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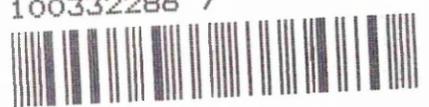
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**SPECIAL SCHOOLING, STATEMENTING
PROCEDURES AND GENDER : A
SOCIOLOGICAL CASE-STUDY ANALYSIS**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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ABSTRACT

The research here undertaken is a sociological analysis of special schools. Part one has sought to describe the context of special education and to explain how the dominant influence may be linked to medical and psychological interests. This section also relates social theory to sociological perspectives surrounding special education.

In part two, case-study analysis takes place in two special schools, each in different local authorities. The research itself is located at the 'meso' level and attempts to comprehend factors that underpin the structure, power and rationale of the schools. In collecting information, data is grounded into a research design that uses both formal and informal techniques, and incorporates both comparative analysis and democratic evaluation. Finally, understandings centre on how the key structural elements and processes within the schools operate and offers an explanation of how important they are within the rationale of each school.

Part three of the research is in two parts and arises out of the initial investigations of part two. Part A is aimed at an analysis of 50 statements collected equally from the two collaborating L.E.A.s. This analysis has offered explanations of why there is a differential between male and female referrals to special schools. Part B returns to the case-study analysis and presents an 'ideal model' of the special school and indicates ways in which the key elements and processes within them differ from mainstream schools.

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The completion of this doctorate has not been an easy task, and during the four and a half years of its existence, credit must be given to many people.

Firstly I would like to give thanks to the two collaborating local authorities, who not only gave me access to their schools but also let me examine statements within what are very busy local authority departments. I also wish to acknowledge the co-operation of the heads and staff of the two case-study schools who were always willing to give me time.

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INTRODUCTION

My research interests are located within the area of special education. They are a reflection both of academic theorising via an M.A. Sociology and of school-focused research via secondment to a special needs diploma. These interests have helped me as a practising teacher to understand the difficulties I encountered coping with the established psychological perspectives surrounding special education. They also led me to place developments that had occurred during my teaching career, e.g. The Warnock Report, (1978) and the 1981 Education Act within a perspective that took account both of socio-historical and the wider economic and political contexts of education as a whole. In order therefore to develop a broader view of special education it became necessary to abandon an individualistic perspective and to draw both on established sociological insights within education generally and a growing sociological involvement with concepts surrounding special education. Gradually informed analysis led me to focus attention on the special school. In generating this analysis however an overview of different commentators highlights both a fluctuation in perspectives and a variance in understanding.

According to Jowett (1988),

"Special schools are a major resource in the education of pupils with special needs. For most of their existence, their contribution has been made in relative isolation from the mainstream sector. This has been partly for reasons of historical accident ... and partly for ideological reasons - pupils with special needs, or handicapped pupils as they were called, were deemed to require a form of education that was quite different from that required by other pupils." (p 2)

Special schools as educational institutions were in fact initially established during the nineteenth century and expanded alongside mainstream provision. Their number (in England and Wales) nearly doubled in the period 1945-1971, rising from 528 to 1019 (Jowett 1988), and again increased rapidly following the transfer of the mentally handicapped from health to education in 1971. e.g. between 1971 and 1972 and including hospital provision an additional 482 special schools or special establishments were made available, catering for an additional 26,833 pupils. (D.E.S. 1975). Since that period the number of special schools has remained fairly static. Thus, figures for 1990 (D.E.S.) show that (in England) including hospital schools there were 1397 special schools, with a pupil population of 97,141 and a teaching force of 16,401. Increasingly, however, their position as providers of a 'special' education has come to be questioned. As Jowett (1988) points out, "The traditional special schools face the danger of becoming irrelevant, continuing in existence only because of inertia and the difficulty of finding a better alternative." (p 141) Sewell (1982), indeed outlines the traditional basis of remedial education, (and one which has been applied to special schools) as one which characterises the pupil "as a deficit system and the teacher as an expert who diagnosed his wants and prescribed for them." (p 1) Moreover, a systems view of education highlights the way in which special schools are treated as a segregated sector. Dessent (1983), for example, point out that

"The tendency to segregate responsibility for children with special needs is both cause and effect of a segregated special education system. The tendency is maintained by the fact that advisory, administrative and financial segregation also occurs in most Local Education Authorities (LEAs). " (p 95)

A reflective, (and also pessimistic) view of special schools therefore maybe as institutions which seek a unique population, provide a distinct

curriculum and ethos and are treated as a separate section within the educational system as a whole.

This negative perspective of the special school however is not universally shared, and the need to keep the best aspects of such schooling has been endorsed amongst others by The Warnock Report (1978). The report did however make critical reference to the relative isolation of many special schools, noting that "there should be much closer co-operation between ordinary and special schools including wherever possible, the sharing of resources by pupils in both types of schools." (p 123) Underlying this suggestion was the notion of 'integration' whereby links both of an educational and social kind were encouraged in order to break down barriers. i.e. "wherever possible we believe that there should be some sharing of educational programmes between special and ordinary schools. Where this is not possible there should at least be opportunities for the pupils to share social experience on as regular a basis as possible." (p 123) Indeed this 'integration' clause became part of the 1981 Education Act, and was reiterated in 'The House of Commons Education, Science and Arts Committee' (1987) to mean either in terms of 'placement' or "as a process in which children with special educational needs mix with their contemporaries in a regular and planned way." (p XII)

Swann (1988) however, suggests that the government has done little to encourage integration, issuing no clear guidelines for L.E.A.s to adopt. As he notes, (up to 1986)

"At secondary level there has been no progress towards integration since 1982. At primary level there may have been but it is too early to say. The only potentially integrative trend has been a drop in the proportion of children going straight to special school at age five."
(p 152)

These findings have also been supported by Jowett (1988) who in a study of 268 special schools found that only 200 teachers in 86 schools spent time on a regular basis in a mainstream school, thus highlighting the relatively small movement of teachers from special to mainstream. Moreover, Berliner (1991) points to the fact that the movement towards integration has generally failed and that in some authorities the number of children sent to special schools has actually increased. The marginalization of special school children evident from such analysis is also highlighted in recent legislation and allows for special school children to follow one year behind mainstream in applying the National Curriculum. Regulations in the form of circular 5/89 also gives power to headteachers to disapply or modify attainment targets, programmes of study and assessment arrangements. Indeed whilst such arrangements may in theory apply to any child, or group of children within the school system, it is in fact aimed at special educational needs (S.E.N.) children generally and at statemented (predominantly special school) children specifically.

Such commentary however, whilst pointing to the relative isolation of many special schools does not imply that within such schools there is little of value going on. Fish (1985) e.g. points out that

"with good leadership the staff of a special school can share experience and develop a sound knowledge of the effects of disabilities, and the educational, social and personal difficulties which arise from them. At the same time, the school can develop appropriate variations of the curriculum and methods and materials." (p 68)

Fish (1984) further highlights what he considers to be the four major strengths of special schools, namely a concentration of knowledge and experience; curricula variations to deal with individual children; the

opportunity to develop multi-professional approaches; and a sensitive and caring environment. As he summarises,

"the active, thoughtful, well run special school can be a major resource centre for the group of special educational needs it is set up to meet. It can develop methods and materials. Above all it can provide a setting in which an individual's special educational needs can be assessed, understood and met." (p 10)

Clearly, such description is not without foundation, relying heavily on a humanistic perspective of special schooling. Indeed such a theme is portrayed by some as central to an understanding of the history of special education. As Pritchard (1963) suggested, the role of the special school is to provide "a slow pace, a secure environment and an education based on the practical needs of children of low intellectual ability." (p 215) The D.E.S. (1965) also highlighted the view that a child required special schooling if he needed, for his proper progress and development something more specialised than his ordinary school could provide. That something they suggest means embracing "the whole emotional, physical as well as the intellectual life of the child." Gulliford (1971) indeed reiterates this point, noting that the special school can offer "clearly defined aims and a well-planned progression of education in all its aspects including preparation for and supervision of transition to working life." (p 10) Brennan (1971) further promotes such beliefs, and writing during the period of rapid special school expansion points out what he considers to be the dangers of allowing special school children to be integrated into mainstream. In particular he notes that teachers in mainstream may lack either the skill or experience to deal with 'remedial' children and as a result "the backward child who does not enter a special school is left in the most hazardous situation in the whole education system." (p 11) Finally Cole (1990) in analysing the motives of special educators over the past 100

years stresses the influence of liberal humanitarian motives, who shared an accepted belief "that some handicapped children were most effectively helped if placed in classes containing children with similar problems and of a similar age, in schools staffed by skilled professionals with experience of their client group." (p 105)

Evidence thus presented offers conflicting insights into special schooling. What emerges from such insights however is that despite notions of change and adaption the special school remains as ever, an institutionalized part of the education system. Over recent years however a critical analysis of a more sociological nature has emerged and has allowed the debate to become more responsive to structural factors. Thus commentators such as Ford (1982) and Tomlinson (1982) see special education as responding to vested interests and social control. Oliver (1988) suggests that it is necessary to examine special education not in terms of the individual but in terms of "social construction" and "social creation." (p 13) Bart (1984) describes special education :as an agency of sorting and containment for regular education and society." (p 87) In summarising such challenging approaches to special education Barton (1988) therefore proposes that

"A critical analysis of power, control, vested interests, choice and decision-making must be constantly called for and developed. Explanations or analyses that focus their consideration on individual factors will fail to understand the complex and wide-ranging nature of the issues involved." (p 6)

In relating such concerns to the special school in particular thus poses a number of questions about their nature, ideology and structure. As Dessent (1989) notes

"There is a need for greater 'openness' and frank discussion about the issues which currently impinge upon the special school, the role of the special school teacher and the pressures which LEAs are confronting and will need to confront in the future." (p233)

Mittler (1985) further points out that despite the attention given to complex issues relating to the ordinary school, research into special schools has been scarce. What he suggests are needed therefore are "organisational studies that will throw light on the changing role of special schools ... and ... detailed studies of the organisation of the special school itself." In attempting to develop such insights however it is necessary to be aware, as Corrie and Zaklukiewicz (1985) suggest in a critical review of the type of quantitative, psychologically based research historically undertaken in relation to special education, that there is a need to move away from the idea that research in this area is useful only if it concerns 'hard facts' and had 'practical implications'. As a way forward they suggest that

"a greater use of qualitative studies would allow a sufficiently detailed and accurate picture of the processes of special education to be built up. Work of this kind is likely to be of direct relevance and interest to practitioners as well as making a useful contribution to informed decision-making." (p124)

Whilst accepting such advice what I have attempted to show in this introduction is that there is a variance in both historical perspectives and assumed value of special schooling. By adopting a sociological analysis I am placing this study within a model that generates a critical awareness of the processes surrounding special education. The aim of the research therefore will be to provide a theoretical understanding of the special school at the macro level whilst at the same time seeking to uncover the key structural elements influencing its organisational approach based at the meso level. It is my wish to offer assistance in adding to the

contemporary debate surrounding the role of the special school and also to add to the knowledge of professionals who work within them.

In undertaking the research I have adopted a case-study approach covering two special schools in different local authorities. School one is a 'mild learning difficulties' establishment with an integrated language resource and an age range of 5-13. School two caters for children designated as having behavioural difficulties with ages between 11 and 14. The adoption of differing schools in two local authorities is an attempt to contrast and compare data whilst illuminating similarities within the disparate ends of the special school sector. In conducting the research over a two year period I spent one day a week over a school year in school one, and one day a week for half a year in school two. I further extended my time in each school by attending a number of staff meetings, case conferences, annual reviews, and out of school activities. As a qualified teacher I was able to spend some time teaching children within each school either on a voluntary or supply basis. During this research period school one allowed me to cover in depth a variety of issues whilst school two enabled me to focus in greater detail on information I had uncovered in school one. Finally, in approaching the case-studies I have operated theoretically within a structuralist framework thereby influencing both the selection of data and limits to the enquiry. Nevertheless, within these boundaries I have attempted to generate theory from data, therefore being able to pursue new avenues of enquiry whilst at the same time keeping order to the research. As a consequence of this approach I was able to illuminate one aspect of the research in greater depth, namely the relationship between special education and gender and in particular the role 'statementing' plays as a medium of gender differentiation.

In developing this project I have divided the analysis into three parts. Part one will focus on historical and sociological insights into special education. Thus Chapter One is concerned with establishing an up-to-date assessment of the socio/historical factors influencing the development of special education. Chapter Two relates special schooling to sociological analysis by examining the link between education, special education and sociological theory. In particular, this chapter will attempt to trace the development of the sociology of special education as a sub-discipline of the sociology of education. Finally, in this section, Chapter Three will highlight sociological paradigms as applied to special education. Part two of the research centres on the two case-studies of special schools. Thus, attention will be given in Chapter Four to the theoretical assumptions underpinning the research. A detailed description of the methodological basis of the studies will also be undertaken. Chapter Five will present an analysis and discussion of the case-studies and will highlight the key features that underpin the schools as functioning organisations. Part three of the research derives from evidence generated in the case-studies. Thus, Chapter Six focuses on gender differentiation in the process of selection for special schooling. This involves a detailed analysis of 50 'statements' across the two local authorities in which the case-studies were conducted. The aim of the analysis is to examine if, and how gender stereotyping takes place within statementing procedure, and how this may be understood within a perspective that is related to the wider sociological contexts of gender. Chapter seven concentrates on the outcomes of the research as a whole and attempts to relate parts to the whole by presenting an 'ideal model' of the special school and subsequently placing that model within a wider sociological context.

In conclusion this research will attempt to add sociological insight into what has been for many years, the closed world of the special school. What I hope to achieve is both a reinterpretation, and a new insight into aspects of special schooling that have been until recent years both neglected and ignored.

CHAPTER ONE

A Socio/Historical Analysis of Special Education

According to Ford (1982)

"Each particular type of special education provision has a place within the total network of services, the whole system has a rationale for its existence, and the formulation, creation and continuation of the present state of affairs is dependent on social, political, economic, historical, cultural and administrative determinants." (p 1)

In accepting this interpretation what this chapter will attempt to do is trace the development of special education by referring, not simply to landmarks in legislation but also to those factors that influenced change. In conducting this enquiry it is worthy of note that until recent times the last thorough investigation of the history of special education was in the 1960s (see Pritchard 1963). It is also evident that since then additional explanations for the development of special education have added to our knowledge. By also including evidence from more recent commentators it is therefore the aim of the study to both illuminate and focus on the key influences of change. Moreover, by seeking a critical understanding of events this analysis will promote a context which makes sociological interpretation easier to relate to in the following chapters. Finally, in developing this summary and despite the questionable nature of a linear description (see Webster 1989) it may be possible, as this chapter attempts, to divide the analysis into four generalised periods i.e. pre-1870; 1870-1914; 1914-1944; 1944-1990.

1) Pre 1870

Special education may be seen as having emerged from a set of beliefs about society that had arisen before the nineteenth century and was influenced by attitudes about poverty and its suggested link with mental and physical disability. Such beliefs as highlighted in legislation via the Poor Law Amendment of 1834 (see Hurt 1988) left the least able in society facing an often uncertain future as provided by the workhouse. Here, what education was given to pauper children relied, according to Lawson and Silver (1973) on "inculcating moral and social discipline, providing semi-skilled industrial training, and much less important - some instruction in the rudiments of literacy." (p 128) Hurt (1988) also points out that the chief concern of the workhouse, reformatory and industrial schools was to prevent the spread of pauperism, i.e. their dual function was "to protect their charges by segregating them from adult contamination ... and ... at the same time the schools protected society from the young delinquent, beggar or vagrant child." (p 11) Digby and Searby (1981) support such a view noting that the class antagonism of the 1830s as witnessed in the 'swing' riots, anti-poor law agitation and Chartism led to an atmosphere whereby means were sought by the governing classes of controlling the lower orders. Conformist attitudes were thus initiated as part of elementary education. As they note

"of all educational institutions in the mid nineteenth century, workhouse schools for pauper children, industrial schools for the very poor and reform schools for youthful offenders displayed most obviously society's desire to impose social control on its recalcitrant members." (p 27)

Evidence of the state's desire to play an active role in promoting elementary education can be seen in the £20,000 grant shared between the British and Foreign School society and the National Society. The grant

was increased to £30,000 in 1839 and inspectors were appointed to examine schools. Moreover 1839 also witnessed the establishment of the Committee of Council for Education under Dr James Kay, and through this the beginnings of teacher training. Alongside this increasing state intervention the church also sought to influence events by aiming to secure rights over school inspection. The motives for such control however reflected an attempt not only to save the lower-classes from illiteracy but also from moral degeneration. As Lord Russell (1939) wrote,

"There is a large class of children who may be fitted to be good members of society - I mean paupers, orphans, children deserted by their parents, and the offspring of criminals and their associates. It is from this class that the thieves and housebreakers of society are continuously recruited. It is this class, likewise which has filled the workhouses with ignorant and idle inmates. ... In all such instances, by combining moral training with general instruction, the young may be saved from the temptations to crime, and the whole community receive indisputable benefit." (Maclure 1965) (p 44-45)

Clearly such evidence points the way in which elementary education was perceived both as a means of controlling the poor and also as a means of raising their moral standards. In this way those least able to look after themselves emerged as a particular grouping and one that required special help. The special help provided however varied. Thus, schools for the blind and deaf had been evident from the turn of the century mainly operating as profit making training centres. As Warnock (1978) indicates

"These early institutions for the deaf, no less than those for the blind, were protective places, with little or no contact with the outside world. The education that they provided was limited and subordinated to training. Many of their inmates failed to find employment on leaving and had to recourse to begging." (p 9)

Warnock also notes that provision for the physically handicapped was scarce and little was provided until 1890. For the mentally defective, however, initial care as indicated, was in the workhouse.

With the onset of industrialisation however, and the expansion of the capitalist mode of production attitudes emerged that concerned the need to separate the least useful and potentially less productive elements of the growing population. As Scull (1984) indicates,

"although workhouses ... institutions to remove the able-bodied poor from the community in order to teach them the wholesome discipline of labour, they swiftly found themselves depositories for the decaying, the decrepit, and the unemployable, More specifically, it rendered problematic the whole question of what was to be done with those who could not or would not abide by the rules of the house - such groups as criminals, orphans, and the mad. The adoption of an institutional response, therefore, greatly increased the pressures to elaborate the distinctions amongst and between the deviant and the dependent." (p 29)

What we witness in the mid nineteenth century therefore was the special provision of the Asylum of which Warnock (1978) notes there were five by the year 1870. Moreover, as Scull (1979) also points out, the idea of institutional life was uncontroversial in that the workhouse had for a long time harboured a whole range of disabilities i.e.

"If one could overlook the powerful deterrent factor of the cost of building and maintaining asylums, then on most other grounds it was plausible to assert that at least those lunatics who had formerly starved and rotted in workhouse cellars would be better off in asylums." (p 92)

Scull also highlights the way in which the institutions presented themselves as a specialised agency providing human care and offering the possibility of 'cure' noting that if asylums did not cure, it was because the

public did not send lunatics to them fast enough. Further, the degree to which such institutions had become accepted can be seen in the report of the Metropolitan Commissioners (1844) which laid down guidelines for asylums in terms of a classification of insanity. As Jones (1972) notes, the effect of the report was to link mental and physical disability in terms of the need for segregation, i.e. it "stressed that the insane was a sick person, urgently in need of specialised treatment." (p 144)

By the mid-nineteenth century therefore we witness the beginnings of a national system of education catering for the 'mentally ill'. Its inception incorporated four basic ideologies, offering to society in its treatment of this group a) social control, b) the possibility of cure c) increased specialism and humane treatment, d) limited costs to the nation. Indeed the latter point was to become central to the whole debate about the future of the education system witnessed, for example, by the government's unwillingness to accept a proposal of the Newcastle Commission (1861) that money for education be collected from the rates. Moreover, in its attempts to provide for a growing industrial economy it became evident that educating a workforce to at least a minimum standard would be costly. As a result the education of those least able became problematic. As Tomlinson (1982) suggests, "both commercial and political groups had interests in the selection of all 'defectives' out of state schooling." (p 42)

2) 1870-1914

By the late 1860s a number of factors merged to prompt the liberal government of the time to introduce a national system of elementary education. Ford (1982) describes the influences for change as surrounding views on education seen "first as a good in itself, second as an economic investment, third as an antidote to social upheaval, and fourth as a

protection against political unrest." (p 11) Forster, the architect of the 1870 Act clearly stated the same in his address to the House of Commons (February 17th 1870) i.e. "Upon the speedy provision of elementary education depends our industrial prosperity. It is of no use trying to give technical teaching to our artizans without elementary education ... Upon this speedy provision depends also, I fully believe, the good, the safe working of our constitutional system." (Maclure 1965, p 104). The Act itself provided for school boards to be established in areas without schools and to 'fill up the gaps' left by the voluntary societies. Under this system school boards were empowered to seek compulsory attendance for all children in their district from five to twelve, and they were also given responsibility for providing free schools in areas where parents were unable to pay fees. Thus by 1880 the number of voluntary schools rose from 8,000 to 14,000 and over 3,000 schools were established or taken over by the school boards. (Maclure 1965). Finally the Education Acts of 1876, 1880 and 1891 provided for compulsory attendance up to the age of 13 and the establishment of free elementary education.

The expansion of elementary education, however, also meant, according to Cole (1989) that

"thousands of children with special needs became the responsibility of the board school teachers. Classes became overburdened with children with learning difficulties who could not pass the annual examinations and whose failure lowered the pay of their teachers until the virtual ending of 'payment by results' in 1890. This produced pressure for these children to be excluded from the ordinary school." (p11)

Thus, voluntary institutions for the deaf and blind continued to expand as a distinct category of 'handicap' and mainly in institutional form.

Education of children with other difficulties however remained problematic. As Cole (1989) indicates

"There remained much confusion about definitions of the degree of handicap, although increasingly the lowest grade, idiots, were distinguished from the more able imbeciles, who in turn were recognised as different from the feeble minded. Limited ability was frequently confused with mental illness, as was epilepsy. Similarly, the physically handicapped, for whom there was virtually no appropriate provision at this stage, were often confused with the feeble minded and were occasionally placed in these institutions."
(p 21)

That the mentally handicapped constituted an educational problem in a period of growing universal education was highlighted by the inclusion in the terms of reference of the Egerton report (1889) alongside the blind and deaf, "such other cases as from special circumstances would seem to require exceptional methods of education." (p 1) These, the report suggested, were made up of the feeble-minded, idiots and imbeciles. Both idiots and imbeciles the report felt would benefit from residential training, and importance should be given to physical improvement alongside speech and perceptive faculties rather than the 3Rs. Also they were not allowed to remain in the workhouse or lunatic asylum and as far as possible the 'educable imbeciles' were to be taught by ordinary teachers (Pritchard 1963, p 106) (In fact as Potts (1982) notes "until 1971 these children remained the responsibility of the health authorities, were not taught by ordinary, qualified teachers, nor regarded as educable." p 24) Finally, the report concluded that the feeble-minded pupils should be given special instruction in separate provision from ordinary children.

Towards the end of the century we also witness within the development of special education the growth of medical interests. As Tomlinson (1982) notes,

"The medical profession, struggling for professional recognition in nineteenth century Britain, developed an interest in mental defect, and the profession of medicine was considerably enhanced by medical claims to care for and control the mentally defective."
(p 39)

(Foucault 1967) in fact traces the influence of the doctor back to the Asylum where he wielded a moral authority rather than the power to cure). Ford (1982) also highlights the growing influence of the medical model during this period, noting that there had been a clear attempt to look for physiological explanations of mental defect. Moreover he suggests that the growing discipline of psychology was still at this time dominated by doctors, and consequently gave them a high status within the field. Hunt (1988) further notes that at the level of diagnosis medical 'experts' were themselves unsure of the nature of mental disability unless there was some perceived outward appearance, e.g. cretinism, Down's syndrome or hydrocephalus. Consequently while the 1898 Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic children) Committee recognised three general categories, idiots and imbeciles, the feeble-minded or defective children and those who could cope within the ordinary school, the problem of assessment remained i.e.

"Apart from the difficulties of determining whether an individual child was merely backward, mentally defective, or an imbecile, other considerations must have included the poor prognosis usually offered for all forms of mental defect and, in particular, epilepsy." (Hurt 1988, p 134)

The general uncertainty of definition therefore, combined with the financial implications of training teachers for such a large number of children and, coupled with the doubt as to the teaching of the mentally defective led the resulting Act of the following year (1899) to empower,

rather than direct school authorities to provide or the new classes of defectives. Cole (1989) notes that in fact whilst many local authorities had undertaken the powers of the 1899 Act

"the value of the new classes and schools ... came to be doubted in some quantities, while a greater section of opinion which more clearly distinguished between the low-grade ineducable and the far greater number of trainable feeble-minded, wanted permanent colonies to supplement the work of special schools." (p 43)

Consequently it was the nature of special provision, rather than its existence that was being debated. Indeed it can be argued that by the end of the century special education had become so well established as to serve a number of vested interests, and as such its future was ensured. As Tomlinson (1982) summarises,

"Economic interests were being served by the manual and trade training emphasised at all schools and institutions for defective children The interests of political ruling groups were being served by the placement in separate schools and institutions, of children who might eventually prove troublesome to society ... and ... medical interests were supreme in that doctors had control of selection and assessment procedures for special education." (p 44-45)

As the 1870 Education Act witnessed the development of a national system of elementary education, the 1902 Education Act saw the move towards a unified secondary school system, i.e.

"The local education authority shall consider the educational needs of their area and take such steps as seem desirable to supply or aid the supply of education other than elementary and to promote the general coordination of all forms of education."
(Maclure J. 1965, p 149)

Thus School Boards were abolished and Local Education Authorities (LEAs) took over their powers. The new LEAs were given powers to

spend up to two pence in the pound from the rates on secondary education, and many LEAs now began to provide their own schools. The development of special education however was delayed in that the Royal Commission on the Care and Control of the Feeble Minded was appointed in 1904. Its report of 1908 gave local mental deficiency committees control of special schools, and advocated institutional care over day special schools. As the commission reported,

"the educational system of the country, established for the teaching of the normal child, in our opinion, unsuitable for the child, who unlike the blind and deaf, can never reach the mental health of the normal." (Vol 8, p 120)

The enactment of the report however did not take place until 1912, and yet during that period the advocacy of separate special education had encouraged provision in some 177 schools catering for 12,000 children (Pritchard 1963).

A major philosophical influence in the development of special education generally at this time and on the 1908 report in particular may be found in the Eugenics movement. Initially formed at the turn of the century by Galton and popularized by Mendel and Weismann it established in 1907 an Education Society. Based on the idea of Social Darwinism the movement offered an ideology stressing the nature of differential mental and physical abilities gained through hereditarianism. The movement gained widespread popularity both in the public domain and government circles. As Brown (1988) indicates,

"The proposition that mental as well as physical characteristics were inherited was in the ascendant throughout the Edwardian period and became accepted as almost axiomatic in the years after the First World War." (p 245)

The ideology of the Eugenic movement may be seen to have thrived as a result of a general concern with national efficiency. Woodhouse (1982) notes that

"By the early twentieth century the idea that Britain was a nation in decline had become an accepted maxim. The collapse of Britain from her position as the leading industrial nation coincided with a supposed weakening of her manpower. Social commentators such as Booth and Rowntree illuminated the misery and squalor of the urban slums; reports of School Medical Officers revealed the sorry state of the future generation, while the Boer War highlighted the appalling physical condition of recruits to military service. In such a climate, when the fear of racial deterioration was a nation concern, Eugenics flourished. It offered to many not only an acceptable explanation of Britain's decline, but also a scientifically-founded means of recovery." (p 128)

The result of such explanations led therefore, within education, to the acceptance by the 1908 Royal Commission of Eugenic ideas. This was also quickly followed by the influential book 'Mental Deficiency' written by A. F. Tredgold (1908), a 'medical expert' for the Commission and a leading Eugenic. Moreover, in response to the lack of government action over the 1908 report, the Eugenic Education Society launched a political campaign aimed at securing the principle of segregation as a means of preventing the continued deterioration of the British race.

Further, evidence from America by Goddard (1917) in his study of the Kalikak family sought also to highlight the link between intelligence and social fitness. As a result of their campaign therefore, with the support of such parliamentarians as Churchill, the Mental Deficiency Act was passed in 1913 stating that the Feeble Minded would be both detained and segregated. Thus LEAs had to assess children between the ages of 7 and 16 with a view to separating the ineducable who would then come under the responsibility of mental deficiency committees. As the Act was not an

educational one, however, it did not give LEAs specific instruction regarding the provision for feeble minded children. Consequently the powers of the 1899 Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic children) were made obligatory in 1914. As a result LEAs had to provide instruction for feeble minded children, and controversially, administration was to be under the auspices of the medical service, with selection for special schools given to doctors.

By 1914 therefore there were some 13,563 children in mentally defective schools (Pritchard 1963) and certain precedents had been established for their care, namely that feeble-minded children were to be educated in special schools, institutional care was acceptable for the mentally defective and finally they were to have the services of the newly emerged 'medical expert'.

3) 1914 - 1944

The inter-war period was one of economic depression and the nineteenth century model of provision generally remained. Chief amongst the developments of the period, however, was the continuing debate about the relationship between hereditary and environment; the use of mental testing; and the growth and influence of psychology. Thus, the Eugenic movement continued to be prominent; its main influence coming from America where tests were conducted on immigrants establishing the supposed percentage of feeble-mindedness amongst them. Although these findings were later to be challenged it did help to establish the idea of psychometrics as a form of assessment. Clarke and Clarke (1985) indeed noted that the acceptance that human behaviour could be examined scientifically occurred during World War One. i.e.

"It became obvious that people recruited to work in munitions factories must not include the accident-prone. Industrial psychologists therefore developed simple hand-eye co-ordination tests which could detect those whose activities might prove hazardous. And in the United States 1,750,000 conscripts were assessed for intelligence between September 1917 and January 1919." (p 268)

The idea of clinical assessment thus spread to Britain with the appointment of LEA psychologists and child guidance clinics. Cyril Burt was appointed in 1913 as a psychologist for London county council with a remit amongst other things to investigate

"cases of individual children, who present problems of special difficulty and who might be referred for examination by teachers, school medical officers, or care committee workers, magistrates or parents." (Pritchard 1963, p 193))

Much of this work centred around intelligence testing where he advocated the standardisation of 'mental' tests, also introducing a cut-off point of IQ 70 as the basis for intervention and as a means of offering a specialist education for those below that point. In advocating the notion of predetermined intelligence therefore he gave support to the separation of children into different schools in order that they may receive an education appropriate to their powers (Burt 1925). Burt further established the view that special schools should incorporate a special curriculum, have special timetables and adopt special teaching methods (Burt 1917). In turn such influences led to increasing facilities for processing and isolating children for special provision, e.g. psychologists were appointed to other LEAs, child guidance clinics were imported from the U.S.A., numbering twenty two in England by 1939 (Pritchard 1963) and the terms 'maladjusted' and 'educationally subnormal' were newly introduced.

Following the appointment of Burt to London County Council systematic intelligence testing was pursued among a number of LEAs using the tests devised by Binet and Simon in the early years of the century. Burt himself carried out surveys in both London and Birmingham promoting the view that general intelligence developed only up to the age of eleven, after which time more specific talents may emerge. In this way he generated the idea of predictability in intelligence arguing that education provision should respond to such differences. Alongside such developments, educational psychology also provided a broad progressive influence on education through the promotion of the child-centred approach to teaching. It was also influenced by the work of Montessori, and the growing number of schools and nurseries adopting methods of practical and individual learning. Such techniques also promoted the idea of sustaining a child's emotional and expressive needs and highlighted the role of teachers in the primary school as being adaptable to the child's self activity. In these ways 'progressive' classroom methods challenged traditional orthodoxy. Amid the growing educational debate of the inter-war years however, both economic and political restrictions acted as a buffer to reform, the financial problems of the 1930s squeezing ideas of change. What did emerge however were a number of reports that advocated the use of intelligence tests as a basis for selection to different types of school. The Hadow report (1926) on 'The Education of the Adolescent' for example, recommended selection at 11+ from primary education to secondary education in either a secondary Grammar or Modern school. Its willingness to accept psychological evidence surrounding the effectiveness of mental testing was later to be reaffirmed in the Spens report (1938) in whose evidence it was noted that mental differences between children required differing types of school. For special educators the influence of such ideas was both philosophical and practical

in that it became established that children should be identified as requiring a specific type of education, and that once identified 'special', children ought to receive an education different from their mainstream counterparts and relative to their needs as a distinct grouping.

Meanwhile, within special education itself, the 1921 Education Act had consolidated the idea for five categories of disability i.e. blind, deaf, mentally defective, physically defective and epileptic, noting that following certification of their condition they should be educated in special schools. However, the economic constraints affecting mainstream education also hit special education and few new schools were built. Cole (1989) thus notes that the number of children in special schools rose by less than 0.3% in the period 1920 to 1938. Against this background the Wood committee examined between 1924 and 1929 the education of the feeble minded. The report advocated the abolition of certification and the need to incorporate within an enlarged special education sector both feeble minded children and those children who because of their retardation were failing in mainstream. The report also suggested the need for the ordinary school to offer specialized provision. In this way special education was to be expanded, although in fact it was not until 1944 that the proposals were adopted.

The 1944 Education Act, the major act of the period must be viewed against both the changes in the philosophical debate about the nature of education and also the economic and political upheavals of the period. An interpretation of the Act according to Ford (1982) is that it was

"a logical and natural extension of the educational thought of the 1920s and 1930s ... and ... was the creation of psychologists and administrators who thought they could identify dispositions, and the general public which wanted a system to reflect the unity of the 'nation as one at war'." (p 23)

It may also be viewed as the acceptance of the collectivist approach to social issues under which there was a growing pressure for equality of opportunity. As Butler (1973), the architect of the new act wrote "The challenge of the times provided a stimulus for rethinking the purposes of society and planning the reconstruction of the social system of which education formed an integral part." (p 3) The Act itself attempted to create a continuous educational process in successive stages i.e. primary, secondary and further. It was moreover approved mainly in consensus by the wartime coalition government, and was based on the 1943 white paper 'Educational Reconstruction'. Basically the Act provided for education appropriate to a child's age, ability and aptitude with provision for tripartite or selective arrangements to be left in the hands of LEAs. The school leaving age was to be raised to 15 (and eventually 16) and all fees to state maintained school (i.e. grammar and technical) were to be abolished. Clearly The Act marked a watershed in the developing British Educational system in that it gave expression to an outlook, that education was beneficial to those who received it, and that its universal provision was one of the great social improvements that were to mark the end of the war.

For special education the recommendation of the Wood committee (1929) that special schools should be incorporated within the national educational framework was adopted and it became a part of the duty of an LEA to ensure provision appropriate to age, ability and aptitude. Certification was therefore removed and the Act also allowed for provision not only in special schools but dependent on disability, in any school maintained or assisted by the local education authority. The general duties of LEAs also referred to all pupils with a "disability of mind or body" instead of being restricted to the five specific categories previously

laid down. Moreover, although the Act did not name categories of pupils requiring special education, it did require the new Ministry of Education to issue regulations. Accordingly The Handicapped Pupils and Special Schools Regulations (1945) created eleven categories of handicap i.e. the blind, partially sighted, deaf, partially deaf (changed to partially hearing in 1962), educationally subnormal, maladjusted, epileptic, physically handicapped, delicate, diabetic (combined with delicate in 1963) and speech defective. Finally, the 1944 Act provided for LEAs to ascertain which children required special education, i.e. "any officer of a local education authority authorised in that behalf by the authority may by notice in writing served upon the parent of any child who has reached the age of two years require him to submit the child for examination by a medical officer of the authority." (p 27) In essence, therefore, as Sutton (1981) concludes

"The 1944 Act made the provision of 'special education treatment' dependent upon a hierarchy of responsibilities that should ensure that all children requiring it received their entitlement. These responsibilities were shared by the Minister of Education, the LEA, professionals and their parents." (p 6)

4) 1944 - 1990

According to Warnock (1978) official guidance suggested in 1946 that between 14% and 17% of the school population may require special education. The achievement of this target, however, was slow initially not only because of the effect of bombing on schools but also because of the scarcity of building supplies. However, between 1945 and 1955 the number of special schools increased by 41% and the number of pupils by 51%. It was the 1950s and 1960s moreover that witnessed a period of rapid expansion in special education. An examination of the figures (Fig 1), however, point to the unequal growth of specific categories. Thus despite,

and perhaps because of the advances in medical science in recognising and treating disability, the number of children regarded as physically handicapped grew, as did those of the partially sighted, partially hearing and those with speech defects. The relatively static number of those categorised as blind and deaf and the reduction of those deemed 'delicate' were however, attributable e.g. improved perinatal services; advances in audiology and the use of hearing aids; and more general improvements in diet and health care. Such specific advances may indeed be witnessed in the reduction of hospital places during the period. (see Fig 2)

Fig 1**Special schools in England 1950 - 70 Full-time pupils and disability**

	Year		
	1950	1960	1970
Disability			
Blind	1079	1300	1099
Partially Sighted	1558	1792	1960
Deaf	3252	3463	3363
Partially Hearing	964	1453	1963
Physically Handicapped	6396	7049	8830
Delicate	10753	10620	6450
Maladjusted	587	1742	6093
Educationally Sub-Normal	15173	32815	51768
Epileptic	745	743	1025
Speech Defect	36	122	828
Total	40,543	61,099	83,342

Source: DES. Statistics of Education 1970 Vol. 1 Schools HMSO.

Fig 2**Hospital schools in England and Wales 1950-70 Full-time pupils**

	Year		
	1950	1960	1970
Number	6576	4851	3505

Source: DES. Statistics of Education 1970 Vol. 1 Schools HMSO.

Some provision however increased dramatically. Thus the newly created Educationally sub-normal (ESN.) category more than trebled in the period. The reasons for this centred around the ambiguity of the definition of the term, i.e. whereby it was accepted that special schools should ideally cater

for those with an IQ below 70, it was also suggested that special education could be offered to children 20% below their peers in attainment.

(Ministry of Education 1946) Consequently many mainstream schools failed to establish their own special provision, preferring to send children, many with an IQ of 80+ to ESN. schools. As Cole (1989) indicates,

"In the long-term it was thought that it might be possible to discard the examination-ridden competitive ethos pervading most schools, but until that happened there was urgent need for more special classes in ordinary schools and as many special schools as possible."
(p 105)

The second category to show a large increase in numbers was the newly created 'maladjusted', defined in 1945 regulations as "pupils who show evidence of emotional instability or psychological disturbance and require special educational treatment in order to effect their personal, social or educational re-adjustment" (Ministry of Education 1945). (p 3) This was a newly created term which, according to Bowman (1981) arose for four reasons. Firstly, as a legal requirement underpinned by the new movement towards 'welfare'; secondly, because of the cost of child guidance clinics; thirdly, as a result of the problems of "unbilleteable evacuee children" and fourthly, because of the success of some residential schools and hostels treating difficult children. The result was a large increase in children being assessed as falling within such a category. Warnock (1978) highlights the fact that from a base of 79 child guidance clinics in 1945 there had emerged by 1955 over 500 establishments catering (either under LEA or independent status) for this category of child.

Nevertheless, in the immediate post war period it was felt that provision for such children was inadequate and amid a growing belief as Hurt (1988) notes "that if maladjustment in childhood would be properly treated,

juvenile delinquency would diminish" (p 177), the Underwood committee (1955) was formed. Its aim was "to enquire into and report upon the medical, educational and social problems relating to maladjusted children with reference to their treatment within the educational system." (p 1) The committee identified six categories of disorder i.e. nervous, habit, behaviour, organic, psychotic and education. They also recommended, on the basis of a perceived 2% of children requiring such facilities, the establishment of child guidance clinics within each authority. The clinics were to work in liaison with the school psychological and school health services. It was this pattern that dominated educational provision for the maladjusted for the next twenty years. Moreover the committee highlighted a number of possible approaches to the 'treatment' of maladjusted children. The fact that 'maladjustment' was not an easily definable term led to the growth of different institutions adopting varying approaches. In essence as Galloway and Goodwin (1987) note "maladjustment was neither a clinical diagnosis nor even a descriptive term but an administrative category." (p 31) The result nevertheless was a massive growth in this facility.

As special education continued to expand into the 1960s it did so against a growing political conviction that accepted not only the notion of 'welfare' but also the idea that social deprivation was a major causal factor in educational failure. Thus the Newsom report (1963) focused on the environment and school experience of 'slum children'. The Robbins report (1963) highlighted the continuing failure of the education system in promoting success amongst working-class children. Finally, the Plowden committee (1967) introduced the notion of the socially disadvantaged child, emphasising the environmental aspects of failure. Influenced by the American programme of 'Headstart' as part of President Johnson's

'War on Poverty', the committee proposed the idea of 'positive discrimination'. Thus the Labour government of the period channelled money into 'Education Priority Area' schools. As Silver (1990) notes, "by the beginning of the 1970s the disadvantaged child in school was a focus of action, research, policy and controversy." (p 196) Alongside this attack on deprivation the period also witnessed a growing concern for minorities and their right of participation in mainstream education. This was the case not only where children with specific handicaps e.g. cerebral palsy were found to be educationally more capable than previously thought, but also at a more general level involving, for example, ESN children. The result of this was twofold, firstly the 1970 Education (Handicapped Children) Act transferred some 32,837 children (Hurt 1988) from the Ministry of Health to the Department of Education. Secondly, (and in part a reaction to the implementation of Circular 10/65 (DES 1965) and the widespread support for comprehensive education) there was a growing demand for the mainstream to cope with those who may require special education i.e.

