University of Southampton

ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS, TEACHER APPROACH AND PUPIL COMMITMENT
IN OUTDOOR ACTIVITIES. A CASE STUDY OF SCHOOLING
AND GENDER IN OUTDOOR EDUCATION

by

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December 1986

A thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the
Faculty of Educational Studies Department of Education at the
University of Southampton.

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ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS, TEACHER APPROACH AND PUPIL COMMITMENT
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This thesis is concerned with teaching and learning in the context of
one co-educational, mixed ability outdoor education centre, which is
referred to by the pseudonym Shotmoor. It examines the characteristic
situational, organisational, material and ideological features which
constitute the institute. It is an account of the experiences of
teachers and pupils at the institute and at schools and the social
relationships and structures within which they work. It is an
exploration of the diversity and congruency in the form and content of
knowledge and skill made available through the Shotmoor curricula. It
is an examination of the coding of educational transmission and the
forms of its realisation, with particular focus upon gender.
  An ethnographic research approach was adopted in this study and a
variety of data collection methods employed. The principal focus of
this thesis is classroom interaction and the ways by which teachers,
boys and girls mediated processes and practices. Patterns of
classroom interaction are presented and the various ways by which
teachers encountered girls and boys are delineated. What pupils
received, as it is perceived by the pupils themselves, from the
implicit and explicit messages conveyed through the teaching process
is explored. Pupils' understanding of their own and each other's
capabilities and how they made sense of the teaching approach is
examined. The pupils' understandings of what constitutes appropriate
gender 'abilities', behaviours and relationships are examined.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my grateful thanks to friends and colleagues who have given support, encouragement and help.

In particular I should like to thank Dudley Plunkett for his invaluable supervisory guidance; John Evans who has been a source of critical inspiration and Jill MacKean for her encouragement and expert advice on computing.

A special appreciation goes to Elsie Foss for her patient, skillful and speedy typing of this thesis.

I am deeply indebted to my husband, Maurice whose calm patience and supportive tolerance have been priceless.

I should like also to express my sincere thanks to all the teachers and pupils at Shotmoor who enabled me to share their experiences and without whom this thesis would not have been possible.

INTRODUCTION

Educational settings outside mainstream schools in which 'socialisation' processes occur have been largely neglected by researchers of interpretive, interactionist persuasions (Hammersley 1980b). Delamont (1981) and Woods (1985) argued that a broadening of research to include an exploration of interaction in other educational contexts could generate useful data and provide rich insight into the processes of teaching and learning in general. In some small way, this is a move to redress this imbalance through ethnographic research into outdoor activity curriculum offered in a large co-educational, outdoor education institute which I shall refer to under the pseudonym of Shotmoor.

This study then is an attempt to explore the processes of teaching and learning and the forms of identities and relations expressed in the largely unexplored sphere of outdoor/adventure education. It is exploratory and is not concerned to examine or test any existing theory or hypotheses. The impetus to examine this realm stemmed from my own teaching experiences both in 'academic' and PE (physical education) subject areas in mainstream schools and in outdoor activities curricula. The research was further stimulated by Shotmoor's imminent closure which highlighted the contradictory criteria evoked by policymakers and by educational practitioners in their assessments about what constitutes valid educational experience. Initially four broad research questions were posed:

1. What were the form and content of the knowledge and skills provided at Shotmoor?

2. How were they made available and meaningful to pupils?

3. What was understood and how was the situation experienced by both teachers and pupils at the institute?

4. What were the social and physical resources and personal predispositions which teachers and pupils drew upon to make sense of and thereby act upon these situations?

Underlying these questions was my concern to explore whether the changes in teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil relations and the apparent increase in some pupils' self esteem, which I had perceived when

involved myself in outdoor activities teaching, were more generally experienced as 'reality'. If this was so, why was it? What was the essence of these changes and how were they accomplished? What was the nature of characteristic social, material and ideological features framing outdoor education settings and schools which engendered differences ('real' or apparent) between these two contexts?

Much ethnographic research in mainstream schools has tended to emphasise the conflictual nature of relations between teachers and pupils, highlighting pupils' active resistance to schooling. Furthermore, through schooling pupils not only learn about their 'appropriate' and different positions in relation to the waged labour market, but also girls and boys identify their own and each other's place in the realm of leisure. A school, through its organisational structures and attendant attitudes, frequently accentuates differences between pupils (cf. Hargreaves, D. 1967; Lacey 1970) and in co-educational classes, despite the intentions of many teachers gender differentiation evidently occurs (cf. Whyld 1983). Were these differences which I had observed between school and outdoor education contexts, merely superficial gloss beneath which lay similar and/or supportive productive processes to those which prevail in mainstream schools? Or were the forms of expressions apparent in outdoor education constitutive of shifts in dominant relations and images?

Ethnographers, frequently charged with operating in 'splendid isolation', all but ignoring the findings of other studies (Delamont 1981; 1984), have seldom located their work within the pressures and constraints of wider society (Hargreaves, A. 1980). Moreover, most who have attempted to synthesise patterns of classroom events and broader societal relations of social, economic and political structure (cf. Willis 1977; Sharp and Green 1975) are criticised for their short classroom excursions and their narrow 'explanations' of 'working class children's' failure as inevitable features of capitalism (Hammersley 1984a; Connell 1983; Davies, B. 1984). Furthermore, studies which have claimed to be concerned with children have until recently focussed predominantly upon boys' experiences and achievements (Arnot 1984a; Davies, L. 1985).

A problematic but central feature of this work then has been an attempt to overcome such limitations. This has involved considerable attention to comparative method and analyses at substantive and, to a lesser degree, formal levels.

The principal concern of the thesis lies in 'classroom' interaction and the ways by which teachers, boys and girls mediated processes and practices. Even so, the existing economic climate and the economic pressures prevailing at the time of the study, which influenced curricular provision within the institute, are not ignored. The ways in which Shotmoor negotiated its survival and identity at a critical period in its history is discussed, albeit briefly. Nevertheless, to have placed greater emphasis upon the process of decision making at institutional, local and LEA (Local Education Authority) levels would, I believe, have detracted from my primary concern, to rigorously examine the intricacies of pedagogic process and the constitution of meaning in context.

The strength of ethnography lies in its potential to capture the finer details underlying the cultural context in which the observer is located. Woods (1985) and Delamont (1984) both argue that too great and exclusive an emphasis upon the ways in which the research is conducted, upon empirical observation and the consequential detailed descriptive presentation has tended to detract from the development of theory. However, for ethnographies to be anything but elaborated 'journalistic' endeavours concern for both methodological and analytical rigour is indeed imperative.

For these reasons, a substantial portion of this thesis is given over to an account of the process of data gathering through participant observation. The methodological account which is presented is autobiographical and highlights the courses of action taken and the various reasons which lay behind decisions made prior to, during and subsequent to the period spent at Shotmoor. The various problems connected with data collection are discussed and issues associated with participant observation are raised. The ways in which the emergent data and the developing conceptual framework influenced subsequent data gathering are briefly outlined.

Chapter 1

SURVEY OF BACKGROUND LITERATURE - SCHOOLING AND GENDER IN OUTDOOR
EDUCATION AND MAINSTREAM SCHOOLS

Contemporary British literature encompassing the field of
sociology of education has abandoned, for the most part, the
traditional functionalist perspectives, dominant in the '50s and early
'60s, which were based largely upon theories formulated by Parsons
(1959) and by Merton (1957). Criticisms of functionalist theories
were made on a number of fronts which led to the development of
alternative approaches in mainstream sociology. These included
phenomenology and social action theory. Garfinkel (1967) and Giddens
(1979) suggested that not only functionalists but also Marxist
perspectives portrayed individuals as cultural fools constrained
completely by the mechanisms of systems and this, they argued, is a
distorted, deterministic assumption. In Parsons' social system, Sarup
(1978) identified 'norms' as the constraining agents of human
behaviour and, along with Becker (1966), saw this perspective as
painting a picture of over socialised man (woman) and as emphasizing
the consensual nature of social interaction. Dawe (1970) identified
polarization in sociological approaches. On the one hand, the focus
was primarily upon external constraints limiting members' action (as
in the functionalist approach in which 'order' was emphasised). On
the other hand, there was emerging the action approach in which
society was seen to be created by its members (emphasis was upon
members' 'control' of meanings) (Davies 1976).

In the educational area, functionalists tended to perceive the
process of schooling as unproblematic. For them schools functioned to
select children and then to slot them into appropriate positions in
the area of work and into society in general. This view led to the
considerable concern, at that time, with 'political arithmetic';
plotting the social mobility of pupils (usually boys) from different
social classes and their access to higher status employment (cf. Halsey

et al. 1980; Goldthorpe 1980). However, Walker (1972) pointed to the need to analyse the processes of schooling which occur within the then largely unresearched, 'black box' classroom:

> The interaction of teachers and pupils within the social arena of the classroom is a central element in all educational institutions, yet it has been largely unstudied by sociologists. British sociologists of education in particular have been dominated by a concern with an education system that has failed to give equality of access to different parts of the system. As a result they have concentrated their attention on the analysis of inputs and outputs to different institutions, and tended to assume uniformity in the nature of educational process.
>
> (Walker 1972:32)

Moreover contemporaneously, works in the sociology of education became influenced by the 'new' sociology which emerged in the late '60s early '70s in which the primary emphasis was upon human action, rather than the role of systems and structures and which was partially stimulated by Dawe (1970) and Young (1971). It was informed both by 'humanistic' Marxism and various forms of interpretive sociology of which the latter included traditional symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969), and the phenomenological paradigm expressed through the work of Schutz and popularised in the writings of Berger and Luckmann (1971). These interpretive sociologies laid stress on understanding peoples' own interpretations of 'reality' and upon uncovering how individuals make sense of their everyday life. From such perspectives, society is seen as accomplished through people's interaction and social life is understood as a process (Garfinkel 1967). Consequently, the traditional input-output research models of school, in which classroom interaction and participants' perspectives had largely been considered unimportant and had not featured on the agenda, were thus rejected as inadequate. Research, which focused upon the educational system only in terms of its functions and goals, was thus considered to be simplistic .

This chapter is largely concerned to examine literature associated with Outdoor Education, interpretive studies of schooling and classroom interaction.[1] Patterns of socialization and differentiation which emerged from these works are highlighted. Under-represented curricular areas ,the paucity of interpretive research into certain perspectives and forms of pupil interaction are

identified. A critical examination is made of interpretive studies which have touched upon aspects of PE (Physical Education) and PE teaching, whilst research which utilized systematic observational schedules to code interaction in PE and Outdoor Education classrooms are examined and compared.[2]

Outdoor Education

Outdoor education has, since the '40s and '50s, gradually become part of the school curriculum and it is suggested that in Britain it is largely committed to moral education (McIntosh 1979). McIntosh proposed that, in some schools, 'the character training of muscular Christianity through team games'(p.155), which began in the mid-nineteenth century, was becoming replaced by outdoor education. It is questionable, however, whether the latter features, to any degree, in the curriculum other than in public schools and in a few comprehensives. Nor do we know whether it is considered, formally or informally, to contribute to the 'moral' education of pupils. For the most part, where outdoor education is available in comprehensives, it generally occupies a small portion of the timetable and is, with exceptions, an optional extra which is mainly financed by the pupils themselves.[3]

More particularly, outdoor education had developed on the periphery of mainstream education and youth work and was widely based upon assumptions underlying the Outward Bound movement (Roberts et al. 1974). These values and ideals emanated from Kurt Hahn who was the main originator of the Outward Bound movement. Hahn had attempted, initially through the establishment in Germany of the Salem school, to put into practice his aims and philosophy. With the rise of Nazism, he fled to Scotland where he founded Gordonstoun. The basis of his philosophy was a critical expression of the education available to boys in Germany, at that time:

> Education fails to introduce activities into a boy's (sic) life (which are) likely to make him discover his powers of a man of action; that strong convictions must be built up in a boy (sic) concerning a democratic way of life through meaningful and purposeful experience. (Kurt Hahn quoted in Wood and Cheffers 1978:17)

And, in the early days of Outward Bound, Hahn was proclaiming, 'Our aim is to lay the foundations of class peace and religious peace.' (Cited in Roberts et al. 1974:68.)

Roberts et al. reported that the principals or wardens of the 'Outward Bound types' of courses which they studied tended to echo these latter sentiments.

In a sense, criticisms which were addressed at the functionalist theoretical perspectives of the era prior to the emergence of the 'new sociology' and to the prevailing input-output, 'black box' research orientation, which ignored interaction and perspectives, can be levelled, for the most part, at research into outdoor education. In the latter context, however, the input-output approach was not concerned with monitoring the acquisition of academic credentials gained by different social class members, but instead its focus was upon attempting to assess whether there was any measurable personal development in young people who participated in various outdoor activity programmes.

Schooling processes had not been rendered problematic within this educational sphere. Traditionally, 'Outward Bound types' of experiences functioned to foster in young people, mainly boys and men[4], attitudes in keeping with variously held values, often associated with notions of a democratic society.

Much research, then, which has focused upon this realm of educational experience, has been mainly psychologically oriented, and sought to measure changes in self concept of, or attitudes in, young people, for the most part within Outward Bound programmes (Strutt 1964; Davies 1972; Fletcher 1971; Keopke 1973). Other types of research which were largely concerned with improving 'adventure programme' effectiveness coded behaviours, using predefined parameters, in order to gain information about variables such as the type and frequency of teacher-pupil interaction and pupil behaviour (Wood and Cheffers 1978; Lumby 1985). Such research has tried, in various ways, to assess or measure the positive aspects associated with adventure education and outdoor pursuits teaching. Generally, these studies were undertaken from 'ideological' perspectives which assumed that this type of experience was necessarily a 'good thing',

that is, from a functionalist perspective. A notable exception, Roberts et al. (1974), who investigated the effects which participation in 'outward bound types' of programmes had upon young people's attitude to their employment, took a different approach.

Influenced by Dawe (1970), Roberts et al. adopted an action perspective rather than the traditional systems frame of reference. They were concerned not only to explore whether young people were 'changed' by these 'people processing institutions', but also to examine the aims of the organisers and sponsors.

