

What are the implications for schools of the positive correlations that occur between aspects of educational attainment and social class?

Social class outperforms ethnicity and gender as the single most significant correlation regarding attainment, when it is correlated within gender and ethnicity differences (Gillborn, Mirza, 2000, 19).

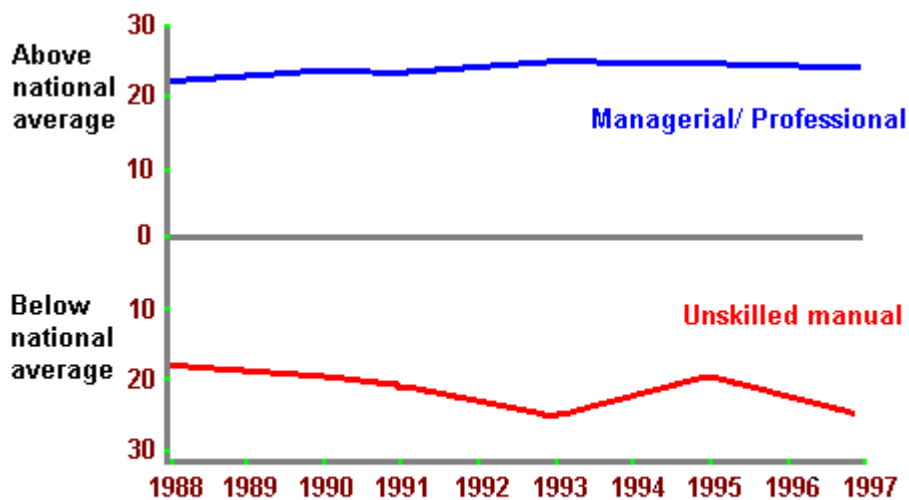
There is a strong direct association between social class background and success in education: put simply, the higher a child's social class, the greater are their attainments on average. According to DfEE figures, in 1997 children from the most advantaged backgrounds (classified as 'managerial/ professional' in the YCS) were more than three times as likely to attain five or more higher grade GCSEs than their peers at the other end of the class spectrum (in the 'unskilled manual' group). This is one of the longest-established trends in British education but the association is not static. Indeed, there is evidence that the inequality of attainment between social classes has grown since the late 1980s. (Gillborn, Mirza, 2000, 18).

It is interesting that this study is used by Tony Turner (in Capel, et. al., 2001, 185-188) to discuss mainly ethnicity, gender and cultural diversity in general. Here the focus remains perspectives on social class with theoretical mechanisms for understanding and practical responses to differences in achievement. A footnote to this study makes an important point as regards the average regarding difference between social classes.

It is important to remember, of course, that the relationship is far from universal. Although average differences between social classes are clear, there also remains a wide range of achievement within each group. (Gillborn, Mirza, 2000, 18)

A major problem is categorising social classes. They may be regarded as types of economic labour according to hand (manual) and brain (non-manual),

but class has always been a mixture of economic data and social status, and a complicated relationship with poverty exists (for example the take up of free school meals), which does not necessarily run alongside reduced social status. There is no universally acceptable classification of social class. Attempts to objectify social class (by groupings and then statistics) cut across self-perception of social class which can have a huge effect on family based expectations regarding educational and career outcomes. Even with general groupings (respectable working class, underclass, professional/ managerial), attitude and aspiration are crucial. Nevertheless, in broad terms, these are the differences and figures that show, at the extremes, the greatest impact of social class on educational attainment:



Five or more higher grade GCSEs relative to the national average, Youth Cohort Study (all pupils), contrasting extremes of social class (from Gilborn, Mirza, 2000, 22).

In 1988, five or more higher grade GCSEs were attained by 52 per cent of children from 'managerial/professional' backgrounds and 12 per cent of peers from 'unskilled manual' homes; in 1997, the proportions were 69 per cent and 20 per cent respectively (Department for Education and Employment, 1999, in Gillborn, Mirza, 2000).

This difference of achievement is important in a city like Hull where attainment is low compared with other Local Education Authorities. For a long time there has been an ethic of employment in fishing and import processing industries which did not emphasise education. It will not be emphasised now because of underemployment and unemployment along with the same (if shrunken) industries and the low pay service sector.

So the education system sits and performs within the social and economic system. The functionalist view is that education works with the social and economic system in order to produce systemic harmony, for which adjustments may be made for improving achievement, measured by qualifications (but also other values within the system). The conflict view is that education operates within the social and economic system in order to produce a situation of preferred achievement of one social class in a condition of socio-economic conflict, suppressed or otherwise. Whichever perspective functions, the demand side of education is about who takes best advantage.