"Integrated Education was regarded as necessary to enable an individual to become an accepted member of society, and also as an end in itself. These views led to strong demands that those with special educational needs should be educated in ordinary schools." (Wedell 1990, p 20)

The result of such developments consequently led to pressure for a commission to examine the education of special children with Special Educational Needs. The outcome was the Warnock report, initiated in 1974 and completed in 1978. Its aim, as the then Secretary of State for Education, Margaret Thatcher defined was

"To review educational provision in England, Scotland and Wales for children and young people handicapped by disabilities of body and mind, taking account of the medical aspects of their needs,

together with arrangements to prepare them for entry into employment; to consider the most effective use of resources for these purposes; and to make recommendations."
(Warnock 1978, p 1)

Rowan (1988) makes the point that Warnock was formed amid an expective and progressive climate, fostered in the 1960s and based on the principle of equality of education, i.e.

"The strength of feeling which led to Warnock was part of a whole new climate of thinking which needs to be set in a wider context. All over the world, attitudes, concepts and policies on special education had been changing for a decade or more as social and political aspirations to create a fairer and more integrated society began to be expressed in national policies for minorities, the disadvantaged and those with disabilities." (p 89)

The committee indeed met against a background of developments which pre-empted its findings i.e. circular 2/75 (DES. 1975) called for a multi-professional assessment and section 10 of the 1976 Act proposed that where possible handicapped pupils were to be educated in normal schools.

Warnock itself highlighted these ideas and advocated change in four major areas i.e. a move away from statutory categorisation of disability and towards individual needs; the adoption of multi-professional assessment, and the participation of parents in procedure; the need to move away from the idea of treatment and towards education; and finally the acceptance of 'integration' as a way forward in producing equality of opportunity. The report also incorporated a definition of a child with special educational needs (SEN.) as being one who

"has a learning difficulty which calls for special educational provision to be made"

or if she/he

"has significantly greater difficulty in learning than the majority of children of his age or has a disability which either prevents or hinders him from making use of educational facilities ... for children of his age." (see Education Act 1981, p 1)

Indeed in planning for future provision the report recommended that it

"should be based on the assumption that about one in six children at any time and up to one in five children at some time during their career will require some form of special educational provision."
(p 41)

Finally Warnock proposed a procedure whereby multi-professional assessment would lead to a statement of special educational needs in about 2% of the school population. In accepting the main recommendations of the report the newly returned Conservative government however, implemented the Act in 1981 against a background of financial constraint.
i.e.

"The result was an Act that essentially extended the comprehensive principle but which in an exercise of statutory hypocrisy sought an attitude shift without obligations; which gave new rights to parents, but raised expectations without providing the statutory right to claim the necessary resources." (Rowan 1988, p 98-99)

By the time the Act came into force in April 1983 therefore, a significant change in attitude by the government had occurred. As Fish (1990) notes

"since its implementation in 1983 official interest, guidance and action have been limited and appear to have been reluctant. It was unfortunate that the proposed changes coincided with a decrease in the school population and a more rigorous control of education spending by the government. Local education authorities were expected to implement the 1981 Act within existing reduced budgets." (p 217)

The implementation of the Act in 1983 can also be seen against a background of a near stable special school population, (with the exception of the addition of ESN(S) children newly transferred in 1971 from health to education, the continued rise in the maladjusted category and some increase in autistic placements [Fig 3]) and a growing belief in the ideals of a 'comprehensive' education.

Fig 3

Special Schools in England 1874 - 82 Full-time pupils and disability

Disability	Year		
	1974	1978	1982
Blind	995	1193	1080
Partially Sighted	2053	2076	1731
Deaf	3497	3477	2867
Partially Hearing	2256	1970	1342
Physically Handicapped	10194	12308	11488
Delicate	4967	4441	3391
Maladjusted	11143	13334	13177
ESN (M)	51603	55494	55561
ESN (S)	25402	22653	24020
Epileptic	1482	1919	1530
Speech Defect	3024	3807	2252
Autistic	272	431	580
Total	116888	123204	119019

Source: DES Statistics of Education 1982 Schools HMSO

As Welton (1989) indicates,

"The growing trend towards a comprehensive secondary education accelerated, and with the accompanying liberation of the primary school curriculum, segregated special educational provision came to appear increasingly anachronistic." (p 22)

Indeed most local authorities made great efforts to operate the Act. As Evans (1989) notes,

"The 1981 Education Act has undoubtedly been a stimuli for changes in the services for children with special educational needs and their parents. More consideration is given to parental involvement in decision-making; more efforts are made to educate children with special needs in the least restrictive environment' more resources are being put into services for children with special educational needs." (p 48)

As the 1980s progressed however, the increasing financial pressure on LEAs and the promotion of market forces as a means of diluting welfare provision, meant that the expansion of services for special education were curtailed. It also meant a changing philosophical climate fostered by the government amid the introduction in 1988 of the Education Reform Act. Welton (1989) argues that the 1988 Reform Act developed from the new right proposals for education i.e. "The new right approach to education crystallised around the publication of the Black Papers in the late 1960s and early 1970s, a process which had roots in Conservative party minority groups dissent during the consensus years on thinking about welfare state education policy." (p 25) Basically the Act seeks to provide a national curriculum framework for all pupils with emphasis on 'entitlement'. Provision is made however for the National Curriculum to be modified or disapplied where necessary. Other directives initiated by the Conservative government are also applicable to special education, though as yet their effects are only speculative. These include, the delegation of

budgets to schools under local financial management; the testing of children at ages 7, 11 and 14; the increased powers of governors to direct personnel and resources; and the ability of schools to seek to opt out of local authority control. Clearly such initiatives may be viewed as Hall (1988) points out alongside increasing deregulation and free market philosophy as applied not only to education but also across the whole public sector. In this sense therefore the whole basis of special education provision has become problematic. As Wedell (1990) summarises,

"The arrival of the 1988 Act has exposed the balance of forces between central and local government, parents and professional educators. It is impossible to predict whether the momentum of commitment to furthering the education of children with special needs which has been achieved over the years since the Warnock Report, will be sufficient to influence future policy and practice."
(p 32)

In concluding this chapter I have attempted to relate socio/political and economic changes to historical developments in special education in England. What is clear from such a perspective is that special education has responded to rather than led change in Education, e.g. it was not until 1978 that a Royal Commission was established to look into special educational provision as a whole. Moreover these changes may be seen both as a response to changes in mainstream education and also as reflective of ideological climates of the time. In essence this has meant a slow move away from the rigid class-based system of education in the nineteenth century whereby special education was provided either through the workhouse or through philanthropic gestures, and guided through notions of intellectual inferiority. The change that brought about a more egalitarian approach to educational provision was the 1944 Education Act, which was based ostensibly on merit rather than class. In theory this was to give greater opportunity for all children including those

with special needs to climb the educational ladder. From the mid 1960s however emphasis within special education has centred around the ideal of 'entitlement', culminating in the Warnock Report (1978) and advocating (though not for the first time) the notion of integration. In this way equal access and equal rights for all minority groupings were advocated. Indeed this was to be further endorsed in the 1988 Education Act with the National Curriculum and its emphasis on entitlement. That progressive education is under threat however is suggested by the emphasis placed on such reforms and is reflected in a gradual move away from 'welfare' provision and to a more selective and diverse education system. The role of special education in this climate is thus problematic and has yet to be fully perceived.

In concluding this chapter what has become evident therefore is that special education, as witnessed over the last 150 years has grown both quantitatively and in ascribed status. The socio/historical analysis here employed, by placing events within a linear framework has helped us gain a critical understanding and an appreciation of the significant points of reference during the period. It has also highlighted the key forces determining change. Such an analysis, however, whilst offering a commentary of events over time does not necessarily explain a number of issues that are crucial to fully develop our understanding. A sociological analysis, however, by looking at variables that include e.g. power, knowledge, control, bureaucracy etc. is offering an analysis that seeks to explain as well as document, and as such will build upon the information already presented. It is to this that I will now turn.

CHAPTER TWO

Education, Special Education and Sociological Theory

This chapter will seek to explain by reference to the historical development of sociology how special education became a focus of analysis in the early 1980s. In generating this explanation it will be argued that the theoretical impetus for the emergence of this research area was a direct result of the 'fragmentation' of sociological perspectives within the 1970s. Moreover it will be implicit within this presentation that an understanding of such developments can only be fully understood by reference to the origins of sociology. Thus, whilst noting that changes within sociological theory set the agenda it will be suggested that it was the movement within the sociology of education towards diversification that led ultimately, if not immediately to a sociology of special education. Finally, whilst also highlighting changes within the structure of education as influencing factors on the professional interests of sociologists the chapter will explain how other forces helped determine the focus of enquiry within this sub-discipline, namely the influence of radical social psychology, the issue of race and changes within special education itself.

In tracing the development of sociology therefore, Colquhoun (1976) notes that there is almost general agreement that the subject developed in response to the 'problem of order' as defined by Hobbes (1973). Whilst this is generally accepted, Dawe (1970) explicates the argument "that sociology was shaped by the nineteenth century reaction to the enlightenment, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution." (p 207) It was therefore, these changes in social reality that gave sociology its distinct conceptual features, and the forces of industrialism and modernism that

provided the framework for analysis. Early sociological thought therefore was concerned with what was possible given the reality of the human condition and the forces of social change. Gouldner (1972) indeed in stressing the dialectic nature of the emergence of sociology, suggests that it may be seen as a "set of collective public sentiments ... which ... expressed a need for a new social map to which men could attach themselves; that is for a positive set of beliefs." (p 95) From this position Colquhoun (1976) argues that the dominant tradition in sociology can be traced through Durkheim and later Parson to adopt a systems or structural functionalist perspective in which members occupy roles within a social system. Moreover this development, scientifically based, relied heavily on processes which were based around the traditional sciences and in essence meant, that the new science of society has to share the same overall logical form as the other sciences (Giddens 1979). Indeed sociologically, the changes engendered by industrialism were highlighted according to by the three founding fathers, Marx, Weber and Durkheim who all made the nature of the transition to industrialism the basic organising concern of their work and sought through understanding that particular transition to move to a larger understanding of social processes, or history in general. (Abraham 1973).

This intellectual position was to dominate most sociological thought up until the 1960s and yet ignored a position outlined by Dawe (1970) namely social action theory in

"which society is the creation of its members; the product of their constitution of meaning, and of action and relationships through which they attempt to impose that meaning on their historical situation." (p 214)

Early proponents of this approach included Tonnies who, in drawing a dichotomy between Gemeinschaft and Gessellschaft referred to types of social relationships, and more specifically to the contrast between the emotional and rational, the personal and contractual, the communal and the individual aspects of human interaction. Swingewood (1984) meanwhile notes that the common humanist notion of sociology as defined by Tonnies is shared by Simmell who suggests that society consists of individuals connection by interaction, and that institutions such as the family, religion, economic organisations and bureaucracy constituted the forms of such interaction. Turner (1986) moreover points to Simmell's view that the individual's relation with society is dualistic, both within and outside and as such it is sociation which both forms and restricts his autonomy. Analysis of interaction has therefore increased over recent times being linked to a range of issues, to do with agency, structure and meaning. (Giddens 1979) Further this hermenentic discourse, evident as part of a general critique of positivism, can be linked to aspects of sociological theory, such as symbolic interaction, phenomenology and enthomethodology, whose approaches are concerned with the interpretation of both language and meaningful action.

Clearly such changes occurring within social theory have had an impact on research methodology. The positivist framework relied heavily on the premise, according to Hughes (1980) that "theory was supposed to be dependent for its truth on the 'facts' of the world which were 'extended to the theory itself." (p 62) Further, the study of sociology was seen as an activity independent of the social world being investigated. In this sense the elucidation of facts rather than theory dominated most sociological research up until the 1960s and was particularly evident in the concept of functionalism. For interactionists, however, the search for meaning is

more problematic, both in terms of the research and the researcher. The preferred methodology for this type of research has been ethnographic and has necessitated qualitative interpretation rather than quantitative data collection. 'Theory' in this respect is not testable in the positivistic sense but may arise out of, or in Denzin's (1970) terms may be 'grounded in' the research process itself.

The late 1960s and early 1970s therefore has witnessed within sociology great changes in both theory and methodology. The 1980s however have seen perspectives become increasingly paradigmatic and diversified. Bottomore (1982) argues that these shifts in perspectives have not occurred purely as a result of theoretical debate but are also "the product of the changing context of politics and policy making." (p 31) For example the growing influence of Marxist theory in the early 1980s he sees as itself a response "to the radical movements of the 1960s which themselves were responses to new political conditions and expressed new social and cultural aspirations." (p 31) Craib (1984) also notes the impact of the massive expression of sociology in the 1960s and early 1970s as leading to a 'theory boom'. Bottomore (1982) indicates that this expansion internationally translated led the discipline into many new areas of theoretical debate and "involving different conceptual schemes, which arise from quite different cultural traditions and historical experiences." (p 31) Giddens (1976) indeed sees sociological theory as being characterised by a decline in consensus. Craib (1984) also points out that it has become less concerned with theoretical debate and more directed towards applied social research. Consequently what we have witnessed has been summarily described by Johnson et al (1985) as 'fragmentation' i.e. specialisation of perspectives alongside competing schools of social theory. If therefore sociology in general had undergone radical change where did

this leave the sociology of education? Archer (1982) notes that the founding fathers, Marx, Durkheim and Weber did not have education as a central concern, treating it rather as an appendage to other social institutions. Indeed it was not until the 1950s that a number of studies emerged surrounding education, these being concerned generally with the issues of social stratification and social mobility, see for example Glass (1954) and Floud, Halsey and Martin (1957). These studies, amongst others, attempted to document educational inequalities, and in particular pointed to the waste of working-class talent. As Young (1977) notes, "The problem became to identify correlations between cultural features of working-class life and failure at school factors which then became deficiencies for which educational policy makers attempted to devise programmes of compensation." (p 4) The failure within education to create 'equality of opportunity' however became a realisation in the late 1960s and early 1970s despite the increasing financial input. Education as an area of study however, continued to grow in status. Reid (1979) in tracing this growth notes that the extension from two to three years in 1962 of teacher education, alongside the increasing number of graduate trainees was to lead to substantial numbers addressing the history, psychology, philosophy and sociology of education. Moreover, the number of students following full or part-time maintained courses (in England and Wales) in sociology increased from 534 in 1966 to 11,292 in 1976. (DES 1966 and 1976) As Banks (1982) indicates, "The 1960s ... were years of expansion in sociology, and the sociology of education shared this boom, particularly in the colleges of education which now, for the first time began to accept sociology as an important element of teacher training." (p 20)

By the mid 1960s however, there was within the social sciences, as Delamont (1978) points out, a growing concern to demystify academic study and invoke humanistic values. As she notes,

"In sociology, this helped to foster the various interactionist and phenomenologically inspired approaches which became current. It also helped to turn some educational research towards the 'real life' of the classroom, in the search for more 'relevant' work." (p 61)

Thus, inspired by e.g. Young (1971) and the Open University reader 'School and Society' (1971) a 'new' sociology emerged. Banks (1982) highlights the impact of this change, noting that

"The questions which interested the new generation of researchers were no longer which children fail or even why these fail ... attention was to be focused on the assumption held within the school, and especially by teachers, on the meaning of success and failure ... The content of education became a new focus of concern and so did the day to day interaction within the classroom." (p 20)

The application of these 'new' perspectives were generated towards mainstream education, and analysis of the differential treatment of pupils were centred around labelling and deviancy models. Thus, Keddie (1971), Hammersley (1974), Hargreaves (1975) and Rist (1977) were amongst a host of influential researchers who contributed to a range of literature which highlighted the school, teachers and pupils within an interactive process.

Importantly for this analysis however, it was significant (Oliver 1985) that such research failed to focus on special education. Quicke (1986) in offering an explanation for this points out that

"sociologists were understandably concerned with 'failure' in comprehensive schools, but for the most part the focus was rarely on pupils in remedial departments. When deviance was discussed, it was usually in terms of disruptive or non-conformist or

delinquent behaviour rather than very low achievement or 'slow learning'." (p 83)

Quicke however, also makes the point that the type of interactionism applied by sociologists to education had in fact already become influential among sections of educational psychologists in the late 1970s who were concerned with the type of labelling processes applied to special education. As Gillham (1978) noted,

"In terms of professional practice the shift in emphasis is quite distinct: the psychologist's appraisal of a child and his difficulties is now much more in terms of the means of achieving change, rather than burrowing in the past or into the psyche in pursuit of causes and explanations" (p 20)

This 'reconstituted practice' he noted centred at the level of the institution rather than at the individual. For Quicke (1986) however the redefinition of EPs roles failed to promote the kind of radical change envisaged, and suggested that the reason for this lay in the type of positivistic training they had undergone. As he summarises,

"It could with some justification be argued that it was precisely because interactionism was mediated to the world of special education via this group that it did not provide a spur to more radical analysis." (p 83)

For special education therefore the sociological analysis threatened via the work of deviancy and labelling theory, and through the redefinition of the role of educational psychologists did not materialise. It was not in fact until the 1980s that a body of sociological material emerged. See for example, Tomlinson (1981 and 1982), Barton and Tomlinson (1981) and Ford [1982]). That the theoretical impetus for such research was influenced by the division within sociology (and the sociology of education) in the mid-1970s is evident. Yet the type and substance of this influence, as the

introduction suggests was further informed by other interests. I will refer to each in turn.

a. The Influence of Radical Social Psychology

The 1950s witnessed, particularly in the USA, an expansion in the interests of psychologists and sociologists in mental health. Research developed as a critique of what was viewed as 'progressive' achievements in the humanitarian treatment of those identified as different e.g. the insane, criminal and deviant. Among the most influential included Goffman's (1961) study of asylums in which he describes the process of institutionalisation, and Hollingshead and Redlich (1958) survey of social class and mental illness. In particular such studies examined social processes which 'labelled' individuals as mentally ill. Scheff (1966), for example, looked at the part played by psychiatrists in committing individuals to mental institutions. In this sense studies of the period began to challenge accepted medical models. In the late 1960s and early 1970s moreover, a psychiatric critique developed and centered around the work of Szasz and Laing. Szasz (1972) proposed that 'mental illness is a myth' and was critical of mental hospitals as being institutions for social deviants. Laing (1968) criticised society in general and the family in particular for creating 'sick' people, suggesting we look to an oppressive society for causes of madness. The link between such studies centred on the nature of social processes as determining forces in definitions of mental health. Equally such enquiry was applied to education and in particular decisions to categorise and separate specific groups of children. Thus Dunn (1968) argued that the labelling processes inherent within special education as provided either by a multi-disciplinary team or the school psychologist, did more harm than good. Indeed he pointed out that 'disability labels' not only separate children from their peers but also

contributed to negative feelings of inferiority and self-image. Clarke and Clarke (1974) highlighted the changing criteria for classifications of subnormality, noting that 'labels' change as new knowledge is acquired. In particular they noted the dominance of pathological descriptions of mental health. Mercer (1973) in an influential piece of research reinforces such insights and also pointed to the way social processes, inherent within decisions made about 'mental retardate' status were unequally focused towards children from ethnic minorities and lower socio-economic groups. Mercer (1965) in an earlier article indeed suggested that the dominant perspective surrounding decisions to 'label' was clinical in that it focused on the individual i.e. "when deviance is perceived as individual pathology, social action tends to centre upon changing the individual or, that failing remove him from participation in society." (p 90) This she notes contrasts with the social system perspective which "attempts to see the definition of an individual's behaviour as a function of the values of the school system within which he is being evaluated." (p 90) Such analysis clearly highlights differential theoretical positions in relation to special education and points the way in which analysis, moving from the individual may be applied at institutional and political levels. As Rock (1973) proposed,

"Deviancy is a social constraint fashioned by the members of the society in which it exists. They endow it with importance ... and they assign it to a special place in the organisation of their collective lives." (p 19)

The growing influence of such perspectives in the early 1970s thus challenged the dominant positivist ideology surrounding special education, and implicit within this critique was the role of psychology as the ideology which supported the ranking and classifying of children. Moreover, the failure of educational psychologists to illicit change from

within left (despite the prophecy of Hargreaves, D [1978]) the field open to sociologists.

b. The issue of race

According to Banton (1979) the term 'race' is popularly used as a basis for encounters between blacks and whites, yet it is not a term originally concerned with colour. He argues that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was a literary term used in English in the sense of lineage. However in the nineteenth century, with the rise of nationalism in Europe, he notes that the term 'race' gradually emerged as being concerned with population types. Thus scientists gave credence to the term when classifying specimens. In this sense therefore 'race' changed from being a designated historical grouping to a zoologically defined one. As Bloom (1971) suggests,

"race, scientifically defined is a biological term and is narrowly confined to the bodily characteristics that distinguish one group of humans from another. It says nothing about any psychological or social characteristics, nor does it imply any judgement about the 'inferiority' or 'superiority' of any race." (p 16)

However, by 1859 Darwin (1971) was stating the view that types were not permanent, not pure, and that mixed races were part of evolution. As a result the interpretation became that 'superior' groups would dominate, and in human terms this became the Europeans. Indeed this 'scientific racism', held that human groups existed at different stages of biological evolution. The higher races were those that had developed over a longer period, and those that had emerged later were at a lesser stage. This scenario, as may be expected suggested the higher groups were white, with lower groups having different skin colour. Lewontin (1982), further describes this process as one of 'Biological Determinism' and suggests that

it sought to legitimate an unequal society that is based on status, wealth and power. Moreover, he notes that within this analogy

"the ideology of equality has become transformed into a weapon for, rather than against a society of inequality by relocating the cause of inequality from the structure of society to the nature of the individual." (p 5)

At the time of increasing immigration into Britain in the 1960s from the 'New Commonwealth', the prevailing views of the superiority of Europeans alongside a hierarchical structure of education based on the notion of inequality meant that many 'black' children failed to compete with the indigenous white population. The appearance therefore that black children failed on 'merit' led in the 1960s to a debate about the alleged intellectual inferiority of this grouping, leading Jensen (1969) (1973) in an analysis of cognitive processes to suggest that blacks as a group, independent of socio-economic status were genetically the most inferior. Against this background therefore of supposed social, cultural and intellectual inferiority ethnic minorities within Britain began to question their treatment both within education and the wider society.

In analysing the achievement patterns of ethnic minority groups therefore a number of studies e.g. Rutter (1970), Townsend and Brittan (1972) Troyna (1978) Rex and Tomlinson (1979) detailed the general lack of academic success amongst West Indian children. Research also showed the disproportionate number of black children being moved out of mainstream schools and placed within special schools. Coard (1971) was amongst the first to highlight this problem, finding in his study of an inner London education authority large numbers of West Indian children in schools for the educationally subnormal. Townsend (1971) in one of the earliest studies of immigrant pupils in England also found a

considerable imbalance in the percentage of West Indian children attending special schools (both for the educationally subnormal and maladjusted) compared both to non-immigrant and other immigrant groupings. Tomlinson (1978) in stating her concern for this over-representation noted, "If it is accepted that no ethnic or national group should be over-represented in special education, the proportion of West Indian children in ESN schools is about four times larger than it 'ought' to be." (p 237) Coard (1971) indeed made clear his concern that the classification of West Indian children was based on false assumptions and that selection procedures were crucial in generating misleading information i.e.

"The vocabulary and style of all those IQ tests is white middle class. Many of the questions are capable of being answered by a white middle class boy, who, because of being middle class has the right background of experiences with which to answer questions regardless of his real intelligence." (p 15)

The debate about race and special education in the mid 1970s therefore was generally concerned with numbers. However, given the context of the changing nature of sociological enquiry and the increasing concern of the black community, analysis moved on. As Davey (1973) in a critique of IQ tests and the implied link between race and intelligence noted,

"Schools, of course, respond to society, they cannot by themselves bring about a social reformation. As a result educationalists have been far too co-operative in processing children into categories which validate society's current ideas of equality." (p 209)

Rex and Tomlinson (1979) as part of their analysis of black immigrants similarly note that

"It is in the schools more than anywhere else that the definitions of social reality are being evolved which make the social structure of

the future. In addition to their normal roles of selecting from and socialising the lower classes, they have now become the places in which the social, cultural and political assimilation or alienation of the immigrants will occur." (p 205)

In terms of fieldwork Tomlinson (1981) was amongst the first to demonstrate that decisions made by 'professionals' in referrals to special education may be influenced by assumptions about the racial characteristics of some minority groupings. Giles (1977) also points to the negative effect of the relationship between teachers' perceptions and the supposed 'special needs' of West Indian children. Edwards (1979) moreover traces the low expectations of teacher involved with West Indian children as being concerned with attitudes towards speech and language. Such evidence also made some (if small) impact on the Warnock Report (1978) which noted the concern about the high percentage of West Indian children in ESN (M) schools. The warning was made therefore that

"any tendency for educational difficulties to be assessed without proper reference to a child's cultural and ethnic background and its effect on his education can result in a category of handicap becoming correlated with a particular group in society." (p 64)

What we witness in the late 1970s and early 1980s therefore is the increased appreciation of sociological insights into the issue of race. Such insights began to focus not merely on the rate of 'failure' of the black community but also at why 'failure' took place. In this way enquiries moved towards interactionist and structuralist explanations based both within schools and the wider society. Special education as a medium whereby one grouping within the ethnic minorities, i.e. West Indians, were processed towards failure thus became integral within this debate.

c. Changes in special educational philosophy

During the period 1950-78 the number of children attending segregated special schools in England and Wales increased from 40,543 to 123,204 (DES 1971 and 1978). Amongst the most significant in terms of growth were the physically handicapped, where medical intervention helped sustain life for disabled children; the maladjusted, whose numbers had risen from 587 in 1950 to 13,334 in 1978 (DES 1977 and 1978); and finally the largest increase was a result of the Education Act (Handicapped Children) of 1970 which transferred over 30,000 children (Warnock 1978) from health to education and formed the educationally sub normal (severe) [ESN(S)] grouping. While numbers increased in special schools, there was a movement by some to gain increased access for special education within mainstream. As Chazan (1980) notes,

"Since the Education Act of 1944 ... Not only has the provision of special schools and units greatly expanded, but it has been increasingly recognised that many handicapped children should, and can, be catered for in ordinary schools." (p 1)

Warnock (1978) thus notes that by 1977 12% of children requiring special provision remained in mainstream. Whilst the evidence for the move towards mainstream is questionable (Booth 1981) what is clear is that during this period there was a perceived acceptance of the need for a greater variety of special provision.

Suggestions for dealing with increased overall numbers and a changing outlook in special provision led in the early 1970s to a number of official responses. Thus, in assisting LEAs plan for the 1970 Act, circular 15/70 (DES 1970) suggested that they "give early consideration to a broader strategy for the education of mentally handicapped children within their total provision for children in need of special education." (p 2) The DES

circular 4/73 (1973) also called for an additional 2,000 special school teachers suggesting that this would aid a more flexible approach to meet a variety of needs. This flexibility was re-emphasised in circular 2/75 (DES 1975) with a statement concerning discovery and assessment of remedial provision in their own primary or secondary school. For others, special education in a special school, unit or class may be required. Indeed Section 10 of the 1976 Education Act placed responsibility on LEAs to provide special education in ordinary schools where practicable. Moreover, during this period the first committee ever to review educational provision for the handicapped in the United Kingdom was established in 1974. The Warnock report was published in 1978 and gave substance to a range of ideas suggesting provision for "a continuum of special educational need." (p 94) The report was to form the basis of the 1981 Act which was subsequently enacted in 1983. By this date, however, a significant change in attitude towards special education had occurred and involved not only concern with where children with 'special needs' should be placed but also what they should be taught.

Viewed reflectively therefore, official reaction in the 1970s to the expansion of special education played a part in changing both attitudes and type of provision. Other factors however contributed to what Bines (1986) calls "The new approach or redefinition of remedial education." (p 22) Gipps (1987) agrees that a reassessment of the value of 'remedial education' took place, noting that "in the late 1970s the remedial child became the child with special needs, and remedial education became a higher status activity." (p XI) She outlines three reasons for this change i.e. the failure of traditional teaching methods; cuts in local authority expenditure and the Warnock Report. The attack on traditional remedial methods she notes was initiated by the National Association of Remedial

Education (N.A.R.E.) in conferences in 1975 and 1977. Bines (1986) supports such a view, and in highlighting the way the association put forward new ideas for the identification, assessment and monitoring of 'remedial' pupils proposes that NARE has given considerable support to the redefinition of remedial education. Gipps (1987) second explanation of change suggests that the impact of resource cuts in education in the late 1970s hit remedial education particularly hard and generally reducing staff in this area. Consequently, she argues, pressure on staffing forced a move towards different models of delivery, and in particular the replacement of the child as a client to the class teacher as a client. In essence, she notes the service moved towards one of support which "has cost implications in that one specialist can reach more children via a number of class teachers than he or she can reach direct." (p 4) Gipps final reason for change focuses on Warnock. Here, she notes, the introduction of the term 'special needs', by creating an atmosphere of change and reassessment helped move attention to issues surrounding the nature of need and entitlement rather than handicap or disability. In other words a climate was created as Warnock (1991) notes whereby "attitudes did change, not only to the disabled but to equality itself. It began to seem possible to marry the idea of equality with that of variety, within a common framework of provision." (p 148)

Clearly however, alongside the influence of specific changes occurring in the late 1970s, other longer term ideological factors played a part in determining a generalised move towards greater equality in education. Such influences were themselves to generate a climate for change within special education. Golby and Gulliver (1981) suggest that the major ideological change since the war has been the move away from elitism and towards espousal of equality, which they see as being reflected in both the

abolition of the 11+ and the move away from streaming. Such notions can themselves be traced to the wider emphasis placed on 'welfare' as espoused by the Labour Government of 1945. Indeed the introduction in 1965 of comprehensive education (circular 10/65) by a newly returned Labour Government was to be the main focus by which greater equality could be achieved. As Barton and Tomlinson (1984) suggest, "special education in England - its goals and development - cannot be analysed or understood in isolation from the ideologies and practices of comprehensive education." (p 75) Moreover, as sociological evidence highlighted the relationship between social class and education, a number of government reports, Robbins (1963), Newsom (1963) and Plowden (1967) promoted the idea that the disadvantaged child should become a focus for action (see Chapter One).

Within the comprehensive model therefore, a number of changes within the curriculum had an indirect effect on special provision. Thus the move away from structured learning and towards a more adaptive approach can be seen in, for example, the dissolving of many subject barriers; the use of topic work; learning by experience; less reliability on text books; moves towards mixed ability classes, and the increasing influence of the certificate of secondary education (C.S.E.) (particularly mode 3) as involving teacher assessment. Moreover, the criticism of the Bullock report (1975) gave expression to the view that at both primary and secondary level the giving of special help to low ability pupils in basic skills could effect the maintenance of the normal curriculum. The report thus argued for closer links between remedial teachers and English departments in pursuit of language as a cross-curricula pursuit. Combined, such curricula changes were to affect the perception of the status of special provision, particularly those engaged within ordinary

schools. As Golby and Gulliver (1985) note, "The traditional remedial function would be much reduced, and alongside it a new emphasis on curricula change, support and prevention developed." (p 18)

The emphasis of reform in the 1970s, while having achieved influence indirectly, did become encompassed in the substance of in-service training courses established for special needs teachers. Gulliford (1989) indicates that it was the Education Act (1970) which initially influenced the introduction of new pre-service courses for remedial education teachers. These were to be followed (following Warnock's 1978 recommendation) by the introduction on a large scale of full and part-time courses aimed at special needs teachers (see Chapter One). In Scotland e.g. a co-ordinated effort was designed to change the nature of remedial provision in line with making both school structure and curriculum suitable for all pupils. As Booth (1984) notes, "The Scottish approach to pupils with learning difficulties represents an unprecedented attempt to break the style in which classroom inflexibility provokes withdrawal and separation of some pupils." (p 40) Looked at from this perspective therefore the 'new approach' to remedial education became summarily advertised.

In tracing the changing climate within special education philosophy the 1970s clearly witnessed a trend whereby explanations of failure became less associated with the individual and more towards structures and processes. This apparent shift in understanding meant that perceptions became less psychologically based and more sociological in outlook. Moreover, as the perceived change became focused in universities and polytechnics as part of special education in-service courses then the opportunity for critical analysis became more obvious. In this way sociologists began the move away from analysis of inequality in education on a general model and

towards a more eclectic approach. Sociology therefore was able to focus not only on theoretical perspectives from which special provision could be best understood but also on interpretative accounts of its processes on the ground. This was to lead ultimately into a sociology of special education.

Conclusion

In tracing the relationship between education, special education and sociology theory evidence suggests that the link between them is not merely functional but is founded on a set of understandings which became evident in the mid 1970s. Thus, the type of interactionist and ethnographic research carried out in the period, whilst initially focused within the sociology of education generally, emerged via the fragmentation of the subject into specialised areas of concern to form a range of data surrounding special education. Indeed it is this peculiar division of labour in sociology that has reinforced the potentialities for fragmentation. Specialist research has to a large extent produced therefore area-specific knowledge. (Johnson 1984) Criticism of the social processes inherent within special education however, whilst informed by changes in the theory and methods of sociology, could not appear in a vacuum. It was, as this chapter proposes the influence of radical social psychology, the issue of race and the changes taking place within special education itself that generated a context for analysis. That the debate has now shifted on to more structural analysis (see Barton 1988), however, also emphasises the point that shifts in perspective do not occur purely as a result of theoretical debate but also as a result of changing social, political and economic influences.

That the sociological analysis of special education has thus moved on over the past ten years perhaps reflects the changes that have taken place in the

perspectives used to inform research. In order therefore to highlight the current theoretical position of this sub-discipline, and also to give context to the case study analysis undertaken in a later chapter, it is necessary to focus on those perspectives.

CHAPTER THREE

Sociological Paradigms within Special Education

An examination of the structures that support special education (as documented in Chapter One) suggest that they emerged firstly from definitions of 'disability' that focused on the individual and secondly as a result of professional involvement in managing 'needs'. The approach of legislators over the past hundred years therefore has concentrated on numbers, social problems and management difficulties. Barton and Tomlinson (1981) note the effect this approach has had on research, which they suggest has been "characterised by its interest in documenting the extent and types of handicap or special need at the local or national level, as well as concern for the organisation, management and provision for the handicapped or special child." (p 21) Over the last decade however, (as documented in Chapter Two) a growing interest in the sociology of special education has occurred, being concerned according to Tomlinson (1982) with

"asking questions about the social structures and social relationships that occur when part of a mass education system in an industrial society develops as 'special' rather than normal, about the conflicts between individuals and groups that arise in special education, and about the beliefs and ideologies used to justify actions and relationships in this type of education." (p 1)

Viewed from this perspective a sociological analysis attempts to explain variables that have already been applied to mainstream education e.g. power, knowledge, control, bureaucracy etc., but have until recent time been absent in understandings of special education. Therefore, (although mindful of Quicke's (1986) warning of generating "a paradigmatic

mentality" (p 81) it is possible, as this chapter will attempt, to document four perspectives from which analysis may take place. These include the functionalist; Marxist; conflict and interactionist. Further, although not regarded as a sociological perspective in itself reference will be made to a humanist position as being a base from which understandings also emerge.

The Functionalist Perspective

Historically, (see Chapter Two) functionalism developed from the need to maintain order. Its major concern is with understanding the social context within which the social system operates and the way constituent parts contribute to the maintenance of the whole. As Walsh (1972) indicates, "The parts of the social system may be said to be functional in the sense that they contribute to the survival of the system by virtue of the operations they perform." (p 57) This understanding also implies consensus around a set of beliefs that unite society and is based on notions of cohesion and stability, with change occurring through adaption and evolution. For education therefore, functionalism is concerned "to address itself to general questions about the role of education in society and the relationship of the education system to other sub-systems making up the social system as a whole." (Oliver 1985, p 77) For special education however, itself a sub-system within education, the dominant ideology was one of separate development. As such, the rationale behind the structures it maintained were functional to the extent that they did not interfere with mainstream education. However, as Oliver (1985) indicates, the functionalist analysis of special education also hinged on other philosophical assumptions, namely that the 'handicapped' required training in self-sufficiency to avoid the 'burdens of poverty' and also that as many as possible should be trained, both in terms of skills and values to

become productive workers. In accepting this perspective as dominating special education ideology Tomlinson (1982) thus notes that "the dominant concern with this approach has been the 'fitting in' of the handicapped, adults and children in society. Thus there has developed a whole literature on the social problems created by defects or handicaps."

(p 13) Moreover she points out that this understanding has been achieved firstly by highlighting "the extent and type of handicap" and secondly through "the social problem approach, concerned with the organisation, management, provision for, and direction of the handicapped or special child." (p 14)

In offering documentation rather than explanation therefore, the functionalist perspective as a sociological approach to special education has sought via social survey techniques to quantify data and properly place the 'handicapped'. Goode (1984) thus cites a lack of observational and ethnographic research in the area, and proposes that

"the vast majority of papers in the field have been either clinical or experimental, relying almost exclusively upon 'scientific' procedures such as hypothesis generation; sampling measurement of variables; hypothesis testing; statistical analysis of data; theory building and the like." (p 228)

Cave and Maddison (1978) in a survey of research into special education also point to an emphasis by practitioners that centres on discovery, identification and treatment of 'handicapping' conditions. Wedell and Roberts (1982) support such evidence noting that between 1979 and 1981 the largest number of projects concerned with special education were descriptions of children in terms of their handicap category. Wedell (1985) in a later survey also points out that despite Warnock (1978) and the Education Act (1981) the abandonment of categorising children by

handicap had not been achieved. i.e., "it was still apparent from the survey that descriptive research was still the area which the largest number of projects were being carried out (41 per cent). Just over half of these studies were still concerned with investigations of children grouped by category of handicap or other diagnostic categories." (p 22-26) Indeed this reliance on numbers can be clearly witnessed in the major report on special education this century (Warnock 1978) which stated that "planning for children and young people should be based on the assumptions that about one in six children at any one time, and one in five children at some time during their school career will require some form of special education provision." (p 41)

An acknowledgement of the domination within special education of functionalist-orientated perspectives thus highlights the way 'special needs' children are both managed and perceived within specific categories. As Tomlinson (1989) suggests,

"The functionalist approach views the clients of special education as a social problem who can be dealt with by professional teamwork and the 'right resources', rather than viewing all special educational activity as a sociological problem to be explained. The approach usually denies clients their version of 'what is going on' and unproblematically accepts that professionals really do know best." (p 415)

Implicit within this criticism of functionalism therefore, is the presumption that 'handicap' and judgements about handicap are contextually based being located within socially created frameworks and expectations. Fish (1987) indeed makes the point that "situations, attitudes and administrative procedures cause disabilities to become more or less handicapping. People with disabilities have stressed that the degree to which they are handicapped depends on other people." (p 172) An

acceptance of this criticism thus necessitates addressing other sociological perspectives of special education.

The Marxist perspective

Whereas the basic underlying feature of functionalism is consensus, for Marxists the central element is conflict. However, unlike the other main conflict theorist Weber, whose concern it was to relate power and status to social processes, Marx was primarily interested in the conflict that arose because of differential relations within the means of production. (Rex 1961) For Marx therefore, economic structures reproduce and maintain social structures, leaving action at an individual level as part of the motion that maintains their existence. i.e. "Human beings become the puppets of social structure, which in turn becomes a sort of machine in permanent motion." (Craib 1984, p 123) The application of Marxist analysis to education thus seeks to examine the structural forms which provide the framework for education to act as an aid in shaping and maintaining class relations.

In generating such analysis the immediate post-war period thus provided scope for the documentation of the unequal basis of education. The understanding of such research however centred on the view that it was external forces that caused inequality, the school being viewed as neutral. (Wexler 1987) Emphasis therefore, (as noted in Chapter Two) was placed on social mobility and the effects of status differences on school success. Contributors to Halsey's (1961) influential reader thus concentrated on factors that were perceived to affect school performance. e.g. occupation; selection processes and social factors. As Floud and Halsey (1961) summarise, "From the point of view of the schools in a class society, class is culture, and education is a process of cultural assimilation through the

reconstruction of personalities previously conditioned by race or class." (p 8) Other research as documented by Craft (1970) also highlighted explanations of failure in education by offering 'contextual' and 'subcultural' understandings of working class life. Moreover, such understandings were summarised in America by Coleman (1966) who presented the view that educational institutions could merely reduce the unequalizing impact of external factors on the individual and could not compete with the environment as an influencing agent. In this sense the optimism of educational reform in Britain in the 1950s gave way to the questioning outlook of the 1960s. In terms of sociological analysis of education therefore functionalism gave way to conflict theory.