In the early '70s, it was conventionally held that the development of a healthy body and a healthy mind could provide an antidote to the perceived psychological and social maladies of youth.[5]

Roberts et al. argued that a pathological notion of young people was not widely held by the teachers and organisers of the 'outward bound types' of programmes which they investigated. Rather, encapsulated in all the courses appears to have been a 'progressive ' philosophy:

> ...in all the courses is enshrined an ideal that has become prominent in modern educational thought; of presenting to the individual situations of challenge that will enable him (sic) to develop and appreciate his (sic) own abilities. (ibid.:16)

Amongst all the organisers' aims was also found the wish 'to create an impact upon participants' characters that would influence their behaviour in later life'. However, Roberts et al. found little evidence that courses of this nature did have any impact upon the 'character' of participants. Nevertheless, they did allude to an increased awareness by some participants of their particular position and status in their work place:

> In some cases the evidence suggests that youngsters were returning from their courses feeling more independent and liable to articulate criticisms about their jobs, firms and supervisors. (ibid.:157)

This unintended consequence is, perhaps, incongruous with that which is generally required of the majority of young people in modern industry, where, as Roberts et al. suggest, 'demand is limited for critical, self-confident and independent young people...' (P.160) Certainly, the responses, upon which Roberts et al. comment, suggest

that some attitudes engendered by the courses appeared to contradict those which, it has been argued, are generally fostered in mainsteam schooling within a capitalist economy:

> They (schools) create and reinforce patterns of social
> class, racial and sexual identification among students which
> allowes them to relate 'properly' to their eventual
> standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the
> production process. (Bowles and Gintis 1976:11)

Here, it is argued that schools reinforce the effects of class cultures in producing distinctive personality attributes in children coming from different social classes. These attributes derive from, and are appropriate to, particular types of occupation characteristic of the different classes. Bowles and Gintis argued that this reinforcement occurs primarily through the social relations of schooling.

In a similar vein, but from a perspective critical of the 'humanistic Marxism' emerging in France in the '50s and '60s, Althusser identifies the necessary diversification of skills with which different pupils become endowed through schooling:

> ...children at school also learn the 'rules' of good
> behaviour, i.e. the attitude that should be observed by
> every agent in the division of labour, according to the job
> he is 'destined' for: rules of morality, civic and
> professional conscience, which actually means rules of
> respect for the socio-technical division of labour and
> ultimately the rules of the order established by class
> domination.
>
> (Althusser 1972:245-6)

Moreover, Bowles and Gintis (1976) proposed in their analysis upon the North American Education System, that there is a correspondence between the structure of the educational experience in mainstream schooling and the creation of attitudes and behaviour most appropriately suited to participation in the labour force. They claim that the educational system's success in this area necessarily implies failure in the spheres of personal development and equality:

> The structure of social relations in education not only
> inures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but
> develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of
> presentation, self-image, and social-class identifications
> which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy.   (Bowles
> and Gintis 1976:131)

and

> The educational system's task of integrating young people
> into the adult work roles constrains the types of personal
> development which it can foster in ways that are
> antithetical to the fulfilment of its personal
> developmental function. (ibid.:126)

The 'macro-theories' underpinning the works of Bowles and Gintis and Althusser, it is argued, tend to produce a distorted account of schooling and society. Interactionists' and interpretivists' critique macro-theories for the ways in which they ignore the active part which individuals play in constructing the society in which they live (cf. Hargreaves 1978). Roberts et al.'s (1974) study, influenced by Silverman (1970), was interpretive in orientation. They recognised the ambiguity of goals within an organisation and supposed there to be a continuous process of negotiation between participants as they sought 'to realise their own goals'.

Whilst attempting to take account of the meanings which participants gave to events and actions, Roberts et al. did not locate these various perspectives in the ongoing processes of the courses.[6] Evidenced from the formal interviews and questionnaires was a considerable variation in the goals to which different participants aspired. They did, however, identify three objectives to which all the course organisers subscribed: to facilitate individual personal development, to inspire a commitment to community service and to influence young people in ways which would enhance social harmony. Two further objectives were found amongst some organisers: these were to develop leadership qualities and to promote constructive use of leisure.

Course organisers' purposes to foster social and personal change, Roberts et al. surmised, were realised and reinforced, in some unspecified way, in the duree of lived through experience within their courses:[7]

> Thus course organisers, often hoping to promote a Utopia
> social order, whilst recognising they possess no scientific
> proof of success, receive a feedback sufficient to secure
> their beliefs that the intended social changes are gradually
> being actualised in the world around. (ibid.:153)

To understand more fully how it was that various individuals and groups continued to participate in 'Outward Bound type' courses, Roberts et al. argued that the individual motives and the cultural spheres from which participants came required investigation and that there was a need to explore:

> the educational cultures from which professionals in the character-training movement tend to be drawn, where much dissatisfaction has reigned concerning the ability of more orthodox types of schooling and youth work to create the better world that many have expected education to foster. (ibid.:153-52)

Here, Roberts et al. allude to the dilemmas which teachers in mainstream schools and youthwork experience, and they point to the choice which some individuals make in order to resolve such tensions; that of migrating to a professional culture in which their own ideals apparently appear to be realised.

A greater understanding of the Outdoor Education movement, its historical development and its various underlying philosophies would, I suggest (while staying closely within an interpretive paradigm), require the adoption of an approach whose focus is 'the life histories' of collectives (Goodson 1984). Such research would locate the individual life experience of key participants within the life history of the Outdoor Education movement, linking these with the socio-historical structure at that time. This type of approach would enable a thorough socio-historical analysis of Outdoor Education and its associated perspectives. And, although beyond the scope of this thesis, is indeed an area which still needs to be addressed.

None of the above mentioned studies have attempted to explore the quality of the learning process itself within the context of outdoor education. There has been no study which has attempted to understand the nature of the experience from both the teachers' and the pupils' perspectives, or to uncover the ways in which particular views, attitudes and beliefs may have been created, maintained or challenged. Nor have these previous studies attempted to uncover the particular dilemmas which teachers may encounter in outdoor activities teaching. Not only is this thesis concerned to explore the context within which human action occurs, but also to uncover the ways in which notions of success or achievement are culturally defined within this realm. The

concepts 'success' and 'failure' can only be explored through analyses of data from the case study outdoor pursuits institute and, to be intelligible, must be juxtaposed with findings from interpretative studies of teaching and learning in mainstream schools.

Inside Classrooms in Mainstream Schools

Contemporary research on schooling which has been ethnographic in nature has often focussed upon the interactions which occur between teachers and pupils in classrooms. A comprehensive overview of such studies undertaken prior to 1981 is given in Delamont (1978, 1981) and Hammersley (1980).

One of the most persistent messages to emerge from work of this nature is that schools and classrooms are places of inevitable conflict between pupils and teachers (Lortie 1975; Woods 1979, 80a, 80b, 83). This perception of schooling has altered little since Waller's reflection upon the processes of teaching and learning, over half a century ago:

> The teacher pupil relationship is a form of institutionalised dominance and subordination. Teacher and pupil confront each other in the school with an original conflict of desires and however much the conflict may be reduced in amount or however much it may be hidden, it still remains. (Waller 1932:195)

In this view, which has been echoed in numerous studies of teaching since, conflict inevitably arises as individual pupils, or groups of pupils, resist attempts to socialize them into the values and goals of the teacher and school. These descriptions, of how teachers and pupils behave in schools, have thus tended to paint a rather bleak and pessimistic picture of schools and teaching. Teachers appear to be generally in a state of open conflict, particularly with boys, who it seems are more actively disruptive in their resistance to schooling than girls (Davies and Meighan 1975; Spender and Sarah 1980). Until the early '80s, and for a variety of reasons, there was little reported research about girls' behaviour in schools and classroom. Acker (1981) points to the predominently male influence prevailing on both research into education, and on the journals through which research is disseminated. Girls' and women's experiences were

marginalized (Delamont 1981) because, as Lynn Davies supposes, research concern was upon those situations and perspectives which appeared to create the most disturbance within classrooms:

> The particular nature of girls' reaction to schooling is a question which has rarely been tackled in the sociology of education; nor has the sociology of deviance taken much account of sex roles... (this) reflects the inevitable research convergence on the obvious, the dramatic. (Davies 1979:59)

However, more recently, Turner (1983) has shown that the behaviour of pupils is rarely consistently difficult within every classroom, when taught by different teachers, nor in all subjects. Pupils may appear to be committed to and to identify with the school's aims and to accept the teachers' rules or in certain circumstances may dismiss them. In extreme cases pupils reject any basis for negotiation, become disruptive or withdraw from the situation (Woods 1980b).

Faced with difficult pupils, teachers devised various strategies in order to cope with them (Woods 1980a). Pupils also developed their own coping strategies (Woods 1980b). (More will be said later about strategy models.) For the most part, however, these studies illuminated only those teaching strategies developed to deal with pupils whose actions were disruptive. This means that we know mainly of those teaching approaches which have been evolved to deal with the problem of boys and boys' problems . Such strategies consisted of giving them more attention in class, in the form of instruction, praise and punishment (Brophy and Good 1974; Martin 1972; Frazier and Sadker 1973; Lundgren 1981; Deem 1980; Delamont 1980; Spender and Sarah 1980; Stanworth 1983). More recently Leoman (1984:25) suggested that mixed PE classrooms exhibit similar patterns of interaction to those which have emerged in co-educational classrooms.

Feminist researchers including Sarah   (1980), Scott(1980), Lee (1980), Wolpe (1977) and Stanworth (1983) drew attention to the effects upon girls of this unequal distribution of teacher time and attention and to the less favourable and different treatment which girls received during these encounters. Stanworth argued that these anomalies crucially shape the developing identities and self images of pupils. Consequently, girls and boys underestimate girls' abilities

and girls generally have lower expectations for themselves than boys.
In seeking to be as unlike the girls as possible, boys also tend to
adopt the girls as a negative reference group (Stanworth 1983). These
studies point to the subtle and complex processes underlying gender
differentiation and the polarisation of boys from girls in classrooms
(cf. Lobban 1978; Clarricoates 1980). Measor and Woods (1984) show
that not long after entering comprehensive schools, boys and girls
seldom interact with each other.

Pupils are often sex-segregated both within the classroom, for
instance when listed on registers, and for certain subjects, for
example, home economics for girls and technical studies for boys.
Moreover, sex-segregation within a subject, as a result of school
and/or departmental organisational policies, is a predominant feature
of PE. Clarricoates (1980) and Byrne (1978) both argue that this
conventional practice is one of a number of factors which assist in
the creation and maintenance of gender identities in school.

> The artificial split for physical education at secondary
> level first endorses in girls' eyes the exclusive
> masculinity of prestige sports which is generally a harmful
> and unnecessary sex message.
> (Byrne 1978:127 cited in Brown et al. 1983:273.)

Similarly, through this practice boys learn of their position, status
and strength. Segregation of this nature reinforces conventional and
stereotypical notions of what are appropriate behaviours for boys and
girls. This also, argued Stanworth, reduces:

> the opportunities pupils have to test gender stereotypes
> against the actual behaviour of classmates of the other sex.
> (Stanworth 1983:19)

Although sociological research has recently begun to pay
attention to pupils' perspectives of whom a few are girls (cf.
Werthman 1963; Davies,L. and Meighan 1975; Furlong 1976; Gannaway
1976; Fuller 1980; Davies,B. 1982; Measor and Woods 1984),
sociological theory has all but ignored girls' perspectives of and
actions in classrooms. Social class membership is still generally the
dominant category for the analyses of social divisions and inequality
(Arnot 1981; Delamont 1981). The tendency, during the '70s, when
studying pupils, was for researchers to focus predominantly on white
working class boys (cf. Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970; Willis 1977). The

subcultural models of pupils' behaviour employed in Ball's (1981),
Hargreaves' and Lacey's studies and developed from Cohen's (1955)
deviance theory emphasises problems associated with the male, working
class role. The studies suggest how groups of pupils, who are
generally male in composition and from working class backgrounds,
rejected the school's middle class criteria and created their own
counter-culture in a response to the organisation and values of the
school. Because, until recently, sociological research has had little
to say about girls and the ways in which boys and girls interact in
lessons, we continue to know very little of the form, content and
quality of teaching which might meet the educational needs, interests
and ambitions of all pupils.

Recent femininist writing directed attention to female
inequalities within the school (Deem 1980; Delamont 1980; Spender
1982; Stanworth 1983). However, the processes whereby gender
identities and images are accomplished, reinforced or challenged
within classrooms have not been very fully explored. Neither has the
issue of gender and the processes of boy/girl interaction taken an
equal and integrated position within conceptual frameworks of
analyses. Female inequality and gender have been marginalised and
often separated from the overall view of schooling. They have
remained unsynthesised within the research process. Moreover, Morgan
(1981) points out that gender is only rendered problematic in studies
concerning females. He suggested that male researchers generally take
their own and other males' 'masculinity' for granted, and fail to see
the relevance of gender characteristics and roles to themselves as
researchers and to those they study.

Two recent and complementary studies of classroom life
(Macpherson 1983 in Australia, Salmon and Claire 1984 in Britain) do
take equal account of boys' and girls' classroom experience.

Macpherson (1983) investigated pupils' classroom culture and
social grouping by analysing their interaction within a traditional
style situation, that is to say, classes in which whole class teaching
was the predominant approach. The analysis, based upon a
'voluntaristic' Parsonian construct of schooling, interpreted student
accounts of relations and activities with classmates in terms of power

and conflict, arguing that peer groups are major agents of socialization. Girls' and boys' accounts are described at length. However, there is a significant absence of observational data to support the analyses. The use only of interview data without observational data for exploring pupils' interactions is limited, since it is insufficient for explaining the intentions and motives which lie behind pupils' action. In addition, as Deutscher (1973) points out, peoples' accounts of their actions may often appear at variance with what they are observed to do. More significantly, boys and girls are likely to express greater gender stereotypicality in accounts and explanations of those actions than their observed behaviour suggests is the case (Lever 1976:480).[8]

Salmon and Claire (1984) present an alternative perspective on classroom experience through the study of four classrooms within two inner London schools. This study takes seriously the racial and gender mix of the pupils within the classroom and attempts to focus equally upon the pupils' meanings and understandings as well as, and in relation to, those of the teachers'. The classrooms were selected for the pupils' high degree of collaboration in their learning, as judged by the researcher. The teachers' perceptions and goals were used to shape the research. Evidence from this study offers a strikingly different portrayal of classroom events and activities from that described in the extensive literature on classrooms to date.[9] Salmon and Claire found evidence to suggest that a collaborative approach to learning in co-educational classrooms may reduce the conventional, hierarchical forms of relations prevailing between boys and girls:

> It seems that making a lesson a collaborative affair in mixed classrooms may carry a positive spin-off for gender relations.   (Salmon and Claire 1984:235)

In Salmon and Claire's study, we see more sensitivity to the interplay between teachers' intentions and actions and to pupils' inter-relationships. The research study moves away from the taken-for-granted conflictual notion of schooling, in which the focus is upon who dominates what, how and when, towards a deeper and more sensitive understanding of human relationships and their possibilities.

Both these studies demonstrate, albeit from contrary perspectives, that a fuller understanding of how learning occurs can only be made if the form of interaction between pupils is taken seriously and explored.