Clearly not everyone can succeed educationally, or if too many did, not everyone can use it to their most efficient economic end, at least within this instrumental purpose of education. The supply side educational system should have, to be efficient, built in failure. From the demand side the interest must be in where the social capital exists (in terms of support) in order to produce human capital (achievement) (see Coleman, 1988, in Halsey et. al., 1997, 83, 86). This positive social capital can be found in supporting and encouragement structures of human relationships.

Put the other way a major instrumental task of education is to train an elite (Mitchell, 1959, 142-144) and not produce an overeducated mass. The mass needs training in at least basic tasks and abilities, whilst accepting that in a competitive society, talents that do exist therein must be nurtured, developed (Mitchell, 1959, 144) and therefore maximised according to demand. This produces a combination of equal opportunity (Mitchell, 1959, 144) within a situation where percentages pass and succeed whatever may be the actual overall educational level.

The opposite policy seems to be the case now. In one mixed ability lesson in the first school practice there was a fairly simple task (confirmed by conversation with the observing teacher afterwards) for Year 9 students to follow. Instructions were given in general to everyone and the first enquiry was the excuse to repeat them to everyone. After continuous private repeats of the instructions I said to the whole class, "The government expects fifty percent of all students to go to university." The observing teacher instantly laughed aloud, and many students volunteered the prediction that they would not be in that fifty percent.

The question does arise why the government wants fifty per cent of students to go to university. Would such a target turn schools into qualifications factories without addressing social class? The difficulty is no one knows how much of the fast changing post-industrial economy is going to be highly skilled and how much will be deskilled.

In the past the United Kingdom had a mass society. This meant there was a relatively small top elite and a base of professions. Academic success was a feeder for the elite and professions, creating people of thinking, special skills and a controlled access to employment (barriers that raised the status of white collar employment beyond the market necessity of the tasks being done). Beyond academic success was the mass of industrialised workers who did repetitive productive work generating selfsame products and services, sustained by supported mass consumption of these standard products.

Passing the eleven plus was the significant moment to pursue a path towards a lifelong profession. Otherwise the world of lifelong mass industrial and service sectors employment resulted, through at first technical and secondary schools, both of which had low status educationally to match social class. Still in the mass era, the comprehensive system allowed more flexibility in the competition element in the educational process, so that academic talent could surface later in life without preset structures, labels and fixed expectations.

With the Thatcher revolution, there was some reduction in professionals' protectionism in favour of competition (e.g. short term contracts). At the same time, technological change has facilitated the ability to produce at low cost highly individualised products. Beyond basics, there is no longer a mass society of mass production and consumption. Many of the mass industrialised elements have moved to areas of cheaper labour across the globe. This has left the United Kingdom with a top elite as before, a series of professions

organised more competitively, a rise in skills required in some technological businesses and support services, whilst there is a large section of deskilled service employment which also carries little job security. There are also students working in a fragmentary way and starting their life debt, people buying houses and adding to the debt, and people especially with children consuming and getting into more debt. Living with debt is social control but its level might demotivate some academic students and so narrow school achievement to a higher middle class which can afford later higher education.

This means there is a need for thinkers, risk takers and people with in depth technical knowledge, but it also produces an underclass of people who are either unemployed, underemployed or drifting in and out work, including the black economy. The Welfare state redistribution model, which used to suit a mass society and mass consumption, has been replaced with a more South East Asian and United States model of near compulsory social inclusion. Consumption is partial and higher value. As a result of this atomising of work and consumption in this Post-Fordist society, even social class itself becomes fragmented (Kumar, 1995, 25, 168) and although the term working class is still used it is something of a misnomer.

In the mass post war situation, the comfort of a long term job and raising a new family meant that for the mass a low level educational achievement was basically acceptable. This was demotivating but in post-Fordist society the likelihood of joining the underclass must demotivate more, just as needing to avoid it by those who can motivates more.

The harsh employment world puts more demands on the professionals to make sure their children can continue in rewarding employment, even if it means supporting and paying for educational achievement, constant retraining and changing posts, networking, and moving between companies and semi-privatised government agencies. It becomes imperative, as in the American model, to begin the Curriculum Vitae that prevents a fall into the murkier world of low employment opportunities and under employment.