The Marxist perspective adopted in the period, as noted, focused in particular on structural outcomes within education. It was also generally based on quantitative analysis. The development of the 'new sociology' in the 1970s however saw a move towards the exploration of the individual as a participator in educational processes. In this way the movement was both anti-functionalist and anti-deterministic (Banks 1982). The impetus for analysis (see Chapter Two) thus became the school and the classroom. Criticism of such research however soon emerged, and centred both on theoretical and methodological concerns (e.g. see Sharp and Green 1975). The result was the arrival of neo-Marxism whereby analysis was applied to the processes that maintained structural division. Thus Althusser (1977), Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), Bowles and Gintis (1976), Bernstein (1977), Sharp and Green (1975), Willis (1977) contributed to a body of research which pointed to the way in which schools had been penetrated by capitalist ideology and how structures within them helped maintain class differences. Despite the criticisms of neo-Marxism as being both over-deterministic and lacking in methodological rigour (Hargreaves 1986)

however, this perspective clearly had an effect on the type and substance of research.

In relating such concerns to special education it is evident that sociological research surrounding its functioning could not be exempt from the controversy of differential approaches. Thus from a classical Marxist position there is clear evidence pointing to the type of child and type of social background of those that are in receipt of special education. As Squibb (1981) notes, "working class and other deprived of 'minority' groups are significantly over-represented among 'special handicapped' children, or those with special needs." (p 41) The fact that this can be clearly documented (e.g. see Tomlinson 1981) however only explains the structural orientation of special education and says nothing of processes within its structure. Ford (1982) thus proposes that the central question concerns the way children are defined and processed within special education and notes that it is necessary to relate 'individual disturbance' to social, economic and political factors. Oliver (1985) supports such a view, and in applying Althusser's notion of control in transmitting ruling class ideology describes the special school as

"part of the 'repressive state apparatus' in that it removes disruptive and potential disturbing children from ordinary schools regardless of whether their disruption is based on handicap, impairment, behaviour or performance. further, it is part of the 'ideological state apparatus' in that the very existence of these schools serves as a warning to other children if they fail to conform to currently acceptable health or behavioural norms." (p 83)

Evidence for such a perspective dates back to the separation of certain groups of children in the last century (see Chapter One) and can also be seen in the increased number and type of 'special child' (although, as will be noted in other explanations concerning 'professional power' may be

used). Viewed in this way a Marxist understanding serves to underlie the basic division of children within a hierarchically structured education system which primarily exists to cater for 'ordinary pupils'. The increased scope of special education as presented in this way therefore serves to maintain class divisions. As Carrier (1990) suggests,

"Learning disability, speech impairment, giftedness, mental retardation and other terms that have defined the universe of educational exceptionality are formal explanations of educational success and failure that are institutionalised in important ways in the practices that separate the more or less successful students from each other." (p 212)

The Interactionist perspective

Interactionism is a sociological perspective that has its roots in social action theory, a movement which (as described in Chapter Two) can be traced to the origins of sociology. (Dawe 1970) It became prominent through the work of Mead (1934) who described how the individual is influenced by social experience in that social control creates limitations on our action. Blumer (1969) elaborates on this perspective and argues that shared meanings are the product of interaction and are gained from signs and symbols that interpret events. Goffman (1968 and 1971) expounded on such an approach and attempted to show the ways in which social order is created through the use of rules and rule following. Taken together therefore the sociological perspective of symbolic interactionism offered an alternative to structural-functionalism (Craib 1984) and also opened up the possibility for the emergence of other interpretive perspectives. Thus Garfinkel (1967) analysed the rules and practices of social life which enabled actors to make sense of their affairs. This type of enquiry was termed ethnomethodological. For Schutz (1972) 'phenomenological sociology' looked to interpret the meaning of social action in order to

grasp an understanding of 'common-sense knowledge' that derives from everyday interaction.

The application of such perspectives to education lies in interpretive accounts of the way the social world of education is produced and they became associated with the 'new sociology' of education in the 1970s. Such research applied qualitative analysis to a variety of formal and informal processes (see Chapter Two) and concentrated on the classroom, and in particular pupil-teacher intervention. In relating interactionism to special education both Tomlinson (1981) and Quicke (1986) suggest that deviancy and labelling theory underpins many of the concepts within which selection and categorisation processes emerge from, and it is from this body of knowledge that our understandings emerge. Thus Becker (1963), Cohen, A (1966), Lemert (1967), Matza (1969) and Cohen, S (1972) amongst others formed a group of theorists who demonstrated that deviancy is not merely concerned with a particular behavioural act but on others response to that act. As Becker (1963) suggests,

“deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an 'offender'. The deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label.” (p 9)

From such origins a 'new criminology' emerged in the early 1970s which attempted to return analysis away from functionalist explanations of deviancy and towards and understanding of the framework from which it may emerge. (Taylor 1973)

In relating such concerns to special education it is evident, (as documented in Chapter One) that historically emphasis was placed on locating

disability (like criminality) within the individual with no account taken of the social context from which it appeared. Indeed this concern with individual social welfare (Bailey 1975) encompassed a generalised form of 'treatment' for large numbers of those with low social status. In returning to special education, evidence (see Chapter Two) highlights the view that mental retardation is not a unitary disorder applicable to all who share a common categorisation, (Mercer 1973) nor is it a product that reflects the views of all local authorities. In essence from an interactionist perspective it simply describes a series of labels applied by 'professionals'. In examining evidence gained from using such a perspective Mercer (1973) and Rowitz (1984) point to the influence of the IQ test (as part of clinical diagnosis by psychologists) in influencing mental retardate status. However, Hargreaves, D (1978) suggests that labelling processes have already begun long before a child reaches the psychologist i.e. "Referral rates may constitute the first of the official process of deviance definition, but behind this lies the unofficial labelling process which in many cases has passed through a complex career lasting several years." (p 74-75) Such an understanding is also demonstrated by Skrtic (1989) who notes that the way 'standard programs' are aimed to fit a "professional pigeonholing process." (p 27) He thus highlights the way the school as an organisation locates individuals into groups, and argues that problems arise when students do not fit into the programme. As he notes, "From an organisational perspective, being "disabled" is a matter of not fitting the available standard programs in an organisation that is not structured to provide novel responses to unique differences." (p 29) Implicit within these understandings we witness the way labels are applied as part of decision-making processes. Tomlinson (1981) thus sees the way children become labelled as educationally sub-normal as being part of a categorisation process whereby "The professionals see themselves as doing

a job, but they are also constructing a 'reality'. An E.S.N-M child is a social construct who comes into existence through the judgements and decisions of professional people." (p 334-335) Moreover evidence also points to the differential assumptions between professionals about the nature of 'disability'. Bogdan and Kugelmass (1984) thus found in a study of mainstreaming that assumptions of 'handicap' varied between schools and between districts and influenced the type of programmes followed. As they note,

"The specific disability label attached to a child in our educational system is supposed to offer an explanation for the child's difficulty in school and suggests methods of facilitating his or her education. However, as our data suggest, a good deal more than the child's functioning is involved in decisions regarding special educational placement and programming." (p 176)

Woolfe (1981) indeed in an analysis of LEA decision-making examines the way 'maladjusted' children are so categorised, and uncovers a placement procedure that relies on numbers, places and individual concern. In essence he found too many pupils chasing a limited number of special school places. As such he found elaborate procedures of classification and deferment that helped the system cope. i.e. "The practices which emerged reflected not just the needs of individual children, but also the needs of the organisation to preserve itself." (p 186)

Taken together therefore interactionist explanations of special education promote the idea that disability, handicap, special educational needs and other generic terms can only be understood within a context. That context moreover may be seen as part of decision-making processes, as part of professional power and as located within individuals in schools and classrooms. Such concern for these processes has thus fuelled the

integration-segregation debate (Quicke 1986) and has contributed to the move within many comprehensives (Bines 1986) away from separate provision and towards support. It has in practical terms however (Swann 1984) had little effect on special school placement. Clearly, as a perspective interactionism has a powerful exploratory role within the sociology of special education, though its obvious failure lies in its inability to place encounters within a macro structure (Tomlinson 1989).

Conflict Perspective

As suggested earlier functionalist perspectives rely upon consensus and assume that 'progress' involves the successful maintenance of that consensus. For Marxists the driving force in society is conflict which is located in the class relations that are determined through the means of production. A further conflict perspective however as outlined by Weber (1930) distinguishes power and status as the major structural determinants of western capitalist society. Central to this theory is the notion of authority which determines the domination of one group over another. He thus sees status groups as developing from 'market positions' in society and suggests that attached to status are differential distributions of prestige. Moreover in maintaining status and prestige he points to the way certain groups assume power within society. (Rex 1973) In relating such a perspective to education therefore means examining the role of those groups which help to shape its structure and ethos. Applied to special education it means looking at the way 'professional' groups maintain and legitimise their power and how disadvantaged groups react to that power. (Sleeter 1989)

In analysing the characteristics of professional power within special education, Tomlinson (1982) traces the way certain groups have emerged as controlling agencies. i.e.

"Over the past twenty years more professionals have come to claim expertise in dealing with children moving into, or in special education, child psychiatrists, social workers, assessment centre staff, remedial teachers, education welfare officers, probation and careers officers, community health workers, counsellors, speech therapists and behavioural therapists are some groups who claim a right to involvement in special education." (p 82)

Moreover she notes the way that such groups, framed within a medical and psychological perspective have helped formulate judgements. Indeed, enshrined within the Warnock Report (1978) is the 'multi-professional' assessment of children who are 'discovered' as having a 'disability'.

Consequently,

"assessment must include the investigation of any aspect of a child's performance that is causing concern. This will generally require only a limited range of specialist involvement. In some cases however, depending on the nature and degree of the child's difficulty, a wide range of professional expertise will be needed if a full investigation is to be carried out ... Although no hard and fast rules can be laid down, we do not regard as adequate an assessment which neglects any material point on which an appropriate specialist view is required." (p59)

In tracing the development of special education in Britain (see Chapter One) Ford (1982) highlights the way dominant interest groups have attempted to control deviant sections of the school population by referral to special education. These interests, they note are historically linked to the domination of medical and psychological assumptions. Tomlinson (1989) further accounts how power struggles between professional (and sometimes aided by parental pressure groups) have led to the acceptance of certain forms of 'disability' as opposed to others. As she notes,

"The development of categories in Britain was the result of struggles between medical, psychological and educational personnel, and there were winners and losers. Dyslexia and autism for example were never recognised as statutory educational categories of handicap, although they were recognised under a Health Act in 1970. Other categories suggested by various interest groups, but never given any legal status were, - the neuropathic child, the inconsequential child, the psychiatrically crippled child, the clumsy child, the hyperactive child, the attention-span deficient child, the child with severe lethargy, and a variety of others." (p 11)

Looked at in this way we witness how professional power and professional rivalry located within the medical and psychological domain has structured disability and located it within the individual. Moreover in order to maintain power it is in the interests of such groups to promote and to legitimate their role as agencies best suited to 'help' their client groups. Foucault (1967) indeed suggests that in modern societies the so called 'progressive' treatment of "other" is based on power relations and is deployed through the use of mechanisms for identification and control. Evidence moreover points to those with least power in society as being most likely to be in receipt of such treatment. Analysis as supplied by Tomlinson (1981) thus points to the high percentage of semi and unskilled parents of children referred for E.S.N. placement. She also highlights the large number of West Indian children within special schools. Sigmon (1987) in a review of special educational provision in America similarly found a high incidence of low income families in learning difficulties groups, and in quoting government statistics (Comptroller General 1981) noted the large percentage of blacks, American Indians and Asian Indians with specific special education programs. Clearly these are low status groups, and from a Weberian perspective their authority within the 'market place' is limited. Equally important for professional power is the way their authority, in relation to their client groups is maintained. Illich (1977) thus sees professionals, and those concerned with caring as

'disabling' in that they reduce the ability of their subjects to act for themselves. They also provide for those under their care a well defined role in which to view themselves. Swain (1989) indeed suggests that from such a position a lack of power creates and maintains 'helplessness', i.e. "helplessness is an aspect of social relationships between people who are powerless and those who control so-called 'uncontrollable events'." (p 116) Oliver (1988, 1989) further notes the way professionals not only define but also organise provision for disability, which he argues further disables those receiving the service and creates a basis for dependency. As Bart (1984) indicates, "Professionalisation facilitates the development of a service market ... implicit in this assumption of responsibility is the notion that there are individuals to be responsible for or, in clinical terms that there are conditions to treat." (p 102)

From the perspective outlined above therefore we witness a theoretical approach which while able to focus on the actors definition of the situation also examines how groups construct their definitions. In this way it may consider both the subjective meaning of social action and the structured constraints within which it may operate. (King 1973)

Moreover, by adopting a position in which power and authority are the outcome of conflict which is not always (unlike Marx) located in class domination a framework is provided which may be viewed from both a macro and micro perspective. (Blackledge and Hunt 1985) For special education the implications suggest that research within this perspective can be aimed at both how professional power is legitimised and how that power is perceived by client groups.

The Humanitarian Position

According to Cole (1989) "Special education pioneers - and indeed more recent practitioners and policy makers, including leading medical officers - generally seemed imbued with a deep concern for the interests of special children." (p 169) Hurt (1988) further suggests that "Pioneers of education 'outside the mainstream' were motivated by a desire for a more orderly society and a genuine concern for the socially, physically and mentally disadvantaged." (p 189) Such descriptions, whilst not discounting elements of social control stress the dominance of humanitarian motives in the development of special education. Oliver (1988) indeed accounts for the domination of the humanitarian response to social policy and disability in the twenty years after World War 2 noting two major elements, namely "that policy decisions are rationally based on the collection of facts and that these decisions are underpinned by humanitarian values and the concern to do good and to resolve the problem once that facts are known." (p 14) Whilst such an observation based on the optimistic notion of discovery and treatment may be viewed from a functionalist perspective, it may also be seen as part of a more rational understanding of disability and one that sociologically can be explained by reference to the conscious and reflective actions of humans.

As an early proponent of humanism Hegel (1807) presents the history of western civilisation as being based on the progressive development of human consciousness. Within this perspective progress is made as humans reflect upon their own life conditions and attempt to reconcile the gap between their own position (appearance) and existing social relations (reality). This method of self-conscious reflection he terms the 'immanent critique' (Kiel 1989). Habermas (1971) also points to the way human interests, through the use of reason produce a capacity to be

reflective and rational, which in itself has an emancipatory and hence progressive function. i.e. "Human beings' capacity for freedom is dependent, on Habermas's account, on cumulative learning, knowledge that makes possible the technical mastery of the natural and social world and the organisation of social relations." (Held 1980, p 257) Other proponents within the humanist camp as indicated by Keil (1989) include those who focus on the question of individual perception and self-consciousness - i.e. existentialists e.g. Satre (1946); those who wish to remove the barriers blocking the way to self realisation - i.e. anarchists e.g. Illich (1971) and those who like Dewey (1916) wish to produce, through a democratic society citizens who are reflective, autonomous and ethical.

Based upon such philosophical foundations therefore, and in returning the perspective to education the humanist approach emphasises, according to Carr (1986)

"that education is a human encounter whose aim is the development of the unique potential of each individual. Progressive education has this perspective. It is also compatible with the liberal philosophy of individualism, and with egalitarian elements of the social-democratic approach," (p 24)

For special education however the implications as Kiel (1989) indicates, mean that

"social progress, and progress in special education, cannot follow a pre-determined blueprint. Humanists seek freer, self-enhancing and transparent social relations in democratic settings. In these democratic settings, humanists endorse a politics of inclusivity - a politics that includes citizens rather than categorising them for the purpose of differentiation and disempowerment." (p 17)

In this way as Oliver (1988) suggests "a humanitarian account can be detected in explanations in terms of the benefits that accrue to the disabled child: access to particular expertise, skills and resources and protection from the harsher realities of ordinary school life." (p 18) It may also mean

that instead of looking at the way labels or structures have mediated to exclude some groups from society, as conflict and interactional explanations have done, it is necessary to explain why and under what conditions people are prepared to accept those with disabilities.

In essence therefore the humanist perspective is based on philosophical foundations and can be used to explain why the evolution of special education has resulted in the large scale separation of 'handicapped' children. (Cole 1990) It can also however be used in a radical sense to underpin the demand by those so described to seek equality of rights, access and opportunity. In conducting research, therefore, analysis using social reconstruction, self-concept techniques and comparative cultural understandings can be applied within a humanist framework. However, while the key to other understandings may lay in explanations that are either individual or mechanical the basis of humanist interpretations are social. (Keil 1989)

In summary, therefore, sociological paradigms within special education while emerging from different theoretical positions (see Chapter Two) are structured within the general advancement of sociological analysis. Positions adopted by those involved in the research of special education are thus open to the same fundamental scrutiny as others engaged in general sociological inquiry. In generating the case-study analysis that follows therefore (see Chapter Six) it is necessary to state and justify where the theoretical focus lays and the direction of the methodology suitable for such research.

CHAPTER FOUR

Theoretical and methodological assumptions underlying the case-study research

As indicated in Chapter Three the application of sociological perspectives to special education in the late 1970s can be attributable to the influence of a number of diverse interests. The appearance of a sociology of special education thus created new avenues of research presented within a defined contextual framework. The emergence of this subdiscipline however, while seeking to promote itself as an area of substance was not immune from the same theoretical and methodological influences that sociology as a discipline presented. In other words specialism was not a reason for exclusion. In highlighting the development of the major theoretical perspectives underpinning this area of analysis Chapter Four thus shows how various paradigms have become prominent. This chapter, albeit briefly, also acknowledges that the tension between paradigms is central to the very nature of the macro-micro debate within sociology. In developing case-study analysis in two special schools (see Chapter Five) as part of the focus of this thesis, it thus becomes necessary not only to refer to current dilemmas within sociological theory but also to state the type of theory and methodology in which this particular study will be grounded.

a) Theory

In tracing the development of sociology in the post-war era it is evident that significant change has occurred. Thus the dominant structural functionalist model declined in the 1970s and was superceded by a focus on symbolic or cultural interactions (Abrahams 1981). This decline in

consensus (Giddens 1979) however, whilst giving way to forms of interpretism was also to witness by the end of that decade a form of reworked Marxism, or neo-Marxism which, influenced by French structuralism renewed concern with historical change and historical processes (Banks 1982). Progress within sociology over the past decade therefore has been polarised, focused to varying degrees in positions that are based on relativism or determinism. Indeed such concerns, as noted earlier are at the heart of the agency-structure debate. (Dawe 1970) The fundamental question for sociologists (and implicit within the analysis undertaken in this thesis) therefore concerns the level at which social analysis may begin. Sherman (1982) indeed begs the question of whether sociologists should concentrate on narrow isolated issues or the broad overall picture of society as a totality? He also poses the question of whether it is relevant to concentrate on a static analysis of society at a given moment or on the dynamics of social change? In generating research (see chapter six) based within the sociology of education it is necessary therefore to relate such questions within this framework.

As earlier stated the sociology of education experienced in the 1970s the same kind of theoretical and methodological upheavals as mainstream sociology. This meant, according to Hammersley (1985) that

"British sociology of education has been polarized between neo-Marxists macro-analysis of one variety or another and ethnographic studies of school processes inspired by symbolic interactionism. The first has specialised for the most part in vague, though sometimes illuminating ideas about the functions of schools in capitalist societies. the second has produced a considerable amount of empirical research but its orientation has been primarily descriptive." (p 244)

Hargreaves, A (1985) sums up the debate as one of the "macro-micro problem." (p 21) The 'problem' he notes may be viewed as an amalgam of

different perceptions based at a number of different levels. i.e. between "different levels of reality, between patterns of educational structure and the texture of daily life ... between different ways of looking at reality, between interpretative and normative approaches ... it is not, in that sense one problem, but several." (p 23) The entrenchment within particular paradigms moreover has an added problem which, based on the assumption that research is not neutral, highlights that differences and rivalry between camps is based on fundamental ideological differences. i.e.

"in practice, paradigm members tend to treat their own assumptions as true and to reject those of other paradigms as necessarily false. and of course, given the paradigm argument, other paradigms cannot be subjected to rational criticism. Rather, they can only be dismissed, on the grounds that they draw on assumptions different from those built into one's own paradigm." (Hammersley 1984, p 237)

Adleman and Young (1985) indeed present the view that the gap between schools is 'unbridgeable' noting that "The two types of research are done for different purposes, largely for different audiences and seek different sources of publication."

In searching for some kind of synthesis in this debate a number of proposals have been suggested. Giddens (1979) thus points to a 'duality of structure' whereby human conduct is part production and part reproduction. In this way social action is the key to an understanding of structure which is both enabling and disabling. This process, which he terms as one of 'structuration' means for the analyst that in order to understand how systems work it is necessary to look at how structures (the culmination of social action) are maintained or transformed.

Hammersley (1986) does not try to bridge the gap in substantive form but

rather points out that the 'paradigmatic mentality' has meant that the sociology of education has developed around theoretical perspectives rather than around substantive research problems. His suggestion therefore is that research should test theories at both macro and micro levels, presuming, he points out that there are viable theories to test. As he notes,

"the validity of any theory or explanation synthesizing macro and micro levels is dependent on the validity of the theories at each level. The problem in the sociology of education, and in sociology generally, at present is that well established theories are few and far between." (p 181)

Turner (1983) meanwhile in commenting on an earlier paper of Hammersley (1980) argues that it is legitimate to pursue research from a particular perspective in the knowledge that its deficiencies can be corrected by other researchers adopting different theories i.e.

"it seems naive to assume that any research project could achieve anything other than a practical explanation of the workings of society. Thus what is important about a piece of research is not so much its scope but its validity . If research has validity then it can be used as a basis for further work and its scope thereby increased." (p 5)

Craib (1984) further argues that conflict between different approaches occurs when one side claims validity over the other. Rather, he proposes, The arguments should concern themselves less with which is right or wrong but with which aspect of some external situation or event may be understood by which theory in which way. Finally in presenting a way out of this conflict Hargreaves, A (1986) suggests that a possible bridge between analysis based at the level of interaction and that of social structure lies in what Merton (1968) terms 'theories of the middle-range'. Here he presents the view that

"between the rules, negotiations and bargainings of classroom interaction, and the dynamics of the capitalist economy, or the relative autonomy of the state, lie a whole range of intermediary processes and structures which have largely been neglected in sociological accounts of education; such things as institutional bias ... teacher cultures ... teacher coping strategies ... and so on." (p 170)

In looking at the current state of sociological theory therefore it is evident that efforts are being made by some to create synthesis. However the difficulties involved in such a task are great particularly if we accept that the underlying 'crisis' in sociology has two entities, the scientific and the political. (Bell and Newby 1977) In looking at the first, Kuhn (1970) thus presents sociology as being a discipline that is pre-paradigmatic in that unlike natural science it is not organised around research problems but is rather divided according to 'political' philosophy (which in sociological terms are also known as paradigms). The acceptance of this argument however not only presents present day sociology as being less of a science (Hammersley 1984) but also denies the usefulness of the reflective and self-conscious roles of those involved in analysis. Indeed the move towards a sociology based on research areas alone may also bring the charge of reductionism (Craib 1984). The second 'crisis' necessitates a return to Gouldner (1970) who argues that its emergence arrived via the politicisation of the discipline in that radical sociology questioned the role of academic sociology in maintaining dominant interests. Competing sociological theories based on notions of power and conflict thus challenged accepted beliefs about research and also highlighted the role of the sociologist in both creating and contributing to social reality. Given this added dimension, as Udehn (1986) summarises, "The sociologist therefore cannot hide behind the mask of his professional role, pretending to be society's neutral servant, but must assume responsibility for the uses of his work." (p 16)

Taken together therefore such arguments present the polarisation not only of sociological theory but also of the ways of looking at the 'problem'. In generating the theoretical basis from which to initiate case study analysis in special schools therefore, two questions emerge. 1) At what level is it possible to employ theory? 2) How will the case studies reflect that theory? In answering these questions the analysis will start from the premise that power and conflict are key determinants in the history of special education (see Chapter One). From this perspective there is an implicit understanding that the separation and marginalisation of special schooling has largely been achieved for the purpose of maintaining 'normal' schooling. Given therefore that radical structural paradigms Sigmon (1987), Tomlinson (1989), Skrtic (1989) present this view of special education, it is within this framework that the analysis will be based. A second major feature of the research which will be presented, and one that answers question two, is that special schools, socially structured as separate institutions have developed 'cultural determinants' which both maintain and promote their separate identity. The case studies will therefore attempt to distinguish those cultural determinants. In doing this it will seek an organisational analysis based at the meso level. In other words the research will not be concerned with the minutiae of interactional analysis but rather will concentrate on the key features of the special school that give it support as a unique type of school. In doing this the research will accept the political nature underlying a separate special school system, it will also attempt to build on a potentially substantive research area which has only recently begun to be documented. Finally in completing the case study analysis an attempt will be made in Chapter Six to compare and contrast the cultural determinants of special schools with mainstream. This will be achieved by presenting analysis in an ideal model form. Such

a model will thus further highlight the structural forms under which special education is directed.

b) Methodology

(i) The case study approach

In developing research based at the level of the organisation the focus of the analysis will be the school. Here case- study inquiry will allow exploration of two special schools in their everyday settings using a variety of formal and informal procedures. In presenting case-study analysis therefore as the model form which to generate an understanding of the cultural determinants of special schools (rather than e.g. using quantitative methods over a larger number of schools) it is the wish of the research to focus qualitatively on them as working organisations. In this way the analysis will attempt to generate an understanding of the key processes under which the schools function as educational institutions.

In documenting this type of methodology, Hammersley (1990b) traces the concept of case-study as a model used by doctors, social workers, historians and anthropologists. Essentially however, as he notes, it came to refer

"to the collection and presentation of detailed, relatively unstructured information from a variety of sources about a particular individual, group or institution, usually including the accounts of subjects themselves." (p 93)

Walker (1986) adds to this definition by stating that

"Case study is the examination of an instance in action. The study of particular incidents and events, and the selective collection of information on biography, personality, intentions and values,

allows the case study worker to capture and portray those elements of a situation that give it meaning." (p 189)

Recent examples of the case study approach include Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Ball (1981), Burgess (1983) and Turner (1983). As an advocate of such a methodology Walker (1986) highlights two basic elements of its practice, namely "a commitment to studies of the individual instance ... and a commitment to forms of research that start from, and remain close to educational research." (p 188) Clearly however, as the author indicates, the pursuit of such aims poses problems. These include questions concerning the amount of detail required, maintaining access to knowledge, and attempting to report before events change. The fulfilment of such aspirations also presumes a further difficulty, namely the creation of an active relationship between research and theory (and here I wish to draw a distinction between theory as determined from above by the radical structuralist paradigm to which this analysis is associated and theory I am now referring to, which is the outcome of research on the ground) whereby research "shapes, initiates, reformulates, deflects and classifies theory." Merton (1968, p 130). Glaser and Strauss (1967) indeed term such methodology 'grounded theory' a concept which simply means discovering theory from the data i.e. "generating a theory from data means that most hypotheses and concepts not only come from the data, but are systematically worked out in relation to the data during the course of the research." (p 6) Thus Strauss (1976) in his study of two hospitals noted that the method provided them with the opportunity to predict, explain and interpret. The use for such an approach therefore while allowing for a particular sociological perspective to focus the analysis also supports the assumption that the area of study

should be approached without any preconceived theory either in terms of concepts or hypotheses. (Glaser and Strauss 1967) The following of this method thus means the initial generation of substantive (i.e. empirically based) theory and its later adaption within formal (i.e. conceptually based) theory. As the authors note,

"To generate substantive theory, we need many facts for the necessary comparative analysis; ethnographic studies, as well as direct gathering of data, are immensely useful for this purpose. Ethnographic studies, substantive theories and direct data collection are all, in turn, necessary for building up by comparative analysis to formal theory." (p 35)

In summary therefore the paradigm which informs the case-studies is located within radical structuralism. The case studies themselves will, through the use of ethnographic techniques and comparative analysis account for substantive theory. This, in turn will directed towards formal theory by the generation of an ideal type in the final chapter.

In gathering data the use of ethnographic techniques will be implicit within the case studies and involve descriptions which according to Woods (1988)

"differs from ordinary description in that the researcher's aim is to penetrate beneath surface appearances and reveal the harder realities that are concealed. Such realities are illuminated over time and often contrast sharply with official accounts of the schooling process." (p 91)

More specifically Delamont and Hamilton (1986) suggest,

"The ethnographer uses a holistic framework. He accepts as given the complex scene he encounters and takes this totality as his data base. He makes no attempt to manipulate, control or eliminate variables. Of course, the ethnographer does not claim to account for every aspect of this totality in his analysis. He reduces the breadth of enquiry systematically to give more concentrated attention to the emerging issues." (p 36)

The acceptance of such techniques however is not without criticism. Woods (1988) thus warns of "The snapshot problem" (p 102) whereby one case study is conducted by one researcher. Hammersley (1986) points to the problem of measurement and testing. Adelman (1985) highlights the difficulties of gaining accurate detail within educational settings that are diversified. Shimahara (1988) further refers to two problems associated with such methods, namely that of validity - the discovering of what really happens, and reliability - the degree to which the research may be replicated. Such observations clearly give powerful warnings in the employment of ethnographic techniques, they also question the whole nature of 'reality'. (Berger and Luckman 1967). Hammersley (1990b) however, whilst also joining such criticisms gives support to the ways forward in the case studies here under analysis. He thus promotes the view that theoretical descriptions rather than being tested through a large number of cases should be informed through the use of ideal types alongside coherent models and rigorous data collection and analysis. In approaching the two case studies as the models for analysis therefore it is the intention of the research to promote an ideal model as the 'outcome' of the investigations. The rigour of the studies however will be based on two key concepts, namely that of comparative analysis and democratic evaluation.

The introduction of comparative analysis to the research is part of the process of validation. Thus analysis of more than one case study helps to check facts, and promote generability. In essence validity is reliant on cumulative knowledge, and may be gained not only by reference to similar cases (in this case schools) but also by referral to other institutions. As Atkinson and Delamont (1986) indicate, "If one is to

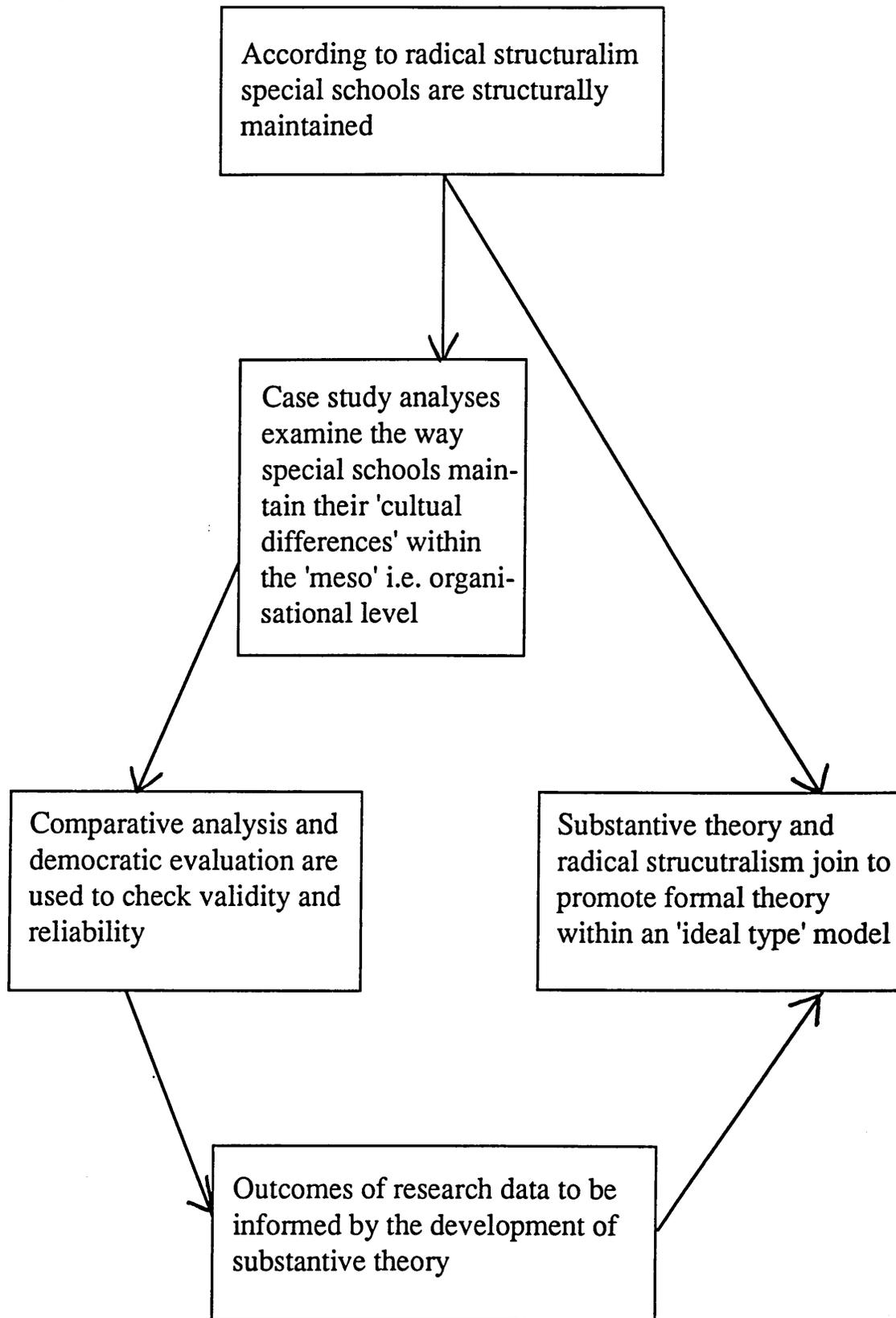
adopt an essentially ethnographic approach to research, then the work will remain inadequate unless such comparative perspectives are employed." (p 250) In using democratic evaluation the research is developing a concept whereby informants are involved in the research programme. this will be achieved by giving them some control over the collation and analysis of data. The keys to such a concept are, according to MacDonald (1976) 'confidentiality', 'negotiation', 'accessibility' and most importantly 'the right to know'. In this sense, and in agreement with Adelman (1984)

"Evaluative approaches intend to encourage participation by using forms of expression that are comprehensible to a wider range of audiences The richness of detail of both context and action, make case study as a methodology and a form of reporting suitable for evaluators who seek to address a wide audience and who wish to have their work acknowledged as authentic, accurate and fair by all parties that the case study addresses." (p 2)

Moreover, in adopting such a method it is the intention of the research to be 'explicit' and 'visible' (Walker 1986) in other words to gain trust by the openings in which 'facts' are collected, employed and interpreted.

In concluding this review of methodology and before highlighting the research processes in detail a summary of the way theory and methodology interlink is presented in Fig 4 . The arrows indicate the development of the analysis.

Fig. 4



(ii) Research processes

According to Fetterman (1989)

"The fieldworker uses a variety of methods and techniques to ensure the integrity of the data. These methods and techniques are objective and standardize the researcher's perceptions. Of course, the ethnographer must adapt each one of the methods and techniques discussed below to the local environment. Resource constraints and deadlines may also limit the length of time for data gathering in the field- exploring, cross-checking, and recording information." (p 42)

With such perceptions in mind the first phase of the research process was to visit a number of different types of special school in order to gain an overview of the field. this part of the process was made easier for me by the fact that having taught in LEA1 for many years I was familiar with most of such schools. The initial stage of the research was thus completed over a three month period, September- December 1987. This 'getting to know' period moreover was also helped by the fact by that I had previously taught in one special school for children with severe learning difficulties, had led a unit for children with moderate learning difficulties and had been involved with link schemes as part of my role within 'special needs departments' in mainstream. My experience was further enhanced by my appointment as a part-time special needs tutor at a further education college in LEA2. I did not have the problem therefore of being an 'outsider'. Further, I rejected, like Lacey (1978) that my background and involvement meant that I could not gain objectivity. In disagreeing with this criticism I also accepted his aim of approaching the research with "sympathy, naivete, openness, a willingness to help where possible, and an ability to let people talk." (p 56) The process of 'getting to know' however was going on at the same time as my first case study. Thus, apart from the problem of 'time' I chose this special school for MLD children (in

LEA1) for three reasons. Firstly, I knew that the school, apart from being designated for children with moderate learning difficulties, was also a resource centre, and housed both members of the support and psychological service. I estimated therefore that it was used to 'visitors' and would therefore be less likely to complain about my presence. Secondly through my teaching in LEA1 I knew the head of the school. I also knew that a number of the staff were engaged in part-time post graduate studies in special education. I thus hoped (as indeed there was) that there would be a welcoming and stimulating environment. My third reason was based on discussions with the special needs adviser, assistant education officer (special) and the authority's full-time research coordinator. They offered support in gaining access to information and also granted me official permission to conduct the enquiry.

During the first three months of the research therefore I gathered through observation and discussion an insight into a number of special schools generally, and one (case study one) in particular. By this time, therefore, I was ready to make some critical decisions about how I would conduct the process of information gathering. This meant:-

- a) An acceptance that to be 'close to the action' I would have to gain trust from teachers. this necessarily meant working alongside teachers in the classroom, and also doing some 'supply' teaching. I felt that credibility would be gained by being seen as a 'good' teacher.
- b) To join in as many staff meetings, child reviews, and out of school activities as my time would allow.

- c) To report back to the staff, formally and informally as often as possible.
- d) To conduct my research one day a week over the academic year 1987-88 and to supplement additional time when possible.
- e) To bring order to the research as soon as possible.

In generating an understanding of the school as an organisation I had some experience via an MA Sociology and a diploma in learning difficulties, of conducting case-study inquiry. However, such experience was not accorded to a whole school perspective.

Consequently after much consideration I aimed to identify those 'key areas' of the school from which its 'cultural determinants could be understood. This is in line with Cohen and Taylors (1977) discussion of their study of Durham jail and their judgement that

"We gradually realised that some formal constraints were necessary. Up to that point we had been behaving like naive inductionists, hoping that patterns, and recognisable themes and dimensions of experience, would emerge if we talked for long enough. However, it became clear that our notes on the conversations resisted any such structuring; the range of topics was too great, the levels of analysis were too varied We were accordingly drawn into adopting certain methodological devices in order to bring some order to our material. In a way these methods were nothing more than techniques for encouraging talk on certain topics, for constraining the level of analysis at which that conversation took place, and for promoting specific considerations of key dimensions."
(p 71-72)

The 'key dimensions' that emerged from this initial period and from which analysis would be based were:-

1. An historical understanding of the development of the school
2. The shared characteristics of the children
3. The nature of social control
4. Approaches to teaching practices
5. The nature of knowledge
6. The role of management
7. The ideology of teachers

Using the above as key elements in the data collection process it was also to inform analysis in case-study two. Here the selection of the school was based initially upon discussion with my supervisors, and later after consulting the adviser for special education in LEA2. Thus the choice of a school for children classified as having both learning and behavioural difficulties gave an opportunity to contrast as well as compare the way 'key elements' were structured. A decision was therefore made after the completion of case-study one that the enquiry in case-study two would focus in greater detail of specific aspects highlighted in case-study one. In this respect time would not be wasted and the research could be completed in a shorter time (i.e. one day a week over half an academic year - September 1988 - February 1989). The same basic philosophical and methodological understandings in terms of approach were also to underpin this case study. Moreover, the gathering of information in both case studies meant that specific forms of data collection were employed. These have been grouped under each identified 'key dimension' and are summarised on the next page.

1. Historical understandings of the case study schools
 - A. Reports for LEAs education sub-committee meetings
 - B. Informal interviews with LEA advisers and education officers for special education
 - C. Informal interviews with heads
 - D. Informal interviews with long serving members of staff
 - E. Published historical accounts of former chief education officer in LEA1
 - F. Correspondence with former chief education officer in LEA1
 - G. Newspaper reports

2. The shared characteristics of the pupils.

(Here statistics were collected about the pupils and were focused on):-

- A. Race
- B. Class
- C. Gender
- D. Family situation

3. The nature of social control

- A. Participant observation both inside and outside the classroom
- B. Informal interviews with the heads
- C. Informal interviews with 'key informants'
- D. Formal questionnaires to teaching staff

4. Approaches to teaching practices

- A. Participant observation in classrooms
- B. Informal interviews with the heads
- C. Informal interviews with 'key informants'
- D. Formal questionnaire to teaching staff
- E. Staff meetings' staff discussion papers; working parties; staff reports etc.

5. The nature of knowledge

- A. Participant observation
- B. Informal interviews with the heads
- C. Informal interviews with 'key informants'
- D. Questionnaire to teaching staff

6. The role of management

- A. Informal interviews with the heads
- B. Informal interviews with deputy heads
- C. Informal interviews with all staff
- D. Questionnaire to all teaching staff

7. The shared ideology of teachers

- A. Observation, staffroom discussions, informal conversations
- B. Questionnaire to all teaching staff
- C. Informal interviews with the heads

Over and above such methodological techniques and as indicated earlier, comparative analysis and democratic evaluation was used throughout the research process.

