatives were in some ways the warm embodiment of that harsh, indigent image which the Marsdens had made of the rough working-class.

To a child at the younger end of the Marsden family, life was cosy and protected. True, there were the occasional disappointments—a tricycle, when what one really wanted was a proper bicycle with a chain—but we were well fed and reasonably dressed. We were too young to know when my father's wage was unforgettably (and unforgivably) cut from three guineas to three pounds a week. I and my brother ate our meals at table with our parents, beneath a picture entitled, I think, *The Puritan's Dilemma*, showing a man in a tall hat torn between bread and red wine offered by two serving women. On Sunday afternoons we walked through the countryside or looked at Victoriana in the local museum after Sunday School. Sunday School calls up memories of the dreaded anniversary, sententious addresses by fat ladies and gentlemen; chapel bazaars with bran-tubs, and concerts where men sang comic songs and ladies sang excerpts from Handel. Our whole family had a tightly reciprocal visiting pattern. There would be formal teas between different aunts and uncles and children, with an inflexible menu of salad, tinned fruit and cream, and cakes, cake-baking carrying much status. Parties at birthdays and Christmas times had games such as 'King William' at first, but later we had brain-twisters, jumbled words, 'Country, county, town . . .' spelling bees. Then the newly-fledged grammar-school pupil could shine, and the younger hopefuls polish their verbal skills. There was no conscious preparation in all this, but how perfectly these games must have dovetailed with the scholarship exam.

Although we were a reading family, our bed-time story would be perhaps a reminiscence of naughty Harry Appleyard climbing out of the back window when the police came to get him for pinching apples, or some other story of misdoings calculated to thrill a well-protected child. In bed and in the talk at family parties the picture of family history and myth was built up. One ancestor was Black Alf, a stern lay preacher. Another was

a real aristocrat: like many other families we should have been riding in our coaches, for according to the story my great grandmother was the beautiful but wayward daughter at a large house and she had eloped with a Marsden gardener. All day long she would sit in her gown and never do a hand's turn, for she knew nothing of housework.

I used to wonder if this was why my eldest aunt spoke with what we all considered a neutral English; she spoke 'nicely' and so did her children, somehow the way people in a state of nature would talk. But possibly it was a spell of some years as a children's nurse which had left their mark in deference and aspiration. At the other end of the speech scale was my father's brother, a rough diamond who spoke more nearly standard Huddersfield-workman than anyone else in the family. He learned comic monologues about Albert Ramsbottom and Pendleby Pit. At family parties there was a curious tension between him and the prim young high-school girls who wanted to recite 'Bunches of Grapes', by Walter de la Mare.

My uncle's comic role, was paralleled in the family's treatment of those members of the rough working-class with whom they had face-to-face relationships. We laughed with a slight shock at their apparent fecklessness, violence or the directness which to us bordered on rudeness. A Barnsley branch of the family were miners, mighty drinkers and fighters, and one popular story was how it took six policemen to get Great Uncle Ratcliff to jail. Black beer shandy was the nearest we came to real beer at our family parties.

One uncle was a member of the Huddersfield Choral Society, and every year he could get tickets for several relatives to hear a performance of 'The Messiah'. So it was *our* 'Messiah', and we felt at such times that the eyes of the musical world were on our Huddersfield. Handel led the younger members of the family into appreciation of other music, although our elders remained curiously frozen to this one work. The Brontës were a literary counterpart of our musical stake in high culture. Most of the family had probably read *Wuthering Heights* or *Jane Eyre*; but somehow this was irrelevant. To go and have tea at Haworth village seemed in itself a literary experience, all of a piece with hearing Wilfred Pickles read 'Wee bonny brid'

on the Home Service. Imperceptibly this culture fused, via Yorkshire, with the Yorkshire branch of Royalty at Harewood.