Every secondary school child is aware that their education is temporary and they must ask questions about the subjects' relevance to their lives as they will likely proceed in the future. This creates great pressure on the teacher to justify what takes place at school and to generate interest, and takes up time resorting to discipline techniques towards the demotivated.

So from the general macro picture comes specific macro and micro perspectives of education by which the reproduction of social division in schools can be understood.

The social democratic model (see Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 732-735) has been the dominant model for educational improvement up to the 1990s. When the basis of the 11 plus was found to be inadequate by institutionalising failure into the secondary modern school, the idea was that the comprehensive would facilitate success. The GCSE also facilitated success, as it replaced the double examination system (where success was getting a Grade 1 in the

Certificate of Secondary Education being the equivalent of General Certificate of Education at Ordinary Level). The GCSE has led to claims for a levelling down of education, either through grade boundaries shifting downwards or teaching to the exam, but examination changes are supposed to incorporate in built differentiation with every flexible chance for improvement. These changes did not end, however, the sharp correlation between social class and educational outcome. In the 1990s and beyond this correlation seems to have been accepted as normal, and a new emphasis has been put on achievement by individuals, because no longer is it thought that one person's success is at the cost of someone else or should be held back by someone else.

There seemed to have been little progress in achieving social equality, either in opportunity or outcome. From this point of view the "bog standard comprehensive" (Alistair Campbell, stated in another context) has been a failure, and diversity is now the key to encourage excellence. Yet there is a deeper point here regarding equality. When education had a strong voluntary input, as in Victorian times, with a large, mass, industrial working class, education was not about seeking equality but social, economic and political consciousness. Workers and their representatives taught themselves about their own situation. Some churches from a liberal not socialist stance also provided education, offering self-improvement if not a revolutionary attitude to society. Today, no one teaches class consciousness. The National Curriculum is a state curriculum, and teachers looking at inclusion do not teach consciousness about pupils' situations. Perhaps they should. Maybe the new subject of Citizenship will teach about one's lot in society and options, though

the subject could move in several directions as regards its purpose and intentions. It is perhaps enough to raise an awareness to simply vote.

Seeking equality of opportunity in school is not enough. The focus is on the world to come. For many pupils the future instrumental purpose of their education is a puzzle, and many do not know why they are learning what they learn, if they learn much. One reason to be in school is the occupation of time, to keep pupils off the streets and avoid crime, to wait until the time comes for change to adulthood. So the teacher is looking not, perhaps, primarily for effective learning but co-operation during the waiting period. If a pupil, who may join the underclass, or be an occasional worker in the deskilled service industry, is not learning, then it might be a relief that the pupil is not being disruptive if there is nothing else to do for that time.

In fact many pupils create a culture of resistance as the pointlessness of the education they receive is exclaimed. This is often openly stated in my subject in RE. Perhaps this is an ideological struggle on more Habermasian even Weberian lines (see Giroux, 1984, discussed in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 740-741) in that resistance on the one hand and over education on the other takes place between the different groups of pupils and the teachers in schools. Strong resistance was noted in small scale observational research by Paul Willis (1977, discussed in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 741-744) who claimed that working class pupils partially see through the limitations of future employment so that they do as little school work as possible and carry out certain minor subversive acts regarding equipment. They also have some

antipathy towards the children heading in a professional direction. This may be an extreme case, but early in the second practice some of these attitudes were partially shown among groups labelled by tests and seating as poor performers and now coming to the end of their school careers.

Many later year pupils know that the world of work requires a regime of the employer's discipline. The opportunity to misbehave exists more in compulsory schooling whilst school is preparation for behaving and for acquiescing to authority. Their place is not to be resistant, and if they are there is always Lee Cantor's *Assertive Discipline* that runs on the Borg (*Star Trek*) principle that resistance is futile. Instead they move from subject to subject, just like the division of labour in the economy, where one item of activity is separated out from another. People become over educated and thus one worker can replace another in competition. This is the approach of Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis (1976, discussed in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 735-740). What results then is the rhetoric of equality of opportunity but the existence of intended difference, and a middle class where the family background (rather than IQ) attempts to ensure educational achievement. Also the correlation between high achievement and economic rewards is not causal but from that family background. The middle classes reproduce themselves and the working classes lack involvement.

One solution is try to make all working class children in effect middle class, if all can have the values that the school inculcates. This is the Parsonian approach (1960, discussed in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 728-729) where

the school reflects the values of society. If successfully meritocratic, the idea of class breaks down. Unfortunately, the achievement society breaks down with the under-achieving and divisive political economy.