Comparative analysis was concerned with:-

- (i) other published research both nationally and locally on special schooling
- (ii) observations at other special schools
- (iii) other mainstream schools in the junior, middle school range through discussion on an informal level with heads and other teaching staff
- (iv) other published research on institutions other than schools

Democratic evaluation was concerned with:-

- (i) informal referral to staff of the progress of the research, and an acceptance of their right to contribute to re-evaluation
- (ii) formal presentations of findings at staff meetings
- (iii) the common-sense understandings of staff in informal discussions

Finally I have employed a number of strategies to help secure reliable information. These include:-

- (i) Triangulation. The use of techniques of observation, interview and questionnaire within the same enquiry. Such information supported by field notes, diary and occasionally tape recordings.
- (ii) The use of 'key information' (see Burgess 1985). These include both members of the staff and other academic personnel.
- (iii) Discussions on an informal basis with others who are not central to the research but are nevertheless part of the institutions e.g. ancillaries, child-care assistants, supply teachers, caretakers, dinner ladies etc.

(iii) Research dilemmas

The gathering of data in the case study schools lasted eighteen months. During that period the theoretical perspective upon which the analysis was based was to be of value both as a reflexive model from which to refer and as a focus for ways forward. Methodological decisions, however, although to some extent planned in advance, had to rely on more immediate responses. Some were indeed crucial to the outcome of the research and therefore worthy of further discussion.

Thus the decision to categorise the key cultural determinants at an early stage may lead to a charge that the research was in some way led by certain presuppositions. To some extent this may have been true yet the 'key determinants' chosen were also grounded in extensive preliminary observation, discussion and analysis. Moreover, being aware of the possible influence of a subjective choice of categories every effort was made to investigate contradictory data. Further, a triangulation of methodology left open the possibility that such data would be uncovered. Hutchinson (1988) indeed sums up this approach, noting that

"A grounded theorist looks for contradictory data by searching out and investigating unusual circumstances and negative cases. Data are compared and contrasted again and again, thus providing a check on validity. Distortions or lies will gradually be revealed. The multiple data collection methods used in grounded theory research - direct observation, interviews, and document analysis - diminish bias by increasing the wealth of information available to the researcher."
(p 131)

A further validation also occurred, not only through comparison with other schools (and specifically with case-study two) and other published research, but also as a result of an active democratic

evaluation process. Thus, presentation to and discussion with staff became an integral part of the research process and was to lead on a number of occasions to a re-assessment of procedure. An example (case-study one) may be highlighted in the way that I was challenged by one member of staff of paying too much attention to the views of the head and being 'led' towards certain presumptions. As a result and after discussion with a number of staff I made a positive attempt to change procedure and to spend increased time working with teachers 'on the ground'. I also made a conscious effort to make more use of 'key informants' as a base from which to check assumptions. In this way the research process was reformulated and was to become integral within the approach towards case-study two.

The decision to be involved 'on the ground' (e.g. team teaching, supply teaching, attending staff meetings, being part of out of school activities etc.) also caused difficulties. Thus, although to some extent planned in advance involvement did arise naturally out of the early formulation of relationships within the schools, and may be attributable to the fact that I had a working knowledge of special schooling and was less of an 'outsider'. The acceptance of my presence however, and my general participation in the life of the schools posed problems. Thus, at times it became difficult to be detached from events. It also meant that I was less able to 'control' my role as a researcher and also to maintain objectivity in approach. Occasions also occurred however when my role as an 'outsider' was clearly obvious. (e.g. although most staff appreciated 'an extra pair of hands' some made it clear, if not in words, the fact that I was disrupting their daily routine). It was at such times that I became aware that in reality I was at the edge of what was going on. As

Jorgensen (1989) notes "The deeper meanings of most forms of human existence are not displayed for outsiders. they are available primarily to people for whom these meanings constitute a way of life." (p 60)

Nevertheless, despite the tensions that participation caused, it was necessary as Willis (1978) highlights, to be aware that there are moments when the researcher may experience real insight and that these 'reflexive' understandings need to be pursued. As he notes, "the germs of insight are born here (through self-reflexive techniques) which can be tested against evidence collected in other ways." (p 198) Indeed in accepting this notion the policy of involvement led ultimately to a process whereby insights were continuously tested, reviewed and reinterpreted. In other words the 'thick description' undertaken as part of a daily recording procedure ultimately led to interpretations that may be considered to have "authentic understanding" (Denzin 1989, p 33).

My final methodological concern, and one that was felt throughout the research process, was that I was operating between two 'social worlds' (Quicke 1992) . Thus I became aware, as Pugh (1988) acknowledges of the suspicion that the chief motive in conducting research is to advance the researcher's career rather than to advance knowledge. I was also aware, as Stahl (1991) observes, of the perception that most research is remote from educational practice. Finally, like Threadgold (1985) there was concern that like others carrying out ethnographic work in schools I was defining problems "with an audience of fellow researchers rather than teachers in mind." (p 252) Taken together such concerns highlighted the

contradiction that while belonging to one group (teachers) I was involved in pursuing the goal of another group (academics). The fact that the outlook, perception, and indeed language of the two varied left me in a position that was on occasions difficult. Indeed this was to be most apparent in my first 'report back' in case-study two, where a half hour presentation was greeted with silence and no questions! Despite such setbacks however, meetings with my supervisors seemed to be positive, and issues raised and methodology pursued were well received. The paradox here seemed obvious and was further highlighted on reading the criticisms received by Burgess, H (1985) after she presented her completed case-study to the collaborating school. i.e.

"It seems ironic to me that the style of research, methods of social investigation and finalised account of my study should be held in high regard by my supervisors ... and yet only six weeks later were highly criticised by the teachers involved in the research." (p 104)

Such concerns clearly surfaced during my initial involvement with case study two. Thus while this may in some way reflect the difference between the two establishments being researched. It could also however be a reflection of my changing outlook or reduced enthusiasm for further research. My response however was to promote an increased collaborative approach whereby rather than present lengthy papers to the whole staff I attempted to engage in small-scale discussions with two or three of the staff and pursue issues with individuals . I also changed to a policy of presenting my findings verbally rather than in written form. The result of such changes in strategies certainly had an effect and took the pressure off me as the presenter of 'issues' and also the staff who were expected to respond. More specifically it meant that 'talk' with small groups led

to the emergence of more critical responses and an enlivened dialogue.

In concluding this review of methodology the dilemmas I encountered during the research process were not unique, nor were they unsolvable. What they do point to however is the need to accept that while case-study analysis may be based on certain underlying principles, there is a need for flexibility and a willingness to review procedure. In this sense it becomes clear, as Barton (1988) agrees that "Research is not a value-neutral activity." (p 91) More specifically they also highlight the fact that practical reasoning goes on throughout the research process and that tensions will inevitably emerge. Atkinson (1977) indeed summarises the problems that most researchers will encounter when he notes that

"The range of different strategies currently available in sociology not only ensures that researchers are faced with a difficult problem of choice between alternatives, but also guarantees that whatever they choose they will lay themselves open to attack from all the other alternative positions set aside. One implication of this is that a certain amount of toughness is required if one is to make a choice." (p 32)

Such choices thus helped inform the analysis that follows.

CHAPTER FIVE

Research analysis

The analysis here undertaken will be presented in the form of an examination of the key cultural elements which, as highlighted in the methodology are seen as underpinning the structures of the case-study schools. Though each element may be viewed conceptually it is the intention of the analysis to examine how these criteria help formulate the organisational base under which the schools operate. In assessing the value of each element informed description will be followed by comparative summary. In pursuing this aim however it will not be a policy merely to 'fit' the research around the pre-selected determinants earlier described, but rather to direct attention around generalised concepts. Presentation will thus allow flexibility to move in directions which emerge from the research and also to focus attention on specific events within one of the case-study schools rather than offering a predetermined balance. It will also offer an opportunity to examine evidence which negates or contradicts the basic assumptions of the research. In this sense what emerges from the research should be an understanding which not only implies analytical penetration but also is seen by the teachers within the analysis as relevant to their own world and upon which further insight may be gained. (Lacey 1978) In other words substantive theory, developed empirically will lead through a process of analysis and redefinition to formal theory. It is thus the aim of this chapter to concentrate on substantive theory, presented in the form outlined in Chapter Five.

1. An Historical Understanding of the Development of the Case Study Schools

a) Richmond

Richmond is a modern, open plan special school for children aged five to twelve who are designated, some with receipt of a statement, as having mild learning difficulties. There is also an attached 'communications' unit. Children are admitted to the school for what are described as 'specific learning difficulties'. Those on a short-term placement, return to mainstream after no more than 14 weeks and form a group of children "who are thought to be seriously underachieving, but capable of making significant progress if taught intensively within a small group situation." ¹ Not all of these children are in receipt of a 'statement'. Others spend a number of years there. Perceived difficulties among the children vary, though they are mainly linguistic, and linked to elements of speech, writing and reading. (The 'statement' attempts to highlight the range of 'problems' articulated through 'professional' assessment - see Chapter Seven). There are at the time of writing fifty nine children in the school, aged between five and twelve, (though the maximum number allocated by the LEA is sixty six) and are divided into eight classes, each with a full-time teacher. Fourteen of these are in the communications unit. The number of full-time members of the teaching staff is nine including one job share and the headteacher. In addition there are three child care assistants and a secretary. Also based at the school are three support teachers who work in local mainstream schools. Finally, the school has regular access to a number of 'professionals' who have roles that attach themselves to the school, these include a doctor, social worker, psychologist, speech therapist and physiotherapist. The school

day starts at nine thirty and finishes at three thirty. a limited number of children are brought to school by escorts in taxis.

In tracing the history of Richmond, an informal promise was made by LEA1 for a new ESN(M) establishment which was housed in "ancient prefabricated buildings."² By 1957 the school had developed to the extent that there was also a senior and infant section. In 1986 the infant and junior section of the school moved temporarily to what had been previously an 'open air school' in the city. This was to allow the old buildings (which sections of it had collapsed during the summer holidays) to be renovated. However by 1970 a decision was made by councillors and education officers (and approved by the department of education and science) for a new school to be built which would cater for up to one hundred and fifty placements. Alongside the poor state of ESN school buildings, pressure for increased provision came via the removal from health to education of the mentally handicapped (1970 act) and a decision by the LEA to move away from single sexed to mixed sex ESN schools.

The search for premises however proved difficult in that a green site earmarked by the LEA was objected to by the heads of nearby first and middle schools. Their suggestion was that it would be a good idea "to put it on the wasteland at the bottom where the youngsters make such a nuisance of themselves with their motor cycles."³ This land had in fact been earmarked in 1947 for a college of further education, but plans had been dropped. Consequently the then general adviser for special education approached the Land And Buildings department to gain the land. the new school, now renamed as Richmond opened on June 15th 1976 and provided for sixty two ESN(M) children between the ages

of four and eleven all who had 'multiple handicaps'. The aim of the school as outlined by the then headteacher was to provide "a happy stable environment to enable each child to develop to its utmost capacity and to help children to take their place in society as stable, productive, self-supporting citizens. Social training is therefore of the utmost importance, sharing, co-operation, kindness, helpfulness, honesty, responsibility and independence."⁴ In terms of curriculum the model outlined was that

"A broad curriculum is followed to give the children as many of the opportunities provided by a good home environment, and as many of those of the ordinary school as possible. Valuable use is made of TV and Radio programmes, tape recorders, overhead projector language master and films. The sunshine coach enables us to extend these experiences beyond the school campus to afternoon, day, weekend and week's outings in the country."⁵

Towards the end of the following year however (1977) the LEA had become concerned that because of a fall in numbers being referred, "the number of children available for Richmond is far below its official capacity of 150 ESN(M) pupils."⁶ Various possibilities for its future were therefore discussed. These included a boarding house for emotionally disturbed children, with adaption costs amounting to £200,000 (Richmond's building had already cost £250,000) and a school for the blind. Both these however were eventually rejected amid a vociferous publicity campaign by the school governors. Eventually the decision on the character of the school was based on cost i.e. "educational decisions in this authority were never based on educational philosophy. The dominant reason was cost."⁷ The decision was made therefore to keep the school as an ESN(M) establishment but with an attached communication unit for children who exhibit severe communication impairment. This was to be the

character of the school from September 1977 onwards, though the future role of the school was to be outlined informally by the then headteacher i.e.

"I should like to see early diagnosis of learning difficulties and more infant and nursery provision made available to act in both a preventative and corrective role. the earlier children receive special educational treatment the better their prospects for the future will be The health of the child is a major concern. Undernourished, tired and generally deprived children cannot benefit from education Health and education must go hand in hand in a special school."⁸

Since that time the school has become well known throughout the city for its language work. It also has a new head. Thus in 1985 and HMI report was to state that

"The school attempts to provide a balance between those aspects of the curriculum which provide opportunities for the remediation of the problems exhibited by the pupils and those which provide a rich variety of stimulating and creative experiences which enhance the development of personal and social skills."⁹

By 1987 moreover, (and at the time of the research) the school had developed more along the lines of a resource centre, providing alongside the communication unit an increased number of short stay pupils. As the school booklet indicates, "The broad aim of Richmond is to provide specific, individualised instruction of a remedial nature so that children can develop those skills necessary for them to return to their local neighbourhood school in as short a time as possible."¹⁰ For this purpose teachers within Richmond have made efforts to make links with mainstream schools and where possible support children who may be returned there.

b) Greenhead

Greenhead is a special school that was purpose built as part of LEA reorganisation in the mid 1970s. It opened in 1979 as a school for children designated as having emotional and behavioural difficulties. Its initial aim was to be seen as part of the comprehensive system, taking children "who exhibit aberrations of emotional development at the secondary stage of education" and after a period of consolidation i.e. three weeks to three terms, return them to mainstream.¹¹ There are (at the time of writing - 1988) thirty-four pupils on roll with an age range of eleven to fourteen, the vast majority of them being referred from comprehensive schools. Staffing includes five teachers, one non-teaching assistant, one social worker, two dinner supervisors, one school clerk and one handyman/driver. All children are expected to make their own way to school using public transport. Accommodation comprises of a modern well resourced school on the edge of a northern town. Philosophically the school as an organisation was described in 1978 as based upon the Underwood report. (1955) However despite noting that "no stereotype pattern of provision for maladjustment exists"¹² the pattern for the structure and organisation of the school was based on two models which were expressed in 1978 by the then education officer for special education as models 'A' and 'B' i.e.

Model A "is the child who rejects both instrumental and expressive aims of the school. He/she is of average to below average intelligence, a member of a large family in the socio-economic scale five. The child is aggressive and hostile to school authority, but is very well adjusted to his home situation where the parents are themselves hostile to authority and place little value on schooling. Within such sub-culture aggressiveness is regarded as the accepted norm."¹³

Model B "by contrast, may be drawn from any social scale and be at any point on the intellectual scale. The child may experience emotional problems in the adolescent period despite caring and supportive family. Often high expectations of both school and family for such children create insecurity and anxiety that can result in aggressive or withdrawing behaviour. A viscous cycle is set up - anxiety - maladjusted behaviour - guilt - deep anxiety."¹⁴

Within these models strategies and patterns for the school were also influenced by the Schools Council paper 'Cross'd with Adversity'(1970). As a result it was expressed that the school

"must provide at any given time for children who as leaders of the sub- culture group reject the expressive and instrumental aims of the school and also for children who find that home and social pressures are exacerbated by the normal school curriculum. In the first example such children will require a well defined school regime, directed towards their basic educational needs. It will need to be seen by the child to be relevant and realistic and will need to be implemented with a firmness and impartiality."¹⁵

In 1985 an examination of the role and functioning of Greenhead was requested by the LEA. By then certain procedures had become established. These included, an understanding that the maximum length of time a child should stay at the school was five terms, that children near to leaving age should not be admitted, and that the policy of 're-integration' should be reaffirmed. (Thus by December 1988 115 children had been admitted to Greenhead since 1979. Of these all but 12 had been re-admitted to mainstream). More significantly however the school had moved towards an acceptance of behavioural models (see Brennan 1979) not only for admittance purposes but also as a basis for curriculum development. i.e.

"The school uses behaviour modification principles involving the application of a two tier curriculum. The morning curriculum allows for children to be taught in four class groups by staff members who are responsible for the general education of their class group The afternoon curriculum is as a reward for good attainments in the morning session."¹⁶

Moreover the adoption of such provision is central to the ethos of the school and is promoted in the view that

"The school's work is tightly structured in order that pupils are faced with the realisation that they must conform. This system is made clear to parents and children by the Head Teacher on their visit to school prior to the child's admission."¹⁷

Indeed since 1985 the aims of school policy have become more specific.

As the headteacher wrote in 1988,

"Greenhead is a small special school for boys and girls with emotional and behavioural problems which range from school refusal to disruption and aggression It is not a long stay unit because the overriding aim is to re-integrate pupils into ordinary schools as soon as sufficient progress has been made in the areas of work and behaviour. In achieving these aims it is the purpose of the school to provide a) a well defined school regime b) relevant and realistic goals c) firmness and impartiality d) a physically and intellectually challenging curriculum e) a therapeutic role."¹⁸

Summary

In assessing the development of the two institutions at opposite ends of the special school spectrum we witness from an historical perspective a number of factors which are basic to an understanding of how they operate and the methods they employ. Thus, taken together their establishment can be seen as a product of the 1970s when special education was expanding. Implicit within this expansion was a philosophy (particularly in Labour controlled LEAs as both these were)

that increased separate special education, well resourced and with a high staffing ratio, was a positive way forward.

Further analysis also points to other factors which stress similarity in general terms, if not in specific emphasis. These included:-

- a) The acceptance that separate special education was a positive way forward.
- b) That particular 'types' of children could be identified and categorised. In this case MLD and EBD.
- c) The agreed assumption that focus should be placed on the individual. (see Quicke 1984)
- d) That social aspects of schooling were a vital element of the curriculum.
- e) That some links should be maintained with mainstream.

Each of these factors point to a similarity in general terms, if not in specific emphasis. Together they form a shared basis out of which the two schools emerged in the late 1970s, and were central to the understanding of LEA officials (as documented in this analysis) and the appointed headteachers. They were also reflective of the times they were built, (pre Warnock 1981) although more detailed analysis within this chapter will highlight the way such assumptions have continued to dominate the two schools.

2. The shared characteristics of the pupils

Analysis of children in attendance at Richmond and Greenhead (59 and 34 respectively in 1988) may be approached from a number of perspectives. Ford (1982) for example highlights the significance of

social class in determining special school placement. Tomlinson (1984) indicates the relatively high percentage of black children attending special schools. Family background has also been linked to difficulties in learning, truancy, and maladjustment. (Farrington 1980) Finally Galloway and Goodwin (1987) point to the disproportionate number of boys in special schools.

In gathering information on the background of children permission was granted for me to gain access to certain details that may be regarded as restricted. Not wishing to breach any accepted code of confidentiality I therefore asked a number of questions about each child for which the head referred to the child's school based file. In terms of social class questions centred around the occupation of the father, or in his absence the mother, (or if both absent their guardians). In other words it was the intention of the research to compare occupation as social class with the register general's classification. Questions about ethnicity were focused on the racial grouping in which the child was born into rather than where they themselves were born. No difficulties emerged through having mixed-race children. Family circumstance posed more of a problem. Thus some children were only in temporary care, others were in short-term fostering and others were being brought up by members of the family other than parents. A decision was made therefore to gain a 'snapshot' of where the child was at that particular moment. Finally, where possible local and national figures were compared on a percentage basis. (See Fig 5)

Fig 5 Comparative statistical review of race, class, gender and family situation in both case-study schools, presented alongside local and national data.

Social Class (Register Generals Classification)	Richmond Nos	%	LEA1 %	Greenhead Nos	%	LEA2 %	National Data (UK) %
1/2	10	16.9	22.8 (1981 statistics)	2	5.8	N.A. ³	29.3 (1981 statistics)
3	12	20.3	51.6	5	14.7	N.A.	46.5
4/5	37	62.7	23.52	27	79.4	N.A	20.5 ⁴
Ethnic Grouping (by birth or parents birth)							
White/British	54	91.5	97	33	97	98.2	94.4
White/European	1	1.6	N.A.	0	0	N.A.	N.A.
Afro-Caribbean	3	5.0	0.7	0	0	0.1	0.9
Asian (i.e.Indian Pakistani or Banladeshi	1	1.6	1.1	0	0	0.4	2.4
Chinese	0	0	0.25	1	2.9	0.07 ⁵	0.2
Gender							
Male	40	67.8	71.0	29	85.2	69.0	64.37 (in special schools) ⁸
Female	19	32.2	28.96	5	14.7	30.97	
Family Situation	10	16.9	N.A.	16	47	N.A.	14 ⁹ (i.e. aged under 16 or aged 16- 18 and in full-time education in the family unit and living in the household)
i.e. children with - lone parent who is separated or divorced - in care - fostered - adopted - with others inside or outside the extended family							

Notes 1 Unless stated all data refers to 1988. 2 LEA 1 census returns 1981 3 N.A. = Not Avilable 4 O.P.C.S. Census Guide No 2 1981 HMSO
5 O.P.C.S. Population Trends Spring 1991 HMSO 6 LEA1 Year book 1988 7 LEA2 Year book 1988
9 Foster, K, Wilmot, A and Dobbs, J (1988) General Household Survey O.P.C.S. HMSO 8 Statistics of Education - Schools 1988 HMSO

Summary

a) Social class

Figures here presented show that in both Richmond and Greenhead there is a significantly larger percentage of children from lower social class backgrounds compared with local or national averages. While historically this may not be unexpected, it emphasises the degree to which special education still remains dominated by particular social groupings. (Ford 1982) A closer review of the figures however points to the relatively high number of children in Richmond in social classes one and two. In discussions with the head and support staff (who are involved in referral procedures) it is evident that there has been a move by some middle-class parents to make a positive use of Richmond. In offering an explanation the head suggests that some parents come to see him explaining that their child is behind in reading or number and need help. He notes that this is particularly true of parents who live locally and send their children to local middle-class schools who rely a lot on testing. In other words they have a knowledge of the school and use it in a positive way to aid their child. They also avoid having to go through statementing procedure. While this may be unusual it does offer some form of 'catchment' which however limited may not be applied to Greenhead. Here children (indeed like the majority of those at Richmond) are placed as a result of their statement and may live anywhere within the LEA. It also presupposes by the very nature of the receipt of a statement that the majority are from lower socio-economic groups.

b) Race

Statistics surrounding race are perhaps best shown against a very small ethnic population in LEA2. Thus a virtual absence of non-white children in Greenhead is mirrored in other special schools in the authority. Richmond however do have a number of non-white children, though while in percentage terms they may be treated with caution (i.e. small numbers within a small population) they may reflect the racial composition of LEA2. Additional importance may be afforded these figures however by an analysis of Richmond school over time. Thus 1970 figures (when as noted earlier Richmond was in another part of the city) show that 22% of the school population was black. This was supported not only by similar statistics in 1971 (18%) but also by a child-care assistant of many years who suggested that "There seemed lots of black children."¹⁹ All of these (1971) 'immigrant' pupils were of West Indian background, and all but one were girls.²⁰

In the same year²¹ of a total school population of 80,500 some 1600 (i.e. 1.98%) children of West Indian origin were at special schools in that authority. Such information indeed can be seen as typical of that period. Thus of the 6% of ethnic minority children in special schools in that year nationally, 75% were of West Indian origin. Moreover three quarters of that West Indian special school population attended ESN establishments and the majority (62%) were boys.²²

While the number of ethnic minority children in ESN special schools during the 1970s began to fall as black underachievement (Coard 1971) was brought to society's attention, an equally

significant increase in patterns of suspension and placement in Education Guidance centres and schools for the maladjusted was occurring. (Tomlinson 1984) (Birmingham LEA 1985)

While such statistics question the whole nature of referral procedures, they also highlight issues of racism, and may further be seen from a black perspective as contributing to both underachievement and 'resistance'. (Furlong 1985)

While nationally some ways forward in improving the educational position of black children (Swann 1985) have been suggested, LEA1 has made specific efforts to reduce the black population in special schools, and as such may offer an explanation of why Richmond's ethnic minority grouping have been reduced. Evidence collected through informal interviews with both members of the psychological service and multi-cultural advisory team indicate the way change may have been influenced, and are discussed below:-

(i) Fewer special schools

While demographic factors have reduced the total number of children in education in LEA1 a move towards 'integration' and the establishment of units attached to mainstream has meant the closure of some special schools. While this is not a deliberate policy to aid the reduction of black children in them it has the added effect of doing so.

(ii) More support in mainstream

Increased funding through Section 11 has added to the number of black teachers in LEA1 schools and has particularly added to second

language support. This has had the effect of giving support to children who previously may have been referred out of mainstream. It has further been supported by a policy to close language schools for 'immigrant' children as a means of ending segregation. A move to curb potential difficulties in mainstream has also led to a deliberate policy of monitoring suspensions of black pupils. This was aimed at reducing numbers 'outside' the system e.g. 1990/91 figures²³ show that year. Implicit within this was a policy of intervention when it became apparent that suspension was likely. In this way additional support or negotiated transfer could occur, thus making it less likely that a black child would be referred to special education.

(iii) Generous staffing arrangements

Staffing, particularly in junior schools has been a deliberate LEA policy and is reflected in schools with higher numbers of ethnic minority children. This has helped to support the black population in mainstream. More recently however local financial management has put this policy under threat.

(iv) Changing attitudes and local authority initiatives

The understanding within LEA1 that many black children suffered as a result of discriminatory educational policies led to an acceptance of anti-racist policies, and a deliberate attempt to precure from schools ways forward in this area. This was also reflected in the debate about the 'stigma' of special schooling and ethnic minority referrals. The response of LEA1 was threefold: a) to establish curriculum working parties as a response to Swann (1985) b) to demand that all schools draw up an anti-racist policy which was to be forwarded to the LEA by the end of 1986 and c) to pursue a policy of consortia arrangements

between schools that allowed for 'community grouping' i.e. schools with large numbers of black children would not be grouped with others of the same, thus forming racially skewed educational groupings.

c) Gender

Analysis of the gender breakdown of the two schools shows a disproportionate number of boys than girls, with Greenhead having the greatest percentage difference. These findings are supportive of nationally collected statistics which equally show that schools for the maladjusted are the most significantly different (see Chapter Seven). A simplistic explanation focuses on the psychological differences between boys and girls, and may also highlight the nature of different types of 'handicap'. Such arguments however take no account of gender stereotyping either in education specifically or society as a whole.

Thus a more exhaustive sociological inquiry would concern itself not only with understanding labels and assumptions about the differential nature of girls and boys but also on a perception of how statementing procedure itself contributes to the disparities in male and female placements. In order to offer a more detailed explanation of this issue Chapter Seven undertakes an examination of 50 statements across LEA1 and LEA2 and places them within a sociological analysis.

d) Family situation

Evidence from the two schools show a difference in the percentage of children from homes that are not a two parent unit. While the whole idea of what constitutes a 'normal' family may be questioned, the relatively low percentage of children (16.9) outside this family unit in

Richmond school may be seen as a reflection of its higher social class composition. Thus while the chances of being brought up in a 'broken' home are not diminished by class, on separation children of higher social class groups are less likely to go into care. The question that concerns evidence collected from Greenhead therefore is why there is a large percentage of children outside the family unit (47%). Clearly as mentioned, social class is a major determining factor. However, by the very nature of special schools for the maladjusted, children are admitted because they have 'problems'. Thus while this may in part be a product of the school they previously attended, a number of studies have linked family disturbance and home background to difficulties with learning, truancy, maladjustment etc.

Farrington (1980) for example reports that separation and marital disharmony are common among truant families. Davie (1972) found that four out of ten parents felt that their child's maladjustment was due to the loss of a father or mother. Wadsworth (1979) in a study of 15,00 'delinquents' found that there was an above average chance that they were from homes that were broken before they reached the age of five. In offering an economic understanding of the position of many children in this position Bebbington and Miles (1989) in a study of 2,500 children in care found that before admission three quarters were not living with their parents; three quarters of their families received income support; only one in five lived in owner occupied housing and over a half lived in 'poor' neighbourhoods. Moreover evidence supplied by Millar (1987) further points out that 90% of lone parents are women and well over half of these women and children were living in poverty.

Taken together such evidence point the way in which family situation and economic deprivation may influence potential schooling and as such offers some explanation of why Greenhead as a 'maladjusted' establishment has a significantly higher percentage of children who are outside a two parent unit. What such evidence does ignore however is firstly the contribution of schools and teachers as agents who contribute to the 'labelling' of children as maladjusted (Furlong 1985) and secondly the effect of the 'welfare network' (Chessum 1980) as a means whereby teachers and other professionals combine to accord difficulties within the family. Thus while statistics in the two schools highlights significant differences in family situation they only show the end result of what may be perceived as the effects of a number of social, economic and professional influences. Moreover they also represent a division within the education system which allows for the separation of groups of children who do not 'fit' easily within mainstream. In this sense only by reference to the historical development of special schooling (see Chapter One) can their position be fully understood.

3. The nature of social control

Social control viewed from a structuralist perspective is a major feature of special education and is implicit within an understanding of why certain groups of children are removed from mainstream. (Ford 1982) An organisational analysis that accepts this notion also seeks to explain how special schools enact authority within their structure and culture. An examination of the two schools thus offers an understanding of the practical emphasis of control, highlighting how they operate at both a formal and informal level.

At Richmond therefore the formal level involves a series of rules and modes of behaviour by which children are managed e.g. the use of taxi and taxi escorts; close supervision and a high staffing ratio at break and mealtimes; lining up when moving between classes; awards at assembly for 'good behaviour' and trips out legitimised by the same; the use of home/school diaries and the reliance by teachers on behaviouralist techniques as a support for managing the curriculum. The informal level underpinning such procedures however lies in their acceptance and promotion by the staff, and can be witnessed in answers to questionnaire I (see Appendix One). For example,

"the children need close supervision to keep them on task";

"poor social skills mean that I am constantly in demand as an interpreter and arbitrator";

"some of the children have problems relating to others and need constant help by example or simple presence";

"we have to create structures where it is possible for children to be civil and supportive to each other."

The overt manifestation of authority therefore is seen as essential to the smooth running of Richmond. It can also be seen as part of a wider understanding which focuses attention on the individual as a deficit model whose careful control is a pre-requisite to success.

For Greenhead, however, social control is a perceived aim of the school in that its successful adoption is central to the maintenance of a system under which children are judged, and are ultimately returned (or not) to mainstream. In this way the formal elements are clearly defined and are supported informally in a way that clearly legitimises the model. Thus formal rules are based clearly within behaviourist objectives, the

afternoons being defined as a reward for good attainments in the morning i.e.

"During all three morning sessions pupils are graded from A (excellent) to E (unacceptable) in the following areas:- effort, attitude, initiative, behaviour and quality of work. If the pupil scores A, B. or C in all areas then he or she is able to earn the afternoon programme If a child scores D or E in the morning session, he or she is obliged to spend the afternoon working for the headteacher.... The emphasis is on the child accepting responsibility for his or her own actions."²⁴

Such a system thus dominates school life in Greenhead and forms the basis under which curriculum is determined. Thus, "reward for good work and behaviour in the morning sessions is based on practical work such as art, craft, P.E. and cookery. Friday afternoons offer additional rewards in the form of extra cookery, craftwork, horse-riding or canoeing according to season."²⁵ The assumption of such a formal model is further reinforced in the same way as Richmond in the degree to which children are supervised outside the classroom. However emphasis at Greenhead is more pronounced and invokes the creation of a perspective that focuses both the child and his/her family as in need of support. As was proposed in the initial discussion paper for the introduction of Greenhead (1978)

"The teaching staff will act in a supportive manner towards the pupils but will avoid assuming a substantive parent role. Indeed the successful treatment of such children will depend on the school's ability to foster and deepen the relationships between the child, its parent school and its home."²⁶

Moreover within this model a termly review of children aims, within a nineteen point behavioural checklist highlighted success or failure and ranged from e.g. "Reacts inappropriately to requests or instructions" (No 3) "Uses eye contact appropriately in conversation"

(No 17) "Listens appropriately without interrupting" (No 20) "Takes care with personal appearance" etc (see Appendix Two)

Because the formal model of social control is intrinsic within the aims of the school the informal model is more overtly supportive than Richmond in encompassing the whole of school life. Thus in the initial selection of teaching and non-teaching staff it was suggested that "In order to meet the widely differing needs of these children it will call for a staff of a very special calibre"²⁷ It also called for a regime under which the headteacher, classroom teachers and non-teaching staff "represented authority" and noted that "The school will be failing in its purpose if it were seen by such children to be a soft option."

Answers to questionnaire 1 (see Appendix One) may expect to be supportive of this ideology e.g. "Many pupils are sent here because of their lack of self control and self discipline. This means that they are unable to socialise with their peers. supervision, particularly in free time is essential." "Close supervision is necessary to promote positive behaviours and a stable environment." "As the majority of pupils have difficulties with interpersonal relationships, in addition to academic difficulties, close supervision of every pupil is vital."

Summary

Evidence collected from both Richmond and Greenhead stresses a high level of social control based with an objectives approach and supported by techniques of behaviour modification. At the formal level it is witnessed via rules and regulations, at the informal level it is seen through staff attitudes and collective support. The degree to which the two schools differ therefore is on emphasis. thus while Richmond relies on social control as a basis for its authority it does not impose on other aspects of school life in the same way as Greenhead e.g. in terms

of management, teaching practices, curriculum and ideology. Clearly the difference lies within the perception of the type of pupil each school receives. However, social control as an agreed aim is evident within both schools and is manifested as part of their assumed roles within special education.

4. Approaches to teaching practices

According to Warnock (1978) programmes need to be planned for individual children with clearly defined short-term goals within the general plan. Observation at both case-study schools informed that strategies for remediation stemmed from this assumption. As Richmond's school booklet (1988) indicates "The broad aim of Richmond is to provide specific, individualised instruction of a remedial nature."²⁸ This was further emphasised by a DES Inspector's report (1985) which praised the school's approach noting that "Although detailed curricular papers have been agreed and written by staff ... they are used only as general guides for the teachers, who rightly emphasise the need to match with individual educational requirements."²⁹

Such an approach within Richmond was manifested via small group sessions with individually based tasks. This was recognised by some staff as being far removed from mainstream work yet was emphasised as a major priority. As one teacher summarised, "Because each child has differing needs and abilities the approach has to be individualised in most subjects and activities." The intense nature of such an aim however meant that staff felt there was consistent pressure on them and according to some that teaching practices spilled over to the general care of the individual's personality as well as academic progress. This in turn led to complaints by staff about their ability to cope with this demand. It also

clashed with a number of observations about the need to offer on occasions larger group tasks where classes had to be doubled up. Taken together such pressure led one teacher to observe that "I join with a colleague for some periods (PE, topic work) where it is in the best interests to be part of a larger group ... I also use my free time for long individual sessions with each child in turn." Another noted that "I like to spend a substantial time with each child. and even taking 'free' time into account I sometimes find it a problem to fit in individual needs." For the majority of teachers however small group work was a pre-requisite for individualised learning programmes. It also for many had the advantage of providing the opportunity for pupils to relate socially within a group. E.g. "I think it important that the feeling of belonging to a group is very necessary - and we come together as a group at various times during the day. Individual needs have to be catered for within this setting" (answer to question 3a see Appendix One)

Evidence presented in this way clearly points to an acceptance of the individual approach yet also highlights the tension between this aim and another dominant perspective within the school namely the promotion of the social aspects of schooling. However, although tension between the two existed they were not seen by the staff as in conflict, and are perhaps best summarised by one teachers suggestion that "I can make sure that individuals have rewarding relationships with me. We also have to create structures of support from the whole group."

In searching for the conflict between these aims in Greenhead, we witness the separation of approaches which allowed the two to exist at differing levels. The individualised approach meant that children work essentially to individual programmes which are designed to facilitate success through

step by step teaching. (LEA report to schools sub committee 1985). It also meant, according to the school booklet (1988/89) that "During the first weeks of a child's stay at Greenhead he or she undergoes a number of assessment tests. From the information these tests reveal, an individual work programme is devised by the class teacher."³⁰ It was not uncommon therefore to see children sat on their own working through schemes of work. One teacher did mention that he occasionally employed group work and I did observe structured group lessons taken by the headteacher in geography. Nevertheless for the most part, and always in English and Maths the individual worked at the level set by the teacher. This was particularly true for pupils who were working towards reintegration. In these cases individual pupils would spend their academic time following work specifically set by the mainstream school, though this often meant working by themselves and without specialist teachers.

Whilst the individualised approach is structured within Greenhead, it does not clash, as in Richmond with the promotion of social aspects of schooling. Indeed the latter is dependent upon the former in that the successful performance of children in individual work programmes is a pre-requisite for afternoons of a more socially orientated curriculum. Teachers at Greenhead therefore seemed not to suffer conflict between aims with the majority supporting the idea that academic work programmes were the priority.

Summary

The original aim of this part of the analysis was to see if and how teaching practices were dominated by an individualised approach. What emerged confirmed this view, yet evidence suggested that its implementation came into conflict with a further aim of the school (and one that is well

documented within special schools (Tomlinson 1982) of providing for social and group skills. In Richmond they were provided for in functional terms by the separation of the school day. Despite such differences however these findings highlight the degree to which two schools, differentially located within special education accept such approaches. Moreover, whilst National Curriculum requirements suggest a reassessment of teaching practices, observation via the planning stages of the two schools (and as part of my professional role as an assessment co-ordinator) show an increasingly individualised approach and the matching up of Attainment Targets to selected pupils and within specific schemes of work that are already formulated.

5. The nature of knowledge

Information collected both through interviews and observation suggests that in Richmond there is a division between skills and knowledge whereby attention is focused on the learning of skills to acquire knowledge rather than the knowledge itself. In this way it is the process that is predominant and may be seen as confirmed to what are considered 'key areas' of understanding, generally within the subject areas of Maths and English. Further, the lack of a full academic provision taking in e.g. science, geography, etc., is further exacerbated by lack of facilities, lack of specialist teachers and small class sizes which inhibits both group work and collaborative projects. As Richmond's school booklet 1987/8 states, "A basic core curriculum is followed covering the development of language skills, writing and spelling skills, literacy and numeracy and motor skills. This is tailored to each child's specific needs. The wider the curriculum is used to reinforce these basic areas."³¹ Criticism of such an approach was voiced by a number of staff, complaining that they were only 'gesturing' at some subjects, this being further reinforced by the demands

of the National Curriculum and the concern of many within the school that they would not be able to meet the demands of all subject areas. Whilst academic skills were a concern of the staff, pupils social skills, as noted earlier were afforded high status. These included e.g. improvements in self-esteem; respect for themselves; independence training; becoming happy members of their peer group; having confidence in their own efforts; being 'educated for life', and modifying inappropriate behaviour. Such comments afforded by the staff were in answers to questions connected to what they thought was 'success' for their pupils. It also matched with the prevailing academic philosophy in that whilst suggesting that pupils needed to become more confident, or be educated for life, there was little of substance to support such a move other than the experience of trips out or 'therapeutic discussion'. As one observation indicated "success for my pupils is to be able to develop to their full potential as human beings. to have the skills necessary to participate in the outside world. To have the confidence to try and to value their own efforts and achievements." In generating such a philosophy however the knowledge base was subsumed within a different reality.

At Greenhead while in theory knowledge was based for the majority around mainstream curricula in fact many areas were rarely taught, for example, science or languages. The reasons for this were firstly because the teachers did not have a full range of subject knowledge and secondly because children who were partially mainstream placed could not receive additional support within the special school. Moreover within Greenhead 50% of the timetable was directed towards 'leisure' or 'lifeskill' activities. What constituted knowledge therefore was what may be described as 'a watered down mainstream curricula' which in its narrow focus allowed for a concentration on other social skills which fitted within the schools

philosophical base. This was supported by all the staff and was considered to be an integral part of the behaviourist model. As the deputy head commented, "The social aspects of school life should run parallel to the educational needs of the pupils. This is one of a wide variety of educational objectives targeted towards each pupil." Indeed at the time of writing (1989) the annual reviews of pupils (compulsory under the 1981 Act for children in receipt of a statement) within Greenhead, and initiated by the head called for a report on the physical, behavioural and social progress of the child, as well as educational performance. The guidelines offered no priority within these. Moreover, evidence suggested after discussion with the head about the implementation of the National Curriculum that its introduction would have to be developed as part of rather instead of the established format.

Summary

Although the nature of knowledge is not easily definable a question mark hangs over its application within both schools. Thus the aims of each require that pupils start from a prescribed level (after assessment) in basic skills. Knowledge in the widest sense however is offered only within a limited range, with limited facilities and staff not readily equipped for specialism. Moreover, by focusing equally on life skills whether apart from or within the group knowledge is presented as encompassing the social as well as the academic. Thus while for some this may be of educational value it provides for this analysis an understanding of how the two schools differ from their mainstream counterparts.

6. The role of the head

Special schools are generally small establishments. Their smallness, reflected in group size rating also limits their staffing arrangements. Thus

in both Richmond and Greehead the head and deputy head were the only posts above basic grade (B). The size of both schools also reflects an understanding that they are specialist institutions catering for an exclusive group of children with some degree of 'expertise'. Indeed special schools are unique in that they have no catchments, no specific feeder schools, have little involvement with external exams, and had (until recently with the National Curriculum, which itself may be disapplied for some groups of statemented children) a more variable curriculum. The management of such schools therefore may be seen as a response to their differential position within education.