Nevertheless, missing from each study is an understanding and analyses of processes in context; how meanings are accomplished and come to be taken as fact and how the organisational and material features of the particular classroom affect pupils' interaction and their learning.

Turner (1983), who in his research paid attention not only to what pupils said they did but also observed their actions, evidenced the variability of pupils' behaviour. However, an awareness of the ways in which the content of the official curricula bring about variations in socialising and differentiating processes is omitted from the majority of reports of classroom life. Empirical studies of teaching styles, pupil deviance, patterns of teacher-pupil interaction and so forth have remained disassociated from specific classroom teaching subjects. As Hammersley and Hargreaves (1983) point out:

> We know disappointingly little about the standards which different subject teachers set down for pupil behaviour and achievement or about how the pupils themselves respond to different subjects in terms of their perceived relevance to later life. We know quite a lot, that is, about classroom relations in general but very little about the varying nature of curriculum practice in particular. (ibid.:7)

This knowledge of teacher-pupil relations is selected from classrooms conventionally defined as academic, where the subjects taught are frequently formally examinable. Other subject areas, in which formal assessment of pupil progress is concerned with the evaluation of products produced by pupils or is based upon some criteria for pupil performance have not, for the most part, contributed towards an overall theoretical model of the teacher process. Although there have been studies made within music (Vulliamy 1976), and technical studies (Tickle 1983).

Physical Education

Neither teacher-pupil nor pupil-pupil interaction in the curriculum area of PE has been an issue of concern for those whose research approach was interpretive in orientation. Attention by interpretive sociologists to PE and PE teaching has been largely peripheral to the main research focus, and often superfically represented or even misrepresented. Descriptions in Woods (1979), Measor and Woods (1983) and Delamont (1980) do much to perpetuate the traditional stereotypical image of PE and PE teaching, images of which require both pupils and teachers to display various characteristics of toughness. The notion of the 'aggressive' and 'competitive' PE teacher's stereotype (Whitehead and Hendry 1976) is reinforced.

For example, Cohen and Manion (1981) who discuss the strategies which teachers adopt in order to maintain classroom control, specifically identify PE with that of domination and implicitly with constructs of masculinity:

> These features, physical and verbal attacks, diminishing of pupils' selves, are perhaps best illustrated in the gymnasium, Woods suggests, where the PE teacher serves as an exemplar:
>> 'It is no coincidence that many PE teachers progress to senior positions with special responsibility for discipline. For many of these, "survival" and "teaching" are synonymous. The survival techniques of games teachers are built into the structure of their teaching, and are based on relentless efficiency, continuous structured physical activity, barked commands like "stand up straight!", ... "pull, boy pull!" appear as part of the manifest curriculum.'
> As Woods further points out, mortification techniques are used freely by games staff - there are showers and various stages of undress. Stripping people of their clothes strips them of part of their 'selves'.
>
> <div align="center">(ibid.:119)</div>

These references do, however, both highlight the paucity of detailed analyses of PE teaching, the symbolic nature of traditional PE and the myths which surround it. In particular, the effect of a separate and separating curricula for boys and girls has been referred to by a number of researchers (Byrne 1978; Clarricoates 1980; Delamont 1980; Stanworth 1983).

Delamont (1980) described the way in which a female PE teacher, whom she observed creating a 'warm and friendly' lesson, nevertheless consistently maintained the idea of separate gender roles for girls within her all girl class. This observation is substantially supported by the recent work of Scraton (1986) who, from a feminist perspective, focussed her research specifically upon girls' PE teaching. She evidences that girls' PE tends to reinforce rather than challenge stereotypical notions about women's role, behaviour and abilities.[10]

Moreover, Delamont (1980) points to the ways in which pupils, both in her study and others' (Sussman 1977; Karkau 1976) tended to separate themselves in non-formal playground situations, mainly because, she argues, boys monopolised the main activity space to play football and excluded those girls who wished to participate. Furthermore, Holly (1985) points to the mythological place in British Culture occupied by football:

> It is the celebration of male skills and stamina and football matches are the areas for male competition and violence. One of the defining features of football is the systematic exclusion of women. (ibid.:56)

Football, then, symbolises the divisiveness (from 'female') and the emphases upon domination which is associated with the masculine machismo. Even as recently as 1978, Pannick (1983) points out that Lord Denning, in the Court of Appeal, rejected the claim of sex discrimination made on behalf of a talented girl footballer who had been excluded because of her sex from playing for her team in a youth competition. In summing up, Lord Denning commented that the law would be:

> ...exposing itself to absurdity... if it tried to make girls into boys so they could play in a football league.
> (Cited in Pannick 1983:4)

The 'logical ' assumptions which were made in this ruling demonstrate the ways in which the legal system, which purports to maintain an unbiased and 'objective' viewpoint, may in some cases be unable to comprehend the bias with which it acts. In a sense, the law, predominantly influenced and interpreted by males, can legalise and legitimate notions of what constitutes appropriate behaviour for girls and women, not on the grounds of 'ability' but purely on

arbitrary constructs of gender. In so doing, it also trivialised the significant challenge which was addressed to the structures of gender relations.[11]

Both Carrington (1982a,b) and Leoman (1984) have questioned the traditional assumption that the PE curriculum, as it is organised and made available in mainstream schools, is simply a 'good thing'. There is a complexity of often unintended consequences associated with PE and PE teaching. Leoman (1984) points not only to the traditional organisation of the PE curriculum as one of a number of factors which contribute towards girls' disaffection with school PE, but also to the media representation of sport and to the culture transmitted through teenage magazines. These all suggest to girls that participation in sport is both unfeminine and childish.

A study of West Indian underachievement in schools led Carrington to postulate that PE is a sphere in which these pupils become channeled by teachers, who tended to label West Indians as athletic and good sportsmen and women. The over representation of West Indian pupils in the school teams of his study, demonstrated, Carrington argues, that sport was deflecting the energies of black youth away from the development of other competitive credentials and thereby contributing to their disadvantaged position in the labour market. However, Fuller (1980) found that black 'anti-school' girls tended both to pursue academic credentials and to be more greatly represented in school teams than white girls. Low achieving 'anti-school' white pupils of Hendry and Thorpes' (1977) study, however, were found to reject all school values including PE. Roberts (1983) suggested that teenage subcultures considerably influence the leisure activities which pupils adopt.

Numbers of studies which focused specifically upon PE teaching were largely functionalist in orientation (Hendry and Thorpe 1977; Kane 1974) and were initiated as a result of concern by the PE profession at the drop-out of large numbers of pupils from voluntary participation in school sports.[12] These studies, consisting largely of surveys into pupil participation, have however confirmed the notion that voluntary participation in PE is both 'stream' and class related, particularly in the case of girls (Emmett 1971; Saunders and White

1976; Bond 1977; Hendry 1978). They indicated that it is seldom the case that pupils who are academic 'failures' compensate by commitment to and involvement in PE.

Works such as these then suggest that although apparently sites of less visible conflict than academic classrooms, PE classrooms in mainstream schools are effective in supporting and recreating the inequalities of opportunities which pupils experience because of their class, race or gender. Missing from this research, however, is an understanding of how within the PE classroom, either organised as single sex or co-educational grouping, socialisation and differentiation is accomplished. That is to say, few analyses of these processes as they are mediated through and within the PE classroom have been undertaken. Nor have the processes whereby different constructs of gender become accomplished, reinforced or challenged in various contexts been explored.

In the main, then, until recently studies which have focussed upon PE in schools have been functionalist and 'systems' orientated (Jenkins 1983). Jenkins (1983), Hoyle (1977) and Harris (1983) argued for the application of an interpretive approach to the study of PE for similar reasons to those raised in the early '70s in relation to educational studies.[13]

Teacher-Pupil Interaction and Teaching 'Behaviours'

What was noted as a serious omission from the research interest of sociologists of education over a decade ago (cf Walker 1972) can be echoed today with regard to sociological research into PE classrooms.

As I have suggested earlier, the boom in ethnographic studies in Britain, over the last decade, had partially remedied this situation for 'academic' classrooms. At the same time, mainly in America, teacher-pupil interactions in both academic and PE classrooms were studied with the aid of systematic observational schedules.[14]

These schedules, Flanders Interaction Analysis Categories, FIAC, and Cheffers' adaptation of it, CAFIAS, for use in PE classrooms, were derived from a perspective of classrooms which was social-psychological in orientation and whose methodological basis was largely positivistic. A set of pre-determined parameters were used to

code interactions. Schedule research into classrooms has largely not found favour with the majority of British sociologically orientated researchers.

CAFIAS has been predominantly adopted in America (Wood and Cheffers 1978; Anderson 1978; Cheffers and Mancini 1978) to record and code interaction in PE classrooms, and this type of classroom observation is emerging as a parallel methodology for studying PE classroom interaction in Britain (cf. Mawer and Brown 1983; Bailey 1981). Criticism, which has been addressed at the use of schedules for research into academic classrooms (Delamont 1976; Chanan and Delamont 1975; Delamont 1984), can be validly raised at its application for the study of PE classroom. Moreover, given the paucity of PE classroom research, such exploratory research demands a more sensitive approach, as McIntyre (1980:10) points out:

> It is not logically possible to use predetermined categories in order to explore the realities of classroom life and thus to formulate questions which arise from it. Any study of classrooms which is to be useful in formulating research questions cannot, in the first instance, be through systematic observation. (ibid.:10)

Although this study criticizes the application of solely schedule-based classroom research, two American studies of PE classrooms which use CAFIAS as the major research tool will however be discussed, for three reasons.

Firstly, there are so few reported British studies concerning the processes of teaching and learning within PE classrooms. Secondly, the use of the same schedule (CAFIAS) makes possible some comparison between two different areas of the PE curricula, albeit in terms of these parameters. Thirdly, an examination of the similarities and differences between the two areas of study has implications for the direction and focus of my own study, particularly in terms of the questions posed and the nature of the research approach.

Anderson videotaped teacher and pupil behaviour in mainstream PE classrooms, whilst Wood and Cheffers investigated behaviour in the more unusual setting which is broadly termed outdoor or adventure education. Anderson's (1978) prerecorded videotapes of PE lessons were used in an attempt to describe, code and analyse the 'spontaneous classroom behaviours and teacher-pupil interaction with a

minimum of observer bias'(Cheffers and Mancini 1978:39). These
lessons were selected from a number of elementary and secondary
schools. Eighty three video recordings were made during observations
of twenty elementary classes, twenty all-girl classes, twenty all-boy
classes and three co-educational classes.

Wood and Cheffers, by contrast, directly coded behaviour in a
different situational and environmental context and aimed to describe
and isolate such variables as pupil-teacher interaction, pupil-pupil
interaction and the effect on the teaching/learning processes of
situational and environmental context. Their general concern was to
find ways of improving teacher effectiveness in outdoor activities
curricula. In this study each of four co-educational groups of pupils
with ages ranging from 11-15 years, were observed over a period of two
weeks. This study also made an attempt, albeit in a limited fashion,
to understand teachers' and pupils' perspectives by using participant
observation as a supplementary technique of data collection. However,
although acknowledging the importance of the meaning the teachers and
the pupils attached to situations, only surface levels of their
actions and understanding were gleaned: commonly accepted beliefs and
values were not investigated. Questions such as 'Why do teachers and
pupils act in different ways?', and 'What do teachers teach and pupils
learn?', were not explored. That is to say, the underlying
taken-for-granted assumptions themselves were not made problematic,
nor did the researcher reflect upon his own actions, feelings and
interpretations during the study.

The findings of the different studies, however, exhibited
significant differences in teacher-pupil interactions between the two
educational realms. Cheffers and Mancini when analysing Anderson's
videotapes found that the teachers showed almost no
sympathetic-empathetic behaviour towards pupils, nor were they
observed to praise or question pupils. By contrast, Wood and
Cheffers' teachers showed 'encouragement', 'empathy', and acceptance
in response to their pupils' emotional reactions. Further, Cheffers
and Mancini found no significant difference between male or female
teachers, or between teachers in elementary or secondary schools, in
terms of their teaching behaviour and interaction pattern, as these

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were defined by the parameters of the observational schedule. These findings led them to question the separate provisions made for training elementary and secondary teachers, and to ask why co-education in PE classes was not the accepted mode of grouping. There was also concern expressed over the observed disparity between practices carried out by teachers and the PE teacher trainers' ideals. The PE teachers were observed in the gym to be lacking in 'humanistic practices'; such as using praise and encouragement and accepting students' feelings and ideas.

It might be reasonable to account for the similarities in teaching behaviours, observed on Anderson's videotapes, by suggesting that the apparent insensitivity of PE teaching lies in the measuring instrument used, rather than the teachers themselves. However, the differing behaviour of teachers in the two studies suggests that, as well as this, there are a number of unconsidered and unexplored organisational, situational and ideological factors which may have influenced the nature of teachers' actions within these two differing PE contexts. These may have implications for pupils' response to physical activities and to their understanding of themselves and each other.

Through the additional application of participant observation and interviews as research tools, Wood and Cheffers gave some indication of the relevance which pupils felt for this form of educational experience. The predominant opinion expressed by the pupils suggested a high degree of involvement and satisfaction in their experience. The experience had been 'hard' and 'difficult' but 'worthwhile'; 'a rewarding challenge that is fun'. These findings, then, give an impression of pupil acceptance to the values and aims imbued through this particular teaching context. It appears that pupils in this context embraced greater commitment to the prevailing aims, means and values than pupils in state secondary schools (Wood 1983; Turner 1983).

We are not, however, given any notion of these values, nor do we have any understanding of the underlying assumptions which give rise to them. We do not know whether the pupils who expressed these views were defined as 'good' school pupils, or whether these views were

expressed equally by boys and girls. What is also missing from both accounts is an examination of process; how meanings were accomplished within the teacher-pupil encounters and pupil-pupil encounters.

In my own study of one outdoor activities centre, I attempt to fill in this gap in understanding by close observation of the various ways in which implicit and explicit messages are conveyed and received through various teaching approaches, and by examining the interpretation and meaning given to these messages by pupils.