Now out of all these adults in my father's generation, only one had any secondary education and that was at Central School. Yet out of the children who made up my generation only one failed to pass the scholarship, and she was paid for to go to commercial school. The rest went mostly to grammar-schools, although three of the boys ten or fifteen years older than me went to technical school on the advice of middle-class church acquaintances. The eldest boy of all, who went to grammar-school, later gained an external degree and quickly rose to become a senior Civil Servant. One of the boys who went to technical school eventually became a teacher through financial support from his parents. Later, another boy in the family was paid for, initially, at university after he had made the double mistake of leaving grammar-school at sixteen and studying the wrong subject at the Tech. for two years; he became a doctor. Three of his four sisters became nurses: one of the nurses is now Health Visitor in charge of a region; another sister married a doctor. The fourth sister married a high-grade Civil Servant. Two other girls in the family became teachers, and married teachers. A girl history graduate became a regional Child Care officer. My brother after graduating has become an electronics engineer. I was next to the youngest in this generation and I reached Cambridge.

Looked at in another way, five out of the fifteen children gained degrees, another three reached training college, and nearly all the remaining girls took nursing courses to an advanced level. In the *next* generation some children are already at public and direct-grant schools; others may go. One of my cousins tried to send a boy to Eton!

My father didn't exactly choose our primary school, but when upon marriage he bought a house in a very mixed area he invested his money better than he knew. We were in the catchment area of a most 'successful' school. The district shaded rapidly from back-to-back houses (with outside toilets, no bath, and a cellar-head kitchen), to suburban 'semis', and again to corporation houses. We had an inside toilet and bath in our

small terrace house, but about half my friends had no such facilities. In our front street lived both our first infants teacher and the man who was to become our last sixth-form master. Children born near the centre of town by the gasworks thought our district decidedly 'posh'. Yet our house cost only £500 when new.

The local school was so successful because it crammed its pupils. One of my earliest recollections of lessons is kneeling at a bench when I was six or seven with the panicky consciousness that I was required to write a story. Perhaps I read too much into the incident, or gave the wrong slant. It is vivid for me because it catches the pattern of my later education, when like over-cultivated land too much production was extorted from me for the amount of food given to the vital centres.

At this time my mother's employers were on visiting terms with the heads of the grammar-schools which my cousins attended. But this visiting was very different from ours, for although the employers were kind and took a strong interest in me right up to university, tea at the big house was an awesome occasion and we felt poor relations. What impelled me towards grammar-school was not this glimpse of genteel life nor any concrete ambition for the future. It was fear of the bigger working-class boys at the elementary school. Juniors had to pass through the 'Big Boys' department during the vital two years before the scholarship examinations, and here discipline was much tougher and more brutal. Totally enveloping those big boys was an air of violence largely of the teachers' making, for the school's grinding routine of testing had to be imposed with the cane and the fist. At eight, boys and girls were segregated; and I did not again have an easy relationship with a girl until I was twenty. Arithmetic and spelling tests absorbed the attention formerly held by crushes. Though I *knew* my immersion in this world was to be only temporary—my brother having just passed for grammar-school—it was traumatic. I tried to stay away from school. Each week we were rearranged according to test results, and I sat always in the top three, but no one could avoid the wholesale caning of the last year. When the scholarship came it was an enjoyable release.

My father had time off work to take me to the grammar-

school. Yet in this proud moment I had a sensation which has come to me again twice in my education. More than sheer loneliness, I knew what a mountaineer feels on an exposed climb. My three best friends had all gone to other schools. Equally promising with me, Jimmy was an orphan so he went automatically to the technical school (a fact, by the way, that did much to fix the knowledge of that school's lowly position in our minds). Malcolm's mother wanted him out working, so he also went to that school. Bobby passed on a different list from me and went to the third-choice grammar-school. He became a mill worker. I have scarcely had any contact with him since.

After a while, I regained a nervous equilibrium, though few could ever have been really comfortable in that grammar-school. Nobody caned me. They didn't need to, for the demands of work kept us on edge, particularly the top five or so. We were trained on a four-year fast course by a system of fortnightly marks and testing in every subject. Good work was rewarded by a half-day holiday. Then—poor caged birds that we were—we experienced infinite loneliness at being out of lessons for an hour or two.