From such observation it may appear that the role of the special school head may be flexible and, compared to his/her counterpart in mainstream, less restricted in scope and power to direct. What emerged in discussion and interviews with heads of both case study schools however was a shared understanding that their positions were essentially determined from outside. In essence they pointed to the role of other professionals in influencing the referral process, and hence, ultimately the schools clientele, staffing and curriculum arrangements and also as influential in creating the educational agenda upon which the schools operated. Their chief concern, and the one they felt dominated their position was the referral procedure. Thus, the multi-professional approach meant that both heads spent a significant amount of time with those involved not only with statementing but also with placement. Fig 6 for example gives a breakdown of those seen by the head as part of the referral process during one month. Both heads indicated their role was dependent on such contacts.

Fig 6 Breakdown of individuals seen by the headteacher (and number of times) in relation to a referral for placement during the month of May 1988

	Richmond	Greenhead
parents	5	6
educational psychologists	3	3
physiotherapists	2	0
child support unit workers	2	0
social workers	0	1
LEA officials	2	3
visiting teachers	4	6
visiting potential pupils	2	4
probation officers	0	1
educational welfare officers	1	2
health visitors	1	1
speech therapists	3	3
support staff	0	1
Total	25	31

The head at Greenhead, for example, felt that only occasionally could he control the referral process and that he often had to accept children without consulting staff. This was particularly true, he noted when numbers were down. Placement in this case he argued was by proxy rather than by 'need'. The head at Richmond also pointed to the role of the 'special needs panel' as having powerful vested interests in the decision to refer which was often at odds with his own. The power of up to ten other 'professionals', he suggested meant that his control was limited. What both heads indicated therefore was that their level of dependency influenced not only their role as heads in determining events but also as

managers of teachers and their relationship with them. This was illustrated by the head of Richmond school as occurring in several ways. Firstly he indicated that he had to direct staff primarily towards new referrals. He felt that it should be their role as potential class teachers to see a potential child and those involved with him/her. However he was concerned that he had been the person involved with the panel meetings, he had agreed to look at the referral and ultimately would make the decision (though, as noted he was not always in a position to reject) whether to accept. Secondly a retrospective analysis of referral procedure over the previous twelve months (1987/99) found that fifty children had been accepted to the school (with 50 going out).³² This had meant that with three visits per child to feeder schools, and a number of meeting with parents and professionals involved with the child, that a great deal of teacher time was spent on such procedure. Moreover, he argued that often he was the only one who had full knowledge of procedure and the pressure to admit a child was directed towards him. Thirdly, although encouraging teachers to be involved in such processes he highlighted that there was often little choice but to place children in specific class groups. this, he pointed out was determined by the need to give access to professionals e.g. speech therapists by working with children on specific days meant that those children had to be place in the same group (even if this meant vertical grouping). Educational psychologists (giving one half-day every two weeks) also laid down specific guidelines which overided not only the class teacher's assessment but also other professionals, and as such affected what type of class the pupil was placed. As the head noted, "Educational psychologists can be seen as power-brokers in the referral system. We are often at the reviewing end and we are not always informed in full. However this can have an effect on our school organisation."³³

As a consequence of their position with outside agents both the headteachers felt that the power to determine events was restricted and, as it was not always understood by staff their relationship with them suffered. It was however noticeable how the heads adopted differing tactics to gain support for and understanding of their position. The head at Richmond thus encouraged in-service training, an open democratic atmosphere and an informal structure. He also indicated that he would accept most changes that staff felt were important except those that had a budgetary aspect. The head of Greehead was more active within the daily routine, both in teaching classes on a regular basis, sharing duties with other staff, and was readily available if discipline was needed. He did not however share the decision-making process, preferring to delegate rather than negotiate or inform. As a member of staff indicated, "we have virtually no control over admittance - this is decided by the head and panel. Staff opinions and views are only asked for before reintegration of a child is begun."

Staff attitudes towards both heads however differed to the extent that they were not perceived as intended. Evidence forwarded by the teachers at Richmond in fact varied little, e.g. (in reply to Q2a about the management system, see Appendix One). "Not really democratic or consultative. Top management too isolated from teachers, pupils and activities." "In theory democratic - in reality not necessarily so" "More democratic than any other school I've been in but this sometimes means delay in decisions because of an absence of a clear line or lead. The future of children is sometimes decided arbitrarily." Conversely the teachers at Greenhead described the head as e.g. "Relatively democratic. Head will generally ask opinions of staff on certain matters before decisions are made."

"Democratic and participative" "The decision making machinery is sufficiently flexible to allow participation by all staff, where appropriate."

Summary

In interpreting the role of management within Richmond and Greenhead we witness the dominance of the head, not in terms of personality but in terms of their positions within the professional structure of special educational organisation. Their internal roles however can be viewed as somewhat ironic. Thus, while the head at Richmond aimed for a democratic regime he was criticised by staff as democratic only in principle. The head of Greenhead however, while running a more centralised management regime was not criticised in such a way. This however may be a reflection of the understanding of the staff at Richmond that despite pretensions to be democratic, in practice his position, dominated by outside interests has to be basically autocratic in that only he is in full command of 'what goes on'.

A further interpretation of their perceived roles may be best understood in relation to a readily observed view of headteachers as having had their powers increased (Hall 1986). It could also however be seen in relation to the type of question and answer format provided in the questionnaire (see Appendix One) though this was triangulated through informal discussion with the staff of both schools.

7. The shared ideology of teachers

According to Musgrave (1968) the term ideology refers to "A pattern of beliefs and ideas which justify to those who hold it a certain social phenomenon." (p 110) It may also suggest a political rationalization that determines how individuals relate to their conditions of existence, and

which according to Sharpe (1980) will play a crucial role in clarifying the way in which schooling functions to reproduce the social relations of production, or the class relations within society. (p 116) The cultural basis of ideology however is highlighted by Hall and Jefferson (1976) and Willis (1977) who seek to portray how subcultures are related to differential class positions.

Whilst such interpretations may be applied to schools in a meaningful way they do so within a structuralist framework. The acceptance of such perspectives however while implicit within this analysis does not negate the fact the term ideology may have different interpretations. It may be possible to link factors which, in their cultural form influence teachers' beliefs. These include teacher education, patterns of work, bureaucracy etc. There is also evidence (Mardle and Walker 1980) that teachers' school biography are key determining influences on the perception of their role.

In relating ideology to special schooling therefore we are looking at a specific form of education which, as indicated in Chapter One has been structurally determined. It also has a unique organisational basis in that it remains generally apart from the rest of the education system. Given such considerations what will be attempted in this part of the analysis is an assessment of the shared beliefs, attitudes and assumptions within the case-study schools. Whether this is merely a cultural response by teachers within a particular sphere of education however, or whether it is reflective of a distinct ideology will be discussed on a return to formal theory in the final chapter.

In Richmond therefore the dominant ethos portrayed by teachers was of a child centred approach and an understanding that a quiet, gentle

atmosphere within the school was a good way of producing success. A response to question 5 (see Appendix One) highlights this view e.g. "some children need a smaller group in learning to relate to one another. a small school like ours appeals to parents who feel that their children are not happy in a tougher, bigger school. Our school works because on the whole teachers are highly professional and committed in defining the needs of children and interpreting their expression." Within this understanding teachers pointed to a series of generalised aims which they felt pupils should achieve e.g. "Respect for him/her self and others, a healthy awareness of their own shortcomings and strengths/abilities." "Being able to develop to their full potential as human beings. To have confidence to try and to value their own efforts and achievements." "That they learn to be proud of their achievements. That they gain in confidence. That they learn to adjust and adapt to different situations" "Children benefit from being able to come into an environment for a while, amongst others who have experienced failure. This helps to build up confidence." "Enabling children to fulfil their potential and to become happy communicating members of their peer group."

Intrinsic within such observations was a tacit understanding that the school would promote non-competitiveness in all aspects of school life. a consequence of this was that teachers intervened during play sessions where aggression was voiced; that co-operative play was encouraged; that sporting activities were restricted and the establishment of a school football team was rejected. Such informal agreements initiated at staff forums were an accepted part of teacher understanding, and testimony to their authority was that only one person during informal interview voiced an objection i.e. "Much stress is put on play without fighting - this is all well and good, but non-competitive activities are also stressed. I do

not think this is a good preparation for life." We also witness from comments that the dominant aims of teachers in Richmond centres on humanitarian values and achievements which refers to the social skills of pupils rather than the academic, and points to the need for them to "adjust and adapt." In this there was an implicit recognition that pupils had to recognise their own shortcomings before they could improve.

By comparison the shared assumptions of teachers in Greenhead were more competitive and aimed at reflecting mainstream curriculum and attitudes. Thus unlike Richmond where a tacit understanding was reached through informal debate, the teachers in this school were content to 'fit' within a system that had established certain formal methods, e.g. a structured timetable, daily work reports, timetabled links with mainstream etc. A number of staff indeed suggested that the structured emphasis within the school should be extended e.g. as one teacher reported (Q5, see Appendix One). "Richmond's approach to the special school child fits into my beliefs quite closely, i.e. sympathetic, firm, structured and understanding, although I do feel on occasions that a harder line should be taken with some pupils." In responding to a question concerning pupil success (Q3E, see Appendix One) virtually all staff responded by restating the major aim of the school, e.g. "Total success is full-time reintegration"; "To be correctly placed in mainstream where their educational and social needs can be met." Additional comments however, like Richmond focused on the social aspects of schooling e.g. "The pupils should be helped to reach their full potential so as to enrich their own lives in social, moral, recreational and intellectual terms." Indeed this was a theme that dominated the conversation of the majority of staff who in accepting a more 'robust' culture spent great energies in organising e.g. football matches, camping trips, walks across the moors etc.

These 'character building exercises' indeed formed a major part of teacher culture in that three of the teachers had previously been involved in some form of physical education teaching and enjoyed sport as a pastime. In this sense therefore it could be suggested that there was no need for teachers to challenge the accepted ethos of Greenhead in that the majority of them sought their post because of their acceptance to such a culture.

Summary

Teacher ideology as presented in Richmond and Greenhead appears different in that the formal levels of understanding commits the schools to opposing social outlooks. The first behaviourist based, the second built upon more therapeutic ideals. Moreover such philosophy helped control both the mechanics of the schools and teacher action within them. At Richmond therefore the philosophy, built over many years became part of a process which, while influenced by the head also had its support within a democratic base of teacher discussion. At Greenhead however the system was established not through teacher culture but via LEA directives. The fact that it was not modified reflects both the dominance of the head and the LEA in directing teacher action, either through appointments or through perceived practice.

At the informal level however patterns emerged which suggested an underlying similarity. These included an acceptance that both schools should provide for the social and moral skills of their pupils and that success depends on pupils coming to terms with their problems. In this way although the academic objectives of the schools were well documented they were secondary to other more individualistic notions of success concerned with personality and with welfare.

In understanding why there is an apparent difference between the two schools at the formal level and a basic agreement at the informal level it is necessary (as has already been suggested) to understand that the two schools function at opposite ends of the special school spectrum. In looking at the formal level it is evident that special education is not homogeneous. What we may witness therefore are essential differences which revolve around the type of perceived special need and the deficit model that surrounds that particular 'disability'. Thus if we view special provision at an organisational level and based within a continuum then E.B.D. provision is more likely to be structured both within the nature of its control mechanisms and through its teaching practices (Ling 1987). Conversely it may be suggested that provision based on more normative forms of disability e.g. S.L.D. is less likely to have structure and more likely to have loose patterns of teacher control. M.L.D. therefore is likely to fall within the middle of this model. A further factor that influences the formal structures however, and one that is clearly evidenced in the research is closeness to mainstream. Thus while Richmond had a number of pupils who were on short-term placement the school has no clear commitment to link with mainstream on a regular basis. Greenhead however had such a philosophy as a central aim of the school. It was thus stressed by staff both within interview and through questionnaire that they had to promote the values that the pupil would return to rather than offering something different. The values of mainstream structure, competition and control were thus more significant with Greenhead and were elements that separated the two institutions.

At the informal level however there appears to be a value system that underlies all special education. This involves adherence of the values of social training and the understanding of individual need. It is further

dominated by the acceptance multi-professional involvement. Such a philosophy was clearly witnessed within both schools, though whether it can be confirmed as an 'ideology' is a question that will be returned to in the final chapter.

Notes

- 1 General information booklet for staff written by the Headteacher, January 1985
- 2 Letter from a former chief education officer for LEA1 in response to questions by me for information about Richmond school, dated June 1988.
- 3 Letter *ibid* as above.
- 4 Diary. Headteachers record of events. June 1976 to September 1977
- 5 Diary *ibid* as above.
- 6 Letter to councillor from chief education officer from LEA1 in reply to questions concerning the future of Richmond. November 1977
- 7 Letter *op. cit.* June 1988
- 8 Diary *op. cit.*
- 9 DES Report by HM Inspectors on Richmond school. February 1985
- 10 Richmond school information booklet 1987-88
- 11 LEA2 Discussion paper presented by principal education officer (special) to education sub committee (schools) April 1978
- 12 *ibid*
- 13 *ibid*
- 14 *ibid*
- 15 *ibid*
- 16 Report supplied to LEA2 schools sub committee by principal education officer (special) April 1985.
- 17 *ibid*
- 18 Greenhead school booklet 1988-89.
- 19 Information obtained during informal discussion.
- 20 DES Form 7(i) schools return. Immigrant pupils.
- 21 LEA1 education statistics year book 1971
- 22 Statistics of education - schools 1971 volume one.

- 23 Letter to all LEA1 governors December 1991.
- 24 op. cit. Greenhead school booklet.
- 25 ibid
- 26 op. cit. LEA2 Discussion paper.
- 27 ibid
- 28 op. cit. Richmond school booklet 1987-88.
- 29 op. cit. DES report 1985.
- 30 op. cit. Greenhead school booklet.
- 31 op. cit. Richmond school booklet 1987
- 32 These were mainly children admitted to the short-stay group.
- 33 Taped formal interview with the head teacher of Richmond school.

CHAPTER SIX

The Paradox of Gender

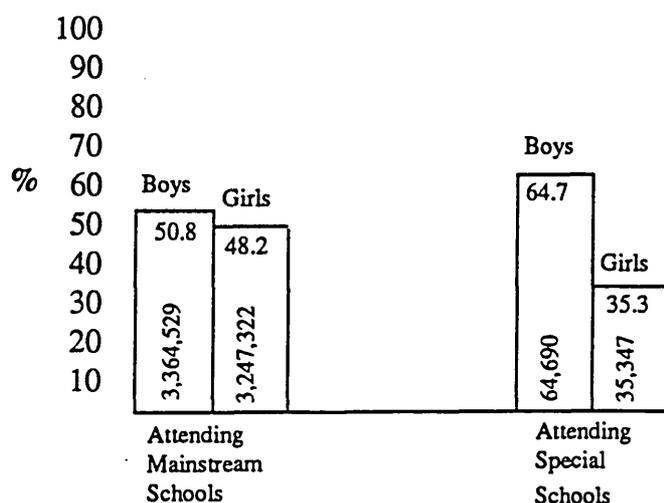
In developing this chapter it has been a concern to relate the research to theory. Theory however as developed within the sociological tradition is open to question and has been adapted to the varying perspectives undertaken by researchers. In a general sense however as suggested by Hammersley (1990a) theory focuses "on a particular theoretical idea, and those aspects of any events whose investigation might facilitate the development and testing of that idea." (p 104) Taking gender as an issue therefore a perspective adopted in much research in the area has centered around the unequal treatment of girls in education.

Quantative studies (e.g. Benbow and Stanley 1983) have indicated the way in which boys and girls are differentiated in terms of curriculum choice and examination success. Qualitative research meanwhile (e.g. Stanworth (1981) has indicated how the classroom is a focus for the differential treatment of girls. Other research shows how the school acts as a focus for the development of e.g. status, role aspirations employment opportunities etc, and that within such processes girls receive different messages to boys.

The acceptance of such research conclusions provides us with cumulative evidence surrounding the social processing of girls. In adding to this debate it is the intention of the research to examine a neglected area of study, namely gender and the statementing process. In essence I wish to start from the theoretical premise that statements as an outcome of professional advice may be seen from a gender perspective as reflecting an educational process that differentiates

between boys and girls. A perspective that merely counts numbers however is inadequate. Thus the fact that girls receive less statements, whilst maybe welcoming news for those who see acceptance into special education in an unfavourable light may also mask a number of processes that occur as part of the decision to statement, and as intrinsic in the way advice is presented. In developing this research area it is therefore necessary to combine quantitative and qualitative analysis in a way that highlights gender as an issue within what is a highly complex procedure. As a start to this analysis it is necessary to look firstly at national statistics showing special school attendance for girls and boys, (Fig. 7) and secondly to review gender distribution in one local education authority (i.e. LEA 1 of the study) of statemented special needs provision (Fig. 8).

Fig 7



(Source: Statistics of Education. Schools DES 1989
Full time attendance in England)

Fig 8	Boys	Girls	Total
Mild Learning Difficulties	23	8	31
Moderate Learning Difficulties	20	18	38
Severe learning Difficulties	4	3	7
Delicate	10	7	17
Emotional/Behavioural Difficulties	20	7	27
Moderate Learning and Behavioural Difficulties	5	0	5
Physically Handicapped	2	2	4
Hearing Impaired	0	2	2
Visually Handicapped	2	1	3
Speech Disorder	6	2	8
Short Term Support	38	8	46
Special Nursery	0	2	2
Integrated Resources	2	0	2
Mainstream	12	9	21
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	144	69	213

Source LEA 1 Education statistics year book January 1990

Analysis of these statistics shows clearly the unequal distribution of girls and boys both in special schools generally and across a variety of special provision. Understanding these figures however may be open to interpretation and may to some degree reflect innate biological differences in the sexes, yet it is hard not to agree with Ford (1982) "that the difference in actual referral rates of boys and girls reflects something other than the general tendency of either sex to deviate from the norm." (p 101) Explanations of the data have in fact centred almost exclusively on the characteristics of males and their position in the education system. the lack of a feminist perspective can be seen both in a lack of interest by sociologists generally and also as part of the

importance given to feminist issues. (Middleton 1987) The issue of girls and special school placement however may be viewed as crucial to the underlying basis of special education as stated by Warnock (1978) and the Education Act (1981). Those aims were of 'individual need'. In practice however, individual need has focused on the needs of boys, and the categorisation of girls has been generally more problematic.

In developing an analysis of gender and special education it is the purpose of the research to critically examine the ways in which statementing advice highlights gender assumptions. Indeed although fewer girls than boys receive statements it does not in itself preclude the fact that female referrals may differ from male referrals in both type and substance. Thus, statementing was introduced as a result of the Warnock report's (1978) recommendations, and adopted within the 1981 Education Act. Its aim was to change the way in which children were assessed for 'special needs' provision. Some research (Tomlinson 1981) has been conducted on assessment procedures, yet since statementing was introduced by Local Education Authorities in 1983 there have been few attempts to relate the issue of gender to this process. In contributing to this issue therefore the research is centred on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of fifty statements across two northern Local Education Authorities (one a large city, the other a nearby town; hereby known as LEA 1 and LEA 2 respectively). The aim of the analysis is to document and explain the relationship between gender and professional advice as witnessed in the statementing procedure. To do this however first requires a discussion of the historical and current role of statements in the assessment procedures for special education.

The statementing procedure

Circular 2/75 established in England and Wales the statutory procedures for determining a child's special educational needs. Under its guidelines information about the child was collected from the child's teacher, the school doctor and school psychologist. These were to be summarised by a principal educational psychologist. The Warnock report (1981) however expanded the nature of special education assessment by advocating it became 'multi-professional'. The report suggested that assessment be in the form of a profile and would "embody a positive statement of the type of special provision provided." (p 45) Statistically it was noted that this may mean that "up to one in five children at some time during their school career will require some form of special educational provision." (p 41) Circular 1/83 further laid down formal statutory procedures for assessment, indicating that

"the Secretary of State expects LEAs to afford the protection of a statement to all children who have severe or complex learning difficulties which require the provision of extra resources in ordinary schools, and in all cases where the child is placed in a special unit attached to an ordinary school or an Independent school, a non maintained special school or an Independent school approved for the purpose." (p 5).

Moreover, LEAs under section five of the Act must seek educational, medical, psychological and any other relevant advice necessary to complete assessment. The Act also provides that parents are informed of the procedure and are given no less than twenty nine days to make representations to the LEA. The actual collection of advice however is not made prescriptive under the 1981 Act i.e.

"The Secretary of State for Education and Science does not intend to prescribe the form in which professional advice should

be presented ... if the LEA. consider it desirable, it will be open to them to provide structured forms for the collection of professional advice, in consultation with the professions concerned." (p 64)

This policy has led to a variety of responses by LEAs both in the range and degree of advice. However the Department of Education and Science seem unconcerned with such differences, reaffirming in circular 22/89 that "professional assessment under the 1981 Act requires a systematic yet flexible approach. It may be organised in a variety of ways according to local circumstances and the requirements of individual cases." (p 15) The chief concern indeed is time i.e. "All contributors will need to bear in mind the need for prompt action and the expectation that assessment will be completed within six months." (p 15)

A more detailed analysis of LEAs shows how these pronouncements have been formalised into stages, and as such gives some insight into procedure.

STAGE ONE MULTI-PROFESSIONAL ASSESSMENT (MPA 1)

Here the initial referral form is received by the Education department. In theory a number of people can initiate this appeal to statement, in practice however it is usually the headteacher of the referring school. This process however proceeds with a series of letters to parents and professionals suggesting the need to discuss a statement. Five days is given for this procedures.

STAGE TWO (MPA 2)

At the same time as MPA 1 the Chief Education Officer notifies parents, and assessing agencies of the need to make comments for formal assessment.

STAGE THREE (MPA 3)

After twenty nine days the Chief Education Officer confirms whether the assessment is to take place, and copies of parental comments are forwarded to professional assessment agencies. Each agency makes arrangements to see the child and draft advice is submitted to a special needs panel, a group who meet weekly and consist of representatives of all assessment agencies. Here advice received is educational, (class teacher and headteacher), medical, psychological, social work and nursing. Additional advice may also be presented e.g. speech therapy.

DRAFT STATEMENT

At the stage when all advice has been taken a draft statement is produced by a school officer. It is then forwarded to the prospective headteacher of a suggested placement. Two weeks is given for this procedure. If the school accepts the pupil a letter is sent to parents who have fifteen days to comment.¹ A further fifteen days may also be requested by the parent in order to obtain additional advice.

¹ (Infact few parents object to placement. Of those that do appeal few are successful e.g. between April 1985 and March 1986 23 appeals under section 8 (6) of the 1981 Education Act were considered by the Secretary of State. Of these only 27% were successful. [Denney 1989])

STAGE FOUR (MPA 4)

When the draft statement is confirmed by the parents a final statement is completed and professionals are notified. Clearly within this procedure and at the point when all evidence is available there are choices open to the schools panel i.e. to send a pupil back to mainstream with out without a statement; to send the pupil to a special unit/resource with a statement; or to send him/her to a special school with a statement. Although debate about availability of school places (see Stone 1987) has caused some controversy, what is evident is that statementing procedure has become highly bureaucratic and decisions made about pupils are not always defined in purely educational terms and must be viewed alongside the financial and staffing constraints of LEAs. If we look at LEA 1 therefore we witness in 1988 some 1,388 children in receipt of a statement out of a total school population of some 76,132 (LEA 1 1989). This figure representing just under 2% of the total fits neatly into the percentage suggested by Warnock (1978) and also is reflective of national figures which show that in fact just over 2% of the school population in maintained schools received a statement (DES 1988)

An analysis of referrals in LEA 1 in 1988 however shows that of 411 children referred for special provision only 213 eventually received a statement in that year. (LEA 1 Education Statistics 1989) Certainly this may reflect the time taken to produce statements, but also it shows that LEAs have the power to refuse. Thus, apart from financial constraints what is crucial in both determining a statement and directing placement is the type of advice presented. A closer look at the LEAs under analysis also shows that there is a disproportionate weight of evidence offered by some professionals. Advice received from doctors,

nurses, social workers, although specific in some instances is usually brief and functional. Educationalists and psychologists however generally offer more detailed analysis of the child and are more prescriptive with advice. To further expand this insight therefore and to comprehend the role of gender in this process a more detailed analysis of professional advice submitted within the statementing procedure is necessary. It is to this analysis that I will now focus attention.

The Research Methodology

The type of research undertaken in this analysis may be termed 'content' or 'document' analysis. One of the earliest proponents of this methodology has described it as "a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication." (Berelson 1954) Like structured observation the method seeks to analyse behaviour, but in this case it is analysis applied to documents. Moreover, content analysis may be used both to test and generate hypothesis. Cicourel (1964) summarises the method, noting that it is necessary "to employ a theory which is sufficiently precise to enable the researcher to specify in advance what he should look for in some set of materials, how he is to identify and abstract the material and finally how its significance is to be decided." (p 143 - 144) In accepting Cicourel's methodology it is necessary to examine each of his indicators.

a) Theory

In relating theory to gender distribution within the statementing procedure, what we are witnessing is a sophisticated system of

categorisation relayed by professionals. Common-sense meanings are however, to some extent predictable in that they emanate in this case from professionals who work within a highly structured and bureaucratic education system. Moreover, the education system, itself being subject to social structural pressures may well reflect certain societal views and attitudes about gender and the role of the sexes. It is not unlikely therefore, as research surrounding the sociology of gender shows (e.g. Barrett 1990, Roberts 1981, Shaw 1983) that gender assumptions are likely to have penetrated professional ideology. A theoretical position for this research may assume therefore that within a general framework boys and girls are treated differently within schools and that differences are institutionalised. As a result the referral system for special education is likely to reflect these differences and as such can be analysed within this general assumption.

b) Identifying the material

Unlike other areas of content analysis e.g. television research, census returns etc. the material under examination is limited to a fairly small group of children within an LEA. Moreover the method for documenting the Special Educational needs of children is clearly laid down in law (1983 Education Act) and requires a 'statement' to be completed by a number of professionals. An analysis of statements therefore requires two basic decisions, i.e. the sample required, and the precise information to be extracted from the sample.

(i) Nationally in 1989 138,516 children (DES 1889) were in receipt of a statement. The range of provision varied, although the vast majority (over 70%) attended special schools. Moreover, by far the

biggest single category of 'special need' (around 50%) both within mainstream and special schools was moderate (or mild) learning difficulties (MLD) (This would in fact be much higher if other categories e.g. physically handicapped, visually impaired and hearing impaired were also accorded 'learning difficulty' status.) In the LEAs under analysis this represented some 46% (LEAs 1 and 2 Education statistics 1989) of children currently receiving a statement. In turning to this category for the sample therefore children who receive a statement in both LEAs receive a classification that accords them with this status. It does not preclude however (nor will the research take into account) the fact that they may also receive an additional classification e.g. MLD plus EBD. (Educational and behavioural difficulties). They are consequently in attendance at a special school, resource or in mainstream. In gathering the sample for analysis therefore the research has focused attention on four children from each of the nine MLD. placements in LEA 1 (the largest authority) and three children from each of the six MLD placements in LEA 2 making a sample of 32 children in LEA 1 and 18 children in LEA 2. In deciding which statements in each placement to examine it was necessary to initiate a selection procedure. This was achieved by choosing the first two girls and first two boys on the register from LEA 1's list of placements, the third and fourth boys and girls from placement two, and so on. (Both LEAs operated a system whereby schools were placed in alphabetical order) In LEA 2 the first two girls plus first boy were chosen from placement one and reversed for placement two etc. Moreover, all children admitted before 1983 were omitted from the sample as they would not have gone through the present

statementing system. The total sample numbered 50, 25 boys and 25 girls.

(ii) The Information

As suggested earlier, a review of statementing advice shows the weight of evidence across a number of professionals. The research will concentrate on the two 'key' areas of advice, namely that offered by teachers and that offered by educational psychologists.

c) Abstracting the material

In examining the educational and psychological advice extracted from the sample of statements the research was able to focus upon the key words and phrases used by teachers and professionals to explain their assessments of children. The examination of this advice meant an analysis of written information provided to the special educational panels of the two LEAs and stored within the documentation of the 'statement'. These are kept centrally by the LEAs with a further copy going to the child's forwarding school. The assumption behind this approach lay in the view that professionals use within their subscribed area of knowledge a defined language, and that hidden within this language are messages of common understanding. The key therefore is not only to abstract the language but also to place it in context i.e. give meaning to it. As such the aim of the research was to select from the statements those words or terms that were 'generally descriptive' of the child's educational ability, personality or behaviour. Words or phrases were therefore selected through a careful search of the material. As Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggest, "if the analyst wishes to convert qualitative data into crudely

quantifiable form so that he can provisionally test a hypothesis, he codes the data first then analyses it." (p 101) Consequently each statement was scrutinised three times to check accuracy and validated by objective assessment (see Appendix Three). Once the total number of statements in the sample had been analysed the key terms abstracted were counted and a table (Fig 3) was drawn up in which the number of comments from each term were allocated a gender total (both individual and different mentions). Again, in supporting the advice of Glaser and Strauss (1967), and in order to tap the 'initial freshness' of theoretical ideas I agreed with the view that it was necessary "to stop coding and record a memo of your ideas." (p 107) In this way the next step was to place the terms into categories and to give numerical values by adding up the terms applied to males and females. The categories themselves derived from both an examination of recent research in the field and my own common-sense assumptions that emerged during the research process.

Again, the categorisation process was validated by others (see Appendix Three). Finally, after the completion of these processes I was able to relate the significance of the material.

d) The research data

The research is presented in two sets of figures. Fig 9 is a comparison of the terms, highlighted in the research that were used by teachers in the statementing advice. The sample comprises of 16 males and 16 females in LEA 1, and 9 males and 9 females in LEA 2. Both LEAs receive gender totals for the number of times a term is mentioned and each receive gender totals for the number of times

an individual receives a different comment. The totals for all mentions and all different mentions are placed underneath. Fig 10 is a comparison of the terms highlighted in the research as used by educational psychologists in statementing advice. The same sample and same procedure are used as in Fig 9. (Appendix Five checks probabilities of the difference between male and female scores using Chi-squared)

Fig 9

Key terms used by teachers to describe children on the process of being statemented

	Total No of mentions		Total of different mentions	
	M	F	M	F
Affectionate	1	2	1	1
Aggressive	28	4	12	2
Agitated	1	0	1	0
Anti-social behaviour	4	3	3	2
Anxious	2	0	2	0
Attention seeking	7	8	6	6
Awkward	0	3	0	2
Babyish	0	3	0	2
Bad tempered	2	1	2	1
Behavioural problem	18	3	12	3
Below average ability	0	2	0	2
Below average progress	1	6	1	6
Cannot accept criticism	2	0	2	0
Cannot be trusted	1	0	1	0
chatty	1	2	1	2
Clumsy	0	1	0	1
Concentrates well	0	1	0	1
Confused	0	3	0	2
Confident	0	3	0	3
Co-operative	3	4	1	3
Copes well with school	0	1	0	1

Daydreamer	1	8	1	5
Defiant	3	2	3	1
Delightful	0	1	0	1
Destructive	1	1	1	1
Determined	0	3	0	2
Developmental delay	0	4	1	4
Difficult	2	0	1	0
Difficulty in conforming	3	0	3	0
Disorganised	0	1	0	1
Disruptive	9	2	4	1
Distant	1	0	1	0
Doesn't complete tasks	0	1	0	1
Doesn't understand new concepts	1	0	1	0
Dominant	0	3	0	1
Dramatic	9	4	8	3
Easily distracted	5	5	3	4
Easily led	0	1	0	1
Easily upset	0	2	0	1
Emotionally unstable	2	0	1	0
Enthusiastic	2	6	2	4
Erratic	0	4	0	3
Excitable	6	11	3	1
Friendly	8	11	8	9
Frustrated	5	0	2	0
Giddy	0	1	0	1
Good attitude	1	0	1	0
Happy	3	20	2	14
Helpful	3	4	3	3
Hostile	2	0	2	0
Immature	17	10	8	8
Impulsive	1	0	1	0
Inability to learn	7	3	4	3
Inappropriate responses	9	1	4	1
Independent	0	1	0	1
Insecure	3	0	2	1
Isolated	12	1	3	1
Keen	2	1	1	1
Lacks confidence	6	5	6	4
Lacks intellectual ability	3	4	2	3

Lacks motivation/interest/enthusiasm	10	11	5	7
lacks social skills	6	1	4	1
Lacks understanding	3	1	3	1
Likes school	0	3	0	2
Limited ability	2	2	2	2
Limited concentration/attention	48	20	15	12
Lively	0	1	0	1
Loner	6	8	4	6
Loving	1	0	1	0
Low attainments	4	0	2	0
Mixes well	0	1	0	1
Moody	12	6	6	3
Neat and tidy	1	2	1	2
Nervous	3	4	3	0
No understanding of basics	2	0	2	4
Overwhelmed	1	0	1	0
Passive	0	7	0	4
Performs at basic level	5	3	3	3
Placid	0	1	0	1
Pleasant	1	2	1	2
Polite	2	0	1	0
Poor academically	1	3	1	3
Poor interaction with peers	23	13	11	6
Poor learning patterns	3	2	3	1
Poor progress made	3	11	4	5
Poor self image	4	2	3	2
Popular	4	6	1	4
Quickly bored	2	0	2	0
Quickly frustrated	1	0	1	0
Quiet	2	14	2	11
Reliable	1	0	1	0
Responsive	0	1	0	1
Restless	2	0	2	0
Rude	1	0	1	0
Sad	2	0	1	0
Seeks approval	4	0	3	0
sensible	2	0	2	0
Severe learning difficulties	0	2	0	1
Shows initiative	1	0	1	0

Shy	0	2	0	2
Silly	1	2	1	2
slow	13	12	9	6
Sociable	0	1	0	1
Socially vulnerable	0	3	0	6
Solemn	0	1	0	1
Solitary	8	0	5	0
Special education needs/ learning difficulties	7	12	6	9
Strange	0	2	0	2
Strong willed	0	1	0	1
Sub standard work	0	1	0	1
Sulky	3	4	2	3
Sullen	1	2	1	1
Tearful	5	4	4	3
timid	1	2	1	1
Tries hard	5	12	4	7
Troubled	1	0	1	0
Unable to cope/adapt to routine	5	1	4	1
Underachieving	6	1	6	1
Unhappy	1	2	1	2
Unimaginative	1	0	1	0
Unpredictable	0	3	0	2
Violent	10	2	5	1
Well adjusted	0	1	0	1
Well behaved	4	17	4	8
Well behind peers	14	7	9	5
Well developed personal skills	3	6	2	3
Wilful	2	0	2	0
Willing pupil	1	2	1	2
Withdrawn	5	3	4	2

Fig 10**Key terms used by educational psychologists to describe children in the process of being statemented**

	Total No of mentions		Total of different mentions	
	M	F	M	F
Adjustment difficulties	2	0	1	0
Aggressive	1	0	1	0
Alert	0	1	0	1
Anxious	4	0	2	0
Attention seeking	2	2	1	2
Babyish	0	1	0	1
Bad tempered	0	1	0	1
Behavioural difficulties	6	5	5	1
Behind peers in ability	6	6	6	4
Bossy	0	1	0	1
Clumsy	2	1	2	1
Concentrates well	1	0	1	0
Co-operative	2	3	2	3
Curious	0	1	0	1
Developmental delay	1	1	1	1
Difficult to motivate	1	0	1	0
Doesn't relate to peers	6	6	3	6
Disorganised	1	1	1	1
Dull	1	0	1	0
Easily distracted	6	2	5	2
Easily frustrated	1	0	1	0
Emotional difficulties	3	1	3	1
Enthusiastic	0	1	0	1
Erratic	0	1	0	1
Excitable	2	1	2	1
Friendly	4	2	4	2
Good relations with peers	0	1	0	1
Happy	3	0	3	0
Helpful	0	1	0	1
Hostile	1	0	1	0
Independent	0	1	0	1

Immature	4	5	4	4
Impulsive	1	2	1	2
Inattentive	1	1	1	1
Isolated	2	2	2	2
Lacks motivation/enthusiasm	0	1	0	1
Lazy	1	2	1	2
Limited concentration/attention	15	7	8	3
Limited understanding	2	1	2	1
Loner	1	0	1	0
Loud	0	1	0	1
Low ability	3	9	2	7
No behavioural problems	4	6	3	4
Obstructive	0	1	0	1
Passive	0	7	0	4
Pleasant	5	2	5	2
Poor academic achievements	4	6	4	5
Poor basic skills	3	2	3	2
Poor progress	2	4	2	4
Poor self image	2	2	1	1
Poor social skills	1	2	1	2
Quiet	1	4	1	4
Restless	4	1	3	1
Sensible	2	0	2	0
Settled	1	0	1	0
Shy	5	0	3	0
Slow	1	1	1	1
Sociable	1	0	1	0
Solitary	0	1	0	1
Special educational needs/ learning difficulties	6	11	5	9
Tearful	1	1	1	1
Timid	3	0	2	0
Uncommunicative	1	0	1	0
Underachieving	1	0	1	0
Unhappy	2	0	2	0
Willing pupil	3	1	2	1
Withdrawn	1	0	1	0
Worrier	0	1	0	1

e) Categorising the data

After documenting the data into quantifiable forms the research compares terms for gender differences. In order to do this however it becomes necessary firstly to refer to recent research in the area and secondly to create the categories within which terms used by professionals may be placed.

(i) Recent research

Analysis of recent studies within this area highlights a number of terms used in research as part of a categorisation process used to describe the characteristics of children.

Research	Characteristics of children		
Stott (1963)	Stable;	Unstable	Maladjusted a) over reactive behaviour b) under reactive behaviour
Jenkins (1969)	Aggressive;	Inhibited	
Rutter (1970)	Intellectual and educational retardation;	Psychiatric disorder;	Physical disorder
Dawson (1980)	Conduct disorders; neurotic disorders; mixed conduct disorders; development disorders; psychotic; personality disorders; neurological disorders; educational difficulties; others		
Tomlinson (1982)	Functional; statistical behavioural; organic; psychological; social; statutory; intuitive; tautological		
Ford (1982)	Aggressive; inhibited; educational problems		

ii) The categories

Categories used in recent research attempt to define the way in which professionals view children. They also reflect the specific nature of the aims of each study. Viewed collectively, however, the similarity of these terms may be seen as reflecting established perceptions used in descriptions of children who are termed as having special educational needs. In generating categories relevant to this study, therefore, there is a need to take into account such research. What emerges from the analysis here presented therefore is in part a response to previous classifications and in part a reaction to the data collected. Consequently what we witness (both from educationalists and psychologists) is that from the terms recorded educational comments predominate (as would be expected from what is in essence an educational process). Comments surrounding personality and behaviour, however, emerge as part of more generalised descriptions of children. Moreover, although not critical to the advice procedure (which is by definition basically a negative exercise) there are a small number of positive descriptions. In the analysis following therefore the two major categories into which comments will be sub-divided are Educational descriptions and Personality/Behavioural descriptions. Educational terms are subdivided as positive or negative. Personality/Behavioural comments are equally separated, although as a response to the division of comments that describe children's reactions to school, negative descriptions are again subdivided into acting out of withdrawn categories. Teachers descriptions are therefore highlighted in Fig 11 and Fig 12. Psychologists comments are highlighted in Fig 13 and Fig 14 and each are gender differentiated.