Despite their limitations, the findings from Anderson's videotaped classes and from the study of Wood and Cheffers do raise a number of important and pertinent issues concerning the PE classroom, the PE teacher and teaching in general. Why does the practice of single-sex grouping for PE persist in the majority of state secondary schools, particularly in Britain? This organisational practice is perhaps called into question by the apparently successful operation of co-educational grouping evidenced in Wood and Cheffers' study. However, the question of girls' marginality was not addressed in their study. Another issue concerns the apparent contradiction noticed between those ideals conveyed to PE teachers whilst in training and their actions when they become teachers. Denscombe(1982) cites similar evidence which showed that the transition from college to classroom corresponded with a change in teachers' attitude:[15]

> Away from warm, child-centred, humanistic, progressive and
> 'open' approaches and towards cold, bureaucratic,
> traditional approaches with a custodial pupil control
> ideology. (ibid.:251)

These discrepancies are not unrelated to the anomaly highlighted by a number of interpretive sociologists in their investigations of progressively orientated teachers in academic classrooms (Keddie 1971; Sharp and Green 1975 in Britain, and Gracey 1972 in America). Both Keddie, studying a department within a comprehensive school, and Sharp and Green, investigating a primary school in a working class district, suggested there were contradictions between the ideology articulated by teachers in the 'educationalist' context and the more traditional nature of their pragmatic classroom perspectives and practices.[16] This disparity, between practical teaching approach and teachers' stated aims was also found in PE teaching (cf. Hendry 1978). This was

largely evidenced in the ways in which PE teachers' educational
aspirations of 'success' and satisfaction for each pupil, were
antithetical to the underlying ideology of competition and achievement
expressed through much traditional PE curricula in mainstream
schools.

However, Kane's (1974) survey showed that whilst male PE teachers
preferred a 'direct' teaching approach, female PE teachers preferred
'guided-discovery' and 'problem-solving' approaches. This indicated,
Kane suggests, that females adopt a more 'open' approach in their
teaching. This analysis is somewhat simplistic, since firstly it
assumes that these teachers did practically realise their preferred
teaching approach. Secondly, these teaching styles were rather
crudely defined and could be open to a variety of interpretations by
both the teachers and the researcher. However, it does suggest that
the particular training to which teachers are exposed may have had
some influence upon the various ways in which teachers perceive
teaching. Traditionally, female and male PE teachers have tended to
undergo different and separate training (Fletcher 1984; Scraton 1986).

In essence, then, teachers' behaviour in 'academic' classrooms
appears, in many cases, remarkably similar to the PE teachers'
behaviour in Anderson's study. We can reasonably suppose, therefore,
that there is some congruity in those factors which effect both PE and
academic classrooms in mainstream schools.

Sharp and Green point to external and material pressures, such as
accountability and teacher-pupil ratio, effecting teachers' working
conditions and so the ways in which they encounter pupils. These
constraints, they argue, originate through the prevailing class
structure of industrial capitalism. Inadequate empirical
substantiation, however, is offered as to how the predominant societal
ideology is mediated through these teachers' actions.

Experiences within classrooms which are gained both when a child
and later as a teacher, Denscombe (1982) proposed, foster in teachers
a set of pragmatic beliefs about their work, central to which is the
need to maintain classroom privacy and establish classroom control.
These beliefs, he argued, are shaped by classroom experience, which is
itself shaped by the characteristic features of the material, social

and organisational context. Teacher training may interrupt these beliefs, but practical imperatives and the expectations of parents and colleagues cause teachers to share particular frustrations and dilemmas both within academic and PE classrooms. These exigencies along with the importance placed upon the need to control pupils' behaviour, Denscombe argued, re-establish these pragmatic beliefs which then become realised in teachers' action, in the ways in which teachers go about organising, managing and controlling their classrooms.

Stebbins (1975), in his ethnographic study of academic classrooms in Newfoundland and New Zealand, also found a similarity in classroom structure. The basic interaction patterns were found to be much the same within different classrooms. Much classroom research, then, suggests that teachers' actions in classrooms in mainstream schools may be fairly similar across different subject areas perhaps even for different subjects in different countries.

The Pupil and Decision-making

Central to classroom control, and thus to an understanding of teaching, must be the pupil and how she/he adapts to and acts within the circumstances operating within the classroom.

Galton et al. (1980), Galton and Willcocks (1983) and Turner (1983), although working from different theoretical perspectives and using different research methods, both explored pupils' actions in classrooms. Galton employed systematic observational schedules,[17] whilst Turner adopted an ethnographic research approach.

Working within a socio-psychologically orientated paradigm Galton based his research on schedule observation and explored and described pupils' observed adjustment to school in lessons. Vast amounts of data identified, in terms of the predefined schedule parameters, what pupils and teachers did in lessons. Pupils' response to learning (as defined by the schedule parameters) was seen to be influenced by the ways in which the teacher organised and made available the curricula to the pupil. Although paying considerable attention to pupils' and teachers' actions in lessons, this research, as Galton himself admits, is limited:

> While the analysis of frequency counts enables links to be
> made between certain courses of action by the teacher and
> certain responses by the pupil it is necessary to 'flesh
> out' such findings by describing the context in which the
> behaviour occurs.   (Galton and Willcocks 1983:60)
> It is important to go beyond the process of mere description
> and to seek explanations as to why certain teachers and
> pupils behave in the way they do and the effects such
> behaviours have on pupil learning.   (ibid.: 1983:58)

Galton and many other classroom researchers failed to take
seriously, or to explore empirically, pupils' decision-making and its
contextual variability. Pupils' behaviour is influenced, in part, by
the way they interpret, and give meaning to, the overt and the covert
messages conveyed through school organisation and teacher interaction.
These interpretations have implications for pupils' learning outcomes;
how pupils reckon their ability to learn, how they evaluate others'
ability, what they consider appropriate behaviour for themselves and
others.

Turner (1983) elaborated on the notion of pupil decision-making
with respect to Werthman's (1963) findings, and suggested that pupils
react often in response to the ways in which teachers make decisions.
He described how individual pupils slipped into and out of various
behavioural modes depending upon decisions they made within particular
contexts. These decisions were influenced by a variety of factors,
which were not simply culturally determined, but were concomitant, in
part, upon pupils' common and individual understandings of teachers,
subjects and teaching methods (Furlong 1976:169).

The process of pupils' decision-making within the classroom was
seriously explored in Turner's work. He examines and takes account of
pupils' habitual and taken-for-granted understanding and definitions
of the situation in which they work, together with their variable
motives and intentions. Individual pupil's choice, then, he suggests,
is contextually variable, governed by shifting personal goals. Pupils
exhibit different behaviour as they respond to their understanding of
what it means to learn in any particular context. Turner, although
centring his research around pupils who were committed to passing
examinations, was able, through this focus, to show that pupils'

behaviour was determined at any one time by the relationship they saw between the teachers' requirements and the goals to which they were committed.

Turner refrains from situating his study within the context of the school organisation or the wider social structure. In anticipation of, and as a response to, similar criticism to that which had previously been levelled at research presenting classroom interaction in 'splendid isolation' (Hargreaves, A. 1980:168), he adopted the principle of division of labour in research (Hammersley 1980).[18] Nevertheless, although we are shown the variability of pupil behaviour in different context, we are no further forward in understanding how the processes of pupil decision-making interrelates with teacher intention and approach and the school organisation.

<p style="text-align:center">* * *</p>

I have exemplified, through reference to various classroom research, how the different ways in which learning is made available to different pupils is contingent upon the teachers' need to maintain classroom order within prevailing constraints. These constraints, as they are realised by teachers in their encounters with pupils, it is argued, lead to the reproduction of class inequalities (Sharp and Green 1975; Woods 1979, 1980; Hargreaves 1978). The literature also shows that boys and girls receive and realise girls' subordinate position to boys, through the prevailing messages and the predominant classroom interaction patterns which place boys central to classroom life. These gender differentiating processes thus may lead to the reproduction of gender inequalities.

Turner's work along with that of Wood and Cheffers, Anderson and Denscombe, have particular implications for my own study. Both Turner and Denscombe suggest there is a complex interrelation between teacher and pupil behaviours in classrooms, shaped by the characteristic features of classroom life. How pupils act in school depends to a large extent upon their interpretation of the teacher's basis for evaluations, and behaviour is seen, in Turner's work, as largely instrumental in pupils committed to examinations.

We noticed, when comparing Wood and Cheffers' and Anderson's studies, a diversification of responses and teaching behaviours (as defined by the schedule). These we might tentatively propose arose out of differing situational and material context in which the teachers found themselves or chose to work.[19] My study, then, attempts to examine co-educational outdoor activities curricula which apparently appear to facilitate a teaching behaviour which seems generally to be different from that conventionally found in mainstream PE and academic classrooms.

Through ethnographic research within one outdoor pursuits centre, I attempt to examine whether social relations, as they are shown generally to exist in schools, are similarly accomplished within this institution. I shall show how, in certain circumstances, an alternative definition prevails in which social relations appear transformed. If we are to understand the ways in which social relations are accomplished then some notion of the particular material, ideological ,social and organisational features which shape them needs to be explicated.

Theoretical developments

Hammersley (1984b, 1985) has argued that the paucity of well developed and systematically tested theories in the sociology of education is a consequence of the macro-micro dispute which has polarized around theoretical perspectives (predominantly Marxist and interactionist) rather than focusing upon substantive research problems.

Elsewhere Hammersley (1984c) points out that there is no shortage of theoretical ideas in ethnographic work and exemplifies Measor's (1983) work on girls and science. This work he proposed could provide a 'promising theory' regarding the affects of the socialization into 'masculine' and 'feminine' behaviours. Likewise, Measor (1984), continuing along her original theoretical dimension, referred to the substantive data of her study relating to pupils' informal and formal culture and pointed out that similar data to her own was discussed in Lambart (1976). We see then common ground established between these

two studies whose sensitizing category is gender and whose theoretical

dimension is socialization. Depressingly, one year later,

Hammersley (1985), suggesting ways in which theory might be developed

and tested, used the Manchester studies on banding and streaming as

an exemplar but excluded Lambart's (1976) study. He argued that the

studies carried out by Hargreaves, D. (1967) and Lacey (1976) in boys'

grammar and secondary schools respectively and later by Ball (1981)

provide one of 'the few examples of a powerful theory which has

survived systematic testing' (p.244). This theory, which he called

the differentiation and polarization theory, claims that under certain

conditions, differentiation (on academic-behavioural standard) will

lead to polarization in attitudes, those ranked lowest rejecting

school values. The work of Lambart (1976), part of the original

'team' who researched a girls' grammar school, is excluded from his

discussion since, 'Lambart did not adopt this focus, not least because

strong differentiation was not to be found' (entered in an end note 5,

p255). Here we see, as in much previous research and

theoretical analysis, the exclusion of data relating to females

because it does not fit the male bias of the theory, even though there

are evidently substantive links. Furthermore, Furlong (1985) argues

that insufficient attention was paid to class dimensions in these

studies.

Interactionist research which has endeavoured to plot links

between interpersonal relations, features of the school organisation

and broader societal structure has generally focused upon the

strategic action of teachers or pupils. Evans (1982), whose work

attempted such an analysis, points to the different theoretical

perspectives from which work of this order emanates:

> That of Westbury (1973) and Woods (1979) is interactionist
> in inclination; Sharp and Green (1975), Willis (1977) and
> Hargreaves (1978) are neo-marxist in flavour; Lundgren (1972,
> 1977) following Dahllöf (1966, 1969, 1971) is more
> difficult to locate with its roots in socio-linguistic
> tradition and a 'systems' quality to it. Each of these
> studies, however, has a common concern to illustrate how
> teachers and pupils strategically adapt to pressure and
> problems faced in their work.   (Evans 1982:16)

Again, these works were concerned with the processes whereby class inequalities are reproduced but they ignored the mechanisms of gender inequalities.

The reasons for adopting teachers' strategic action as the research focus, Hargreaves (1978) argues, are because:

> By focusing on the teacher, the dilemmas she faces and her attempts to resolve them we might be able to connect within one framework the how and the what questions (previously the major preserve of interpretive sociology) and the 'why' questions (over which Marxists and functionalists have thus far exercised a considerable monopoly).   (ibid.: 1978:75)

Limitations of the strategies model as a basis for the development of a conceptual framework, however, have been identified (Hammersley 1980; Evans 1982; Galton and Willcocks 1983)

Hammersley (1980) criticises the strategies model for its portrayal of human action as the conscious pursuit of goals:

> (W)ith strategies being used to overcome obstacles to the achievement of those goals thrown up by social structural situational constraints. (ibid.:1980:56)

And for neglecting the phenomenological perspective which suggests that much human action is routine and taken-for-granted. Galton and Willcocks address a similar criticism to Hargreaves' (1980) study, albeit from a psychological perspective:

> Teaching must be seen not only as a coping activity but also as a way in which individuals tend to express their own beliefs about teaching and learning. An analysis of the strategies used in classroom must involve psychological constructs as well as sociological ones.
> (Galton and Willcocks 1983:182-3)

However, eliciting psychological constructs would merely describe individual teacher's and pupil's ideas and beliefs and, although important, would not allow more dynamic analyses of the processual nature of teaching; that is how, in the process of teaching, human action and beliefs are accomplished and interrelate within and with particular contexts.

Jackson (1968) and Doyle (1977) point to the unpredictability of classroom events, where subconscious selection of appropriate lines of action constitute much routinised classroom behaviour. Douglas (1974)

argues that settings in which much activity has become highly
organised and routinised are those in which meanings have become most
taken-for-granted by people:

> The members (in highly organised settings) do not have to
> verbalize their accounts very fully and they do not face
> many problems in providing justifiable accounts to other
> members because they have already been through most of the
> arguments about what should be done in the situations they
> face.   (ibid.:41)

The case study institute presents a highly routinised setting in
which the same material is presented to different pupils from week to
week, and much of what happens is 'understood' and taken-for
granted.[20]

A further point, I would like to make, follows from Hammersley's
(1980) criticism of the concept of strategy which he suggests lacks a
clear and consistent definition. I would argue that the underlying
assumption about the nature of the teaching process, as it is analysed
and conceptualised through the notion of teaching strategies, is one
which has taken-for-granted a necessarily conflictual nature of
teaching. This, as I have previously suggested, is a result of the
focus of classroom research which has tended to be on 'the obvious,
the dramatic' (Davies 1979). We see this explicitly stated in the
opening paragraph of Woods (1980b):

> This particular image of a person as coper, manager,
> dramatiser, rationalising his way through means to ends,
> adjusting behaviour according to situations and
> contingencies, continually monitoring the process of action,
> checking and re-casting his own thoughts and intentions in
> line with changing possibilities and expectations, in short,
> as a deviser of strategies, is basic to interactionist
> approaches, and particularly apt for the study of largely
> conflictual situations like schools. (ibid.:11, my
>
> emphasis)

Behaviour is also seen, then, to be actively and consciously
realised and directed towards individuals' own personal goals, with
little reference to the possible implication of these intentions for
others; a notion of concern for other people is missing, action is
portrayed as motivated only through self interest.

The notion of teacher and pupil strategies, then, I would argue,
not only neglects teachers' and pupils' taken-for-granted beliefs and
perceptions but also presupposes and encapsulates within it an

underlying assumption of the form and intention of interaction, which denies alternative intentions or processes and does not create potential for development of a comparative dimension.

Only by examining pupils', as well as teachers', actions and how these actions interrelate as realisations of pupils' as well as teachers' underlying beliefs, intentions and motives, within the variable context in which they work, can potential for change be identified or alternative forms of process be exposed.