Schooling is for far more than just instrumental purposes, but perhaps the problem of motivation is so great that it may as well be instrumental at this stage of a person's life. This is a justification behind the new 14 to 19 curriculum, which extends down the age scale some of the changes of Curriculum 2000 that took place in sixth form provision. Vocationalism picks up unmotivated lower class children at the age where they lose interest in academic subjects. The question is bound to be asked whether schools are really designed for vocational training. The best vocational training is at the point of supply, focused on the market place. Effectively if taken to its logical conclusion it would mean a new, lower, leaving age for these school children. Ivan Illich from a neo liberal point of view (1971, discussed in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 731-732) sees a solution in abolishing schools altogether, because the particular academic method which schools inevitably pursue simply creates factories of conformism that are not educationally liberating. Students may have passed exams but they have not learnt and are ill equipped for choices. This logical end point idealism does not leave much for a school teacher to do other than find another job, and the implication for schooling is to close the system. This liberal-anarchic approach does not recognise that for some pupils this system does suit them well, whether it is designed for them or whether they just find it congenial. The problem is for some not all pupils.

Another liberal view is provided by that pivotal theoretician Friedrich Hayek. This approach favours that of Milton Friedman, the economic liberal economist, with vouchers and private provision (Hayek, 1960, 381). However, the crucial area of impact on schools is in fact where he comes to higher education (381). Schooling becomes an issue of occupying children until they are allowed to earn a living, except those who go beyond general education.

...a society that wishes to get maximum economic return from a limited expenditure on education should concentrate on the higher education of a comparatively small elite, which today would mean increasing that part of the population getting the most advanced type of education rather than prolonging education for large numbers. (Hayek, 1960, 382).

In other words, it would be unsubsidised vocational training for many sooner, and education for the few for longer. The problem is how to choose the few and become a more divisive situation if:

...it became not only a general presumption but a universal fact that the relatively poor were less intelligent. (Hayek, 1960, 383)

Never mind the fact that political instability follows from having:

...an intellectual proletariat who find no outlet for their learning. (Hayek, 1960, 383)

The question is how to select for the higher education and therefore prepare in schools. There is no right on anyone to pursue stronger education. He sees a central role for the family in making this choice (Hayek, 1960, 386). The key Hayekian text is this, where clearly inequality will be maintained:

...a background of general knowledge and interests or a high esteem for knowledge produced by a family environment often contributes more to achievement than natural capacity. (Hayek, 1960, 386)

Egalitarian policies can destroy what "unmerited inequalities" can facilitate (Hayek, 1960, 386):

...there is a strong case for enabling parents who greatly care for education to secure it for their children by material sacrifice, even if on other grounds these children may be less deserving than others who will not get it. (Hayek, 1960, 386)

And this is from someone who is critical of the British system that was then (1950s) based on presumed educational ability, particularly at 11, which then produced "sheep and goats".

The question is how this is done. If there are sheep and goats then what can be done for the goats? Goats are culturally deprived sheep who need the support, experiences and resources in middle class families and areas. This has been called compensatory education (discussed in part in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 754-756). Identifying that families are a source of educational aspiration, support comes early. *Sure Start* is a contemporary approach which organises itself for families of young children rather like Jobclubs did for the unemployed. They provide resources and practical assistance in getting family life and early educational support off to a good start. They locate in housing estates and areas of poverty, act on a user and drop in basis, with volunteers, and spread best practice. These are different from the Educational Priority Areas (EPAs) that preceded them in the 1970s. EPAs were the

Keynesian economics of educational and cultural deprivation, providing (inadequate) resources, aspects of planning and interventions in areas of deprivation. They had minimal impact and A. H. Halsey claimed they were never properly tried (Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 756). Now the approach is cheap and supply side, but said to be empowering, by spreading the good word.

The major problem with positive discrimination in schools is taking up teacher time at the expense of all other children. To this end, measures should be additional, like classroom assistants, technological support, even separate support units, but these happen at the extremes rather than with the capable but unmotivated.

A critic of external positive discrimination was Basil Bernstein who wanted the focus of criticism and change to be inside schools.

This is a sociolinguistic approach of obscure terminology about the standard recontextualising of material for schools discourse, where the type of language is the exercise of control and power. Some of this derives from Bordieu (with de saint-Martin, 1974, discussed in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 757) arguing that education is the transmitter of the culture of dominant classes and the class based cultural definition of success.