Those first years at grammar-school must have been times of hardship for my parents. They had to buy books at that time in addition to the uniform and games equipment. My mother went back to work, to pay for these things as it appeared to me: in moments of stress later she would say, 'I should have made you leave.' But there never seemed any alternative to grammar-school. Difficulties in no way weakened our resolve, though they did deepen my sense of obligation. My repayment was to sit ever longer over my homework (with the wireless very firmly off), while the tight little circle of dozing father and ironing mother grew tighter, and so did the pressure for success.

After the first few months my father couldn't help me with school work. But my brother close ahead of me at school became a substitute middle-class parent and the sort of guide he badly needed himself at several stages of his school life. As the first child in an unfamiliar situation he seems to have escaped some of the pressures which bore on me. His strong

scientific curiosity got him through school, but he was less amenable to bullying in subjects which didn't interest him. Also he had trouble with languages, where more outside help would have been useful. About the third year he slipped from a precarious position in the A stream to the B's. This was obviously a humane action on the school's part; and subsequently my brother was overlooked in the grooming for Oxbridge and quite easily achieved his limited objective of a scholarship to Leeds. But to my parents the move downstream was an occasion for tears, recriminations and bad temper, a very powerful object lesson for me had any been needed. My brother had to help me with languages, for early on I took a Latin test having no conception of vocabulary, number, declension, case, gender or conjugation, and I got nought out of ten. That same evening my brother was forced by my parents to persevere with me until I had a working basis for learning the subject. I could never have asked the teacher. Possibly this help, as much as anything else, was crucial in keeping me in the running for Cambridge.

The art-mistress noted that I wouldn't use my imagination; but the whole school, the whole town and region, were geared to the sciences and technology. Most teachers lacked the will and technique to tap the inner lives of their pupils. In the A stream we dropped art very early; but the C stream continued with it, and this impressed upon us that such subjects were frills. I became a rote learner, and the few subjects demanding insight or personal vision came to appear unpredictable. Like slinging mud repeatedly at a brick wall in the hope that some of it would stick, I read *David Copperfield* five times all through for School Certificate. Then I felt vaguely cheated when English Literature and History were the two subjects in which I failed to get distinctions in that examination.

I had distinctions in all my science subjects. My brother was already reading science. The school's senior teachers and sixth-form masters (who, incidentally, lived within a stone's-throw of my home) were a chemist and a mathematician. I felt that arts subjects led merely to teaching. Five out of the top six boys in the A stream, including my two best friends, took science and maths. in the sixth form. So although I had no

deep interest or involvement, as opposed to dexterity, in science it seemed the only possible choice of course.

I was forced to recognize the weakness in my position early in the sixth form during a mathematics lesson. The new teacher began by telling us that we were together on a different footing from boys lower down the school. We were here as students, not schoolboys. We were here because we wanted to learn. In that instant my path visibly narrowed. I looked round and noted how very *few* of us there were. I realized that I was there for many reasons, not least among them sheer inertia, obligation to my parents (and to teachers as the most successful boy of that year), and fear of leaving school. But a real desire to learn mathematics and science just was not among them. I found the work possible, but more and more difficult as I got further up the school.

Again I recovered, but the heights now seemed more vertiginous. I became conscious of my accent for the first time. I had no friends other than those I saw in class each day. And here the field of friendship was limited by a sort of jealous competition for the attention of masters and for the reassurance of academic superiority. (Many years later when my chief rival—making *his* escape from a narrow education—was killed in a climbing accident in the Himalayas, I was shocked to discover a sense of relief.) At first my mind had not been fixed on University. In spite of that grammar-school was always a state of waiting, almost of suspended animation, a kind of monastic novitiate. Only one of my close friends had any sort of relationship with girls. For the rest of us sex was confined to fantasy or lone visits to American musicals, which involved me very painfully at times. My brother's demotion was attributed by my parents and the school to his youth club. And relationships with girls were officially frowned upon apart from the carefully organized debates and inter-denominational sixth-form conferences. In our case, discouragement was hardly necessary. I was emotionally frozen, and sex came to have two aspects for me. It was a danger to academic work. And more than that it was lower-class. The friend who knew girls lived on a notorious council estate, and central-school boys whom I met at the town swimming-club also had girl friends. They

seemed more confident and complete; yet all the time I felt that I was Grammar-School and my day would come.