Hammersley acknowledges the importance of contextual variation and the need to pay attention to opportunity as well as constraint in any analysis of teaching:

> It must be recognised that this situation both facilitates and constrains teachers' acts (Giddens 1979:69), moreover which aspects of the situation facilitate and which constrain teacher action can only be judged in relation to the nature of that teaching.   (Hammersley 1980:52)

A conceptual framework which allows satisfactory comparison of different forms of teaching and learning processes must enable the research to address the possibility of opportunities as well as constraints, collaboration as well as conflict.

Chapter 2

THE RESEARCH ACT - A METHODOLOGICAL DISCUSSION

Part 1 - PRELIMINARIES

The act of researching social systems is beset with contra-
dictions and tensions both in the realm of theoretical conceptuali-
sation which informs the research[1], and within the pragmatic sphere of
research activity.[2] Silverman (1985) points to the conceptual
polarity which has until recently enhanced the divisiveness between
rival theoretical frameworks. On the one hand, there are those who
argued that ultimately social process could only be explained with
recourse to structural factors - 'society', 'system', 'functional
prerequisites', and 'mode of production'. On the other hand,
protagonists argued that social process could only be fully explained
by exploring situational and interpersonal factors - 'symbolic
interaction', 'everyday world, 'individual' and 'accounting
practices'.

Quantitative survey research, associated largely with the former
'systems'perspective, dominated until the late '60s when the
increasing critiques of positivism encouraged qualitative methods to
take a more central position in social research.

Silverman (1985) and Kenny and Grotelueschen (1984), the latter
who specifically address educational research, each suggest that
critics of positivism were largely unequivocal about what it was they
wished to avoid but could offer little in the way of what should
replace it.

For Silverman, three assumptions form the basis of this critique
of positivism:

> 1. ... in an inter-subjective world, both observer and
> observed use the same resource to identify 'meaning'.

> 2. ... statistical logic and an experimental method are not
> always appropriate for the study of this inter-subjective
> world ...

3. Practically, because we are dealing with an inter-
subjective world ... we can no longer ... accept a picture
of objective 'experts' manipulating 'variables' to produce
'better' outcomes as tolerable for research practice.
(ibid.:ix)

Consequently, there tended to evolve a polarity between
qualitative and quantitative methods (Halfpenny 1979), in which, as
Burgess (1984b) points out, the former is considered to be 'soft',
'subjective' and 'speculative' and the latter assumed to be associated
with 'hard', 'objective' and 'rigorous' research. Burgess goes on to
indicate that there are some cases in which both approaches have been
used in the process of research either complementing each other or
integrated together. Griffin (1985) comments, however, that although
both quantitative and qualititative techniques have been used in
projects, they acquire relative status which is dependent upon the
theoretical perspective underpinning that research.

Educational research, during the previous decade, has opened up
the 'black box' in an attempt to explore the processes occurring in
mainstream schooling (cf.Chapter 1). Hargreaves (1980) identifies
from this work three dimensions through which research focussed upon
the classroom. First, systematic observational studies in which the
emphasis was upon quantification. Second, ethnography in which
participant observation and unstructured interviews featured
prominently and thirdly, socio-linguistic studies. Such
categorisation, as he points out, is arbitrary since there exists much
dialogue between perspectives and frequent interchange of methods
within one study. For example, Delamont (1976) used both systematic
and participant observational methods in her study within girls'
private schools in Scotland. She reports the greater difficulty which
she experienced in attempting to analyse the non systematic obser-
vation in comparison with the relative simplicity of systematic data
analysis (Delamont 1984). Both these techniques were used in Galton's
project to explore pupils' transition from middle to secondary school
(Galton et al. 1983). Galton and Delamont (1985) discuss the
relationship between these forms of data collection in a large scale
study.

Such techniques; quantitative systematic observation, participant observation and socio-linguistic research, are all methods in which the researcher works 'in the field' to explore educational phenomena. Woolcott (1982) argues that it is not technique which identifies particular work in the field but rather the attention which is given to cultural perspectives. For Wolcott, as for others - Willis (1977), Griffin (1985), Davies, L. (1979,84) and so forth - it is an approach which is sensitive to the individual and to social processes which is the distinguishing feature within field research and which is generally identified as ethnography:

> Ethnographic research on teachers (and pupils), like ethnographies in general, aims to describe and explain the culture of a social group and examine the circumstances in which this culture arises. Rather than focus on the outcome of the teaching process - its end-product measured in terms of its efficiency at instilling knowledge or its contribution to the persistence of capitalism -ethnographers are primarily interested in the customs and behaviour of the group and, in particular, the members' understanding of the world in which they operate.
> (Denscombe 1983: 107)

Furthermore, qualitative cultural analysis, through ethnographic method facilitates ways of 'understanding individual experience within a group context.' (Griffin 1985)

> ... (it) tries to maintain that tension between individual as active social agent, the product of a given 'life history', capable of making positive decisions and choices, and the individual as influenced by specific social structures and ideologies. (ibid.:106)

Nevertheless, she points out that she, along with other feminist researchers (Walden and Walkerdine 1982; Davies, L. 1979, 84a), has questioned the relevance with concepts such as 'culture' and 'identity' have to understanding female experience. Insofar as concepts of culture and identity have been defined through research which was predominantly male oriented, in terms of the researcher's sex and the research focus within both male domains and mixed sex social situations, I would concur. However, I would argue, in a similar vein to Silverman (1985), that the problem lies not with culture or identity but with this emphasis which has been laid upon descriptions of the dramatic in ethnography in preference to uncovering the ways in which every day meanings and relations are

sustained and understood by the various participants in any setting. Rather, if account is taken of all individuals' actions and under-standings as they are accomplished within any social process, then these concepts become meaningful and can be utilised, reinterpreted or modified.

In concordance with contributors to Burgess (1984a, 85), I too experienced the research process not as distinct, neat methodological procedures but as a tight interweaving of theoretical, technical and moral aspects brought together within the field study. To take an analogy from the realm of quantum mechanics in physics, the research process was not a discrete bundle of events but rather the continuous interplay of 'wave' patterns. The research design, then, is not a static segment of the research process which precedes the immersion in the field, rather it is dependent upon the social site selected, and in ethnography refers 'to a multitude of decisions that have to be taken over the whole course of the field work' (Atkinson 1979). Ethnographic research is assumed not to follow one single ideal but is oriented towards a number of commitments which Atkinson identifies as follows:

    a) The problem of understanding social action.
    b) The emphasis on process.
    c) The investigation of 'natural' settings.
    d) The study of social phenomena in their context.
    e) The assumption that there are always multiple
       perspectives.

                                                    (ibid.:45)

An ever present consideration, in any social investigation, is the way in which researchers take account of their relationships with, and impact upon those people and social groups with whom they are intent upon studying.

This consideration led researchers of a positivistic orientation to attempt to eliminate or reduce, through their research design, the contextual features of a social situation under investigation. The researcher is seen as an objective, apolitical and value-free being, who works at a necessary distance from the 'object' of study (Griffin 1985: 100). Whilst such concerns led those researchers of a naturalistic orientation to attempt to understand and describe the 'natural attitude' of a setting and its members, in the terms of its

members (Schutz 1972). In so doing, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Silverman (1985) argue that 'common sense' knowledge becomes exalted. They maintain, therefore, that it is assumed in both positivistic and naturalistic research that the effect of the researcher upon individuals, or the social group under study, can be effectively erased. In the former by the research design, and in the latter through the assimilation of the researcher into the social group.

Throughout, I hold the view that research is a social activity and that the researcher is part of the world he/she explores, and as such is, or becomes, part of the ongoing social process (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 14; Wilson 1974: 69-70).

This view which assumes that the researcher cannot be erased from the research process underpins the notion of reflexivity and, necessarily, leads the researcher to be explicit about his/her actions throughout the research project. Giddens (1976:17) points to the significance of reflexivity, which for him, is synonymous with self awareness, in all realms of human conduct.

As Hammersley (1983) illustrates, this notion of reflexivity has fundamental implications for the manner in which the research is conducted and reported:

> Firstly ... the researcher's own actions are open to
> analysis in the same terms as those of other participants
> ... (secondly) an obligation is placed on the researcher to
> make himself/(herself) aware of the decisions he/(she) is
> taking and the motives that underlie those decisions ...
> Thirdly, (reflexivity) leads to the requirements that the
> activities of the researcher are not to be left out of the
> research report. (ibid.:3-4)

In a similar vein, Burgess (1984a) argues for more 'first person' accounts on studies of educational settings which address methodological issues, and which illuminate principles and processes involved in 'doing' educational research.

This account, then, of a research act is both introspective and reflexive, and has been written with reference to, and by drawing upon, memos and notes which were made prior to, during and after the period of study 'in the field'. It will explicate the courses of action which I chose and the reasons I had for choosing them. I shall explain why I used particular methods of data collection and I hope to illuminate the decisions which I made when selecting contexts,

phenomena and foci for observation. I hope to show how these
decisions were influenced by the constraints and opportunities afforded
me both by the setting and the participants therein, and by my own
concerns, intentions and thoughts. Through this narration, then, I
shall explore the effect the research may have had upon those members
participating in the research act, and I shall briefly discuss the
inter-relationships between theory, method, data collection and data
analyses. In short, I shall be concerned with the research process.

Foreshadowed Problems

Research, it is suggested, should begin with a set of
'foreshadowed problems' and should not be burdened with 'preconceived
ideas' (Malinowski 1922: 8-9; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:29).
Malinowski (1922), reported in Burgess (1982), argues that 'good
training in theory is a necessary prerequisite for the scientific
thinker', and that acquaintance with its latest results is not
identical with being burdened with 'preconceived ideas'. He terms
'Preconceived ideas', those ideas to which the researcher dogmatically
adheres even in the light of evidence which may contradict them. To
this notion must be added a further dimension; I would suggest that
knowledge of, and unqualified acceptance of, theory may also
constitute 'preconceived ideas' which the researcher may consciously
or unconsciously bring to the field study, and this dimension must
also be taken account of in any research project.

Glaser in Burgess (1982) suggests the following consequence to
the research if theory is 'preconceived', '... Because if (the theory)
is ungrounded, when applied to data such theory forces the data in
many ways.' (Glaser 1982:225)

Researchers in the field may keep informal and formal notes or
diaries of their activities, utilizing them for 'self expression',
'self exploration', and 'self analysis' (Burgess 1982:191-94; Geer
1964). Infrequently, accounts of a researcher's experiences, which
are drawn from these personal notes, are included as methodological
appendices to research reports. Turner (1983) and Davies, B. (1982)
adopted this style of presentation.

More usually, however, personal accounts are reported some time after the research itself has been published (Burgess 1984; Lacey 1978; Whyte 1955). Such autobiographical methodological reports may, 'unconsciously reveal something about the researcher's own attitudes, values and beliefs, and as such may open the research to examination for 'preconceived ideas' (Burnett 1977, cited in Burgess 1982:132).

This subsequent account of research into teaching and learning in the context of one outdoor activities centre is offered, therefore, not only as a methodological resource but as topic for discussion and scrutiny.

Foreshadowed Problems or Preconceived Ideas?

My interest in outdoor activities developed with my personal teaching experience. I had taught a variety of subjects, both within mainstream schools and in outdoor educational contexts. My concern to research experiences and relationships in outdoor activities teaching arose just prior to my entering higher education. A university environment, I supposed, would encourage critical thought and would present opportunities for, and give support to, research. More significantly, soon after entering the university, I began to doubt my own perception of teaching. It appeared to me, that I held a different notion of teaching from that of my immediate colleagues. I felt my concept of teaching may have been influenced by my involvement in teaching outdoor activities. My self doubt led me to question the belief, which I held, that outdoor activities could offer pupils a valid and relevant educational experience.

I was unsure precisely what my assumptions about teaching were. They somehow hinged upon, and seemed influenced by, the kinds of relationships which appeared to me to exist between teachers and pupils in outdoor activities, and upon the kinds of learning contexts in which pupils' self confidence may be fostered. I was also aware that children and teachers seemed to behave differently when participating in various outdoor activities, both those connected with the school curriculum and those made available through residential situations, than when participating in the conventional school situation. Reflecting upon my previous teaching experience over a

number of years within a variety of schools, in which I had taught in the 'academic' realm of the curriculum (physics and mathematics) and within the PE curriculum, I appear to have held underdeveloped or 'commonsense' views concerning the limitations of 'academic' subjects and the possibilities inherent in forms of education which moved away from these traditional models. In retrospect, I think the main thrust of my feelings about teaching were concerned with the ways in which pupils 'learn' and what it was they learnt about themselves and each other. I felt that enjoyment was a predominant feature of pupil motivation, and that pupils responded when they were given trust and responsibility, which, to me, seemed more easily realisable in an outdoor education situation. I wished, therefore, to explore and examine the nature of pupils' experience and the teaching relation- ships within the latter context.

A short time later, my research interest was further stimulated by the action of educational policy makers, and by the apparently contradictory opinions held by them and by those practically involved in teaching. The economic climate had caused a number of LEAs to reduce or withdraw financial support to institutes involved with outdoor activities teaching. One such institute, which I shall refer to under the pseudonym of Shotmoor outdoor pursuits centre, was reprieved from closure by the immediate concerted action of centre staff, headteachers, teachers, children and members of the local community. This collective action suggested, to me, that those people participating in outdoor activities considered them, at least as they were presented at Shotmoor, to offer a useful and meaningful educational experience to pupils.

My initial and principal aim was to find a research methodology which would enable me to explore the teaching and learning processes in outdoor activities, and to explore and explicate the pupils' experience therein. I required a methodology which would allow participants involved in a study an opportunity to express themselves freely, which would not impose upon the participants and the situation, and, in which the views that participants might express of their experiences would be accredited equal value and status with those of other participants and the researcher. Survey and question-

naire methods, as I perceived them at that time, did not seem to easily accommodate these ideals. Firstly, they would impose one view only of the situation to which respondents could comment. Secondly, the completing of questionnaires during a time in which usually no writing was undertaken, I felt, would be intrusive to the pupils. However, I did explore the possibilities of using repertory grid techniques.

This method, which is based on Kelly's personal construct theory (cf. Bannister and Fransella 1971), can be used to elicit peoples' constructs of themselves, other people and their experiences.[3] I felt that the basic assumptions underlying this theory most closely matched my own views about the ways in which people come to be aware of, make sense of and act upon their life experiences.[4] The theory also acknowledges that peoples' constructs validly represent their perception of reality.

A year or so after my initial search for acceptable research methods, by way of a new colleague, I became acquainted with and interested in interpretive sociologies and their associated research methods. I also became interested in interpretive research in schools and, later, aware of the broader perspective and understanding this literature gave me of schools and schooling.