A derived example (from my field) is the RE textbook produced with certain present pedagogic intentions, such as hierarchy from God and therefore of

society, the legitimacy and relevance of religious authorities and authority in general, the grounding of ethics and morality and therefore student acquiescence, the division into a subject and therefore the sociology of economic specialisation, a simplicity of truth and prop for religion as container of truth (much RE sounds like an alternative pseudo science and history, to be dropped as soon as other subjects are encountered), a forced equality of people with different views and so equality of opportunity but not outcome as not all views can be correct. School textbooks do not take the discipline in its breadth and detail, but recontextualise it with these agendas and provide the broad sweeps (and errors) annoying to the specialist. These contextualised ideological stances exist in boxed up language codes, as and when framed and transmitted in the process of teaching and learning. These codes reproduce, microscopically, social inequalities because of the contained implied and explicit messages that have social outcomes (See Dowling, 1999).

Basil Bernstein (Bernstein in Halsey, et al, 1997, 59-79) makes the point that at one time the middle classes had strongly contextualised, strongly framed ideological transmission, whereas now it is weak transmission (Bernstein in Halsey, et al, 1997, 61-62) in the Durkheimian attempt to bind contemporary society together. The old middle class (individualists) give way to the new middle class (based on the scientific organisation of work) in this pedagogical change. There is still discrimination against working class achievement.

The regulation of codes has its effect when it comes to social class and language. Middle class homes in general have an elaborated language

structure and working class homes (either in general or lower working classes: Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 754) have a restricted language structure. In fact middle class homes also have access to the restricted language codes. Schools via their teachers and the curriculum itself have an elaborated language structure. The result is middle class children will succeed in understanding over working class children, because this elaborate set of codes has to be learnt first by working class children. The working class child speaks and hears in a form of short hand shared assumptions that constitute the restricted codes, but do not follow literate detail.

When the teacher tries to compensate by using a restricted code approach, the result can be even more horrible. The restricted codes do not suit the university degree trained teacher in the context of explaining the detail of curriculum. The teacher to be authentic has to use teacher's language, but it means the middle class child will have most access to the words of the teacher. Atherton advises:

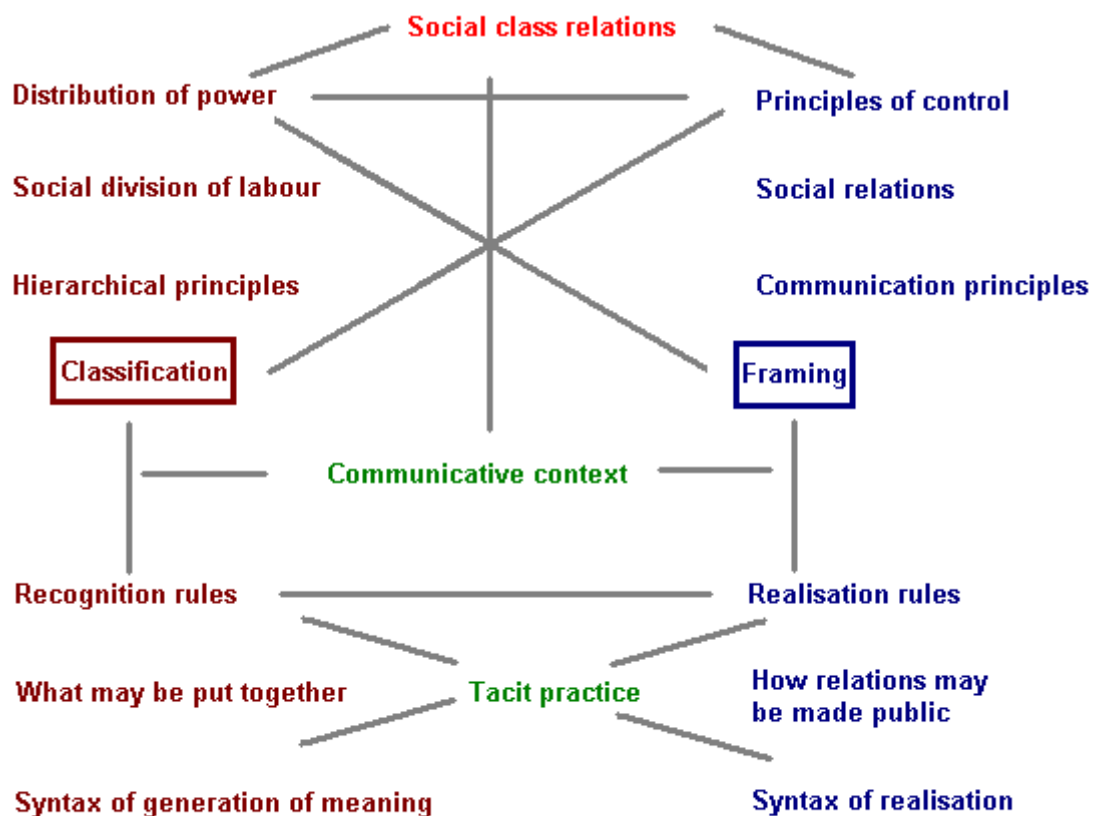
This is not about teachers trying to express themselves in their students' vernacular - which usually results in embarrassment and ridicule. It is, however, about the embarrassment which many students may feel when asked to express themselves (speak in class) in an elaborated-code, alien, institution. It is about the reassurance and security which can come from relapsing into grunts and argot which is inaccessible to the "powers that be".