(Fig 11 Teacher comments)

Educational descriptions

Positive comments	Total No of mentions		Total of different mentions	
	M	F	M	F
concentrates well	0	1	0	1
cope well with school	0	1	0	1
keen	2	1	1	1
neat/tidy	1	2	1	2
responsive	0	1	0	1
shows initiative	1	0	1	0
tries hard	5	12	4	7
Total	9	18	7	13

Negative comments

below average ability	0	2	0	2
below average progress	1	6	1	6
confused	0	3	0	2
developmental delay	1	4	1	4
doesn't complete new tasks	0	1	0	1
doesn't understand new concepts	1	0	1	0
inability to learn	7	3	4	3
lacks intellectual ability	3	4	2	3
lacks understanding	2	1	2	1
limited ability	2	2	2	2
low attainments	4	0	2	0
no understanding of basics	2	4	2	4
performs at basic level	5	3	3	3
poor academically	1	3	1	3
poor learning patterns	3	1	3	1
poor progress made	3	11	4	5
severe learning difficulties	0	2	0	1
slow	13	12	9	6
s.e.n/learning difficulties	7	12	6	9

sub standard work	0	1	0	1
underachieving	6	1	6	1
unimaginative	1	0	1	0
well behind peers	14	7	9	5
Total	76	84	59	63

(Fig 12 Teacher comments)

Personality/behavioural descriptions

Positive comments	M	F	M	F	
affectionate	1	2	1	1	
confident	0	3	0	3	
co-operative	3	4	1	3	
delightful	0	1	0	1	
determined	0	3	0	2	
enthusiastic	2	6	2	4	
friendly	8	11	8	9	
good attitude	1	0	1	0	
happy	3	20	2	14	***
helpful	3	4	3	3	
independent	0	1	0	1	
likes school	0	3	0	2	
mixes well	0	1	0	1	
well adjusted	0	1	0	1	
well behaved	4	17	4	8	
well developed personal skills	3	6	2	3	
willing pupil	1	2	1	2	
loving	1	0	1	0	
placid	0	1	0	1	
pleasant	1	2	1	2	
polite	2	0	1	0	
popular	4	6	1	4	
quiet	2	14	2	11	**
reliable	1	0	1	0	
sociable	0	1	0	1	
Total	40	109	32	77	

Negative comments

A. Acting out	M	F	M	F	
aggressive	28	4	12	2	**
agitated	1	0	1	0	
anti-social behaviour	4	3	3	2	
attention seeking	7	8	6	6	
awkward	0	3	0	2	
babyish	0	3	0	2	
bad tempered	2	1	2	1	
behaviour problem	18	3	12	3	*
can't accept criticism	2	0	2	0	
can't be trusted	1	0	1	0	
chatty	1	2	1	2	
clumsy	0	1	0	1	
defiant	3	2	3	2	
destructive	1	1	1	1	
difficult	2	0	1	0	
difficulty in conforming	3	0	3	0	
disorganised	0	1	0	1	
disruptive	9	2	4	1	
dominant	0	3	0	1	
dramatic	9	4	8	3	
easily distracted	5	5	3	4	
easily led	0	1	0	1	
emotionally unstable	2	0	1	0	
erratic	0	4	0	3	
excitable	6	2	3	1	
giddy	0	1	0	1	
hostile	2	0	2	0	
immature	17	10	8	8	
impulsive	1	0	1	0	
inappropriate responses	9	1	4	1	
lacks motivation/enthusiasm/interest	10	11	5	7	
lacks social skills	6	1	4	1	
limited concentration/attention	48	20	15	12	
lively	0	1	0	1	
poor interaction with peers	23	13	11	6	
quickly bored	2	0	2	0	

quickly frustrated	1	0	1	0
restless	2	0	2	0
rude	1	0	1	0
silly	1	2	1	2
strong willed	0	1	0	1
unable to cope/adapt to routine	5	1	4	1
unpredictable	0	3	0	2
violent	10	2	5	1
wilful	2	0	2	0
Total	244	120	135	82

Negative comments

B. Withdrawn	M	F	M	F
anxious	2	0	2	0
daydreamer	1	8	1	5
distant	1	0	1	0
easily upset	0	1	0	1
frustrated	5	0	2	0
insecure	3	1	2	1
isolated	12	1	3	1
lacks confidence	6	5	6	4
loner	6	8	4	6
moody	12	6	6	3
nervous	3	0	3	0
overwhelmed	1	0	1	0
passive	0	10	0	5
poor self image	4	2	3	2
sad	2	0	1	0
seeks approval	4	0	3	0
shy	0	2	0	1
socially vulnerable	0	3	0	3
solemn	0	1	0	1
solitary	8	0	5	0
strange	0	2	0	2
sulky	3	4	2	3
sullen	1	2	1	1

tearful	5	4	4	3
timid	1	2	1	1
troubled	1	0	1	0
unhappy	1	2	1	2
withdrawn	5	3	4	2
Total	87	68	54	47

Fig 13
Educational psychologists comments

	Educational descriptions			
	M	F	M	F
Positive comments				
concentrates well	1	0	1	0
alert	0	1	0	1
curious	0	1	0	1
Total	1	2	1	2
Negative comments				
behind peers in ability	6	6	6	4
developmental delay	1	1	1	1
dull	1	0	1	0
lazy	1	2	1	2
limited understanding	2	1	2	1
low ability	3	9	2	7
poor academic achievements	4	6	4	5
poor basic skills	3	2	3	2
sen/learning difficulties	6	11	5	9
slow	1	1	1	1
underachievers	1	0	1	0
Total	31	43	29	36

Fig 14**Educational psychologists comments**

Positive comments	Personality/behavioural descriptions			
	M	F	M	F
co-operative	2	3	2	3
enthusiastic	0	1	0	1
friendly	4	2	4	2
good relations with peers	0	1	0	1
happy	3	0	3	0
helpful	0	1	0	1
independent	0	1	0	1
no behavioural problem	4	6	3	4
pleasant	5	2	5	2
quiet	1	4	1	4
sensible	2	0	2	0
settled	1	0	1	0
sociable	1	0	1	0
willing pupil	3	1	2	1
Total	26	22	24	20

Negative comments

A. Acting out	M	F	M	F
adjustment difficulties	2	0	1	0
aggressive	1	0	1	0
attention seeking	2	2	2	1
babyish	0		0	1
bad tempered	0	1	0	0
behavioural difficulties	6	1	5	1
bossy	0	1	0	1
clumsy	2	1	2	1
difficult to motivate	1	0	1	0
doesn't relate to peers	6	6	3	6
disorganised	1	1	1	1
easily distracted	6	2	5	2
easily frustrated	1	0	1	0
emotional difficulties	3	1	3	1
erratic	0	1	0	1
excitable	2	1	2	1

hostile	1	0	1	0
immature	4	5	4	4
impulsive	1	2	1	2
inattentive	1	1	1	1
lacks motivation/interest/enthusiasm	0	1	0	1
limited attention/concentration	15	7	8	3
loud	0	1	0	1
obstructive	0	1	0	1
poor social skills	1	2	1	2
restless	4	1	3	1
Total	60	40	46	34

B. Withdrawn

anxious	4	0	2	0
isolated	2	2	2	2
loner	1	0	1	0
passive	0	7	0	4
poor self image	2	2	1	1
shy	5	0	3	0
solitary	0	1	0	1
tearful	1	1	1	1
timid	3	0	2	0
uncommunicative	1	0	1	0
unhappy	2	0	2	0
withdrawn	1	0	1	0
worrier	0	1	0	1
Total	22	14	16	10

Analysing the data

An examination of the results of this analysis indicate a variety of comments, within the total number of mentions as showing varying degrees of significance e.g. happy, well behaved, quiet, aggressive, behavioural problem, limited concentration, poor interaction with peers, isolated, (teacher comments) and limited attention (EPs comments). However, because of the possibility that a teacher or EP could influence the total number of mentions by using a particular comment a number of times, it is more statistically valuable to analyse the total of different mentions. This does not mean, however, that it is not viable to refer to the total number of mentions.

A statistical check of the total number of different mentions here used, therefore, is that of the 'Chi-squared test of probability' and is based on the Null Hypothesis that there is no difference in scores between males and females. Thus the probability that scores are significant are marked with * for 0.05, ** for 0.01 and *** for 0.001. These levels of significance are indicated in Figs 11, 12, 13, 14 (examples of the Chi-squared test are included in Appendix 5). Whilst few levels of significance in statistical terms are highlighted what the research does show (as will be discussed) is that comments surrounding a particular theme (e.g. concentration levels, poor progress), appear significant when viewed as a group. In this sense certain key terms predominate. What is also important when examining these scores is to understand that terms are not merely contextual, and that descriptions of males and females may not just be concerned with 'sex membership', (Davies 1985) but will involve beliefs and assumptions that may be applied to all pupils. In this way sex stereotyping needs to be seen as part of an overall process used by professionals in defining the nature of children. To fully

understand descriptions here presented, therefore, requires an examination of the role of teachers and Educational Psychologists as a) instigators of discourse b) as bureaucrats and c) as generators of gender stereotypes.

a) Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis is a term which became popular in the 1970s and in general has been used to describe methodologies that are concerned with the interpretation of speech and action in everyday social situations. In particular it became associated with phenomenology and ethnomethodology through the research of e.g. Garfinkel (1967) and Schutz (1972). The key to this methodology lay in the need to analyse the actors meaning and conduct, which from a symbolic interactionist perspective means i.e.

"one would have to see the operating situation as the actor sees it, perceive objects as the actor perceives them, ascertain their meaning in terms of the meaning that they have for the actor, and follow the actor's line of conduct as the actor organises it - in short, one would have to take the role and see his world from his stand-point" (Blumer 1966). (p 542)

A more refined view of this perspective, as defined by phenomenologists however, suggests the need to examine the role of the social scientist in the creation of meaning. i.e. "On this view the interpretative work of the social scientist by which he assigns and organises meaning, itself become the object of sociological scrutiny." (Hargreaves D. H. 1975). (p 11)

The type of discourse analysis applicable to the research undertaken in this study is linguistic in that it is concerned with analysing

terms used by teachers and psychologists to describe children. The terms themselves are however, a reflection of social action in that they derive from teachers' and psychologists' understanding of their role within the statementing procedure specifically. To comprehend the context within which terms derive meaning therefore, and the collective presumptions they imply thus necessitates concentration on a small number of 'key terms'.

(i) Teacher comments

That the statementing procedure is a negative exercise is clear and by definition comments are likely to focus upon the negative aspects of the child's ability, behaviour or personality. The points of focus, however, are perhaps best understood against the perceived class management of teachers whereby they set the agenda and pupils respond. Moreover, if we see this situation in terms of legitimised power then those that pose a threat to that order, be it academically or behaviourally are in a sense a threat to the teacher. As Pollard (1986) suggests,

"In the classroom context, the teacher normally has greater power than the children. This gives him or her the advantage of initiation, and it is clear that the working consensus will reflect the power differential between the teacher and the children."
(p 31)

This is not to deny the role played by pupils in defining this interaction (Woods 1984), yet as Hargreaves A. (1984) notes, "It is teachers most immediately and perhaps most significantly who therefore create, transmit and attempt to impose definitions of children as successes or failures, ideal pupils or deviants." (p 75) Hargreaves D. (1975) indeed suggests a variety of constructs that

teachers use to categorise pupils. i.e. Appearance; conformity to discipline; conformity to the academic; role aspects; likeability and peer group relations. As a process of labelling, therefore, we may view the agenda, as outlined by teachers in their formal roles, as representing a model to which pupils are judged by and from which descriptions emerge.

The statementing procedure clearly represents a formal element of this typology and as such descriptions of pupils in submissions of teacher advice. (Fig 9) may be viewed within a generalised deviancy model. e.g. 'limited concentration', a well used term may be seen as referring not only to aspects of concentration but to the behaviour likely to occur once that concentration is exhausted. Similarly the term 'immature' has little to do with either physical development or Piagetian stages, but speaks volumes about class management styles. As Hammersley (1984a) notes,

"The 'immature' do not challenge teacher authority in any serious or effective way, nor are they physically dangerous. Their deviance is simply irritation, and results primarily from intrinsic interest in 'childish' activities that are prescribed by school values." (p 209)

Just as these terms fit into Hargreaves, D. (1975) 'conformity to discipline role aspects', we can also see a number of general 'deviance' categories e.g. disruptive, aggressive, anti-social behaviour, violent, hostile, bad tempered etc. Such terms seem obvious indicators of teacher typology surrounding levels of pupil conformity. Other terms, however, are more heavily coded but equally fit within the 'deviance' construct. e.g. unpredictable, unable to cope with or adapt to routine, restless, easily distracted etc.

are all terms that reflect non-conformity to classroom order.

Wheddal and Merrett (1988) confirm the extent to which these latter terms indeed dominate teacher constructs, noting in their study that the most troublesome children in primary classrooms were those that 'talked out of turn' or 'hindered other children'.

Returning again to Hargreaves', D. (1975) model, we can see that there is a significant group of terms that fit the typology 'conformity to academic role aspects'. e.g. Keen, neat and tidy, good attitude, co-operative, enthusiastic, tries hard etc. are all statements reflecting the teacher's view of the child as reacting positively to academic demands. Such terms as slow, underachieving, inability to learn, performs at basic level, below average progress etc. however reflect a view that the child's academic performance as defined by the teacher is inadequate. Tomlinson (1981) in her study of education decision making describes these negative academic statements as 'functional explanations' in that they represent a view that the 'problem' is beyond the capacity of the school. Moreover, she found in her study that 'functional' and 'behavioural' descriptions of children dominated Headteachers' accounts of children referred for ESN provision.

Finally, within descriptions submitted in teacher advice we witness a number of terms that may be viewed in terms of presumed psychological difficulties, e.g. withdrawn, isolated, anxious, solitary, loner, tearful, poor self-image etc. These are not easy to fit within a deviancy model, and perhaps are more a reflection of the degree to which psychological interpretations of behaviour have become part of educational jargon (see (ii) psychological comments). A number

of rating studies e.g. Graham and Rutter (1970), however, confirm the extent to which such descriptions are prevalent, noting that teacher responses equated to an estimation of 16.8% and 19.1% respectively of children having some kind of 'psychiatric disorder'. That such are statistics overestimated has been highlighted by Rutter (1975). Nevertheless they still form a significant percentage of descriptions in this study and as such will need explanation at a later date.

(ii) Educational psychologists' comments

In his study of classroom behaviour problems in the U.S.A., Wickman (1928) compared teachers' and mental hygienists' (psychologists) attitudes towards childrens' behaviour problems. he concluded from the research that teachers placed the greatest emphasis on childrens' aggressive, acting out and disobedient behaviours, while mental hygienists rated personality and emotional problems as the most severe. Ziv (1970) chose to test this assumption in Israel, a country where traditionally teachers and psychologists co-operate closely. the research found a marked similarity between teachers' and psychologists' rankings of behavioural problems, though he notes that

"it appeared that what characterised the problems ranked by teachers as most severe is that they are school orientated problems of teacher-pupil relation or peer relation. On the other hand, what characterised the psychologists' ratings were problems in the personality field." (p 876)

Despite such differences, however, Ziv does suggest that since Wickmans' 1928 study there has been a narrowing of the gap between the attitudes of teachers and psychologists. Evidence

collected in the study here outlined also supports such a view. For example, in psychologists' descriptions of 'withdrawn' children only two comments do not appear of the teacher list. Similarly in the 'Acting out descriptions only four comments were omitted. Moreover, taking the study as a whole, comments as used by psychologists in stating advice differed on only 16 counts out of a total of 68. Many more terms, however, were used by teachers but not by psychologists, though this can be explained simply by the fact that two lots of educational advice, in this study, (i.e. by teachers and headteachers) are submitted, and that unlike psychological advice, teacher comments are part of a more prescriptive format, and are generally more descriptive and detailed. Nevertheless, a conclusion may be reached that there is general agreement between teachers and psychologists in their issuing of stating advice. Evidence moreover seems to suggest that this agreement is specifically linked to the changing professional roles of psychologists. It is therefore necessary to discuss this in detail.

The 1944 Education Act gave Local Authorities, amongst other things, the duty to cater for those children with handicaps of maladjustment and educational subnormality. Concern in providing such provision was to lead to the publication of the Underwood report in 1955. The report recommended the need to recruit more educational psychologists, indicating that by 1965 numbers should rise from the current 140 to 250, a ratio of approximately 1 to 23,000 pupils. Although this number had been surpassed by 1965 the role of the educational psychologist (E.Ps) also expanded and demand outstripped supply. Indeed it was the Summerfield committee (1968) which pointed the way to expansion

by advocating a pupil ratio of 1:10,000. By 1972, therefore, numbers has risen to 640 (Williams 1974). As the profession grew so did its role. In particular, following circular 10/65 the growing comprehensive system led to a range of educational provision to be provided in the ordinary school, with educational psychologists available to offer advice. Moreover, the removal from Health to Education in 1971 of children who were severely handicapped further increased their role.

Although expanding numerically during this period the role of the EP remained largely unchanged, with "a preponderance of individual clinical, diagnostic and therapeutic work with little indication of involvements in advisory, preventive or in-service training work" (Dessent 1978) (p 31). Moves towards changing practice, however, were gradually emerging. as Gillham (1978) pointed out "very broadly speaking educational psychologists are becoming less clinical and more educational." (p 16) The increasing 'educational' role of EPs indeed was dominant in circular 2/75 which emphasised a move away from medical assessment in special education and towards a more educational approach. This trend was further reinforced by Warnock (1978) which recommended a major contribution from EPs in areas of observation techniques and assessment procedures, in the assessment of special educational needs of individual children, and in monitoring whole age groups. Moreover, the report noted that "involvement in assessment, either directly or indirectly through their work with teachers, will therefore be a continuing and increasing demand on psychologists' time." (p 265). Finally, the report recommended that the psychology

service function from pre-school up to the age of 19 and that staffing ratios aim to achieve one psychologist to 5,000 children.

Such changes, both in outlook and practice reaffirmed the trend towards a more critical awareness among EPs. Quicke (1984) suggests that there have been two responses by the profession as part of a critique of their role. Response one he terms 'The Reconstructionist Critique' and is a criticism of the positivist and individualist nature of psychological practice. Here he notes,

"The practice ... lays great emphasis on the role of the EP in deviant labelling and the unintended consequences of psychological intervention. It is also a practice which challenges conventional definitions of 'handicap' and accepts the necessity for 'negotiating' definitions in the school context." (p 126)

This type of response clearly calls for a more negotiable role for EPs and a general emphasis on early intervention and preventative measures. The second response of EPs is termed by Quicke 'The Practitioner Critique'. The response here lies in the re-emphasis on psychological insight and a move away from psychometrics. i.e.

"The EP now is much more concerned with developing that part of the traditional knowledge which can provide concepts, techniques and data which will enable him/her to put forward constructive and helpful proposals for changes in an ordinary classroom context. An example of this would be the resurrection of behaviourist learning theory as a rationale for remedial and behaviour modification programmes, and the use of humanistic psychology in dealing with teachers." (p 127)

As in the first critique what may be seen is that the response relies to a great extent on classroom intervention.

What has been witnessed, therefore, is a changing role for EPs. As Gupta and Coxhead (1990) indicate, "The psychologist is no longer perceived as someone who comes, gives a bit of 'impractical' advice or 'theory' and disappears without actually seeing the child." (p 31) Moreover, the responses of EPs, as outlined by Quicke (1984) increasingly challenges both the school system and attitudes and actions of teachers. Further, they also became aware of the fact that certain school-based interventions were extremely effective in helping troubled children who were failing in the school system (Campion 1985).

In terms of discourse, therefore, the increasing school based involvement of EPs has undoubtedly been a factor in the merging of terms used by teachers and EPs to describe children perceived as having special educational needs. The rationale, however, is not only reliant upon increasing teacher/E.P. co-operation in deciding the needs of a child, it also reflects that advancement of in-service training since Warnock's (1978) announcement of the need for "a range of recognised qualifications in special education." (p 234) An analysis of Fig 15 indeed shows the increase in teacher secondment on D.E.S. recognised courses for special education training in England.

Fig 15

Year	Full-time teachers	Part-time teachers
1979/80	640	538
1980/81	511	627
1981/82	549	648
1982/83	565	748
1983/84	544	801
1984/85	962	748
¹ 1985/86	825	735

Source: D.E.S. Annual Reports 1980-85 (figures unpublished since 1985/6)

¹ (The fact that such statistics end in 1986 reflects the drastic fall in S.E.N. courses provided for teachers on a seconded basis. Now funding patterns have changed the majority of courses are part-time, fee paying and occur outside school time. This is clearly going to continue under local financial management schemes.)

The domination of psychological interpretations within these courses have played a major part in developing responses from teachers when returning to classrooms. As Swann (1985) notes, "There is no area of education more strongly influenced by psychologists and psychological thought than special education ... many practices in special education are justified by appeal to the findings of psychological and related scientific research. Chief amongst these influences has been the use of an objectives model. This model, as outlined by Warnock (1978) states the need for children to have individual programmes and that progress is related to the achievement of "short-term goals within the general plan." (p 209) This approach, firmly placed within the model of behavioural psychology has been prepounded amongst others by Brennan (1974) who states that an objectives approach is

"the reduction of general curriculum aims to statements of behavioural objectives at intermediate and terminal points in the curricula process Such a curriculum structure should assist the teacher to state specific classroom objectives for his pupil and enable him to select learning experiences through which the pupils should attain the objectives." (p 96)

Later proponents of the model e.g. Ainscow and Tweddle (1979) define the approach as "built on the setting of precise behavioural objectives, task analysis techniques and systematic classroom based continuous assessment." (inside cover) Here we clearly witness the influence of psychological interpretations, with an emphasis on the nature of 'individual disabilities' in the widest educational sense'. Moreover, the individualist nature of statements and their placement within a growing objectives orientation makes it more likely that teachers and psychologists accounts of children will coincide.

In summation, therefore, the general agreement of teachers and psychologists in advice presented as part of educational statements within this study, may be best understood not only in the changing role of EPs but also as part of the influence of psychological interpretations within in-service education. It does not, however, preclude the possibility that although discourse may be similar the reasoning may be different, and that perceptions of teachers and psychologists are based on different assumptions.

Bureaucratic and Professional responses

In analysing the responses of both teachers and psychologists, patterns emerge which, while accorded to the individual may also be explained as part of a response to bureaucratic and professional influences.

Warwick (1975) in referring to the analysis by Cicourel and Kitsuse (1963) of the processing by school counsellors of American High School students, defines the way in which these two terms may be understood. Bureaucratization he sees as involving the formalisation of procedures around some kind of specialist skill and administrative control. Professionalization he describes as the attempt to practice that skill through the application of specialist knowledge and status. Bart (1984), in simple terms, suggests that "Professionalism facilitates the development of a service market, while bureaucratization's expands the service delivery system through the fragmentation of the service process." (p 102)

In applying these notions to special education we can see how a significant number of the school population are segregated out of mainstream, being processed according to criteria of achievement, disability, handicap or abnormality. The formalisation of procedures around such descriptions moreover have centred on notions of prediction, prevention and control and have themselves created not only a terminology suitable for educational practice but also a "language for management" (Bart 1984, p 93). Analysis of such procedures suggests two levels at which bureaucratization and professionalisation appear, i.e. as a part of the segregating process emergent within mainstream schools, and as part of LEAs response to the legalistic framework of the statementing process. It may also be argued that these procedures are not mutually exclusive.

Within schools therefore the segregation of pupils into streams, bands or sets is a well established educational procedure, particularly at secondary level. Its effects have also been well researched e.g.

Hargreaves, D H (1967), Lacey (1970) and Ball (1981). That 'differentiation' occurs as an acceptable part of school life therefore means that there is a general formalisation of procedures and bureaucratic control. Such processes can be seen not only via the organisation of year groupings but also in testing arrangements, reports from feeder schools, individualising of timetables, distinct buildings (e.g. in the case of unit provision), formal and informal examinations, reports and achievement records etc. Professionalisation occurs in the application of specialist knowledge to such differentiation. Thus, we have witnessed throughout the 1980s a growth in the number of teachers employed in the education of those on the margins of mainstream. Included in this group are the large number of teachers who gained special education diplomas since Warnock's (1978) recommendation of increased professional qualifications (see Fig 15). It is this group that have generally taken decisions about the type of pupil to leave mainstream. This occurs as part of the decision to statement, and once the process has begun we witness the emergence of the second stage of bureaucratic/professional control i.e. the LEA.

Here administration is passed to a small number of 'officers' whose duty it is to determine the completion of the statement as outlined within government guidelines. The extent to which they can manoeuvre procedure may be limited, though clearly they have considerable powers to direct. This direction may in reality range from the editing of professional advice into shorthand to both the use of delaying tactics and the tailoring of statements to meet the requirements of specific schools. Sharron (1985), for example, argues that educational psychologists are well aware of and are influenced by available provision when making their assessment, although the 1981

Act insists that they should not. Stone (1987) in an analysis of Birmingham L.E.A. found that assessment procedures take between 12 and 18 months to complete. Sharron(1985) also notes the case of Rugby LEA where children with different disabilities were accorded the same draft statement, such evidence clearly highlights the power of LEAs in the statementing procedure to determine events. As Woolfe (1981) indicates

"while the formal system may claim to operate according to a rhetoric of meeting individual needs, the reality of the situation is that the need of the organisation to maintain itself and the needs of professionals within the organisation to maintain viability for their own roles are also important factors in determining the nature of events." (p 177)

In such ways therefore we see how the management of statementing is engaged at both teacher and LEA level. Moreover, the understanding of the informal aspects of procedure as understood by teachers and LEA officers makes it more likely that collusion and standardisation occurs.

Returning to the study here presented we have witnessed the ways ,in general terms, bureaucratic and professional interests define the structure of special educational statements. A closer examination of procedure further shows the influence of LEA advice in determining responses. LEAs therefore do not have to administer standardised forms for SEN advice. However, DES advice (circular 22/89) suggests that descriptions of a child's functioning should include emotional state; cognitive functioning; communication skills; personal and social skills; approaches and attitudes to learning; educational attainments; self image and behaviour. Descriptions of the child's background could also include comments on, the home and family; school and other

influences; and personal, medical and educational factors. Such indications present LEAs with definitions that may be hard to ignore. LEA 1 of this study therefore, offers specific advice under similar headings, asking teachers to indicate under the term 'emotional state' evidence of solitariness; withdrawal; unhappiness; loneliness' patience; humour and perseverance. LEA 2, however, do not accord to such indicators, merely following the guidelines as defined under regulation B of the 1983 Education Act, namely that advice where necessary should be gained from parents; educationalists; the psychological service; the medical service; social services and the District Health Authority.

Clearly the type of advice offered will illicit its own response. LEA 1 teacher advice therefore, suggested 36 terms, of which all but 7 were used in statementing advice. Moreover, if we examine the total of 705 comments used by teachers in advice we can see that 298 were suggested by the LEA (see Fig 16). Also, it is evident that many of the suggested terms act as codes to generate other responses. For example, 'withdrawn' may also illicit comments such as distant, loner, isolated, solemn, passive, placid, sulky, sleepy, poor-self image, timid, solitary or sad. Looking at the data in this way we can see how meaning as illicited in LEA 1 may help form teacher comments. An analysis of LEA 2 however shows that only 60 teacher comments were recorded and of these 16 coincided with LEA 1 teacher checklist (see Fig 10). This in part can be explained by the lower sample undertaken, but more fundamentally may be viewed as part of the lack of direction by the LEA. Nevertheless, one third of all terms used in LEA 2 were on the checklist of LEA 1 guidelines and overall there were only three terms, namely agitated, babyish and easily upset from LEA 2 teacher

comments that did not appear on teacher comments in LEA 1. Such evidence whilst indicating the degree of LEA bureaucratic control also highlights the power of professionalisation in generating a common terminology for SEN advice.

Fig 16**Educational and psychological responses to LEA advice**

Suggested terms for teachers in offering statementing advice	Total No of teacher responses in LEA 1	Total No of responses in LEA 2	Total No of responses in LEA 1 and 2
1. ability to cope	7	0	0
2. academic attainments	4	0	10
3. behavioural problems	23	4	7
4. careless	0	0	0
5. clumsiness	1	0	3
6. concentration	55	13	23
7. conscientious	0	0	0
8. distractions	12	4	8
9. educational progress	14	0	6
10. emotional problems	2	0	4
11. enthusiasm	20	3	2
12. frustration	5	0	1
13. good behaviour	14	7	10
14. helpful	6	1	1
15. humour	0	0	0
16. intellectual abilities	3	1	12
17. interaction with peers	30	6	13
18. lacks confidence	10	1	22
19. loneliness	12	2	1
20. moodiness	17	1	0
21. over dependence for age	0	0	0
22. patience	0	0	0
23. perseverance	0	0	0
24. positive/negative self image	6	0	4
25. response to new materials	1	0	0
26. response to new situation	0	0	0
27. sensitive to criticism	1	0	0
28. solitariness	7	1	1
29. special educational needs	12	7	17
30. timidity	2	1	3
31. tries hard	13	4	0

Suggested terms for teachers in offering statementing advice	Total No of teacher responses in LEA 1	Total No of responses in LEA 2	Total No of responses in LEA 1 and 2
32. trustworthy	1	0	0
33. underachieving	7	0	1
34. unhappiness	2	1	2
35. unpredictable	3	0	0
36. withdrawal	8	0	1
Totals	298	57	152

In examining psychological advice however, we witness the lack of bureaucratic control in both LEA 1 and 2 of whom neither offered specific guidelines. Statementing advice was indeed formulated in a variety of ways. However, in analysing terms used by psychologists we see that of 69 terms used in all (both LEA 1 and LEA 2) 22 were included in LEA 1 advice to teachers. Further, if we look at the total number of mentions we find that the advised terms represented in all 152 out of 264 comments (see Fig 10). Even without bureaucratic control therefore we witness a degree of correlation between LEA advice and psychologists' comments, something which may be attributed not only to the influence of psychological jargon in the administration of SEN advice, but also, as noted earlier of the growing similarity of teacher and psychological advice.

The Issue of Gender

Sex differences in education, as highlighted by liberal feminists in the 1960s and early 1970s pointed out the unequal educational routes taken by boys and girls. This was manifested in patterns of examination success, access to higher education and occupational differentiation (Arnot and Weiner 1987). Radical feminists however, rather than

seeking to highlight the disparities evident in a tradition of 'equality of opportunity', rather became concerned with the nature of power relationships in schools and the way relations between the sexes were legitimised (e.g. see Riddell 1989). Marxist feminists finally, have attempted to relate gender relations within education to women's experience under the capitalist mode of production (e.g. see Barrett 1980). Whether or not such explanations are mutually exclusive does provide those involved with research into gender and special education differing levels of explanations, and equally for the sociologist means facing up to problems of interpretism and subjectivity as part of research methodology. In engaging in an analysis of gender and statementing advice thus necessitates documenting the extent of gender distribution, examining the terminology used in descriptions for statementing advice and analysing the theoretical explanations that may underpin such descriptions.

(i) Statementing descriptions and gender distribution

In noting that boys outnumber girls in special schools (either full or part-time) in England by about 2:1 (source: Statistics of Education, Schools, DES 1989) the research seeks to examine comments used in descriptions of pupils to highlight quantitative or qualitative gender differences as offered by professionals in statementing advice.

Overall the research shows that comments applied as per individual add up in almost equal number for boys and girls, and this applies both to teachers and psychologists. If, however, we look at the total number of mentions (i.e. a term may be applied to an individual more than once) then we see (Fig 17) that there is a

higher distribution of comments attributed to boys both by teachers and psychologists. In other words what we witness is that there is rather more written about boys than girls.

Fig 17 All comments

	Teachers		Psychologists	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Total of Different Mentions	287	284	115	113
Total Number of Mentions	457	402	140	125

An examination of comments in more detail show the way in which terms are gender allocated. In educational comments (Fig 18) we find that there are slightly more positive and negative comments attributed to girls than boys (both by teachers and EPs).

Fig 18 Educational comments (Total of different mentions)

	Teachers		Psychologists	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Positive Comments	7	13	1	2
Negative Comments	59	63	29	34

Analysis of comments associated with Personality and Behavioural factors, however, show in total a greater number of terms applied to boys. A breakdown of figure (Fig 18) shows that girls receive more positive comments than boys amongst teachers, though amongst psychologists the reverse (although not

significantly) is true. In examining Personality/Behavioural comments that are associated with 'Acting Out' descriptions we witness both amongst teachers and psychologists a greater number of comments about boys (see Fig 19). Less statistically significant, but also noteworthy in that more comments surrounding withdrawn behaviour is attributed to boys than girls both by teachers and psychologists.

Fig 19 Personality/Behavioural comments (Total of different mentions)

	Teachers		Psychologists	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Positive	30	66	24	20
Negative Acting Out	135	81	46	34
Negative Withdrawn	57	48	16	10

(ii) Statementing and key gender terms

A closer examination of comments made by teachers in statementing advice (see Fig 9) show that the type of positive comments made about girls may reflect the perception of teachers that girls are generally more amenable and comfortable in school. For example, if we look closely at personality/behavioural comments we note the preponderance of girls viewed as proportionately more 'happy', 'well behaved', 'enthusiastic', 'quiet' and 'popular'. Moreover, when viewed alongside that fact that girls are judged in slightly more educationally negative terms than boys we are perhaps seeing (albeit in exaggerated form) the

model as outlined by Stanley (1986) of the 'quiet schoolgirl' whose distinguishing characteristics (in this case in special education) are of a pleasant girl who tried hard but is not seen as being very bright. Indeed, as you would expect from the nature of the statementing system most comments are negative and are concerned with the details of learning difficulties. However, boys receive fewer positive comments in total and overall are seen as less enthusiastic, less popular, less well behaved and less happy etc.

In terms of negative 'acting out' comments we witness what has been documented in previous research e.g. (Davies 1984) that boys are generally seen as more deviant, and therefore terms such as 'aggressive', 'disruptive', 'behaviour problem', 'lacking motivation', 'limited concentration', 'violent' etc are all terms that are applied more to boys than girls. An analysis of negative 'withdrawn' comments moreover, whilst also being applied more to boys, do so in ways that reflect a specific terminology i.e. boys are seen as more solitary, isolated or moody. However, the research also highlights some terminology that evidence shows would be expected to be applied in greater numbers to girls e.g. anxious, lacks confidence, nervous and withdrawn. One explanation for this may lay in the fact that comments are closely associated with LEA advice, other explanations may centre on the fact that not only is more written about boys but also that more negative comments are dispensed. In this sense terminology may be less important than the quantity of negative terms. Comments applied to girls, however, are what may have been expected (Clarricoates 1987) i.e. they are viewed more as a 'daydreamer',

'loner', 'passive', 'socially vulnerable', and 'strange'. These terms themselves represent a view of girls as not only withdrawn in the general sense but also as having certain social characteristics that indicate sex-role stereotypes. As Serbin (1983) suggests

"Aggression, high activity levels and disruptive behaviour by boys, and dependent, passive, timid or shy behaviour by girls are salient aspects of traditional sex roles, and are in fact characteristics typically included in adults expectations for young children's behaviour. Expectations of this type may become self-fulfilling through a variety of influences, especially when children themselves are aware of adults differential expectations for girls and boys behaviour." (p 21)

Analysis of psychologists' comments generally reflect the type of gender distribution of terms applied by teachers, i.e. girls being described more positively in terms of personality and more negatively in terms of academic progress or ability. In negative personality/behavioural comments we again witness boys being described more often as having 'poor behaviour', 'being easily distracted', 'restless', and having 'limited concentration'. As with teacher comments boys are also seen to be more withdrawn than girls, and as with teachers the term 'passive' was the most popular in its application to girls. Clearly there is a possibility that the basis for such descriptions may derive from different theoretical positions though in reality it is hard to ignore the similarity of comments between psychologists and teachers as reflecting some agreed notion of understanding which, in this case, reflects gender differentiation.

In conclusion, an overall perspective that emerges from the research is one in which gender descriptions see boys as generally

more disruptive, less co-operative, less positive in attitudes towards school. but also as more academically able than girls. Girls, however, are seen as being less disruptive, more passive, more happy with school life, but less academic than boys. Clearly this is a generalised view and may be open to criticism in the way that it is led by the categorisation process, and also because of the lower number of comments supplied by psychologists compared with teachers. Nevertheless, it does represent a trend that can be supported by other research. Moreover, this analysis, whilst pointing out the way statementing procedure is gender directed also needs to address the question of why significantly fewer girls arrive on the statementing ladder. Such issues can only be fully explained by recourse to explanations based within the wider elements of the sociology of gender and education. In undertaking this task therefore, it is necessary to focus on three levels of enquiry, namely the cultural, interactional and structural.

Subcultural explanations

One way of understanding the way comments are gender applicable is by making reference to subcultural theory. the emphasis of such research has been to highlight the subjective world of cultural phenomena. In practice, the application of such analysis within schools has concentrated on masculine deviance and masculine adolescent groups (e.g. Willis 1977). Explanations based at this level through the highlighting of male culture has meant that cultural responses of girls have largely been marginalised. (Furlong 1985) Clearly the cultural resources of girls influence their response to school. However, the way in

which these are manifested at school may best be understood in contrast to the type of cultural responses of boys as outlined by Willis (1977). Unlike Lacey (1970), Hargreaves (1967) and Ball (1981) who see the 'delinquent' subcultures as emerging as a response to the status of low banded or streamed pupils, Willis (1977) argues that boys' subcultures emerge from a variety of influences, namely family, community and social class. It is through these influences he suggests that working-class males make sense of school, and their position in it, and ultimately leads to a form of 'counter culture' that prepares them for working-class jobs. Such research certainly points the way in which teachers see boys as troublesome within school and accounts to some extent for the type of descriptions witnessed in statementing advice.

Moreover, support for such conclusions emerge in other research. Rutter (1975) found a male sex differential in conduct behaviour in ratings by teachers. Davie (1972) in an analysis of assessments by teachers of children's social adjustment found at both ages 7 and 11 that girls were more settled in school than boys, and a much higher number of boys than girls were rated as 'maladjusted'. Such research, however, whilst pointing to the differential cultural responses of boys and the way in which it may be explained does little to address the issue of female response, except in a generalised sense.

In recent analysis, however, Riddell (1989) notes that girls do resist authority in schools but they do so in a way that is less of a challenge to teacher authority. Stanley (1986) sees the 'quiet schoolgirl' as a distinguishing characteristic of the way girls adapt to school, and is in marked contrast to Willis' lads. Quietness as a

cultural expression may in fact mean that girls are responding to their perceived pattern of life outside school, which according to Stanley (1986) may mean "Housework and paid work, childcare and attracting the opposite sex, female solidarity and getting a man." (p 285) In this way (like Willis' lads) we may be witnessing for girls as O'Donnell (1986) argues the reflection of the labour market and the division of labour within the schooling system. McRobbie (1976) in a description of adolescent girls subculture supports such a view, noting that "the position of girls may be, not marginally, but structurally different." In this way, she suggests "women are marginal to male cultures of work ... because they are pivoted to a subordinate area, i.e. the family." (p 211) Sharpe (1976) moreover found in her study of Ealing girls that

"They had simply accepted that if a job was categorised as man's work it was therefore not right, or suitable, or interesting, or appropriate for a girl." (p 174)

Such evidence suggests, therefore, that if girls are exposed outside school to a general culture of femininity, then it may follow that their response to school life will be one that reflects such culture, i.e. passivity, subservience, lack of status etc. This argument does not, however, mean that girls are merely invisible. Ball (1981) thus sees the fashion/pop culture as providing for lower band girls in particular an alternative route to status, though he does note that a minority of girls also join the same anti-social subcultural activities as the boys. McRobbie (1976) highlights this 'Teeny Bopper' culture as providing space for girls through a focus on pop stars and music which requires "only a bedroom and a record player and permission to invite friends." (p 220) In this

way pop culture is seen as directed at peer allegiance rather than a challenge to authority. Davies (1984) takes the notions of 'display' further, noting the prevalence, particularly in older girls of their use of 'femaleness', whereby the use of make-up, the combing of hair, the writing of names on desks etc., challenges the neatness and passivity of school ideology. As McRobbie (1991) indicates in her study of Mill Lane girls, "They replaced the official ideology of the school with their informal feminine culture, one which was organised round romance, pop, fashion, beauty and boys." (p 51) However, as Measor and Woods (1984) point out such challenges, being more covert and passive are usually not regarded by most teachers as issues needing confrontation.

Taken together, such studies help us to understand why girls counter-culture is seen as generally less of a threat than that of boys, and it offers within this research an explanation of why, in statementing advice, descriptions of boys as indicating specific types of 'Acting Out' behaviour outnumber that of girls.

Subcultural theory therefore as an important indicator of gender analysis only offers a partial picture, as Davies (1984) indicates, "subcultures are not a kind of superglue where pupils must instantly 'adhere' to the rules of the game, but are at most a cavity foam filling with air space to manoeuvre." In this respect we must also look at other perspectives to fill the void." (p 57)

Interactionist explanations

Whilst subcultural theory focuses on what pupils bring with them to school, and the influence it has on relationships within, interactional theory seeks to address the issue of teacher and

pupil-pupil relationships. Here we witness the interactions taking place as both formulating and interpreting meaning and in some way creating 'identity' within the school. Moreover, it is meaning as rooted in the present that requires explanation. The understanding of gender related comments as documented in the statementing advice, therefore, is best understood in relation to teacher perspectives, and the rejection or internalisation of those perspectives by pupils. Such perspectives may be viewed in terms of the classroom, the curriculum and levels of achievement.

Classroom studies have pointed the way in which, according to Stanworth (1983)

“Girls are placed on the margins of classroom encounters, and with the consequences this has for pupils evolving images of their worth and capability of their sexes.” (p 49)

Lafrance (1991) suggests four 'messages' which are manifested by teachers in interactions with pupils. These include, the discouragement of female verbal participation; sex bias in teachers' speech; unequal assistance to male students and teacher expectations that undervalues girls. Arnot (1984) supports such a view indicating that on the whole teachers concentrate their time and energy upon boys in the classroom. The effect of such differentiation upon pupils can be marked. Stanworth (1983) in noting that pupils who receive little attention in class assume that teacher hold them in low esteem found also in her study that "In the eyes of the pupils, boys are more prominent than girls in every one of eleven areas of classroom interaction, and they are seen, in particular to command the lion's share of teacher attention and

concern." (p 50) In such ways therefore do schools witness, as Wolpe (1988) suggests, improved self esteem for boys and lowered self esteem for girls. Wolpe also notes, moreover, that

"the consequences of teachers' behaviour is linked not only to expressed reactions on the part of girls, but also is intimately connected with the behaviour of boys which is sometimes described as generating the response by teachers." (p 45)

Mahoney (1985) thus highlights the domination of the classroom by boys, e.g. through seating arrangements, through participation in lessons, through ridicule and through sexual harassment etc. Mahoney also documents the ways in which girls play the subordinate role. This may take the form of the control by boys of corridors and stairways, the servicing in class of boys by girls in the form of pens, pencils etc and varied forms of physical molestation. Clearly such forms of domination by boys does not go unnoticed by teachers, and yet according to Mahoney are generally not challenged.