The Pilot Study

Research approaches associated with interpretive sociologies and utilized in much of the interpretive and ethnographic research in schools, require the researcher to become familiar with the participants and the ways in which they go about living their every day life. Such familiarisation is generally made when the researcher adopts some form of observation within the site under study. (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 93-44; Spradley 1980) (More will be said about observational methods in Part II.)

I was already closely acquainted with an educational estab-lishment whose central concern is outdoor activities, and which I referred to earlier as Shotmoor outdoor pursuits centre. I had taught at Shotmoor on various occasions over a period of years, and had also visited the centre with groups of pupils, as a teacher of physical

education employed in one of the local schools. This acquaintance with the institute and its staff enabled me to arrange, easily, a three day pilot study in December 1981. The pilot study highlighted a number of problems. As Lofland (1971) points out, close association between a researcher and the social group he/she wishes to study can have both advantages and disadvantages. A researcher's familiarity with a setting should give him/her easier access to participants' perspectives: the researcher may experience the world in ways not unlike that experienced by other members, and, therefore, may gain an understanding of the ways in which they make sense of that world. However, actions and motives may seem so obvious, to the researcher, that they may be taken-for-granted as common sense knowledge and so ignored.

Becker (1971) has pointed to this as a significant problem for teachers researching aspects of their own or others' teaching. I found this to be so during the pilot study. For the most part, I could find very little to write about when observing pupils in lessons. However, this short sojourn into the field of observational research, did give me a number of important insights and experiences. Firstly, I felt I was unable to make explicit my own taken-for-granted assumptions about teaching in this context and therefore unable to explicate the similar or different assumptions held by various Shotmoor teachers. Secondly, when observing pupils in lessons, I felt I was intruding on teachers' privacy, although none of the teachers, at that time, gave me any reason to think they felt this to be so. This tension, which I also experienced constantly throughout the main field study, was created, I see now, from the conflict in loyalties which I felt when I encountered teachers and pupils. Previously, my communications with teachers and pupils would have been for social or teaching reasons, now they became primarily for the purpose of research. Jarvie (1982) suggests this tension can arise out of, what he terms, a researcher's integrity crisis. I will explore such problems, in more detail, in a later section.

Thirdly, I was able to test out the use of the repertory grid technique. I was still, at that time, not confident that research that was not, at least in some final analysis, quantifiable would be

accepted as creditable research. However, I found that when I administered the grid to individual pupils in order to elicit their constructs, they became inhibited. They appeared to be trying to find out how they were expected to react rather than responding freely. I gained a more spontaneous account of their views about their experience, themselves and other people through talking informally with them.

Data from these informal interviews made during the pilot study,were used in the construction of the pupils' questionnaire, which pupils completed during the study proper. The pupil question-naire (appendix I), which was completed by 385 pupils, was tested by ten pupils just prior to the field study, in December 1982.

The pilot study, then, although causing me to abandon the repertory grid as a research technique did enable me to perceive issues and problems to which I needed to respond. As a result of the pilot study, I found it necessary to attempt to 'distance' myself from the setting. That is to say, I attempted to avoid, where possible, the Shotmoor teachers and continued to read a variety of sociological, methodological and educational works in order to gain a broader perspective on schooling and social systems. I still remained, however, in fairly regular contact with a number of the institute's staff and I was involved, at times, on a very small scale, in some teaching there.

My reasons for this action were as follows. I was not only concerned to become more theoretically informed and perhaps, therefore, more competent to undertake the research, but I also wished to view the phenomena as 'anthropologically strange', that is, to question my own assumptions. As Garfinkel (1967) argues:

> For members doing sociology, to make that accomplishment a topic of practical sociological inquiry seems unavoidably to require that they treat the rational properties of practical activities as 'anthropologically strange'. By this I mean to call attention to 'reflexive' practices such as the following: that by his(her) accounting practices the member makes familiar, commonplace activities of everyday life recognisable as familiar, commonplace activities, that on each occasion that an account of common activities is used, that they be recognised for 'another first time'.
> (Garfinkel 1967:9)

My knowledge, views and assumptions about the organisation, the teachers and the teaching processes at the institute, and my own perceived competence therein, enabled me to presume a taken-for-granted understanding of 'interactional competences' within the centre.[5] This familiarity with a setting is, of course, the prime aim of any researcher orientated towards an interpretive approach. However, I needed to 'see' the setting from a different angle; to make my 'natural attitude' to the dynamic processual nature of teaching at Shotmoor 'problematic' or 'strange'.[6] I wished to describe and interpret the teaching and learning processes and the forms of relations in terms which would be communicable to academic debate. In a sense, and rather grandly, I suppose I wished to enable 'greater understanding between different systems of thought' (Silverman 1985:164 referring to Habermas and hermeneutics). Rather than aiming for 'mutual translatability', however, I was more concerned, then, with one- way communication; from the 'culture' of outdoor education to the wider educational sphere.

Ten months after the pilot study, I offered a research proposal for consideration for a research degree. There were a number of reasons for this. Firstly, I wished the work to be judged by academic criteria, since without such acknowledgement, I supposed, any findings would not be considered creditable. This need for formal recognition, I now realise, was due to a strongly felt notion of which I was not totally aware at that time. This was my subconscious assumption that, generally, work undertaken by females, particularly work of an interpretive and largely non-quantifiable nature, was frequently disregarded and not readily accepted. Secondly, I wished to acknowledge formally the tutorial assistance given me by my colleague and thirdly, I wished to gain leave to pursue the research in the field.

The phenomena, which I was now interested in investigating, consisted of the ways in which the processes of teaching and learning at Shotmoor were undertaken and perceived by teachers and pupils. I wished to explore the meanings which teachers and pupils attached to the ways in which knowledge was presented and organised, and the personal, social and physical resources and predispositions which they drew upon to understand, make sense of and act upon the situation.

The study was also to be concerned with differences and similarities in the teaching and learning processes and forms of relations within Shotmoor, and between it and mainstream schools. It was not possible, in the time available to me, to make any direct contrasts with the latter. However, I hoped to compare my findings with those evidenced in the literature on schooling, by employing research methods which had been used in school research.

Participant Observation as the Research Method - A Rationale

The field study was to be exploratory, that is to say, I was not attempting to prove or disprove any predetermined hypotheses or theory. Rather, I was concerned to explore the nature of the teaching process, in this context, and how it related to those processes which are reported to occur in mainstream schools. I also intended to follow the practice of 'grounded theorizing', which recommends that the collection of data, in situ, should guide and be guided by the developing theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1982).[7]

For the above mentioned reasons, and for others explicated below, the main research technique chosen was participant observation. Gold (1958) distinguished four ideal typical field 'roles', in participant observational research. The complete participant who conceals the fact that she/he is making observations (cf. Bulmer 1982). The participant-as-observer who participates in a social setting whilst observing and developing relationships with informants. The observer-as-participant who makes brief contacts with informants which are explicitly for the purposes of gaining information. Finally, the complete observer who maintains a position somewhat similar to 'the fly on the wall' (King 1978). All these field 'roles' have problems associated with them (cf. Burgess 1984b). The most commonly adopted is that of the participant-as-observer which in studies of schools the researchers either chose to teach (Hargreaves 1967; Lacey 1970; Ball 1981) or to participate but not teach (Hannan 1975; Fuller 1980; Evans 1982). During the ten week field study, I assumed the role of participant-as-observer. Participant-as-observer refers not only to

the researcher directly observing a social group but also to his/her
participation in stable, continuing social relationships within the
social group.

I supposed that the Shotmoor teachers' previous knowledge of me,
might promote a quick, easy and natural acceptance of my presence at
the institute. In this case, I hoped, I would thus cause minimal
disturbance to teachers' every day behaviours and to the natural
course of events. On the one hand, I did not wish to impose myself
and therefore the research upon the teachers and pupils. On the other
hand, I wished to observe and record the natural phenomena of day to
day life. To these ends, I attempted to present and maintain,
throughout the research, an inconspicuous and insignificant image.

A participant observer who is taken to be an unobtrusive member
of a social setting is less likely to create a reaction, in other
participants, to the research. If, however, 'reactivity' does occur
it can become part of the reflexive nature of the research process
(Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:15:112). That is to say, the reason for
its occurrence, to whom and in what manner it occurred, can be
analysed for what it tells the researcher about the social setting,
the members within the setting and their actions, and the researcher
him/herself and his/her actions.

I considered myself to be a competent member of the setting,
because of my previous experiences within it, and, as such, I supposed
that I already possessed some 'insider', common sense, knowledge about
teaching in the context. I had attempted, however, as I indicated
earlier, by familiarising myself with ethnographic research of
schooling and other research related to exploring the interactions
between teachers and pupils and amongst pupils, to acquire a wider
perspective from which to observe, make sense of, and interpret the
teaching and learning processes at Shotmoor.

Any research which attempts to understand and 'explain' social
systems or social phenomena must take account of the reflexive
character, not only of the research itself, but also of the ongoing
process of everyday life; it should be recognised that members
participating in any social setting are part of that social world, and
as such they are both constrained by its features and may be effective

in accomplishing them (Giddens 1979:69). Individuals and groups are continually interpreting and re-interpreting to themselves and each other events and actions, in their own terms, in order to clarify and make routine sense of their environment. Such assumptions lie at the centre of symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969) (See also Denzin 1974:260-69).

If we are to understand and thence describe the day to day 'natural attitude' of members in a social setting, it is necessary both to observe and to participate through it, and thereby make explicit the 'indexical' or 'taken-for-granted' properties of the everyday communications therein.[8] When I speak of communication in the context of this research, I mean both verbal and non-verbal communication; speech, action, gesture, nuance and so forth.[9]

Through my previous acquaintance with the setting and my observation as a participant, I hoped to gain an understanding of the varying ways in which different members made sense of the messages conveyed through interaction, and to interpret the nuances embedded in these communications. I hoped I might thus make explicit the meanings accomplished and the manner of their accomplishment through and within the teaching process at Shotmoor.

Incorporated into, and facilitated by, the research technique of participant observation is the method of respondent interviewing, in which member's views are given during and after an event (Zelditch 1982:169). Members' accounts can give an indication of their conception of themselves, their own actions, other people and a variety of events.

However, in order to fully understand members' accounts, in the terms in which they are expressed, and to make sense of and therefore analyse the social phenomena which they describe, and of which they are part, the researcher must be aware of the indexical features of the context of these accounts. For, as Douglas, asserts of Garfinkel's (1967) concern with studying the indexicality of everyday accounts:

It is his (Garfinkel's) contention that ...
'rational accountings' inevitably make use of indexical or
reflexive ties between those accounts and the shared
(organised) practical activities of the members involved in
the communication to show that the accounts are in fact
'rational'. (Douglas 1974: 38.39)

Therefore, to understand   and make sense of members' accounts,
the researcher needs to consider and make explicit the nature of the
situation in which these accounts are spoken (or written). Any de-
scription and analysis of an account should, therefore, not only make
explicit who produced the account, for whom, and for what reasons, but
also should explore the context and circumstances in which it was
uttered.

Members' accounts can be utilized in two ways (Hammersley and
Atkinson 1983:107). Firstly, an account and the act of accounting
give data about the person constituting them. The thoughts, views,
opinions and decisions expressed through a members' account may give
some indication of the underlying motives and intention of his/her
action. An account, then, can be 'read' for perspective analysis.
That is to say, it may contain and thus indicate some particular
properties from or concepts by which categories of perspective may
be developed or by which a perspective may be identified.

Secondly, an account may be explored for the information it may
reveal about particular phenomena. This latter use has two implica-
tions for research. On the one hand, information or views about a
particular event or phenomenon given by various members, within the
research setting, may expose discrepancies in understanding and
interpretation between them, or confirm a shared meaning or mutual
understanding amongst them.

On the other hand, the researchers' account of events or
phenomena may be compared with those of other participants. This
procedure, termed data source 'triangulation', facilitates the cross
checking of the researcher's inferences from one source of data with
other data sources (Denzin 1970). In other words, links between
concepts and their indicators may be checked by recourse to other
indicators (Becker and Geer 1982). I was particularly concerned not
to 'triangulate' between participants' accounts; that is in the sense
which Denzin perceives as enabling the 'complete picture' to be

obtained. Like Dingwall (1981), reported in Silverman (1985), I wished not, '"to adjudicate between participants' competing versions" but to understand the situated work that they do'(P105).

Ethnography can take an eclectic approach to data collection. Participant observation can enable the researcher to gain access to participants' perspectives through direct observation of members' acts and their accounting procedures, and through analyses of their accounts (verbal or written). Documentation and questionnaires, along with an analysis of any associated administrative process, may also generate data.

Analyses of data produced by different methods which suggest a different interpretation of the same phenomena, can be important information. This is so both in terms of what it says about the different research methods and, as in Lever's (1976) study, for what it says about the way the context in which the phenomenon is studied has implication for the way the phenomenon is socially construed by participants. In other words, Lever found, when investigating sex differences in children's play, that the children's questionnaire responses exhibited descriptions of their actions that most closely corresponded to the children's perception of social norms, of how they thought they should behave as a girl or as a boy, than to how they where observed to actually play.

In addition, social interaction conceived as an interpretive process opens up for the researcher, through the process of participant observation, the possibility of treating the interpretive process, itself, as a phenomena for investigation. Not only, then, can particular common understandings between members be discovered but the question of how it is that members produce and sustain the sense that they act in a shared world, in which actions are produced in repetitive, routine ways that are recognisable and reportable, may be explored.[10] This requires the researcher to be aware of the reflexive nature of the interpretative processes and thus leads to an uncovering of the indexical features of occasions.

Likewise, the researcher, through observation of ongoing events, may be aware of surface level contradictions between what members say they do and what the researcher observes them to do.[11] However,

knowledge of the situation; of the reflexive nature of the interpreta
tive process and of the indexicalities of occasions, may enable the
researcher to explore more deeply, the reasons underlying these
apparent contradictions.

In order, however, to research a setting in this way the
researcher must gain access to it. In the following section, I
discuss how I gained access to Shotmoor, the teachers and pupils and
the teaching process within it.

Part 2 - THE PROCESS OF PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Gaining Access to the Setting

On my second request for access to the centre, I again encountered few problems. In contrast with that which appears to occur in most projects where consent is initially formally sought from senior management, the researcher then working through the 'hierarchy of consent', I wished to receive support firstly from the teachers themselves (Burgess 1984:258-59). Having gained agreement informally from most of the members in the setting, I then asked the head teacher, followed by the county executive, formally for their consent to my undertaking the study. A year after the pilot study, in January 1983, having negotiated unpaid leave, I began the major study. In the field, I maintained the role of participant-as-observer for ten weeks.