I joined no societies at school apart from the music club, and went on no school trips. I excelled only in the highly individualistic and very lonely sport of competitive swimming, where my approach was curiously similar to that of school work. Against the odds—I feel rather as a long shot which didn't come off—I was made a house captain. But I developed semi-psychological ailments which kept me away from school for the odd morning and precluded my entering for athletic sports or attending house-practices. As far as that side of school went I had a slipping clutch. When my Cambridge reference from the headmaster described me as a loyal member of the school, I felt peculiarly depressed. On reading the phrase I discovered that I actively didn't want to appear in that light.

As my life itself was held in abeyance during the sixth-form, so expectations of university built up. It slowly became clear that Oxford and Cambridge were what that school was about. I began to understand the message on the honours board in the gym, the achievements of Oxford and Cambridge scholarship winners which we read every day of our school lives as we waited in assembly. My father treasured up a remark, culled from one of the parent-teacher evenings which he always attended, that I 'should try for the highest honours'. 'You show 'em, Dennis lad,' he would say to me, now that we realized what those honours were. He would frequently come to look at me almost proprietorially as I worked (now in the front-room). This was a family effort, yet the divide between us was growing. My father began to make jokes about taking me for a walk to get to know me better. He must have sensed my lack of enthusiasm for the work which must follow my studies. Beyond University I couldn't see, indeed dared not and felt it unnecessary to look. One had to give an answer and mine was that I was going into industry. This seemed to satisfy inquirers, and in a grimly final way satisfied me. It also chilled my spirits, conjuring up a picture of the local chemical works by the dirty river on a wet day.

When I first went up to Cambridge for the scholarship examinations, the sheer isolation defeated me. I was quite alone

from my school in a very old room in Peterhouse. The week of exams passed in almost total silence; a week of watching other candidates rubbing up acquaintance; a week of wondering about the very confident looking owner of the rather gloomy room, who appeared on several sporting photographs hung on the walls; a week of dining in the old hall out of shiny metal dishes on highly-polished, clothless tables. My failure to win even a place was at once a disappointment and a relief.

However, St. Catherine's College held its scholarship examinations two months later, in the schools themselves. As we had been taught from the entrance papers for almost a year, this time I was able to pull off all the old tricks. I won an Exhibition and during that last few months of the sixth-form, basked in the glow of being one of nature's elect. We very few open award winners were in one way the school's only real successes.

Cambridge was all my parents could have wished. They came to see me during the second Long Vacation and found supreme happiness sitting on the Backs looking over the river and towards King's College. For my father, Lord Mauleverer (of Billy Bunter and *The Magnet*) might have walked that lawn; Tom Brown must have been there, and the Fifth Form from St. Dominic's. He had read *The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green at Oxford*, and saw that I had a 'gyp' (as Verdant Green had a 'scout'). He imagined how my gyp would shake his head and say (as Verdant Green's scout *always* said), 'College gents will do anything.' All I could say—and I said many bitter things—couldn't convince my parents that that powerful Cambridge image of my father's schoolboy reading wasn't *my* Cambridge. 'We'll have to start learning to talk proper now,' my father would quip, not wholly joking. How I writhed when he asked me, not completely facetiously, how soon Lord Mauleverer was coming home with me! How I ranted when my parents and family listened to Union debates on the wireless, watched 'our boat' in the Boat Race, or waited eagerly for 'our team' to score in the Varsity Match! To no effect. Actually, the only Public-School friends of mine they met seemed to them comically distasteful. But they never lost their dream. I came slowly to accept that when I questioned it, just as when I expressed my doubts about a scientific future, they became frightened,

hurt or puzzled, and said that I had a funny attitude to things.