It is not primarily about restricted-code users' inability to understand elaborated code. They are exposed too much to the media for that (although some tabloid newspapers and radio stations affect a particular restricted-code style to suggest intimacy with their readers). It is however about their unfamiliarity with using it (speaking it rather than hearing it) to explain complex ideas.

In other words working class children know the codes exist but cannot use them. So some advice is offered to teachers in this inevitable situation:

Don't over-simplify: it's patronising. Remember that when teaching the misunderstandings may come not from your use of elaborated code, but from your use of *your* restricted code, adapted to your own speech community (jargon, abbreviations, etc.), rather than a properly and appropriately elaborated code.

But restricted code use offers security. A class's own language grows up through its interaction and history: using it can be socially important (the shared laugh whenever a particular group member is mentioned is both a means of bringing most of the group together, and of course of excluding her), and powerful. Help the students to move from one code to another and back: perhaps sell the jargon of the subject as another restricted code. (Atherton, 2002)



Taken from Bernstein, 1990, figure 1.8, 42, in and adapted from Lerman

The process and inescapable effect on the extent of difference of achievement can be examined in microscopic theoretical detail (see above for the diagrammatic version). The areas of communication of the subject involve the content (classification of subjects), the delivery (framing or transmission), and pupil reception (or evaluation, also realisation).

Where content is traditional, delivery (framing) is straightforward (say jug and mug didactic) and reception is formal, then there is a traditional school. This would be characterised by traditional subjects, traditional delivery and an assessment of whether the pupils give back what they got. The issue remains whether they actually learnt anything. Working class children are clearly likely to fail, because they may respond but are most likely to lack understanding of what the words or concepts they have sent back mean.

Some schools retain traditional subjects and content within the subjects, but have a variety of methods of delivery and therefore more open ended evaluation. However, the content in its context remains the same, so the recontextualisation that happens in school retains the same base position wordy type material and code transmissions. Acquisition of knowledge replaces the direct transfer of knowledge yet the language form and communicative demands remain the same on the pupils.

There needs here to be a note on recontextualising. It is usually thought that relevance is achieved by changing context to pupils' experiences. The point of recontextualising, however, is that the signifier is still pointing to the same

ideological moral order, the learning is still code elaborated and the same basic transmission takes place. This is the dominant discourse (Bernstein, 1996, 46, in Dowling, 1999).

There can of course be weak classifications (content and context), weak framing and rejection of testing and evaluation, and this would seem to be less enforcing. Bernstein did not allow this possibility of progressive education to favour all children better. It is unclear why not, except that the same codes were transmitted if in a less formal setting. Although this suits contemporary times and classes, the reversal to more formal education from the 1990s suggests that in general working class children are going to fail more, comparatively speaking (comparison is all important because grade boundaries can shift), which they are in fact now doing again.

The traditional codes of communication have won out, therefore, despite recognition of the pupils' experience, because society demands it. Society expects knowledge growth according to its classifications and so inequality is bound to continue. Society it is that frames and society it is, via the school and communication, that reproduces its own social structures (Lerman, n. d.).

What stands at the core of this analysis, when it is taken to the more fundamental level, is that language itself is the transmitter of inequality. The structuralist demonstrates the polar opposites which make reality fixed and certain, and therefore fixes categories of knowledge, and therefore absolutes. Schooling today is structuralist (as well as increasingly behaviourist). This is

analysed as a fiction and device by poststructuralists, so that, like everything using language (which *is* pretty much everything), learning itself is a kind of fiction. The poststructuralist sociologist asks about the difference between social research and the novel, and produces the answer "nothing" (and, being poststructuralist, adds the word "everything"); in this way the poststructuralist educationalist rejects the basis of traditional subject codes, formal transmission and assessment based evaluation, because they constitute a deceptive fiction to those who rely on them. The fiction is this behaviourist loop of inputs and outputs producing inequalities. The learning measured is not learning put hoop jumping.