Alongside the dynamics of classroom behaviour we may also witness the ways in which the curriculum as chosen and as presented may have an effect on the way girls perceive themselves and are perceived by others. Lobban (1987) e.g shows the way by which two distinct sex roles the 'feminine' - passive and the 'masculine' active are presented in reading schemes. Thus in examining six schemes introduced up to and including the 1970s she found that they portrayed a world "peopled by women and girls who were almost solely involved with domestic activity and whom the adventurous and innovative males might occasionally allow into their world in a helpmate capacity." (p 153) Northam

(1987) also locates such sex-roles as inherent within primary maths books. Thus she found within the illustrations of social life used to explain mathematical processes, examples of female and male stereotyped behaviour, i.e. Girls

"are featured as less likely to be involved in the identification, setting and solving of problems, less skilful and competitive, less likely to teach maths skills to others and to display less initiative and inventiveness. Significantly they are never shown performing in a play or boasting or playing jokes, activities which appear to be associated with self-assertiveness in the boys." (p 158)

Such perceptions also appear in other areas of the curriculum. Spender (1983) suggests the prevalence of the masculine view in literature, and also points out that the male is the norm in both History and Social Sciences. As she notes

"Men define the topics and provide the terms for describing and explaining the world and we are silenced and interrupted as were our predecessors." (p 34)

A more refined view of the affect the curriculum has on girls is presented by Fennema (1983) who notes that sex-related differences in mathematical attainments cannot be explained by cognitive variables alone, and suggests two reasons why girls do less well. i.e. lack of confidence and greater anxiety on the part of females, and the perceived future use of mathematics in a career option. Moreover, in analysing the perceptions of females in their attitudes to mathematics she notes that the presentation of mathematics as a male domain is the clearest indicator which influences females. She also suggests that it is the teacher who has the most influence on events. i.e.

"Part of the teachers' influence is in the learners development of sex-role standards. These sex-role standards include definitions of acceptable achievement in the various subjects. The differential standards for mathematics achievement is communicated to boys and girls through differential treatment as well as differential expectations of success." (p 174)

Evidence from such studies clearly identifies the way in which achievement may be gender related. Mahoney (1985) however, suggests that the problem lies not in overall achievement levels but the subjects pupils choose or are entered for. She sees a distinction in achievement levels between 'masculine' or 'hard' subjects such as Maths and Science and 'feminine' subjects such as English and Modern Languages. Indeed Willis (1990) argues that the key concern over recent years has moved away from girls' achievement orientation in mathematics and towards their participation in the subject, particularly at higher levels. Thus a look at recent figures (Fig 20) shows that gender differentials are particularly marked at 'A' level.

Fig 20**GCE 'A' level courses in Maths and Science**

	1984		1985		1986		1987		1988		1989
	Boys	Girls	Boys								
Numbers	51,970	22,485	47,801	20,387	44,225	18,926	40,654	17,922	37,960	17,016	37,796
Percentages	41.3	17.7	40.1	17.1	38.1	16.4	36.1	16.0	33.5	14.9	31.4

Source: DES Statistics of Education. Schools 1989. HMSO

Moreover, such evidence points the way whereby girls' achievement patterns become a reflection of future job prospects. In this respect girls become restricted in their occupational choice by offering to employers qualifications that are less valued than those achieved by boys. As Bould and Hopson (1983) note, "Girls are increasingly finding that areas of work which have previously been open to them will now be closed unless they have physical science and/or mathematics to offer." (p 129)

The value of interactionist explanations are clearly evident from such research and indicate the way relationships within school affect the attitudes, performance and achievements of girls. Moreover, that a key to such evidence is the teacher, also points to the way in which statementing advice, as a reflection of teacher perceptions and pupil responses is itself an indicator of the way girls are treated in schools. In order to appreciate why girls and boys receive such differential treatment, however, it is also necessary to examine explanations based at a structural level.

Structural explanations

Theories based at a structural level see education in terms of its transmission of a set of values and beliefs that help perpetuate that structure, generally agreed to be dominated by the capitalist mode of production. Althusser (1971), Bowles and Gintis (1976) and Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) each present ways in which education is used as a vehicle for the way class societies reproduce themselves. For Gramsci (1988), however, 'hegemony' is the way in which dominant groups remain in ascendancy. Gramsci's view is illustrated by Furlong (1985) who suggests that ruling groups

"attempt to win the hearts and minds of subordinate groups by presenting their own philosophy as the 'official' view of the world, apparently representing the interests of all. Such social authority cannot be achieved by force, it demands the consent of the subordinate classes, yet once achieved by force, it is far more potent as a form of social control." (p 160)

Looking at education this way helps us to understand the way that gender distinctions are supported and reproduced. As Spender (1983) notes,

"Schools and other educational institutions in which men order the values and structure experience, serve as one of the mechanisms which help to 'prove' that men are indeed superior and therefore quite rightly, get the bigger and better share of the cake." (p 90)

Central to the notion of male dominance is the issue of patriarchy. Macdonald (1981) sees it as the way by which the division of labour is maintained, and which is thus beneficial to capitalism. Mahoney (1981), however, sees it as crucial to male control of women's sexuality, i.e.

"A central part of the social growth of boys into men involves the social control of girls and women and as such boys' behaviour towards girls does not just reflect an imbalance of power between men and women but actively reconstitutes it."
(p 74)

Askew and Ross (1988) further make the point that in a patriarchal capitalist society it is those very 'male' characteristics of competition, aggression and ambition which dominate school structures. They note, for example, the way in which discipline is perceived as being 'tough' and 'strict'. They also note the way in which the pastoral system generally supports such discipline codes and is often used as a vehicle for the social control of boys. As Wolpe (1988) informs, whilst in theory directed towards the 'child-centered' ideology "the pastoral system has become a major vehicle for dealing with the many social problems encountered in large metropolitan schools, and an integral part of the control system." (p 23) Moreover, evident within schools and underpinning both the academic and pastoral structures is the notion of competition. As Askew and Ross (1988) suggest, "In this society a high value is placed in competitiveness and it has become one of the stereotypical traits associated with masculinity." (p 48) Central to such systems of discipline and control is the issue of power and how it is distributed within schools. Acker (1987) is a study of primary school teaching found men made up a quarter of the teaching staff but held over half the headships. Marland (1983) identifies the differential career characteristics of women at all levels of teaching up to and including school inspectors as being one that meant less promotion, less senior posts and fewer headships. Moreover, he highlights the fact that when promotion

is received, for women this is more likely to mean involvement with "the young child; girls' subjects and pastoral care." (p 49)

If we look at school structures therefore as implicit in defining the nature of patriarchy, it also follows that the cultures of schools in defining ethos, standards and values may equally be open to such domination. Whether patriarchy serves to foster capitalism and/or control female sexuality it is evident that power, structurally observed is under male control. As Askew and Ross (1988) note, "Schools are society in microcosm. Their purpose is to perpetuate the values and ideologies dominant in society and they are organised so as to achieve this. These values and ideologies are those of the white, middle-class male." (p 106)

Summary

In finalising this chapter it is necessary to return to Hammersley's view of theory (1990a) in which he suggests that "attempts to provide a rounded and detailed description of the institution or behaviour under study, or to integrate macro and micro levels of analysis are ... counterproductive as far as theorising is concerned." Rather he sees theory as providing "statements of some of the general principles which generate socio-historical events." (p 104) The research here undertaken fulfils such premises in that it is both highly specific in its focus and yet clearly shows patterns which when highlighted reinforces other research in the area. Moreover, the research fulfils a further requirement of Hammersley, namely that the research should address an issue of importance. As a process undertaken at a number of different levels therefore, statementing, as a general procedure, underpins special education provision in that it is a determining

feature of school placement. Moreover, as a central feature of both Warnock (1978) and the 1981 Education Act it legitimises a system of segregated schooling and access to resources. In this way the importance of statementing is evident.

Patterns emerging from the research, however, whilst gender specific do not negate the fact that other processes concerning e.g. race or class, are not determining forces in statementing advice. Moreover, the conclusions surrounding differential treatment of boys and girls do not mean that at a personal level individuals are overtly discriminating (though it may also mean that). What the research rather shows is that processes exist whereby teachers, other professionals and bureaucrats mediate within a prescribed system to produce descriptions of children, which, when documented show marked gender differences.

In looking at the issue of statements therefore the study highlights the way in which a system of defining and categorising children, emerging in the late 1970s as a response to the discredited procedures of the time has itself become a focus of the inequalities inherent within the education system. Moreover, analysis of the way in which processes creates inequalities, in this case gender differences, must ultimately be eclectic in that we witness are determining influences occurring at micro, meso and macro levels. By focusing on the gender differences emerging from statementing advice the research thus concentrates at the point where these levels of sociological insight meet, i.e. the teacher and psychologist as categorisers of children, the bureaucrat as a definer of procedure and the system as a provider for a means of classifying and separating children. In all respects it is clear that there is

a convergence of factors that produces a system in which gender is a focal point of difference within statementing advice.

Conclusion

In concluding this chapter it is necessary to point out that this inquiry has not been about how boys and girls are differentiated within special schools (though this clearly is an issue in itself). Rather, it has been an examination of the processes and assumptions that determine why more boys than girls are placed in such schools. Thus a review of the literature of gender and education as reported earlier, highlights the evidence that schools transmit a 'gender ideology' (Gilbert and Taylor 1991) and that for the most part this has a negative influence on girls both in terms of outlook, academic performance and life chances.

An examination of special schooling however suggests at face value that girls have a better deal than boys in that (if we accept that most children do not go to special school by choice) fewer are sent there. For the social analyst therefore a number of questions emerge surrounding the reasons for this. For example, are girls less likely to have behaviour problems? Are they less likely to have a physical disability? More pertinently however, are there processes at work which mediate such differences?

By looking at the processes of gender differentiation therefore it has been the intention of the research to add to our knowledge of by relating an outcome (special school placement) with the statementing procedure outlined under the 1981 Education Act. It has also been an aim of the analysis to show that practices that are institutionalised (i.e. statementing procedure) are generally reflective of dominant values

and beliefs and are themselves underpinned by ideological assumptions. (Oliver 1988)

Sociologically therefore the research here undertaken provides us with evidence highlighting why statementing is not a neutral process. It also points the way methodologically at how research based at the meso level (i.e. how do teachers and psychologists present evidence for statements) can be further extended by reference to micro and macro understandings. Moreover, by relying on documented records, gender differentiation as part of statementing advice can be further examined and is generally available for scrutiny. What the research also attempted to do was not only to build upon previous research surrounding gender but to operate in such a way that new 'penetrations' could be perceived e.g. are terms suggested by LEA1 for statementing advice potentially gender biased? What type of terminology is used to describe girls who are processed out of mainstream; and is it different from boys? How do psychologists and teachers differ in the way they perceive girls and boys? Taken together such data has attempted to contribute new understandings to the field of gender and education. They also, if assimilated by those involved in statementing procedure, suggest a number of policy implications.

Thus pronouncements by the Major government (1992) towards education have made some appeals to school to create conditions for equal access to knowledge (particularly girls into science). Schools themselves also publish results within gender frameworks. What is not debated however is whether more girls should be processed out of mainstream and into special schooling (simply because they are not getting equal access) or whether less boys should be admitted to special

schools (because they are over represented). In other words while the gender debate is expanding in some areas it is still neglected in others. Clearly the marginalisation of special schooling and its relative lack of status has inhibited such debate, nevertheless it is pertinent to suggest that local authority equal opportunity policies should include reference to this issue.

A second policy implication surrounds the way girls are perceived during statementing procedure. Thus, evidence suggested earlier highlights the different terminology used to describe boys and girls. The supposition that girls are somehow different pervades the types of descriptions used e.g. 'withdrawn', 'isolated', 'passive', 'loner', 'daydreamer' are all descriptions mainly ascribed to girls. Evidence thus presented indeed mirrors the kind of stereotyped assumptions documented in the sociology of medicine (and one that has been applied to special education among others by Ford (1982) and Tomlinson (1982) that portrays females as being more "potentially sick" and "potentially unstable" than boys. (Hillier 1982, p 156) In this way there is a need not only to understand how and why a decision to statement is made, but also to examine ways of avoiding gender labels being placed on individuals by professionals during statementing procedure.

A third policy implication, and one that dissects both theory and practice, concerns the ideology of special education. Here according to Barton (1988) "An emphasis on pre-packaged theories about children, teaching and learning, which students are then expected to apply in their teaching is ... particularly applicable to special education." (p 10) Moreover the dominant individualistic/psychological assumptions

surrounding special educational research (Wedell 1985, Swann 1985) not only inform practice but confirm an ideology of 'mystique' whereby expertise is conferred on a limited number of teachers who are specially trained to deal with those who do not 'fit' into mainstream. Gaining entry to this closed world is also a prerequisite to more formal confirmations of professional expertise. Thus it is through the statementing system itself that teachers, psychologists, social workers etc. can confirm their specialist knowledge. Evidence also shows (see p 138 'The statementing procedure') that these same groups of people meet in a more formal context (i.e. panel meetings) with LEA officials to confirm a status on children already agreed informally.

In this way gender, (like race, class and disability) is an issue that is subsumed beneath a processing policy that looks only at individuals and fails to place a social context around them. The questions that emerge from this particular piece of research therefore concern schools, teachers, researchers and LEAs and involve the need to recognise that the gender issue is central to special schooling. Thus there is a need for LEAs to take account of referrals in terms of gender (as LEA1 did in terms of race, see p 108) and offer some ways forward in reformulating statementing procedure. It also questions the way those involved in educational research and teacher training can help to generate such a debate within classrooms and staffrooms. Finally it is for sociologists themselves to ask why the gender debate has not penetrated into special schooling and perhaps this says something about the nature of the marginalisation of particular issues (i.e. both gender and special education) within sociological theory and research (see Maynard 1990).

CHAPTER SEVEN

Social change and the special school

Conclusion and final thoughts

As indicated earlier it is the intention of this chapter to move the case study analysis from substantive to formal theory. Under the influence of a structuralist perspective therefore I wish to relate parts to the whole by presenting an 'ideal model' of the special school. In undertaking this task comparison will be made between special and mainstream schooling (in this case junior/middle as this reflects the majority age range of pupils in the case study schools) by relating those elements of substantive theory described in the previous chapter to a more formal theory. Clearly this is a figurative model and the presentation as viewed in Fig 21 will be followed by a discussion of each element. In initiating such a model it is the intention to adopt an analysis that is not passive, reliant only on the generalisations so far described. Rather it is to pursue a sequence outlined by Corrie and Zaklukiewicz (1985) whereby "the practitioner of qualitative research must adopt an active orientation to data collection and analysis sustained throughout the inquiry, such research requiring a continual process of active appraisal and decision-making about further inquiry." (p 129) It does not however mean that the model is exhaustive, nor does it suggest that it is uniform. Rather it is a generalised conceptual framework which is informed by "creative insight and sensitivity". (Rex 1973, p 210)

Fig 21 An ideal model of the special school, by comparison with primary/middle

Special School

Primary/Middle

No catchment dependent on relative demand of particular 'special need'

Historical development

Population dependent/catchment dependent

High numbers of working class (particularly boys), ethnic minorities and those having experienced family difficulties

The shared characteristics of children

Dependent upon catchment for social mix

Overt

The nature of social control

Covert

Individualised

Approaches to teaching practices

Group/age/syllabus related

Limited to skills, pastorally dominated

The nature of school knowledge

Curriculum based

Power base/dependency based outside the school

The role of management

Power base/dependency within the school

Benevolent/medicalised

The shared ideology of teachers

Hierarchical

1) Historical development

For mainstream schools, at least until recent times the problem of intake has not been a problem. Schools were accorded certain boundaries and had a calculable number of children and a staffing ratio determined by the LEA. Some problems did emerge in the late 1970s and early 1980s as demographic factors reduced numbers in schools, yet such factors were not vital in determining education policy and staff development. A more problematic difficulty has emerged however in the form of parental choice and the competition between schools as they seek to keep numbers high. It has however yet to become a determining factor in school policy and is at the margin of classroom practice. Historically therefore schools in the primary/middle sector have been able to plan ahead with some degree of security and build upon practice which is centred around their specific related clientele.

For the special school however the question of intake has always been more uncertain. Categories change, roles are modified and policy is redefined as they adapt to change. As Ford (1982) notes "various parts of the service will each compete for the scarce resources in order to be able to make response to the problems which ease the pressures upon each of them." (p 89) For special schools therefore adaption has been a central feature of their role and has been necessary to safeguard their existence. Indeed many who have not adapted have been closed. However, "Warnock and the 1981 Education Act did not herald the demise of special schools. It is true that some have closed but the vast majority have continued to exist and to evolve. Moreover they exist in what is to many special schools a distinctly hostile environment. (Baker 1989)

The result of such developments have meant that special schools have been and remain a marginalised sector of the education system.

Historically this can be traced to the origin of special education whose role it was to relieve the pressures of mass schooling as an established state system of education developed in the late nineteenth century (Sutherland 1981). More recently we also witness how the agenda within mainstream is firmly linked to national initiatives that includes the national curriculum, technical, vocational educational initiative records of achievement, assessment and testing etc. While these in some way have to be addressed within special education they also compete with local initiatives that may underpin their existence, e.g. outreach, links with mainstream, resource banking, referral policy etc. In this respect the changing nature of special schooling has made them both more responsive and yet increasingly marginal, and dependent on attracting a suitable clientele. It also historically makes them structurally dependent on those groups of children mainstream cannot cope with.

2. The shared characteristics of children

Ford (1982) in a study of four day schools for the maladjusted found that

"the most striking feature about the social class distribution within the four schools was its absence. There was effectively, little or no distribution in the sense that the overwhelming majority of the pupils came from categories IV and V, 'semi-skilled' and 'unskilled'." (p 136)

Tomlinson (1981) also argues that

"there is little possibility that children other than those of low socio-economic status will find their way to ESN(M) schools - the upper and middle classes have cultural, and often economic capital to pass on to their dull children, who do not need to be controlled or legitimated as so those of low status." (p 209)

Clearly special schools (as noted in Chapter One) historically have catered for particular types of children.

Mainstream schools however should expect to have a cross-section of intake. That this has not been the case however reflects the nature of geographical and occupational mobility which has allowed the middle-classes to dominate certain areas of towns and cities. As a result some schools have high numbers of children from working-class backgrounds which makes them far removed from the 'comprehensive' ideal. It is from such schools that a majority of special school referrals derive. West (1982) indeed in a longitudinal survey of 400 young males who attended six primary schools found that the differences between delinquency rates of the schools were accounted for by intake. West also notes that the key factors related to levels of delinquency were, coming from a low income family; coming from a large sized family; having parents considered by social workers to have performed badly in childrearing; having below average intelligence and having a parent with a criminal record. Such evidence points distinctly to a class based structure whereby those from lower classes are more likely to be associated with these factors. As Squibb (1981) suggests,

"As a group (the maladjusted and ESN) ... we know that a high proportion of them come from poor, overcrowded, underprivileged, inadequate, broken working class homes and parents. We know also that in many cases the process of categorisation has started within the normal schools where teachers, for a variety of reasons have sought to have the child diagnosed as special and removed from the normal class." (p 48)

If social class is a key variable in characterising children receiving special school placement where does this leave the factors of race, gender and family situation? Evidence pointing to the integration of socio-economic

factors and issues, concerned with family circumstances have been documented in a number of studies. Wedge and Prosser (1973) e.g. found that disadvantaged children (defined as those from large families in low socio-economic groups) were identified at the level of 1-20 in ESN(M) schools compared to 1-150 mainstream.

Davie (1972) further reports that the highest incidence of 'maladjustment' is found among children from social class five. He also reported that four out of ten parents related their child's maladjustment to the loss of a father or mother. A number of studies e.g. Mitchell (1972), Tibbenham (1977) and Farrington (1980) have also related truancy (a specific factor in determining special school placement) to the loss of a mother or father. finally Bebbington and Miles (1989, p 6) present a probability model, which while applied to admissions of children going into care could equally be applied to special school entrants, i.e.

Child A	Child B
Age 5-9	Age 5-9
No dependence on social security benefits	Household head receives income support
Two parent family	Single adult household
Three or fewer children	Four or more children
White	Mixed ethnic origin
Owner occupied home	Privately rented home
More rooms than people	One or more persons per room
odds of being placed in care are 1 in 7,000	odds of being place in care 1 in 10

Taken together such evidence points to a number of elements which cannot be viewed in isolation. As Furlong (1985) suggests "many of these factors are inter-related with the concept of social class. It is the lower working class who are poorer, have larger families and are more prone to unemployment." (p 49-50) Special schooling, structurally perceived therefore may be viewed as the end result of family disturbance located within unequal class divisions. Such an understanding however while presented from a macro perspective also implies that e.g. teacher labelling and cultural differentiation appears both as a part and as an end result of such determining factors. Indeed implicit within this perspective is the issue of gender.

While this analysis places social class as the major variable in special school placement it is mainly boys who are in admittance. Girls however, although structurally placed via the same social divisions as boys are also culturally located on the margins of patriarchal society. In this respect it is the dominance of male culture structurally maintained that makes girls admittance to special schooling less of a probability. (see Chapter Six)

Relating social class to ethnic minority special school placement however is more complex. Evidence presented in the previous chapter highlighted how the ESN debate of the 1970s was turned in the 1980s into one of black suspension rates and placement in EBD schools. (Tomlinson 1989)

Analysis was also undertaken of positive policies undertaken by one LEA to redress this 'problem'. Underlying such a presentation however analysis indicates that there remains both at structural and institutional levels patterns of inequality which seriously effect achievement and are symptomatic of the wider condition of racial inequality in British society. Castles and Kosack (1985) relate such understandings historically to the economic base whereby cheap labour was recruited from the New

Commonwealth in the 1950s in order to accept the least desirable jobs that had been deserted by indigenous labour. The result of this process they note has had a long term structural effect in that the division of the working-class within the production process is duplicated in the social sphere through, for example, inferior housing and social facilities. The effect has been according to Sarup (1982) that

“blacks experience a form of indigenous racism which has its roots in the real material conditions of existence.” (p 108)

In relating the capitalist economic class structure to educational achievement therefore, Rex (1982) points out that the British educational system centres around the themes of class, status and mobility to a degree which is probably unparalleled anywhere else in the world. For Tierney (1982) the post war liberal philosophy of equality of opportunity, based on class differentiation has supported a policy of equal opportunity to failure i.e. "if society is differentiated on the basis of power, wealth and education, then how can children coming into the education system from various parts of the differentiated society enter, and link up equally." (p 35) Indeed the over-representation of second and third generation descendants in particular areas of the economy and among the unemployed is a manifestation of racial inequality. As Miles (1982) notes,

“the process of racialisation is operating in Britain to assist both the reproduction of fractions of the working class and the structuring of the formation of a new reserve army of labour.” (p 180)

Cross (1982) further points out that these structural tendencies have been confirmed within a social policy that conferred 'marginality' on Britain's non-white population. In educational terms he notes this has meant that there has been "an emerging consensus that in certain areas the major

problem to be addressed is not that of discrimination but that of 'disadvantage' giving rise to 'special needs.'" (p 41) Thus, by developing the theme that achievement is culturally related then the reaction has been to concentrate on areas of education which accords with the supposition that cultural differences, and 'strangeness' are to be countered. Underachievement therefore has reinforced educational marginality and it is evident that this has been used to define the educational 'problem' of black children.

What such evidence suggests therefore is that the policies and practices of schools operate against certain social groupings whose ascribed characteristics are seen as 'inferior'. For the black population therefore placement in special schools can be seen as a reflection of their status in society and as a group who struggle for access to the same resources as whites (Sleeter 1989). More significantly, while pressure groups have in some authorities challenged the unequal placement of black children in special schools the issue of the effect within schools of cultural and racial difference is one that has still to be fully addressed. (Tomlinson 1989)

The nature of social control

Research into special education has highlighted social control as being a key function of the special school. (Ford 1982) (Tomlinson 1982) (Oliver 1988) It is evident however that some form of social control exists in all schools, although it differs both in terms of form and justification. Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970) and Ball (1981) for example see the organisation of schools as being responsible for managing and directing children towards certain groupings. Here social control is dictated by the academic division within the school and highlighted by a process of differentiation. For Quicke (1987) the pastoral system is also used as an

agent of control. Thus he notes that house and year structures initially introduced in the 1960s with the onset of comprehensive schools were originally established as a means of initiating curriculum change.

However he suggests that in fact pastoral structures have become a means of controlling deviance and supporting the academic values of schools.

He also notes that the adopting of behaviourist approaches and 'new vocationalism' has increased both the power and influence of such systems, leading to what Williamson (1980) describes as 'the control of failure'.

In a different context Sharp and Green (1975) show the way social control is exercised through a child-centered philosophy in order to manage the infant classroom. They note that 'freedom of choice', 'integrated day', and 'busyness' are all management techniques that free the teacher from offering constant attention. In this way they relate to methods of control rather than techniques of learning. Thus within these self-directed routines 'normal pupils' from a "bedrock of busyness." (p 122) For the problem child however, the teacher is supported by both notions of individual pathology and school organisation in order to explain why it is more difficult for this type of pupil to 'get on'. In this way, the authors note, not only are social class relations reproduced but we witness a process whereby "pupil differentiation is generated and justified." (p 124)

We see from such evidence therefore the ways in which the academic, pastoral and classroom management structures of mainstream schools may operate to enhance social control. Yet it is arguable that the social control elements of these organisations are relatively covert and hidden by a maze of bureaucracy and professional jargon in order not to have to justify this role as central to the school system. For the special school

however few justifications are readily available. Their role is implicit as a controlling agent. Consequently the overt methods of social control employed are inbuilt within a system that has developed historically to take children away from mainstream and is supported by a number of welfare agencies in achieving its aims. In this sense social control is structurally maintained.

In examining the nature of social control as perceived within special schools therefore it is evident that such a diverse system will produce differences in emphasis. Analysis of research in the area however points to two basic and overlapping methods, namely techniques of behaviour modification and an emphasis on social learning. Westwood (1987) points to the aims of the first i.e.

"Typically a problem behaviour is targeted for change. The factors which are maintaining it are identified. A programme is divided to shape this behaviour into something more acceptable or more productive through a consistent system of reward, reinforcement or punishment." (p 13)

Strivens (1981) elaborates on the essentials of this approach suggesting that

"The behaviour practitioner is likely to classify the problem in one of two ways: either the child is lacking certain skills or the behaviour patterns that so exist are inappropriate. In the first case her task is to teach new behaviours, in the second it is to replace inappropriate with appropriate behaviours." (p 74)

She also suggests that the application of this approach may vary depending on the perceived nature of the children it is addressing, ranging from being passive when directed towards SLD pupils to being more demanding with MLD or EBD children. In particular, she notes the prevalence of a 'token economy system' within many special schools as a means of

improving specified behaviour. Reference to such techniques as highlighted by Ling (1987) in an analysis of two 'disruptive units' also describes the use of moral constraints, rewards, privileges and ultimately physical strengths. Conversely Browder (1987) describes the way behavioural analysis is applied to SLD students as a way on-going assessment and evaluation routines. We further witness the way behavioural techniques have entered the curriculum via the widespread use of the objectives approach (see Ainscow and Tweddle 1979). Tomlinson (1981) gives perspectives to such approaches. Thus in a study of referrals for ESN (M) schools she highlights the assumptions of special school headteachers who expect to cope with behaviour that the normal schools consider uncontrollable. In this sense she sees the educational expectations of parents at odds with the expression of a number of heads who saw their priority of inculcating the 'social adjustment' of children. Viewed from such perspectives therefore behaviour modification is overtly manifested within a system whose established goals are centered around control.

Underlying such techniques however the second major element of control within special schools lies within its emphasis on social training. Here the use of psychological, psychotherapeutic and counselling practices. (Tomlinson 1982) are coupled with a range of social/life/problem solving skills in an attempt to make the special school child more acceptable/presentable/confident/likeable etc. Warnock (1978) thus highlights the importance of "social training provided by special schools." (p 208) The report also gives detail to this suggestion by noting that music, art, drama and physical education are particularly important for children with special needs, as is education in the forming of relationships with others. Finally, the report noted that education in the use of leisure and

preparation for adulthood should be an important part of the special school's curriculum. Others have supported these assumptions.

Thus Curtis (1980) suggests that programmes for training (for maladjusted boys) should aim to provide for children lacking in social skills. Brown and Aylward (1987) further propose an approach to learning strategies aimed at improving the child's self-concept. In this way the children may be better able to accept or handle disability. Implicit within these assumptions therefore is an "ideology of cultural disadvantage and humanitarian rhetoric" (Tomlinson 1982, p179) which suggests that those who are placed within special schools are in some way socially defective and would therefore be best suited to an education that provided for social skills and prepared them for the role that may be expected from them when leaving school. Wilson and Evans (1980) indeed explicate an ethos of the special school which points to classroom work being directed towards improving self image, arousal of interest and increased understanding of behaviours and feelings.

Bart (1984) indeed suggests that such emphasis can be seen as a form of rehabilitation whereby the language of 'management' and 'training' acts as a focus of 'incompetence' and 'disability'. Evidence of the use of more sophisticated forms of management can thus be seen throughout the use of e.g. unit accreditation, records of achievement, and profiling, which although initially introduced in mainstream schools have been welcomed within special schooling as a means of both accommodating and legitimising the social training elements of education. As Tomlinson (1982) summarises.

"The overall curriculum aims of preparation for employment in low status work and 'social adjustment' can be interpreted as

indicating that special education may not be directed so much at catering for special needs and helping individuals as at providing a way in which potentially troublesome groups of children can be socially controlled." (p 153)

The nature of knowledge

According to Coulby (1987) mainstream schools divide knowledge by type. Elite subjects he suggests are Science, Maths and English and are seen as being more important than other more practical subjects such as craft and technology. Keddie (1970) points out that division also occurs within subject areas in that what is regarded as suitable knowledge for some is not for others. Hargreaves (1980) supports such a view noting that schools reflect what is regarded as valuable in society, and as such reward abstract and intellectual skills. He thus suggests that there is a hierarchy of knowledge that values mental ability above practical or aesthetic activities, and is directed through a competitive examination system. As Swann (1984) notes, "we value and reward literary, mathematical and abstract thinking. We only value highly practical work and thinking in combination with these skills - as possessed by surgeons for example." (p 45)

For pupils designated as having special educational needs however the issue of what is suitable knowledge is problematic. Thus status is given within mainstream schools by achieving high levels of academic performance. By comparison those who do not succeed in this way receive low status. (Ball 1981) For children in special schools however the essentials of participation in mainstream curriculum have already been taken away. (Tomlinson 1982) In deciding what is suitable knowledge therefore, an implicit understanding suggests that a) abstract and intellectual skills are inappropriate given the perceived level at which

such children are expected to function, b) a concentration on basic skills allows some participation in the ordinary curriculum and gives an opportunity to gain a place in the community c) greater access to practical and social skills may enable the pupil to play a role in society. In this way the use of knowledge is determined by assumptions about what 'special children' may achieve and about their perceived roles in society. i.e. "The response of many people is to formalise their learning; to attempt to specify in great detail, often in behavioural terms, what it is they are to learn. This applies to much of the teaching of reading, social skills, and for severely mentally handicapped children, language and communication. In doing so it is very easy to distort the nature of the knowledge taught." (Swann 1984, p 57)

Tomlinson (1982) further makes the point that what special school curricula offers is 'non-knowledge' in that the hidden curriculum of mainstream schools i.e. social control, social skills and behaviour modification themselves become the curriculum of special schools. Translating this into content therefore means making priorities, and offering instruction rather than interaction. Cashdan (1990) indeed makes the point that what is on offer is "skills with no content." (p 138) More specifically knowledge to Brennan (1979) means being obsessed with basic skills of language. For Warnock (1978) it also means "underestimating pupil capabilities" and offering a curriculum that is "narrow." (p 208) Guillard (1985) indeed suggests that such processes have become perceived as necessary in order that teaching in special schools may be suited to a slower pace of learning and can provide for consolidation of basic educational skills. Galletley (1981) thus summarises such an approach, and argue that

"Anyone who has made a career in remedial or special education will know that most schools dealing with learning impaired children operate from a deficit view of the child. They also consider the appropriate approach to be one of giving more of what the child has failed at; a topping up operation. Thus the curriculum on offer becomes overloaded with passive literacy skills and the model of the child as learner becomes receptive rather than creative."
(p 25-26)

Evidence presented here clearly highlights the way special schools act as a focus for the needs of a differentiated system of schooling. Moreover the goals of this separate system of special education are legitimated not only in academic terms but also by reference to social outlook. DES circular 23/89 indeed states explicitly what should be provided in EBD schools i.e.

"It is important for pupils self-esteem to set goals and challenges which will stretch but not overwhelm expectations of their performance. It is not always the case that these pupils and their parents will have normal aspirations for their children's future."
(p 3)

Attached to this notion of expectations moreover is a form of professional culture applied by teachers and implicit within 'special' institutions that helps to legitimise the assumption of what is or is not suitable knowledge. Skrtic (1989) indeed describes special education from an organisational perspective as one that is not rationally conceived in that it emerged as a legitimating device for mainstream schools. Seen in this way he suggests, "parent participation, appropriate education and least restrictive environments are all related to what are perceived to be advances in intervention." (p 32) Moreover he notes that in reality such objectives "blames the victim for the inadequacies of the system." (p 30) Indeed he presents the view that not only do mainstream norms create the possibility of some becoming labelled as disabled, but also that institutional pressure makes demands that require special schools to

operate a restrictive curriculum i.e. "Things are done in certain ways simply because they have always been done that way. To do anything else in these organisations would not make sense." (p 29)

Organisationally and culturally therefore special schooling is clearly structurally maintained. Some evidence (DES 1991) however does imply that change, as directed through the National Curriculum may have an effect on the way knowledge is presented in such schools. Indeed opportunities for a more equitable curricula are in place, and in theory at least is supported by legislation that implies availability to all schools. Conversely however if we view the changing structures of education-training as a requirement of an increasingly technologically capitalist society then the National curriculum may be seen as another (albeit more efficient) method of differentiating between groups of children. More significantly for those in special schools what may be on offer is a watered down version of attainment targets and the acceptance that large numbers of children are unfit or unable to follow national curriculum guidelines. Moreover it may also mean as Tomlinson (1989) points out that special education reflective of the needs of dominant groups is being restructured "to fit the 'needs' of a technologically-based society, in which the 'special' will need more control and direction." (p 7)

The role of the head

According to Bernbaum (1976) the traditional functions of headteachers has gradually changed, moving away from academic and expressive dimensions toward administrative and bureaucratic control. Thus is a study of 315 heads in Grammar, secondary and comprehensive school he found that power was centrally located, with few examples of delegation beyond generalised matters. Burgess (1983) in his analysis of Bishop

McGregor school indeed found that the headmaster brought his own ideals and beliefs to the school and attempted to mould the organisation around those views. Burgess further gives evidence to show that the head was more than a mere manager or co-ordinator i.e.

"Mr Goddard's style of headship shows the way in which the head is also a teacher who participates in the school and beyond it. The result is that a head takes on what Mr Goddard referred to as the role of an educational supercook who blends together ideas that have been derived from teaching experience, discussions, conferences and reading. In short Goddard used his experience to define the school." (p 48)

Hargreaves (1972) supports such analysis and indicates that many headteachers "view themselves as the policy makers of the school and staff as executives whose job it is to put this policy into operation ... The autocratic structure lends itself to an authoritarian style and few heads manage to avoid the danger." (p 410)

Hall (1986) in fact traces the changing role of headship to the mid 1970s, and in particular to Callaghan's 'Great Debate' (1976). It was during this period she notes that attention moved from the 'context' of schooling to the 'content' i.e. away from matters of provision and access to issues of curriculum and performance.

This was further reinforced by the Taylor report (1977) which in recommending delegated responsibility from the LEA to school governors advocated a shift from professional to public accountability (Glatter 1988). Moreover the increasing managerial functions of the head were witnessed in this period through, for example, increased financial responsibility 'curricula change' government legislation and changing expectations of

parents, leading, as Hall (1986) points out to the role of headship moving from "autocrat to chief executive." (p 9)

Clearly changing patterns of management are reflective of schooling. Thus comprehensive schools are more likely to face organisational complexities that are related to their size both in terms of numbers of pupils and staff. For primary schools the context is different both in terms of size and function. Educationally however what is offered to children, their relationships within the community and the level of accountability expected makes the role of the head equally dominant. In accepting the changing role of the headteacher therefore it is evident that the position while not necessarily increasing in power has developed both in terms of scope and substance. In analysing the effects such changes have had on the special school head however is more difficult, firstly, because little research has been carried out on their role (Tomlinson 1981) and secondly because their position, traditionally related to a multi-professional approach is fundamentally different from that of mainstream heads. (Thomson 1984)

According to Bowers (1984) however comparisons between school management in a typical primary school and in a special school is best demonstrated by a model of power dependency and an understanding of the levels of dependencies common to both schools. Fig 22 thus shows the way in which the special school head is dependent upon a large number of agencies for successful functioning. Moreover the majority of dependencies are high (i.e. relying significantly on them for the maintenance of the school). In contrast Fig 23 sees the primary head as having fewer dependencies and few high dependencies. Bowers goes on to argue that such organisational relationships necessarily means that to

be successful the special school head has to engage in "power-orientated behaviour." (p 167) Thomson (1984) in supporting this view highlights the growth and influence of 'para-educational groups' within special education noting through a study of patterns of contact of special school heads that 70% of their contacts were with people who were not members of their own staff. Moreover, he found one tenth of the heads' contacts took place outside school, twice the average for primary heads.

The implications of such an understanding therefore suggests that the tendency for autocratic management within special school is high, and arises either via a deliberate policy for controlling events or (within a more democratic structure) to exercising power through knowledge. As Tomlinson (1981) suggests "Headteachers (in special schools) appeared to be much more idiosyncratic in using their powers to determine the goals, organisation and curriculum of their school in accordance with their own personal style than head teachers in ordinary schools." (p 225) Indeed in noting that heads considered the management of a range of staff as being 'ardous' she also points out that accountability in terms of learning, discipline and parental involvement remained very much under their control and were less accountable to LEAs to problems that arose within the school.