I was probably the more bitter in self-reproach because for a while I had enjoyed the status in the family which my Cambridge place had brought me. Everyone was very proud of me, although there was a slight edginess about close relationships. It was a compliment to say that Cambridge hadn't changed me. They would look at me guardedly, testing me out: 'I expect you'll be a Con. (Conservative) now, then,' not altogether accepting my assurances to the contrary. In a fumbling, uncomprehending way I tried to enter the Cambridge world for them. For after waiting so long and working so hard, if this was to be the reward I felt I must make shift and grasp it. So I forced myself to take some excruciatingly embarrassing dancing lessons. I carefully positioned myself near the prettiest girl in the class during physics practicals. I used to write home about how many times I had given or received coffee. I seriously considered joining the Union. I had some vague notion that it was as important in Cambridge life as the debaters themselves thought. I rowed, and went to a boat-club dinner, learning uncomfortably how to drink. I made a point of taking tea at the cruising club once a week. I felt I ought to go to a May Ball, and wondered how I could help with the Rag. I bought *The Night Climbers of Cambridge*, and it gave me a curious thrill, probably far greater than a Public Schoolboy would have felt, for the consequences of expulsion for me were unthinkable. I bought a blazer and cavalry-twill trousers. In short, I skirted the walls of my father's Cambridge, such of it as I could see, and tentatively essayed whether I would be welcomed in.

I found quickly that entry was not so easy. Unfortunately I found less quickly that entry to that Cambridge wasn't necessary or even important. That Cambridge, Lord Mauleverer's, was there all right, but it remained supremely indifferent to my existence. I never plucked up courage to go to a dance or speak to the pretty girl in physics (she was, I subsequently discovered the daughter of a chairman of the B.M.A.). I discovered later that several friends of that time were homosexual, although then I had no conception of what that meant in terms of living

relationships. I didn't make many friends. Yet how quickly all those very large Public Schoolboys called Charles or Miles or Giles or Jeremy, struck up acquaintance and hailed one another loudly across street and quad! In a twinkling they were internationals or Blues (indeed it emerged that they had virtually been *invited* to Cambridge for their sporting skills rather than having to battle their way in through the Opens). I never rowed above the sixth eight: I soon discovered I had neither the physique nor the time. I played rugger, but only with the rabbits. My blazer felt too long, my cavalry twill trousers too short. I was snubbed in the cruising club—and heavily patronized by the club steward there who soon saw I wasn't like the other gentlemen. I had to wait three years for admission to the swimming club; and then there was the awkward moment when it became obvious that my admission had been held up for reasons other than my swimming ability. In my digs, my landlady fed me with questioning accounts of her previous young gentlemen, with their Indian Army parents, and partners with glorious May Ball dresses. Even more difficult to cope with were her approving stories of how the other lodgers had no 'side' and liked to come out into the kitchen to play cards with her. These, her eyes seemed to say, were *real* Cambridge men: what kind of creature are you? From being at school one of nature's chosen few I had become overnight at Cambridge a C-streamer.

I felt all the more a C-streamer because of my work. Now I realized I was not destined to be a Cavendish or Rutherford or Kapitza. Stuck in the ruck of bottom seconds, I would become an oil-engineer, routine atomic-scientist or soap- and fertilizer-maker. When I attempted to change my subject, the College promptly threatened to withdraw my scholarship and hence my grant. There was profound gloom at home. After this, science studies became merely a time-spinning device for stopping at Cambridge. I still hoped and worked, but never again expected to do well. Nevertheless, I played for time by choosing a two-year Part II, which meant that I got a fourth year at Cambridge.

In Huddersfield during the vacations I went to a jazz club where ex-grammar-school pupils congregated, and there I felt

lion enough. Jazz, and beer, I took not for themselves but as an emotional release. The casualness, transience, lack of thought for the morrow, all were a revelation. With my new-found Dutch courage, I walked a girl home, and kissed her (but she was not a grammar-school girl and I and my parents secretly found her common). On Sunday evenings the jazz-club group would go singing in the little country pubs where local choirs met for a quiet pint. The sheer enjoyment of this side of life, sadly lacking in my approach to formal education, gave a sort of hope. I began consciously to try to crack the mould into which I was being squeezed. It was, I suppose, a very much delayed adolescence, one which my parents mistrusted exceedingly.