Although Bernstein presents a radical and conflict analysis of education, the tables are turned on him.

...Bernstein's claims for the elaborated code really reflect the ideology of the free-floating intelligentsia. The claims which Bernstein makes for the elaborated code are themselves the typical ideology of intellectuals who claim to enjoy a perspective which transcends particular social contexts.. (Fenn, 1982, 16)

Instead, as Fenn states Gouldner has said, the elaborated code is the best for the classroom and the court because:

...it makes possible the judicious weighing of alternative views of reality.

It is the editing which characterises the elaborated code: a careful reflection by the speaker on his or her own feelings and intentions, about the meaning of words and their specific application, and about the characteristics of the persons whom the speaker is addressing. Signs that are significant in limited contexts are edited out or translated into symbols. In this sense the elaborated code is a way of speaking that does not depend on a single context and can be spoken in hotels,

conventions, professional journals, and indeed wherever relative strangers to one another seek to communicate. It is a language for relative aliens and for speakers should know what they say may be used against them. (Fenn, 1982, 13)

In other words, there are standards of speech performance which must be taught and are used in the wider world. Lower class children need to meet relative strangers, and have control over what they say in a social world of contractual obligation and litigation. Teachers therefore should produce these standards of speech performance, whatever the disadvantage that may come to the classroom.

My own view is that Bernstein shows a strong connection between pedagogy and language and how groups process language, but much is overstated and within a verbosity of terminology. Yet there is a challenge to teachers.

What is to be done about the differences? The answer is, within the school, educating a child from restricted code to elaborated code. If a child starts late with this lack of language, then such literacy is to be taught all the more vigorously, in something like the Literacy Strategy in primary schools and Key Stage 3 strategy in secondary schools.

It is important because the whole matter of elaborate and restricted codes has huge implications for cognitive accelerated learning, whether from Mathematics, Science, or the abstract thought already built into Religious Education and of use across the curriculum. This is because abstraction demands elaboration. The issue is motivation in social class along with

psychological development (Vygotsky in Kozulin, 1987, discussed in Curzon, 1997, 106-108: Vygotsky always considered social factors), and social background is relevant to the earliest point of acquiring abstract thought. If so, cognitive acceleration is going to benefit the middle classes first because they will be the earliest to exploit it from its introduction. When a pupil rapidly says, "That's it, it's that" for an answer and little else, social class as well as psychological development are involved in considering the child and restricted codes. The teacher properly picks a child up where he or she is regarding speech but designs work for better to come.

With some frequency, I am often asked, "Are you a clergyman?" Assuming this is not God repeatedly telling me which vocation to join, perhaps it is a reflection on my use of not just elaborated codes but perhaps super elaborated codes in daily speech. This super elaborated speech is its own restricted speech in school and it is something of personal concern. All elaborated speech might distance the teacher from certain pupils, but perhaps the teacher also has a duty to provide good standards of speech. Teachers might say something is "crap" for the benefit of communicating with restricted code pupils, but "crap" is a markedly imprecise word by which to provide feedback and assessment.

It also matters that a teacher is precise: saying "different from" rather than "different to", for example. It matters that the speech is considered in intention, even if it does not always emerge properly. Although all speech needs basic cultural and linguistic assumptions in order to make speech speedy ("I already

know what you are going to say" - which is what happens with fast restricted codes), the assumptions should not be over quickly made. For this way lies stereotypes, assumptions, lack of judgement and labelling. So there are standards of speech performance. Speech includes writing, just as the writing on the chalkboard and wipeboard should be of a clear, literate and well spelt standard.

Some of these standards are clearly cultural and are choices rather than standards. Students are told not to use the first person as their writing becomes more elaborate. As they get into sixth form and beyond, they tend to lose the full stop because to do so looks more academic. Writing is a struggle (as it has always been for me) and so it is for pupils who, especially in Key Stages 3 and 4, still need the device of genres (e.g., write a postcard home, produce a report, etc.) to bring out active writing because they have not (yet) been taught to write sufficiently in a style that suits abstract with concrete thinking. The teacher then, is to provide a standard of performance, at the point where concrete communication leads on to abstract education.