All the Shotmoor teachers formally gave their agreement to my observing their lessons, at a staff meeting held on my first day in the field, when I gave a brief outline of my research intentions. Every week, thereafter, I gained permission from visiting school teachers, on their first day at the centre, to observe and interview their pupils and to their pupils, completion of a questionnaire.

Access, in ethnography, as I intimated earlier, is not considered solely to refer to the means of entry to a setting, but also access to the meanings participants ascribe to and the understandings they have of events, action and other participants in that setting. It also refers to gaining an understanding of the ways in which participants act upon and accomplish their taken-for-granted worlds.

In this view, then, it is necessary for the researcher to suspend his/her own preconceived assumptions, and see 'reality' as it is lived and experienced by those he/she wishes to understand. In my case, as I stated earlier, I was already familiar with the setting and therefore it was necessary for me to make explicit my own assumptions about teaching within it. I needed to uncover the indexical properties of everyday communications and make visible the 'realities' therein. It was also necessary, for me, to become acquainted with a variety of members' perspectives, in order to explore the complexities

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in the teaching process at Shotmoor. Therefore, decisions were made throughout the field study concerning when, in what way and with whom I interacted. In ethnography, a participant observer is concerned to establish and/or maintain durable relationships with the other members of the research setting (Zelditch 1982:169). The need to become more aware of different participants' perspectives, particularly those with whom I was already acquainted, and to sustain established relation- ships was a source of tension, as I pointed out earlier and on which I will elaborate in due course.

Gaining Access to Participants Perspectives - Managing Field Relations

Occasionally, at the start of my observation of a lesson, I found it necessary to remind the teachers that their teaching was not being evaluated in terms of any criteria and I placed emphasis upon my interest in the pupils' actions and behaviours during the various lessons. I did this to prevent teachers from becoming self conscious, which might have caused them to behave differently from usual.

At the beginning of my first lesson observation with a particular teacher, I asked if he or she objected to my responding to pupils who might wish to engage me in conversation. I added, however, that I did not wish to give assistance of a technical nature. That is to say, I did not wish to be given responsibility for any pupil or group of pupils.

Each week, one to five schools might attend Shotmoor, bringing ten to sixty pupils. Seven to ten pupils were grouped together to form the teaching units or classes. Generally I followed one of these classes of pupils throughout their stay at Shotmoor. These classes I shall refer to as the case study classes, and the pupils therein as the case study pupils. (More will be said later about how I identified case study classes.)

Initially, I made no attempt to communicate with pupils in a lesson. However, as they became more familiar with my presence they, on occasions, asked for individual assistance, which I gave, or asked what it was I was doing. I explained to them my interest in finding out about their experience at Shotmoor. All the pupils seemed to accept this explanation and readily offered their views on the centre,

other people and schools, after or sometimes during a lesson, or when informally interviewed. Pupils accounts were collected through informal interviews and casual conversations. Unlike Woods (1979), it did not seem, to me, more difficult to gain access to the pupils' perspectives than teachers'. For the most part, most pupils were keen to talk with me and included me in their conversations in lessons. This may have been due to the social context and newness of the different situation for them, or it may have been that I appeared to them as a non threatening adult. I made this interpretation of their perception of me, from the casual and informal ways in which most of the pupils would communicate with me. Oft-times they would encourage me to take part with them, during lessons. The following remark made by one pupil was fairly representative of their approach and attitude towards me, 'Er, Miss, why don't you come and have a go with us?' Generally by the end of a week most pupils were using my first name.

Case study pupils' accounts, which included their views on the teachers, themselves, each other, Shotmoor and school, were tape recorded during informal interviews. These accounts, therefore, included first order comparative data between Shotmoor and mainstream schools. The interviews followed the general ethnographic approach in which participants are encouraged to express their views freely whilst the interviewer guides the discourse (cf. Spradley 1979; Burgess 1982:107-13; Simons 1981:27-50). They generally took the form of small group discussions, and consisted usually of same sex friendship pairs or groups. Occasionally, I interviewed an individual pupil, when I felt that he or she might be less inhibited by being alone with me than if accompanied by their peers (Simon 1981:19).

The Shotmoor teachers varied in their attempts to communicate with me during lessons, generally there was very little verbal communication between myself and the teacher. There were, however, occasional exceptions and often visiting teachers would talk with me if they were not involved, at any particular, time in the lesson with their pupils.

I arranged few interviews with teachers and other staff. However, throughout the field study, teachers gave accounts in a number of ways; through the normal course of conversation, and during

spontaneous informal interviews. These accounts contained views and opinions of their own actions, of a wide variety of events and of other people. I would ask teachers to talk about individual pupils, groups of pupils, their own actions and other aspects of their work which concerned them.

Throughout the whole period of the field study, I also collected accounts from the visiting school teachers. These included their views and opinions about their pupils, about their perception of the form and content of the teaching and learning at Shotmoor, their reasons for encouraging pupils to attend the centre, and their thoughts on teaching in general. These teachers' views and comments contributed towards first order comparative data on teaching and learning between Shotmoor and mainstream schooling.

This manner of data collection necessitated my writing the accounts from memory soon after they were given.[1] On some occasions, I wrote down what was said whilst the teacher was speaking. This I did only if I felt this intrusion would not effect the relationship or interfere with the free flow of conversation. One teacher, however, although agreeing to my observation of the class he was teaching, did not volunteer any views about the pupils or about teaching, even during general conversation. In the hope of gaining an account from him, I asked when it would be convenient for me to hold an informal interview with him. We arranged a few times at which we might carry out the interviews, however, at both of these pre-arranged times I found the teacher heavily involved in business, I was thus unable to interview him. As a 'senior' teacher with considerable responsibility for organising money making activities, his time was heavily committed. In addition, his teaching approach appeared significantly different from that of other members of staff. The latter frequently commented upon his 'unsympathetic' style.

Gaining access to particular participants perspectives was dependent upon the on going process of decision making. This process, as it was accomplished throughout the field study, is described in the subsequent sections.

The Decision Making Process

Throughout the period of field study, decisions about who what and when I observed, and how I recorded subsequent observations, were influenced by a number of considerations. After the initial days in the field, these were to do with the practical and 'appropriate' opportunities available to me, at any particular time, to collect data in accordance with the notion of 'grounded theorising'. That is to say, ideas and concepts which emerged from the data, suggested where next and how I might generate further data which could elaborate or develop theory.

By use of the phrase 'appropriate' opportunities, I mean such opportunities for data collection which do not then preclude the collection of data from other sources. Put more concretely, in any investigation of social phenomena, the researcher's visible association with particular members, who may be considered by the other participants to be members of a conflicting interest group, may well impede access, by the researcher, to these other members' uninhibited views and opinions (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:98). In a school situation, this may occur when a pupil aligns a researcher with a particular adult authority figure, and as a result the pupil becomes inhibited when communicating with the researcher. This presented no real problem at Shotmoor since pupils had no pre-conception of the Shotmoor teachers. However, there were some personal disagreements amongst some of the staff. Consequently, I endeavoured to appear neutrally aligned.

The timetabling of pupil classes, along with the weekly allocation of one or more teachers to any one or more particular class, constituted a major practical consideration influencing the manner of data collection. This timetabling afforded me the opportunity of following a class of eight to ten pupils, throughout their week stay at Shotmoor. Generally, I was given a timetable which showed the allocation of one or more teachers, to one (or sometimes more) of the four to six classes which would be filled by visiting pupils the following week. From this, I decided upon the probable class which I would select as the case study class.

Neither I, nor the centre teachers, had any fore-knowledge of the characteristics of the pupils attending during any forthcoming week. Not until the Monday morning, of that week when I had a chance to talk with the visiting school teachers, was I aware of the attributes which the school teachers perceived their pupils to possess. The Shotmoor teachers were very seldom party to this knowledge. Any information about pupils, Shotmoor teachers discovered either through talking with the pupils or teachers or by questioning the school teachers. My choice of case study class, therefore, had very little to do with my knowledge of the pupils therein, but was more to do with the Shotmoor teachers who were allocated to it. After the initial period, it was also influenced by the practical fact that the case study class should be timetabled for heathland orienteering on the Thursday. This latter circumstance enabled me to interview the case study pupils on their return from orienteering, at a time which did not interfere with lesson time or their free time.

The choice, then, of a case study class was, for the most part, attendant upon their allocated centre teacher or teachers. Following a class for a week not only enabled me to observe and talk with the case study pupils, but, since this afforded me a considerable amount of contact with their Shotmoor teacher or teachers and their school teachers, it also enabled possible access to their perspectives.

Therefore, after the initial stages of the field study, my choice of case study class depended mainly, upon my wish to observe the teaching and learning process as it was accomplished by and with the centre teachers whom I selected. In the subsequent sections, I will attempt to explicate why, at certain times, I made various decisions to observe particular phenomena.

Who and What was Observed

Appendix IIA gives a brief outline of the field research timetable. It indicates who and what I observed and the methods of observation which I adopted at various times, during the field study. It does suggest that the analyses and data collection were neat, easily separable elements. This, however, was most certainly not the case.

Five of the seven case study classes consisted of secondary aged pupils and the other two consisted of junior/middle school aged pupils (Appendices IIA-C give details of the case study classes and the teachers who wereteaching them.) The case study class which I chose, in the first week of the study, was taught mainly by a close associate of mine. This teacher also acted as an informant. I shall define a participant as an informant in Zelditch's (1982) terms:

> We prefer a more restricted definition of the informant ... namely, that he be called an 'informant' only where he/she is reporting information presumed factually correct about others rather than about himself. (ibid.:169)

The information which this teacher gave to me, was of a general nature pertaining to various aspects of teaching at, and organisation in the centre and rarely contained his opinions and views of individual people and less so those of a critical nature. He had been, albeit vaguely, aware of my research interest from its inception. I had two reasons for choosing this teacher at the start of my immersion in the field. Firstly, I wished to establish a neutral image from the onset and my knowledge of the centre and its staff suggested to me, that this teacher did not represent, and was not associated with, any particular interest group. Secondly, I wished to re-familiarise myself with, and become re-integrated within, the setting and this, I felt, could most easily and quickly be achieved by adopting, as the case study class, the class taught mainly by this teacher.

This case study class, which consisted of middle school pupils, was also taught by a number of other teachers (cf. Appendix IIA). I was, therefore, also able to observe the ways in which these other teachers organised their lessons and interacted with the pupils. By the end of the first week, I was astonished by the variety of perspectives evident and the complexity of the teaching processes manifested, even within this one setting. I, therefore, decided I should observe the ways in which all the Shotmoor teachers went about accomplishing, that is to say organising, bringing about and defining their lessons with their pupils. I hoped that by observing all the teachers, I might then be in a position to identify some particular

properties exhibited in the teaching process by which I might group different Shotmoor teachers and establish various categories of teaching phenomena.

Prior to the actual field study, I had tentatively identified, from my knowledge of the centre, what I considered to be member categories which were used by the teachers to identify, typify and group themselves (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:50). These were, I gauged, the different managerial status positions, different subject areas and the permanency of the teaching posts which were held. However, I could not typify them in this way. Each teacher seemed to me unique, having different biographies, varying in ages and holding a variety of informal and formal responsibilities within the centre. I realise now that my apprehension and thus difficulty in choosing 'representative' teachers rested mainly with my interest in the uniqueness and idiosyncrasies of the individual teachers. To typify them in this way would necessitate my reducing and eliminating those properties in which I was most interested, and rendering these teachers anonymous.[2]

I did not fully complete the categorisation of the selected teachers who constituted case study teachers during the field study. Not until I had made preliminary analyses of teachers' accounts, and some of my lesson observations after the 'immersion' in the field, did I formulate all the categories of teaching phenomena whose properties constituted the different ways in which teachers perceived and interacted with the pupils. However, my selection of case study classes, where possible, was made in accordance with the procedure of theoretical sampling recommended by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The collection of data was thus dependent upon my having devised preliminary categories from the initial emergent data:

> Theoretical sampling is the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes and analyses his(her) data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his (her) theory as it emerges. (ibid.:45)

The limited time available for the field study made it necessary for me to select, fairly quickly, a small number of cases for further observation. During the second week I observed the remaining unobserved teachers. I thus observed the maximum variety of teaching

approaches,from which to identify basic properties accomplished by and evident in them and, thereby, select those cases I wished to observe further.

I decided, where possible during the second week, to restrict my observation to one particular subject, climbing. This would, by minimizing lesson content variables between the cases, allow comparison of the similarities and differences between the teaching process within one context and thus, I hoped, facilitate the emergence and identification of basic properties of a particular teaching category.[3]

I chose climbing as this was the only subject which I taught fairly regularly, and, therefore, I felt fairly familiar with its organisation, aims and procedures, at least in the terms in which I perceived them. My inside knowledge, I felt, gave me a broader background from which to perceive and make sense of my observations. This subject also seemed to me to allow scope for the display of teachers' varying styles of teaching approach. That is to say, I found the ways in which teachers perceived, encountered and interacted with the pupils more visible, to me, and therefore more easily captured in climbing than in other subjects, at that time. This 'visibility' related to the ways in which individual teachers communicated with pupils when they were reticent to act because of fear. Such 'visibility' exposed the process by which the teacher either enabled the pupils to perceive themselves to have made the decision to act or had appeared to impose the situation upon the pupil (see chapter 7 - teaching perceptions). I also thought that all the teachers would probably be timetabled for climbing. One teacher, however, was not and so I observed a lesson of shooting, which he taught. I also observed a number of skiing lessons so that I could make some limited comparison between the properties of the teaching process in a different subject.[4]

The following week, week 3, I withdrew partially from the field so that I could reflect upon the data, and thus decide the direction of, and foci for, the remainder of the field study.

<div align="center">*   *   *</div>

From this reflection upon and preliminary analysis of the data, and influenced by ideas and concepts evolving within contemporary sociology, I tentatively formulated hypotheses about the teaching process at Shotmoor which was based upon the underlying concepts constituting Paul Willis's counter definition of Sport. He proposed the following perspective to represent such a counter definition:

> Sport could be presented as a form of activity which emphasises human similarities and not dissimilarity, a form of activity which isn't competitive and measured, a form of activity which expresses values which are indeed unmeasurable, a form of activity which is concerned with individual wellbeing and satisfaction rather than with comparison . In such a view of sport, differences between the sexes would be unimportant, unnoticed.   (Willis 1983:134)

I elaborated upon the underlying properties of this counter definition in order to encompass the teaching process in the setting and wrote the following memo, at that time:

> I propose that the form and content of the knowledge conveyed in this context (the case study),
> (a) is such as to emphasis human similarities and not dissimilarities, (b) is not essentially competitive and measured, (c) expresses values which are unmeasurable, (d) is concerned with individual well-being and satisfaction rather than comparison. That in such a view of teaching and learning, differences between sexes and differences between individual attributes and abilities would be unimportant and unnoticed, i.e. differentiation would be minimal (i.e. counter-definition of schooling).   (Memo 26.1.83)

I formulated the hypothesis that the nature of the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluative processes,[5] in the case study setting, were such as to evoke from participants personal interpretations and meanings which differed from those generally experienced in main stream schools by teachers and pupils, at least as they are described in much of the contemporary literature on schooling. Much of this literature illuminates the dilemmas with which teachers are faced. Crudely, teachers on the one hand may express a 'progressive' ideology and wish to enable pupils to 'reach their full potential' and on the other are constrained in practice by a variety of influences and factors. It also suggests and highlights the ways in which pupils of different socio-economic class, gender and ethnicity frequently reproduce the prevailing forms of relations.[6]

There were a number of reasons for my elaboration of Willis's counter definition of sport to encompass an educational perspective which incorporated not only perceptions of gender differences and similarities, but also perceptions of other attributes.