I nearly didn't return for the fourth year. I was due to spend a term at Cambridge doing practical work in the middle of the Long Vacation, but I returned home after only three days to the alternative life which was beginning to build up in Huddersfield. My parents were appalled. They found my attitudes 'hellish', and half concluded (after consulting the *Home Doctor Book*) that I was going mad. However, I did return to Cambridge, at the end of the summer, defiantly sporting a beard, and I finished Part II of my degree.

At first the anti-Cambridge swing went too far. I joined with other ex-working-class boys and we formed a small mutually supporting group, going drinking down the Mill Road, discovering for the first time that Cambridge had a working-class all its own. I got to know *foreign* students in College. But in that final year something seemed to connect. I began to see all around me for the taking that other worthwhile Cambridge which had its allegiances and values elsewhere than in muscular Christianity and gentlemanly conduct. For the first time exhibitions, concerts, plays seemed to be there for me also. Prior to this my interest in music had been partly an escape, partly literally food for the senses so starved in an academic education. Now music seemed not just a frill or an eccentricity, but something central. Also, thus far there had been no communicating door between my reading for pleasure and academic work. I now began to recognize, from people whom I met in College, that there were subjects which one could

enjoy doing. And it dawned on me that I could go to lectures and read books in university subjects other than science. This revelation of involvement—which the school had somehow never given me—more than anything else sapped my will to continue with science a day longer than I had to. And the strain of finishing the course left its mark. I had begun to develop bad headaches during examinations, each ordeal seeming worse than the last. I despised my tutors and students who were good at science, dubbing them automatons. Even now once or twice a year I still have the same nightmare. In this dream my free flight away from science has been brought up short, and I am closed again in a classroom or lecture theatre, while yet another science lesson drones suffocatingly by.

By that final year I had learned that the Boat Race need not be my Boat Race. But this was only a beginning, and it came almost too late. Politically I was not yet awake or involved, above the continuation of vague family Labour sympathies.

After Cambridge I avoided going into science by effectively spoiling each interview I attended. For I had to insist that Chemical Engineering was not the most important interest of my life. So the Army took me, and here I had more time to read. Among the standard unit-library books was Beatrice Webb's *My Apprenticeship*; and very slowly, with this as a focus, my reading took shape. I came out of the Army on a wave of interest in the sociology of working-class life which Richard Hoggart's *Uses of Literacy*, the Bethnal Green surveys by the Institute of Community Studies, and *New Left Review* helped to arouse and disseminate. Drawn to Bethnal Green both by this and the associations of Beatrice Webb with Charles Booth's poverty surveys in that area, I went to live at Toynbee Hall, a university settlement in Stepney, while I taught on supply at a very rough secondary-modern school near the Elephant and Castle.

Teaching, taking charge of my destiny almost for the first time at the age of twenty-four, was very hard. In a letter to Michael Young at the Institute of Community Studies I explained my position as well as I could at that time, and I was offered initially a part-time job taking round questionnaires. A year and a half later, after four or five such small jobs I

achieved temporary security in sociology for the first time when, with Brian Jackson, I worked on the survey for *Education and the Working Class*.

Looking back now at my social work and teaching from Toynbee Hall, and the sociological investigations which have followed, it is tempting to see a pattern. Almost as the young Oxford undergraduates in the settlements had done in the last century, I was coming to grips with the working-class for the first time. My breakthrough had not been a struggle out of the working-class. It had been an endeavour to see clearly through the respectable glasses that my upbringing and education put on me. The story has gone some way towards a happy ending. It is six years since I had any unemployment stamps on my card. Family relationships have mellowed, and become cordial with the birth of my children. For I married a girl whom I met at the jazz club when I went back to work in Huddersfield. It is tempting to finish my story here.

But this would be misleading without a postscript. My education has left nagging doubts about my personality and potential. For instance, should I have done more for myself than I did? In commencing on the system which has produced me, am I merely giving a personal world-picture—or transferring to the outside world what are basically failures in family relationship? Huddersfield still at once draws and depresses me in a way I find very difficult to define. The self-contemplation of the present essay, and *Education and the Working Class*, provide one sort of answer; time may bring more. But although I am thirty-three years old, to end with a flourish, 'look I have come through', still seems premature.