Another task for the teacher at the chalkface is to avoid labelling. The sociological analysis has moved into the micro environment (symbolic interactionism). One problem of banding and streaming is that by this analysis working class children will be in lower bands (all subjects) and streams (single subjects) (see Ball, 1981, Keddie, 1973, discussed in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 765-766). The labelling is not simply a putting down of working class children, but Keddie found that higher grade thought was not given to lower

stream children and that higher stream children were less resistant to the teacher's higher more abstract material. The lower level children questioned more because they did not find the work relating to their own lives. The teachers then dismissed the lower class childrens' objections.

So here is a clear micro example of a more subservient but serviced middle class going on to academic success and lower class children failing. The lesson for teachers is to relate to the experience of children, and to consider the possibility of cognitive development to all, even if they are slower to start that point of acceleration. Nevertheless, again, the trend is back towards more formal delivery of curriculum in subject contexts, and more labelling through streaming, and so more behavioural problems by resistance, and more inequality.

Teachers know all too well that as a child goes through the stages of receiving discipline correction and support, the crucial difference in outcome is the informed and active support of the parent/s. The buck stops at home. Whatever Bernstein says should be the internal focus of curriculum changes, the home is where parents help with homework or provide reading material, or give access to Information Communications Technology. Teachers reporting progress home, good and bad, is crucial where support exists. Home may also be the place of indifference or even hostility. (One of my grandparents hearing about sixth form and a possibility of university said I should do what everyone else does and go out and get a job; my parents fortunately had a more neutral to supporting view including the all crucial financial support.)

Some families will try to succeed against the odds. There are lower class children who succeed, against the averages. Some parents in constant underemployment and unemployment will perhaps see that education offers at least a chance to break away. These are the children teachers must encourage too. They may still become demotivated as the end of school comes closer.

It is part of the professional training Standards to respond to cultural diversity and to teach at appropriate levels whilst having best expectations and seeking to raise achievement. The school is the place where children spend a great deal of their formative time. However, whatever the school does, there is some comparison with the National Health Service having targets to make a healthier nation. The NHS deals with the already ill, and the nation's health is made mainly outside the NHS. In a similar way, schools can only do so much in the face of the indifference of families and the nature of socio-economic forces. The social democratic dream of school as the principle conveyor belt of an equality of outcome has limited relevance.

David Hargreaves (1982, discussed in Haralambos, Holborn, 1995, 727-728), a follower of Durkheim (and therefore the importance of developing in school a collective consciousness for the social good), sees that (in general) working class children are failed by schools because of a school emphasis on individual achievement. To avoid demotivation and reduced behaviour, pupils should be directed towards matters of collective impact: by choosing subjects

at which they are competent, and not others; to so develop a sense of worth; for there to be compulsory community studies (presumably Citizenship qualifies); and art and sports should be pursued for collective loyalty. A criticism is that these devices are pursued already, and it really does smack of social engineering, but certainly the whole curriculum should avoid the labelling of failure and attempt to include all in the life of a school.

Presumably, whilst this citizenship education is another element of social inclusion on a Durkheimian collective model (Mitchell, 1958, 141-142), the middle classes might insist on maintaining their individualist approach to academic education in order to reproduce their social status. Yet relevance of the curriculum is vital.

My view is to radically alter schooling to a bipartite system. At 14, there should be a choice of futures. This should be first of all the choice of the pupil, then the family (in case the family is hostile), and then the teacher (based on likely prospects but with flexibility). Some should be offered academic subjects expanding their language codes and pursuing subjects that develop thinking, along with ICT expertise. Others can go towards skills training with Maths, English and Science in school. This will be an opportunity to develop a technical training where additional academic work will be presented as required and to assist cognitive development. They will be the highly skilled of the future. Others, with all the opportunities on offer, will still fail, and perhaps success for them would be very practical training. Yet they, and then the highly skilled, will be into the employment market earliest. If these practical

children develop academically in the future, then their qualifications should allow transferability for advancement in Further Education.

If the changes regarding 14 to 19 curriculum were as radical, there would be some deschooling and considerable institutional changes. This suggestion might be criticised for being subservient to the social and economic system. Perhaps, however, enough learners will develop a social conscience about the economy that supports this system, as workers' education once did, and in time consider changing more than simply functionalist or conflict understood education. For the time being, certain children need all the advantages they can regarding employment, and regain motivation, and self-discipline, whilst others can progress in their way towards becoming, in one academic sense at least, a social elite in a range of professions. The technically skilled and risk takers may become other elites, being the high earners and economic property owners of the future.

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