Fig 22

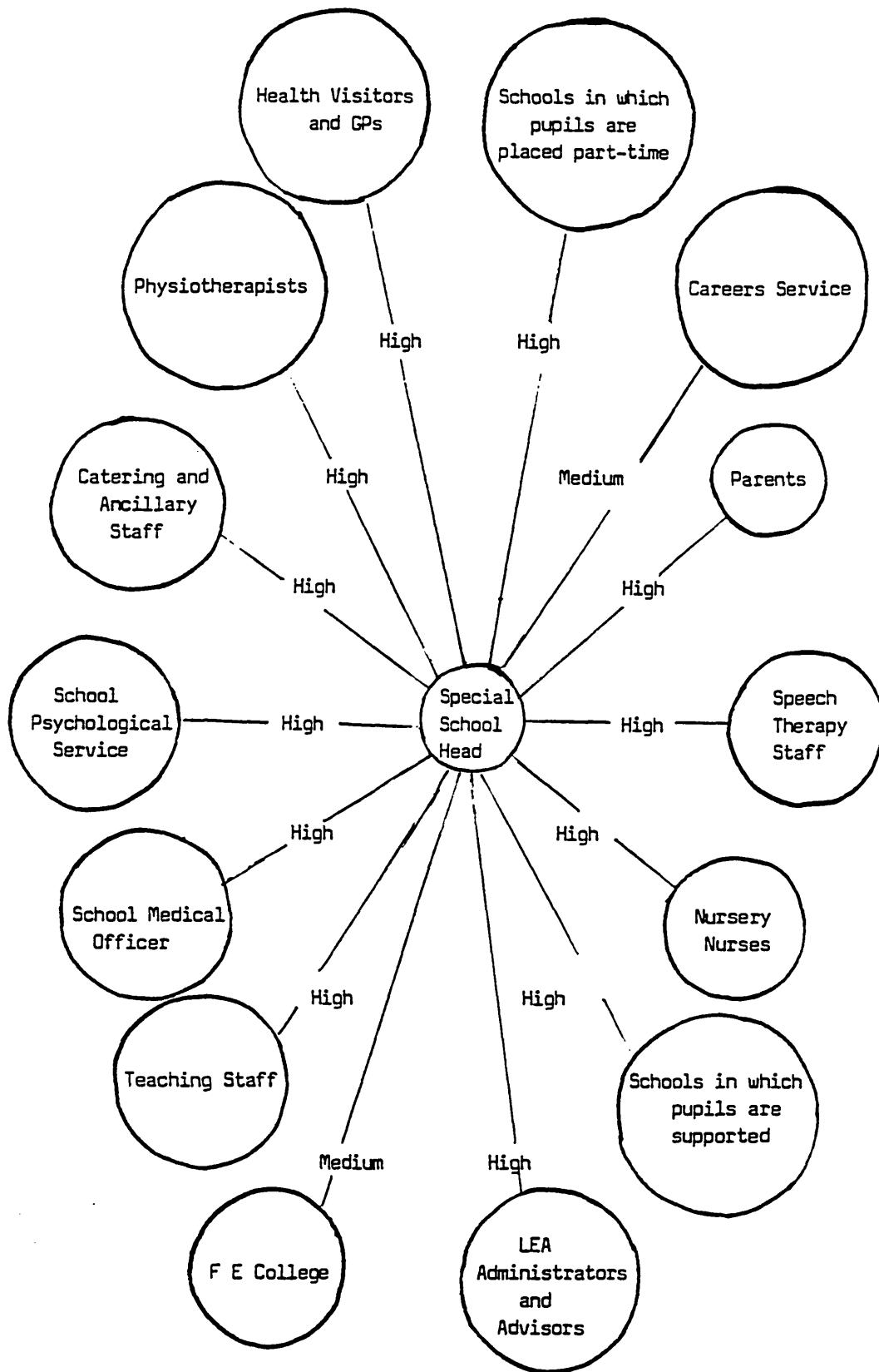
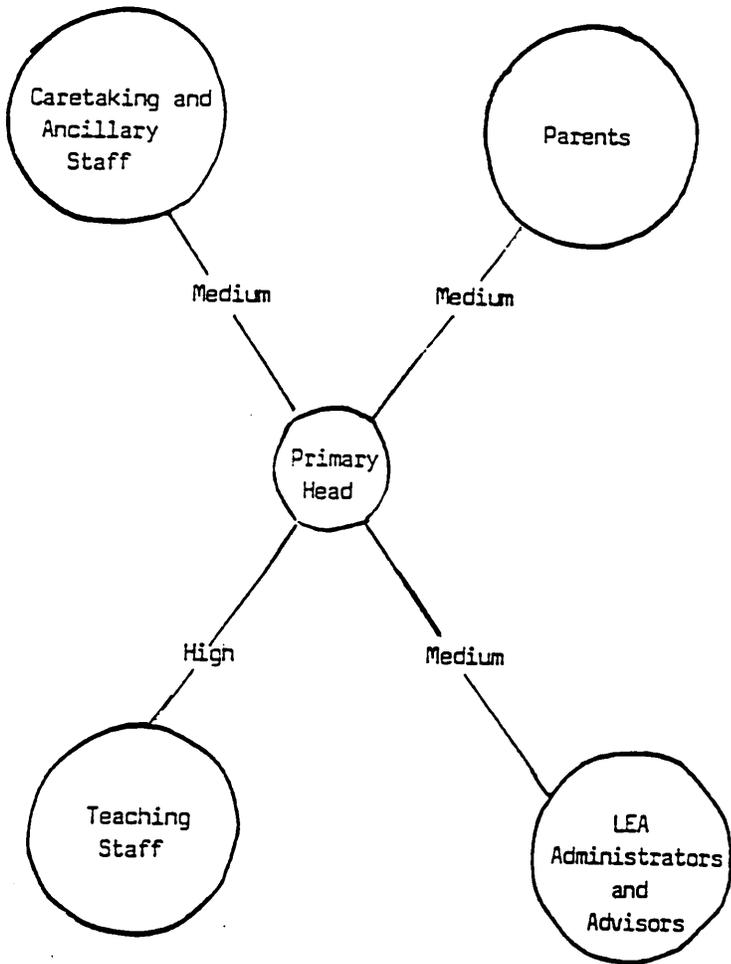


Fig 23



A more recent analysis of the changing role of special schools however is outlined by Galletley (1984) who suggests that the failure of special school management to develop the curriculum led to chronic insecurity prior to the publication of the Warnock Report (1978) and to enforced change via the 1981 Education Act.(p 67) the implication of this, and of course implicit with the aims of the National curriculum, is that increased pressure is being placed upon special schools to change. As Baker (1989) points out,

"Special school headteachers are in a position where they are on the one one hand expected to be the guardians of all that is good about their special school while at the same time possibly planning its closure, or at the other extreme, helping to make it into the area's principal support service." (p 22)

In this sense for special school heads increased responsibility may be crucial both in redefining their role and reinforcing their power.

The shared ideology of teachers

According to Waller (1932) the occupation of teacher has a significant effect upon those who enter it. He notes that there are a number of 'routine situations' and 'habits' which confront a teacher daily and which involve social expressions necessary to confront them. Out of such contacts he sees the emergence of "a separate culture ... which is in part the creation of children ... and in part devised by the teachers in order to canalize the activities of children passing through certain ages." (p 13) Reid (1978) further sees formal and informal subcultures as together forming the culture of the school. He suggests that within this culture teachers, although seen to be supporting the formal (i.e. the roles in the classroom, their attitudes towards change and their characterisation of children).

The maintenance of teacher culture as evidenced by Woods (1977) is supported through the common experience of teachers and witnessed in the use of 'survival strategies'. For Hammersley (1981) it is further defined through staffroom talk and a commonly held 'professionalism'. This socialisation process, according to Nias (1984) also pervades the organisational structures of schools in that they can only be maintained through teacher support and an acceptance that conflict is resolved through shared goals and institutional procedures. Such descriptions however while pointing to an agreed set of values within schools does not negate the view that material forces outside school effects teacher understandings within it. Mardle and Walker (1981) thus suggest that classroom interactions of teachers can be structurally explained in that "they are worked out within common structural parameters: teacher pupil ratios, classroom size, compulsory attendance ... and the necessity for domination and differentiation." (p 121)

Viewed from this perspective the role of teacher may be seen as both structurally created and culturally maintained. The values and understandings that emerge from the confluence of these elements therefore point to the formulation of a teacher ideology which, according to Meighan (1981) means "the set of ideas and beliefs held by a group of people about the formal arrangements for education, specifically schooling, and often, by extension or by implication, also about informal aspects of education." (p 174)

Implicit within this analysis therefore is the understanding that different school sectors present differing ideologies, and that teacher action is to a large extent underscored by the consensus they promote. Hargreaves and Tickle (1980) e.g. suggest that "primary schools are associated with

educational progression, comprehensive schools within egalitarianism and meritocracy, and public schools with cultural elitism." (p 67) More specifically Woods (1983) argues that primary teachers have a different set of concerns than secondary, which having emerged via Plowden (1967) has meant according to Alexander (1984) the prevalence of the class-teacher system and a curriculum dominated by a utilitarian concept of 'basics'. King (1989) however identifies an ideological shift within primary education whereby infant and junior teachers, although operating from child-centered ideology do so on the basis of different assumptions about the learning process and attitudes towards children. Middle school ideology conversely, as characterised by Hargreaves and Tickle (1980) was determined initially as an extension of the primary educational model and later has become identifiable as a specific stage of development. Finally the concept of comprehensive schooling is characterised in theory by notions of equality of opportunity and improved social mixing (Reynolds and Sullivan 1987). Such typifications clearly show that ideology cannot be viewed in isolation, and rather may be seen in part as emanating from processes and contradictions which emerge within schools, and in part from the legitimation of the values they uphold. Despite these variations in understandings however it may be possible, as Meighan (1981) notes to use the term ideology in a generalised sense in order to compare variations in educational patterns and practices.

For special schools therefore the dominant ideology as defined by Bart (1984) is one that is based on medical or behavioural management and ranges from therapeutic to punitive models of treatment. Ford (1982) traces such a model to the twin influence of the medical profession and educational psychologists who together provided the rationale under which children were diagnosed and teachers responded, i.e. "the effect of

using a medical model is to concentrate the discussion of causes, symptoms and treatment upon individual examples." (p 36) Progress as related to this ideology occurs through improving diagnosis, intervention and technology (Skrtic 1989). Sleeter (1989) moreover although arguing that there are fundamental differences between the medical and behavioural models also notes that they share the same functional assumptions which see learning disabilities as a disorder and separates some children from the 'normal'. In this way she notes that "learning disabilities is seen as a problem within individuals, and as treatable through some sort of program that attempts to change the individual." (p 6)

Mercer (1981) further highlights the way the medical (or disease) model has infiltrated the vocabulary of professionals whereby assessment is used as a form of diagnosis for treatment from which practitioners in public schools take their roles. Such assumptions, she notes suggest conditions which seek a cure. The disability therefore becomes a handicap. Teachers responding to such an ideology therefore are more likely to abstract the individual from her social setting and conceptualise the pupils failure in terms of the disabilities that have been defined. For Tomlinson (1981) therefore implicit within special school orthodoxy are two interrelated assumptions, namely, that they concentrate on the individual and secondly that they aid the progress of 'dull children' through the use of specialist knowledge. Pugach (1987) indeed sees learning difficulty teachers undergoing training that reflects not only a separate structure but also a unique professional identity and differentiated job expectations. This uniqueness she suggests differs from mainstream teacher preparation in its concentration on behavioural approaches that are deficit orientated.

Taken together therefore we witness a number of assumptions which help formulate special schooling specifically and special education generally. Ideologically they foster both the practice and process of teacher action, and differ fundamentally from mainstream. Moreover they help to foster an understanding whereby the teachers and other professionals "have vested interests in furthering the separation and laying claim to specific areas of competence in catering for the 'special needs' of certain children."
(Tomlinson 1981)

Summary

The type of sociological analysis here presented has sought to examine the special school and the structures and processes that are important to its existence. It has further sought as an intrinsic part of the research as a whole to understand gender as an issue within referral procedure. Such issues however did not materialise overnight, rather, like most research they were the outcome of a series of proposals, discussions and concerns. As Measor and Woods (1991) suggest "a kind of Damascus road model"
(p 63)

Looking back on the research it was my intention (first draft of PhD proposal - June 1987) to conduct ethnographic research in special school(s) with a view to analyse their 'structure' and 'culture'. Indeed my main concern since completing an MA sociology (July 1986) had been how I could reconcile understandings at both 'macro' and 'micro' levels. Clearly I wasn't the only one who had this difficulty (see Hammersley 1986). Further reading thus convinced me that in order to understand special schooling I would not only have to come to terms with this issue but also to focus on specific areas of the school in a way that would be meaningful both to teachers and academics.

The case-study research eventually began with the specific aim of uncovering the 'key cultural determinants' that underpinned the school(s) rationale. (see chapter Four) It was however, always the intention, where possible to extend the research into areas that emerged as part of the initial investigation, though at this stage I was still unsure, like Nias (1991) of my direction i.e. "I was dimly aware that there were several sub-themes within what I was not certain was a central concept, so I tackled them one by one." (p 156)

Clearly as a sociologist the social world of the special school opened up a number of areas that could be pursued. My interest in gender however grew not only alongside my increasing perception of gender imbalance across the whole spectrum of special education but also out of the critical reappraisal of the nature of sociological research (e.g. see Smith 1987). In particular I did not want to fall into the trap, as outlined by Eichler (1988) of 'ignoring sex as a socially significant variable" (p 66)

Thus initial data gathering within case-study one (i.e. an analysis of race, class and gender) left me with an understanding that I could only partially explain. Thus differential processes surrounding race and class have been well documented within the sociology of education (e.g. Barton and Walker 1983) and within special education specifically (e.g. Tomlinson 1981). Gender, however has been mainly applied to mainstream education with few attempts to relate it to special education (though see Ford 1982). In particular what has been written has tended to be in terms of 'numbers' and 'placements' (e.g. Swann 1985, 1988). My understandings of the differential distribution of boys and girls in special education therefore was only partial, leaving a gap that I felt it was necessary to explain.

It was therefore at an early stage of the research that I realised that only a thorough examination of statementing procedure would offer an explanation of what was clearly a paradox (i.e. why did 'individual need' (Warnock 1978) mean mainly the need of 'boys'?) The pursuit of such an enquiry also meant that I could put a context around the world I was examining (i.e. a world mainly of boys). In this way gender as an issue emerged directly out of the case-study research as a central issue which not only gave grounding to other parts of the research, but also could stand as an issue in itself.

Taking the study as a whole therefore the conclusions reached have been a culmination of practical reasoning and theoretical endeavour. The effect however, whilst attempting to extend knowledge and appeal to those involved with the social world of special education has also been personal. For the author this has meant re-examining my own views, understandings and professional practice. Moreover a reflective appraisal also points out that research does not exist in a vacuum, and that the rapid changes occurring in the field of special education need to be discussed in relation to the analysis here undertaken. Further there is a need to highlight what contribution this research has made to the sociology of special education, and how it may inform further debate.

Final Thoughts

It is over four years since I began the first case-study. On returning to Richmond during the early part of 1991 I discussed the possibility with the headteacher that the data collected, while relevant at the time, was now out of date. He thus described changes that had occurred within the school, noting the way teachers now spent more time supporting children

in mainstream school (who had been re-integrated from Richmond). He also pointed to the National Curriculum as having a major influence throughout the school. Clearly the routines around which the school operated had changed but it was my understanding that they did not fundamentally change the ethos or structure of the school. A wider reflection also points to the same. Ashdown (1991) for example notes the way the special school curriculum has become individualised over recent years and as such a National Curriculum continuum will provide a framework from which to engage i.e.

“The National Curriculum now gives us a common language and a common framework to work within; what special educators have to do is inject into the framework the means with which to individualise the learning experiences.” (p 17)

Norwich (1990) moreover suggests that while the present system of categorisation (post Warnock 1978) remains it is likely that LEAs will respond to the National Curriculum by elaborating criteria which will help schools to come to some understanding of how to deliver to their particular client group. Thus he suggests that emphasis will still be placed upon the individual and summary descriptions based on national criteria will aid decisions about suitable provision.

If therefore the National Curriculum is less of a threat to special education than was first perceived, other legislation issued as part of the Education Reform Act (1988) designated changes which have been perceived over recent years as likely to have a significant effect. These include the local financial management of schools, testing, the publication of exam and truancy tables, open enrolment and opting out arrangements. Indeed whilst not having a direct influence on the research here presented such proposals were the backcloth against which the many special school

teachers I met were concerned. Thus a concerned analysis points to the dismemberment of special-needs provision in mainstream as schools facing up to budgetary requirements cut those staff who have the fewest number of children to deal with or who do not teach a National Curriculum subject. Such cuts may also occur as part of a decision to optimise exam results and attendance records. (as part of a policy to attract students) Here teachers would go as pupils who a) have specific learning difficulties, b) present behavioural difficulties, are either processed out of mainstream, or (more likely) find initial admittance difficult. Pyke (1991) for example highlights a number of LEAs who cannot afford teachers for pupils with learning or behavioural difficulties. In particular he points out that many schools will be unwilling to accept pupils who have learning or physical disabilities unless they have a statement and the extra resources that brings. A further difficulty may also occur if mainstream schools vote to opt out. Here schools will be able to generate their own admissions policy, with special educational provision likely to be less than a priority.

The effect of these changes in mainstream may suggest that special schools would provide for increasing numbers of children. It is apparent however that this sector of education is also being squeezed. Thus, while referrals here may be increasing in the short term, they do so against a background of financial pressure to cut surplus places. Pyke (1991) for example, points out that some LEAs are using the notion of 'integration' (as presented in the 1981 Education Act) as a means for closing down some special schools. A further reduction in places may also be witnessed as mainstream schools, seeking to maintain their viability hold on to 'special needs' pupils. The result of these two factors while reducing numbers may also provide for a change in referral patterns. In particular there is evidence

(Sterling 1990) that the MLD special school sector is decreasing (as more are kept in mainstream) and the EBD/SLD sectors are increasing. A final concern for special schools is to be seen via the introduction of local financial management (special) in 1993. Here the viability of special schools may be challenged in terms of cost, perhaps accelerating a move highlighted in 'Special Children' (1991 p 5) away from off-site provision towards the use of space within larger establishments i.e. increased co-operation may occur between special and mainstream as a way of each promoting their own survival.

While such changes may reflect a pessimistic outlook for those involved in special education they also present an opportunity to reassess the future. thus the research here presented highlights the way special schooling is pervasive to the extent that it supports a specific framework and underpins both organisational structures and attitudinal responses. In particular as Thomas (1992) notes, we have witnessed over time a hardening of the separation between mainstream and special as "legal, administrative and professional procedures ... become centralised on the local authority" (p 37). Thus he makes a case that the mutual interest between schools, bureaucrats and professionals has helped maintain this system even beyond Warnock (1975) and the call for integration. An acceptance of this perspective therefore clearly highlights the way special education has not only created a status for itself but implies that specific processes apply within. Indeed it has been the intention of the case-studies to highlight such processes.

Prospects for change may not however be totally pessimistic. Thus a collapse in local authority control over special education may result, as Thomas (1992) again notes to the 're-empowering' of mainstream in a

reduced special school sector. Moreover, the additional resources that may ensue, he argues, could combine with a willingness of mainstream to offer education to those who traditionally have been removed. i.e.

“There is simply no incentive for schools to seek their own solutions if they know that a portion of the budget has been appropriated to services for dealing with ‘special children’. Indeed, there may be a motivation to make sure they get their slice of the cake, irrespective of their need.” (p 38)

Clearly, such a way forward would leave a vacuum to be filled, and how and in what form structures appeared would determine the future organisation of a reconstituted special education. However, the potential for change is great, and if the American experience is repeated then the opportunities (via individual education plans - Fish 1990) for parents to demand access to provision will increase, as will the potential for legislation to be more prescriptive and precise. More realistically, and mindful of the dominance of the ‘new right’ however, a different scenario may see LEAs as merely retaining responsibility for a much reduced special schools sector and mainstream offering less than satisfactory provision. For those currently involved in special schooling therefore, the future is far from clear.

For those involved in the development of a sociology of special education the case-study material here presented thus makes an attempt to raise issues that are central to the promotion of a critical analysis of special schooling. However, whilst aiming at a specific sector of education it is also clear that involvement in this type of research itself has consequences. Thus, sociologically it adds weight to other case-studies of schools, and also offers, by definition, a further extension of ethnographic techniques and methodology. In this sense an important (although to

some extent unintended) outcome is a detailed analysis of how schools as institutions operate.

More precisely however the aim of the research has been to uncover an area of schooling that has had little in terms of documentation except in the descriptive sense. Originality therefore is an important claim of the research. It has also been an intention of the author to build on the type of sociological analysis undertaken by Tomlinson (1982), Ford (1982), Barton and Tomlinson (1982) (1984) and to highlight the special school as an outcome of a series of influences and events. Thus, this research has presented an understanding of how social, political and economic factors have helped to separate particular groups of children. We have also witnessed how bureaucratic structures have aided this process. However whilst such understandings are a basis for analysis the focus of attention has been concerned with the end product of such influences i.e. the special school as an organisation.

Sociologically such studies have been lacking. Corrie and Zaklukiewicz (1985) for example suggest that "research into special education has paid too little attention to the organisation of special education provision in schools and other institutions." (p 123) Mittler (1985) further points out that "if organisational and management issues in the ordinary school are complex, it has to be admitted that hardly any attention seems to have been given to similar issues in special schools. In fact, there seems to be a dearth of interest in support for special schools ... both among LEAs and among the research community." (p 172 - 173) An informed sociology of special education has to fill this gap, and, in doing so help uncover a social world that has only been looked at in functionalist terms. Thus it would be of value to apply sociological case-study analysis to other special

institutions e.g. SLD or physically handicapped. It would also be relevant to pursue pupil ideology through life history studies thus adding to our knowledge of pupil culture by generating an understanding of how special school children see themselves. In other words the social world of the special school has yet to be fully explored and is open for sociologists to offer a way forward.

APPENDIX

Appendix One

John Hill December 1988

During the last 18 months I have been collecting information about the nature of special schools. I have completed one year long case-study, and wish to compare my findings with an analysis of this school. My interests lie in the organisational structures of special schools, the influences on those structures, and the way in which the organisation effects what goes on in the classroom. I wish also to make a comparison with mainstream schooling.

I have at various times discussed these issues with members of staff, and have talked at length with the head. In order however, to gain a clearer understanding I wish to ask staff their opinions on specific issues connected with school. The questions I ask are all broadly based and may be interpreted in different ways. The answers however will help me to achieve a wide perspective.

I hope this will not inconvenience you too much and I will of course treat replies in confidence. Moreover, I will report back to you at your earliest convenience.

1. Organisation of the school day

- a) Does your present timetable allow you the flexibility to deal with the needs of the children?

- b) There appears to be quite close supervision of pupils. Is this necessary to the functioning of the school?

2. The management of school policy

- a) How would you describe the management system of the school?

- b) What control do you have over admittance/readmittance of pupils?

3. The curriculum of the school

- a) Do you adopt an individualised or group approach to learning? Which do you regard as the most relevant in this school?

- b) Do you cover a whole range of subject material with your group?

- c) What importance do you give to the social aspects of school e.g. sports, lifeskills etc?

d) What do you regard as success for your pupils?

4. The effects on the school of outside influences

a) Could you briefly indicate the influence upon the school of the following:

- i) Parents
- ii) LEA
- iii) Unions
- iv) In-service training
- v) Government
- vi) Other professionals

5. Ideology

How does the functioning of this school fit into your beliefs about the nature of special education?

Any additional comments/criticisms

Thanks. J Hill

Appendix Two

GREEN HEAD SCHOOL - BEHAVIOUR CHECK LIST

Name _____ Staff Member _____ Date _____

Very Rarely Rarely Sometimes Often Very Often
 1 2 3 4 5

Behaviour	Rating					
	1	2	3	4	5	
A. STAFF RELATIONSHIPS						
1. Uses normal social courtesies when talking to staff, e.g. please, thank you etc.	1	2	3	4	5	1.
2. Approaches staff appropriately with questions or requests.	1	2	3	4	5	2.
3. Reacts inappropriately to requests or instructions	5	4	3	2	1	3.
4. Is verbally aggressive towards staff	5	4	3	2	1	4.
5. Reacts inappropriately when criticised by staff	5	4	3	2	1	5.
6. Reacts inappropriately with staff if prevented from doing something he wants to	5	4	3	2	1	6.
B. PEER RELATIONSHIPS						
7. Joins in activities with peers	1	2	3	4	5	7.
8. Is bullied by other children	5	4	3	2	1	8.
9. Is teased by other children	5	4	3	2	1	9.
10. Bullies other children	5	4	3	2	1	10.
11. Teases other children	5	4	3	2	1	11.
12. Becomes aggressive or loses temper when teased by peers	5	4	3	2	1	12.
13. Becomes withdrawn/sullen/obstinate when teased by peers	5	4	3	2	1	13.

14. Reacts appropriately within confrontation situations with peers	1	2	3	4	5	14.
15. Reacts responsibly irrespective of group pressure	1	2	3	4	5	15.
16. Reacts appropriately when faced with other children's inadequacies/inappropriate behaviour	1	2	3	4	5	16.
C. INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOUR						
17. Uses eye contact appropriately in conversation	1	2	3	4	5	17.
18. Uses appropriate language with staff	1	2	3	4	5	18.
19. Uses appropriate language with peers	1	2	3	4	5	19.
20. Listens appropriately without interrupting	1	2	3	4	5	20.
21. Expresses self clearly when speaking	1	2	3	4	5	21.
D. GENERAL SCHOOL RATING						
22. Arrives punctually	1	2	3	4	5	22.
23. Concentrates on work set in classroom (specially attention span)	1	2	3	4	5	23.
24. Organises self at breaktimes, lunch time etc.	1	2	3	4	5	24.
25. Organises self in lessons	1	2	3	4	5	25.
26. Takes care with personal appearance	1	2	3	4	5	26.
27. Behaves acceptably when eating/drinking	1	2	3	4	5	27.
28. Shows respect for property/equipment	1	2	3	4	5	28.
29. Accepts responsibility for own action	1	2	3	4	5	29.

Appendix Three

The statistical check of key comments focuses on the degree of similarity between the researchers identification of key comments from the statement and Raters (one, two and three) identifications. Instructions for identifying key comments are outlined below, and were given in advance to the Raters (all teachers working in different sectors of education, primary, secondary and higher). The three statements used were from LEA 1 and were chosen because of the high number of key comments found by the researcher. The letters M/F refer to the gender of the child. The numbers 2, 4 and 10 refer to the place the statement was given when collecting the original sample.

Instructions

1. Underline the words or sentences that in general terms are used by the teacher to describe the educational ability, personality or behaviour of the child.
2. Underline only general terms and not those that apply to specific contexts e.g. poor at reading, lacks confidence in one to one situations.
3. A term may be used as often as it appears in the text.
4. Ignore the following types of comments.
 - a) those concerning test results
 - b) those concerned with what the child may need e.g. reading could be improved
 - c) comments made after the statementing procedure
 - d) those concerned with medical conditions
 - e) those concerned with child's background
 - f) those that are reported by others e.g. the child's father reported that ...

g) those comments reported that refer to other children's reaction to the child e.g. often children will not let him join in the games etc.

Child No F10

LEA 1

Identifying Key Comments

Total Comments	Researcher	Rater 1	Rater 2	Rater 3
Aggressive	2	2	2	2
Anti-social behaviour	2	2	2	2
Bad tempered	1	1	1	1
Behaviour problem	1	1	2	2
Chatty	1	1	0	1
Deviant	2	2	2	1
Immature	1	1	1	0
Lacks motivation/enthusiasm	1	2	2	2
Lacks understanding	1	1	1	1
Learning/SEN difficulties	1	0	1	1
Limited concentration/attention	1	1	1	1
Loner	2	1	2	1
Moody	2	2	2	2
Neat/tidy	1	1	1	0
Performs at basic level	1	1	1	1
Poor progress made	1	1	0	1
Poor interaction with peers	5	4	5	3*
Quiet	1	1	1	1
Solitary	1	1	1	1
Tried hard	1	1	1	0
Unhappy	1	1	1	1
Unpredictable	2	2	2	1
Withdrawn	1	1	1	1

Child No M2

LEA 2

Identifying Key Comments

Total Comments	Researcher	Tester 1	Tester 2	Tester 3
Aggressive	3	2	3	5*
Attention seeking	1	1	1	1
Behaviour problem	2	2	1	2
Developmental delay	1	1	0	1
Difficulty in conforming	1	1	0	1
Disruptive	4	3	3	3
Easily distracted	1	2	0	1
Excitable	3	3	2	3
Friendly	1	1	1	1
Happy	2	2	2	1
Immature	3	2	1	2
Limited concentration/ attention	11	10	8*	9*
Loving	1	1	1	1
Quickly bored	1	1	1	1
Restless	1	1	1	0
Seeks approval	1	1	1	1
Short attention span	1	0	1	1
Slow	1	2	1	1
Sp. Ed. Needs/L.O.	1	1	1	1
Underachieving	1	1	1	0
Well behaved	1	1	0	1
Well behind peers	3	2	2	2

Child No M4

LEA 1 Identifying Key Comments

Total Comments	Researcher	Tester 1	Tester 2	Tester 3
Aggressive	6	5	4*	6
Behaviour problem	1	1	1	1
Difficulty in conforming	1	1	1	2
Easily distracted	1	1	1	1
Frustrated	4	3	3	2*
Immature	6	4*	7	6
Isolated	1	1	2	0
Lacks understanding	1	1	1	1
Limited concentration/ attention	5	3*	4	4
Low attainments	1	1	1	1
Poor integration with peers	4	5	4	3
Slow	2	2	0*	2
Unable to cope/adapt to routine	1	2	1	1
Cumulative total of comments	111	102	95	96

The significance of the figures

The figures are significant in the degree to which Raters agree with the researcher. If we take as significant exact agreement or agreement with a difference of + or - one then looking at each Rater in turn we find:-

Tester 1 Has agreement in 56 out of 58 comments = 96.5% agreement

Tester 2 Has agreement in 55 out of 58 comments = 94.3% agreement

Tester 3 Has agreement in 54 out of 58 comments = 93.1% agreement

Differences of more than + or - one are marked against each tester with a *.

A closer examination of the totals for each Raters shows that in all cases they have identified less comments than the researcher. The explanation for this lays in two possibilities.

a) That they have interpreted meaning in a different way to the researcher or:

b) That the instructions of the researcher were not clear or not strictly followed.

Appendix Four

This appendix is concerned with the categorising of comments into groups. They are all teacher comments. Three Raters were asked to read instructions given by the researcher then categorise comments within certain codes. (see overleaf for instructions)

When a difference occurred a * was placed at the end of each Raters codes. For each comment three boxes could be filled. Thus a comparison between the researcher and Raters needs to take account of the fact that of 128 comments the number of boxes to fill are $3 \times 128 = 384$ (to include blanks as a positive contribution).

Instructions to Raters for categorising the comments/codes

1. Carefully look through the list of comments and decide which represents an educational comment and which represents a personality/behavioural comment. Put the letter E for educational and PB for personality/behavioural. Try to place all within these two groups. However, if after consideration you are unhappy about placing a code put the letter U for unsure. Place these letters in column one.
2. When you have completed 1 go through the list again and decide which terms are negative or positive comments. If you are unsure about placement put the letter U. Place these letters in column two.
3. Go through the list for the third time. Pick out those you have noted as P/B N and decide which comments represent a description of the child Acting Out (AO) and which describe the child as being withdrawn (W). If you cannot categorise a comment put the letter U. Place these letters in column three.

Columns	Rater One			Rater Two			Rater Three			Rater Four			
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	
Affectionate	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Aggressive	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	OA	PB	N	AO	
Agitated	PB	N	W*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	W*	PB	N	AO	
Anti-social behaviour	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Anxious	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	
Attention seeking	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Awkward	PB	N	W*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Babyish	E	N	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Bad tempered	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Behavioural problem PB	N	AO		PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Below average ability	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Below average progress	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Cannot accept criticism	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Cannot be trusted	PB	N	U	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Chatty	PB	P	*	PB	P		*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO
Clumsy	E	N	*	PB	N	AO	U	N	E*	PB	N	AO	
Concentrates well	E	P		E	P		E	P		E	P		
Confused	E	N		PB	N	W*	PB	N	W*	E	N		
Confident	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Co-operative	E	P	*	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Copes well with school	E	P		E	P		PB	P		E	P		
Daydreamer	E	N	*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	
Defiant	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Delightful	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Destructive	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Determined	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Developmental delay E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		N	
Difficult	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Difficulty in conforming	E	N	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Disorganised	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	U*	PB	N	AO	
Disruptive	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Distant	E	N	*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	
Doesn't complete tasks	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Doesn't understand new concepts	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Dominant	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Dramatic	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
	Rater One			Rater Two			Rater Three			Rater Four			

Columns	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3		
Easily distracted		E	N	*	E	N	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Easily led		PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Easily upset		PB	N	AO*	PB	N	AO*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	
Emotionally unstable		PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Enthusiastic		E	P	*	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Erratic		PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Excitable		PB	U	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Friendly		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Frustrated		E	N	*	PB	N	AO*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	
Giddy		PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Good attitude		E	P	*	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Happy		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Helpful		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Hostile		PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Immature		E	N	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Impulsive		PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Inability to learn		E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Inappropriate responses		E	N	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Independent		E	P	*	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Insecure		PB	N	U	*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Isolated		PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	
Keen		E	P		E	P		PB	P	*	E			
Lacks confidence		E	N	*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	
Lacks intellectual ability		E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Lacks motivation/enthusiasm/ interest		E	N	*	E	N	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Lacks social skills		E	N		*PB	N	AO	E	N		*PB	N	AO	
Lacks understanding		E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Likes school		U	P		*E	P		*PB	P		PB	P		
Limited ability		E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Limited concentration/attention		E	N		*	E	N*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	
Lively		PB	P	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	P	AO	PB	N	AO	
Loner		PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	
Loving		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
Low attainments		E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N		
Mixes well		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		
		Rater One			Rater Two			Rater Three			Rater Four			
Columns		1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	

Moody	PB	N	AO*	PB	N	AO*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Neat/tidy	PB	P	*	E	P		E	P		E	P	
Nervous	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
No understanding of basics	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N	
Overwhelmed	E	N	*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Passive	PB	U	*	PB	P		* PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Performs at basic level	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N	
Placid	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P	
Pleasant	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P	
Polite	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P	
Poor academically	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N	
Poor interaction with peers	E	N	*	PB	N	W*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO
Poor learning patterns	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N	
Poor progress made	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N	
Poor self-image	E	N	*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Popular	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P	
Quickly bored	E	U	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO
Quickly frustrated	E	N		PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO
Quiet	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P	
Reliable	PB	P		PB	P		PB	P		PB	P	
Responsive	E	P		E	P		U	P	*	E	P	
Restless	E	N	*	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO
Rude	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO
Sad	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Seeks approval	PB	N	W	PB	N	AO*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Severe learning difficulties	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N	
Shows initiative	E	P		E	P		E	P		E	P	
Shy	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Silly	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO
Socially vulnerable	PB	N	(U)*	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Solemn	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Solitary	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Special educational needs	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N	
Strange	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W
Strong willed	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO	PB	N	AO
Sub-standard work	E	N		E	N		E	N		E	N	
			Rater One			Rater Two			Rater Three			Rater Four
Columns	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Sulky	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W	PB	N	W

Sullen	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W
Tearful	PB N AO*	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W
Timid	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W
Tries hard	E P	E P	E P	E P
Troubled	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W
Unable to cope/adapt to routine	E N *	PB N AO	PB N AO	PB N AO
Underachieving	E N	E N	E N	E N
Unhappy	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W
Unimaginative	E N	E N	PB N U*	E N
Unpredictable	U N *	PB N AO	PB N AO	PB N AO
Violent	PB N AO	PB N AO	PB N AO	PB N AO
Well adjusted	PB P	PB P	PB P	PB P
Well behaved	PB P	PB P	PB P	PB P
Well behind peers	E N	E N	E N	E N
Well developed personal skills	E P *	PB P	PB P	PB P
Wilful	PB N AO	PB N AO	PB N AO	PB N AO
Willing pupil	E P *	PB P	PB P	PB P
Withdrawn	E N *	PB N W	PB N W	PB N W

The significance of the figures

In this categorisation process, there are 384 possible agreements. Each Raters agreements were totaled compared to the researcher and then presented in percentage agreement terms. i.e:-

Rater one - 319 similar codes = 83.07% agreement

Rater two - 365 similar codes = 95.05% agreement

Rater three - 370 similar codes = 96.35% agreement

That Rater one is in more disagreement with the researcher may well be a clue to the fact that the person is only in their second year of teaching, unlike Raters two and three who have taught for many years. It may be therefore as documented by Stebbins (1977) that Rater one may not yet have learned the codes teachers use to classify children.

Appendix Five

This appendix includes the Chi-squared tests that proved significant (0.05 and above) in checking the probability of differences in scores for both teachers and educational psychologists and are based on the totals of different mentions (see Figs 5, 6, 7 and 8). The calculations here presented are in their original STAFORM 19 table.

Teacher Comments

Personality/Behavioural (Negative) Description

Term used: Behavioural problem. Male 12 Female 3

STATFORM 19

1	CHI-SQUARED TEST OF 2 x 2 CONTINGENCY TABLE					
2						
3	Nature of the observations :					
4	Column categories A and B :					
5	Row categories C and D :					
6	Setting up the contingency table.					
7	(1) Enter observed occurrences in O boxes and fill in totals.					
8	(2) Calculate expected occurrences in E boxes Each E is the product					
9	of its row and column totals, divided by the grand total.					
10	(If any expected value is less than 5 it may be preferable to use					
11	"Fishers exact test" on Statform 20).					
12	Calculate and enter any one IO-EI difference, then as a					
13	check see that the other three are identical.					
14	<u>Contingency table</u>					
15	Categories →	A		B		Totals
16		O	E	O	E	
17	C	O and E				
18	Male	12	7.5	13	17.5	25
19		IO-EI		4.5		
20		O	E	O	E	
21	D	O and E				
22	Female	3	7.5	22	17.5	25
23		IO-EI		4.5		
24	Totals	15	+	35	==	50
25						
26	Calculation of χ^2 from : $\sum \left[\frac{(IO-EI-0.5)^2}{E} \right]$					
27						
28		<u>Expected Values</u>				
29	<u>Box</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>1/E</u>	IO-EI from above :		
30	CA	7.5	2.1333	Subtract 0.5 :		
31	CB	17.5	0.9142	Squared :		
32	DA	7.5	2.1333	Multiply by } $\chi^2 =$		
33	DB	17.5	0.9142	Σ (1/E) to give }		
34	Σ (1/E) =		6.0950			
35	Compare with Probabilities :					
36	χ^2 table	0.10	0.05	0.01	0.001	
37		2.71	3.84	6.64	10.83	

Teacher Comments

Personality/Behavioural (Negative) Description

Term used: Aggressive. Accorded different mentions. Male 12 Female 2

STATFORM 19

1	CHI-SQUARED TEST OF 2 x 2 CONTINGENCY TABLE					
2						
3	Nature of the observations :					
4	Column categories A and B :					
5	Row categories C and D :					
6	Setting up the contingency table.					
7	(1) Enter observed occurrences in O boxes and fill in totals.					
8	(2) Calculate expected occurrences in E boxes. Each E is the product					
9	of its row and column totals, divided by the grand total.					
10	(If any expected value is less than 5 it may be preferable to use					
11	"Fishers exact test" on Statform 20).					
12	Calculate and enter any one IO-EI difference, then as a					
13	check see that the other three are identical.					
14	<u>Contingency table</u>					
15	Categories →	A		B		Totals
16		<u>O</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>O</u>	<u>E</u>	
17	C	O and E				
18	Male	12	7	13	18	25
19		IO-EI	5	5		
20		<u>O</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>O</u>	<u>E</u>	
21	D	O and E				
22	Female	2	7	23	18	25
23		IO-EI	5	5		
24	Totals	14	+	36	=	50
25						
26	Calculation of χ^2 from : $\sum \left[\frac{(IO-EI-0.5)^2}{E} \right]$					
27						
28		<u>Expected Values</u>				
29	<u>Box</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>1/E</u>	IO-EI from above :	5	
30	CA	7	2.8928	Subtract 0.5 :	4.5	
31	CB	18	1.125	Squared :	20.25	
32	DA	7	2.8925	Multiply by	} $\chi^2 =$	8.0353
33	DB	18	1.125	$\sum (1/E)$ to give		
34	$\sum (1/E)$	= 8.0353				
35	Compare with	Probabilities :	0.10	0.05	0.01	0.001
36	χ^2 table	χ^2 :	2.71	3.84	6.64	10.83
37						

Teacher Comments

Personality/Behavioural (Positive) Description

Term used: Quiet. Accorded different mentions. Male 2 Female 11

STATFORM 19

1	CHI-SQUARED TEST OF 2 x 2 CONTINGENCY TABLE					
2						
3	Nature of the observations :					
4	Column categories A and B :					
5	Row categories C and D :					
6	Setting up the contingency table.					
7	(1) Enter observed occurrences in O boxes and fill in totals.					
8	(2) Calculate expected occurrences in E boxes. Each E is the product					
9	of its row and column totals, divided by the grand total.					
10	(If any expected value is less than 5 it may be preferable to use					
11	"Fisher's exact test" on Statform 20).					
12	Calculate and enter any one IO-EI difference, then as a					
13	check see that the other three are identical.					
14	<u>Contingency table</u>					
15	Categories →	A		B		Totals
16		O	E	O	E	
17	C	O and E				
18	Male	2	6.5	23	18.5	25
19		IO-EI		4.5		
20		O	E	O	E	
21	D	O and E				
22	Female	11	6.5	14	18.5	25
23		IO-EI		4.5		
24	Totals	13	+	37	=	50
25						
26	Calculation of χ^2 from : $\sum \left[\frac{(IO-EI-0.5)^2}{E} \right]$					
27						
28		<u>Expected Values</u>				
29	<u>Box</u>	<u>E</u>	<u>1/E</u>	IO-EI from above : 4.5		
30	CA	6.5	2.1615	Subtract 0.5 : 4		
31	CB	18.5	0.8648	Squared : 16		
32	DA	6.5	2.4615	Multiply by } $\chi^2 = 6.6526$		
33	DE	18.5	0.8648			
34	Σ (1/E)		= 6.6526			
35	Compare with } Probabilities : 0.10 0.05 0.01 0.001					
36	χ^2 table } χ^2 : 2.71 3.84 6.64 10.83					
37						

Teacher Comments

Personality/Behavioural (Positive) Description

Term used: Happy. Accorded different mentions. Male 2 Female 14

STATFORM 19

1 CHI-SQUARED TEST OF 2x2 CONTINGENCY TABLE

2

3 Nature of the observations :

4 Column categories A and B:

5 Row categories C and D:

6 Setting up the contingency table.

7 (1) Enter observed occurrences in O boxes and fill in totals.

8 (2) Calculate expected occurrences in E boxes. Each E is the product

9 of its row and column totals, divided by the grand total.

10 (If any expected value is less than 5 it may be preferable to use

11 "Fisher's exact test" on Statform 20).

12 Calculate and enter any one IO-EI difference, then as a

13 check see that the other three are identical.

14 Contingency table

Categories →		A		B		Totals
		O	E	O	E	
16	↓					
17	C	O and E				
18	Male	2	8	23	17	25
19		IO-EI	6	6		
20		O	E	O	E	
21	D	O and E				
22	Female	14	8	11	17	25
23		IO-EI	6	6		
24	Totals	16	+	34	=	50

25

26 Calculation of χ^2 from: $\sum \left[\frac{(IO-EI-0.5)^2}{E} \right]$

27

Box	Expected Values		
	E	1/E	
29			IO-EI from above : 6
30	8	3.7812	Subtract 0.5 : 5.5
31	17	1.7794	Squared : 30.25
32	8	3.7812	Multiply by } $\chi^2 = 11.1212$
33	17	1.7794	
34	$\sum (1/E)$	= 11.1212	$\sum (1/E)$ to give

35 Compare with Probabilities : 0.10 0.05 0.01 0.001

36 χ^2 table } χ^2 : 2.71 3.84 6.64 10.83

37

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