Firstly, I considered that any exploration of the process of 'socialization' into particular forms of consciousness should take account of how all attributes are socially constructed within any particular context. Secondly, I considered that an understanding of the fundamental features of 'socialization' within a setting requires an understanding of the range of interactions and of what constitutes interactional competence therein, and an understanding of the ways in which the nature of the inter-relatedness of such interactions has meaning for its members; the underlying rules and messages of particular social forms are embodied in the awareness of human conduct in all relations. Thirdly, moreover, I felt the manifest form of gender relations to be of significant importance as an indicator of the nature of the deep structures of communication within a particular contextual setting. That is to say, the forms of relations visible between different sexes may point to the prevailing structure of relations within that site, such that these forms of relations appear either as predominantly asymmetrical and hierarchically shaped or more symmetrically experienced and interpreted.

I needed to develop, modify and test this hypothesis. That is, I wished to investigate if it was indeed 'true' in various cases; with different teaching perspectives, for the case study pupils, in various contexts (activities), and from other perspectives. I wished also not only to explore the relationship of the formulated hypothesis to the 'reality' accomplished by and through the teaching process in the setting, as it was perceived by different teachers and pupils, but also to explore how and why what counted as 'reality' for and by different actors, was itself made an accomplishment by those actors.

The subsequent decisions regarding which teachers' classes should be chosen for case study, what and who should be observed therein, and what form the observations should take were influenced by these above mentioned requirements. Since I hypothesised that differentiation between individual pupils was minimal, I needed to determine how the

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teacher distributed his/her time amongst pupils and the amount of time which he or she allocated to each pupil. The type of teacher-pupil encounter also required exploration in order to determine the form of interaction between teachers and different pupils.

It was necessary, therefore, to generate and collect observational data of both a quantitative and qualitative nature, within a variety of contexts. Data of a quantitative nature would consist of the timing and distribution of teacher contact with pupils, that is of an individual, group or class nature. This would facilitate an examination of the amount of time which teachers spent with particular individual pupils and groups of pupils. Qualitative data would consist of the verbal and non verbal nature of teacher contact with pupils. This, along with information from interviews with teachers, would give me data concerning teachers' intentions and views and opinions of pupils and pupils' actions and how these become realised through the teaching process. It would give me data concerning various teachers' perspectives which could then be analysed to uncover the Shotmoor 'work culture' (Denscombe 1980b). It might then be possible to explore how different teachers bring a lesson into being and the messages which are conveyed within them. By interviewing teachers and observing their practices, I might gain an understanding of the reasons and motives lying behind their particular approaches. (How observational data was collected will be described later.)

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For the fourth week, I chose Alan's class for case study.[7] Alan, a non-trained teacher, had been asked to remain teaching for a further year at the centre. I selected this class with this particular teacher for a number of reasons. Firstly, in order to reduce variables and so focus upon the teaching approach, I chose to observe a class taught predominantly by only one teacher. Secondly, Alan was considered by the majority of permanent staff to represent a 'good' or competent teacher (Denscombe 1980b).[8] On the one hand, understanding this perspective would give me an understanding of what was considered to be 'competent' by the majority of permanent teachers. On the other hand, my association with this teacher, who generally held an easy

relationship with all members of staff, might not preclude later
access to other perspectives. Thirdly, I found his perspective
interesting. I was interested in his approach to pupils, his
perception of them, and I wished to explore his attempts to make sense
of and inter-relate his own philosophy with that which he perceived to
be that of the centre's. Fourthly, one of the case study pupils was
partially deaf and a latent epileptic and I was interested in how he
might experience the situation. (However, had this pupil not been a
member of the class-group taught by Alan, I doubt I would have
observed the group in which he was a member.)

A Critical Case

A critical case or extreme example highlights the taken-for-
granted ideas and implicit understandings which might otherwise pass
unnoticed as obvious. A close examination of such a case can thus
help to generate hypotheses and test different contexts (Atkinson
1979).[9]

A particular incident occurred, within the class which had been
taught previously by Alan, during the case study pupils' penultimate
lesson, which had some influence upon my choice of case study group
the following week. It also influenced my choice of observational
foci for the remainder of the study. The lesson in which the incident
occurred and the one preceding it was taught by a different teacher
Justin, with whom the case study pupils were unfamiliar. Briefly,
Justin had appeared to be unpopular with the case study pupils who had
developed a close relationship with Alan. During the final lesson one
pupil, Andrew, had behaved in such a manner as to cause Justin to
strongly reprimand him. This incident I considered represented a
critical case or extreme example. It illuminated the implicit
understanding concerning pupil safety, since Andrew was not acting
according to the rules of safety, and exposed a differing form of
teacher interaction. It also highlighted how and why this particular
form of teacher interaction might occur and how such an occasion might
be accomplished. It made explicit the properties of communication and
features of a situation which might bring about what was considered
to be deviant actions on the part of both a teacher and a pupil, and

it also indicated those features of an occasion which might have implications for pupils involvement in and satisfaction with a learning situation.

This incident reinforced my decision to focus upon the form of communication, timing and mode of transmission between the teacher and pupils. By mode of transmission I mean, more specifically, whether the teacher encountered an individual pupil, a group of pupils or the whole class. I also wished to determine whether all teachers followed the same lesson routine and organisational procedures, in the same subject lessons. If this were so, that is if lesson organisational procedures were inherently routine and repetitive from week to week, then, I proposed teachers might have more time and space to be creative in their relationships with pupils, if they so wished. This also required that I capture the nature of the interaction, the verbal and non-verbal forms of communication.

The following week, week five, I chose a case study class taught by Justin and another teacher, Bill. I wished to explore whether Justin's teaching approach was significantly different from that of Alan's and how the contextual, situational and temporal factors may have been influential in bringing about Justin's and the pupil's actions in the previous week's incident.

<center>*   *   *</center>

Week five was an unusual case, and one in which I surreptitiously intervened. Most schools which attend the institute are co-educational and on the majority of week courses, the class groups consist of both boys and girls. Generally, at the start of a week course, pupils group themselves into friendship groups with either the Shotmoor teacher who is responsible for the course, or their school teacher mediating to constitute these into co-educational groups if they are not already so. This represents less divisiveness in organisational practice than is generally seen in the predominantly single sex grouping of pupils for physical activity lessons in main stream schools.[10]

However, this particular week the centre was accommodating girls from a girl's private secondary school and just boys, from a mixed comprehensive school. Their respective visiting school teachers had not previously met each other and did not think to mix their two schools together. I felt that mixing the schools would provide useful data concerning boy-girl interactions and thus generate more information concerning the forms of relations engendered in this context. Alan, therefore, interceded on my behalf, through gaining the amicable agreement of the visiting school teachers to the suggestion that their pupils group together to form co-educational classes.

Therefore, in addition to my focus upon teachers' use of time, the emerging data directed my observation towards pupil-pupil interaction; that is, what pupils said to each other and how they interacted, particularly in relation to different sex interaction.[11] I was, therefore, able to collect data concerning boy-girl interaction and pupils' accounts of their experiences, and their views and opinions of themselves and others in this context.

*   *   *

I continued to try to generate data concerning the properties of teaching approaches and was concerned to test my hypotheses for various teachers and different pupils (see subsequent sections).

The case study class I chose to observe during week six consisted of junior aged pupils and was taught predominantly by Eddy. I decided upon his class as the case study class for the following reasons. Firstly, I had insufficient quantitative data concerning his teaching approach. Secondly, I intended to use the pupil record as a method of observation. (Details of its use are explicated in the following section) I felt Eddy would be least perturbed by this.

During the seventh week the centre was not used by the regular school groups, for this reason and so that I could take stock of the accumulated data, I did not make any observations. Through this examination of my data, it appeared that the more 'senior' teachers perspectives were a dimension which were only partially represented. I wished not only to explore teacher-pupil interaction within their

classes, in order to compare and contrast within the field, but also to gain access to the individual views of teachers who held differing position within the centre. Choosing case study pupils as those to be taught by some of the 'senior' teachers facilitated, then, the opportunity for me to talk informally with these teachers. I was still, however, equally concerned to observe pupils and record their interactions. This decision was not easy to make, since it was by no means the 'line of least resistance' for me; that is to say, it would have been far more relaxing to observe groups taught by the younger or less senior staff. This was perhaps due to my general reluctance to associate with those in 'positional' authority.

Senior teachers tended to share the teaching of classes and, therefore, during the next two weeks I observed case study pupils who were mainly taught by three 'senior' teachers.

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Not only was I observing 'senior' teachers during the eight and ninth weeks of the study, but also phenomena related specifically to pupils and their actions. During week six I had coded, using the pupil record, comparative data concerning the amount of interaction between pupils, both same sex and boy-girl encounters (refer to the next section for details). Although I had some qualitative data I wished to examine more fully conversation and communication between boys and girls, in the context of a climbing lesson. To this end, during week eight, I sought the co-operation of one young temporary teacher, Greg. Usually, he would begin by pairing up a boy and a girl, whom he would then engage to demonstrate techniques to the other pupils, later he would allow the remaining pupils to partner with whom they wished, which often entailed initially single sex pairings. However, the first climbing lesson with his class, he asked all the pupils to climb in mixed pairs. I was thus able to focus upon the ways in which boys and girls interacted, and the manner in which this teacher went about organising and bringing about that situation with the pupils in this context.

Unfortunately, since I had selected classes for observation taught by the more 'senior' teachers during that week I observed only this one lesson with these pupils.

During the ninth week I chose to focus my observation in part upon one particular girl pupil. She appeared from her actions and conversation to deviate radically from conceptions of the conventional female image. This view was reinforced by the fact that, at 14 years, she held high qualifications in karate, attending competitions at a national level, and was uninterested in traditional female sports although very keen on sport generally participated in by boys. I observed with whom she interacted, how she communicated and how other pupils and teachers perceived and responded to her. I also tape recorded an extensive interview with her after stay at Shotmoor.

During the final week, I relaxed somewhat and tried to record observations of Alan's lessons using a video. This was so that I might have a visual record of the setting to which I might refer at a later date. Videoing Alan's lessons appeared to have little impact on his teaching approach. Perhaps it was a more impersonal method of observing, more probably the shorter time spent with the class. Certainly I did not develop the relationship with these case study pupils that I perceived I had had with the pupils in the first case study class taught by this teacher.

The matrix illustration in Appendix IIB indicates the number of lesson observations I made during the field study : the number at the end of a row is the number of lesson observations made of one teacher. The number at the bottom of a column the number of lesson observations made of a case study or other classes.

How Observations Were Made

As I indicated earlier in the text, the manner in which I went about observing phenomena, along with the methods I used to record observational data and the aspects of the teaching phenomena upon which I focused, were influenced by my orientation towards particular research paradigms and my concern to develop, extend and elaborate ideas, which were emerging from the data during the period of the field study.

These considerations were, at times and in certain circumstances, barely compatible. On the one hand, I wished to observe and record everyday phenomena, 'the natural attitude' of members as naturalistically as possible.[12] (These prerequisites, therefore, required that the process of observation created minimal disturbance to the day to day course of events and actions, and that their record was an undistorted representation of these phenomena.) On the other hand, the compulsion to attempt to test emergent hypotheses and as a result, attempt to collect comparative data obliged me, on two occasions, to adopt particular types of systematic observational schedules for recording certain aspects of phenomena.[13] These schedules, I found at odds with my initial premise. The process of recording observations using observational schedules will be explored in greater detail subsequently.

Prior to the field study, I had explored the possibility of making use of one of a number of observational schedules which I felt might facilitate the recording and coding of observational data. I had examined Wood and Cheffer's adaptation of Flanders Interactional analysis categories, CAFIAS.[14] However, I had decided not to use this traditional observational schedule for the following reasons which were associated with the recording of actions, events and behaviours by coding pre-defined parameters.

Firstly, this seemed to me, to presuppose a notion of what constitutes valid observable teaching phenomena. Secondly, I felt that the use of the schedule prevented the recording of unusual events and the possibility of capturing the subtleties of and nuances in the teaching processes. A number of detailed critiques and discussions of the use of various systematic observational schedules for recording observations have been published, which point to various problems associated with them, their limitations and their possibilities when used cautiously.[15] Delamont and Hamilton (1984) give a concise reappraisal of previous critiques of the use of systematic observational schedules. They argue for greater attention to be paid to the implicit assumptions associated with these schedules.

Initially, then, in order to make observations of an exploratory nature of a wide range of classroom phenomena, I sat or stood at various locations in which I felt I would be relatively unobtrusive to teachers and pupils, and from which I could most easily hear and see what was said and done. The nature of the different subjects necessitated my adopting either a stationary or a mobile base, or both forms of observational locations within one subject lesson. I would sit at the back of the room during the majority of an archery or shooting lesson, perch at the top of a climbing wall or on a ledge whilst observing certain aspects of a climbing lesson, and on other occasions I might wander behind or with the pupils.

I collected, by taking notes on NCP paper, impressionistic data[16] which included what teachers and pupils said, with whom they interacted and what they did. I also noted the time at which, in my opinion, natural breaks occurred in the course of events or in the teachers utterances.[17]

It was difficult to record all that occurred and was uttered, inevitably I made some arbitrary selection of what I observed and recorded. I also made abbreviated summaries of the observations when recording them. As a result after a few days in the field, I designed a simple code to enable a more efficient system of recording. I coded such items as to whom the teacher communicated; a named pupil, a group of pupils or the class, and the nature of the interaction along with the natural timing of events. For example, when Alan praised a particular pupil, Andrew, I initially wrote:

<p align="center">T.A. a A. 'Well done'</p>

This then, in shorthand I recorded as :

<p align="center">TA a A P</p>

I also recorded diagramatically where at various times teachers and pupils were situated in relation to one another.[18] Appendix IIIA illustrates extracts from observations made in lesson one of the climbing syllabus taught by the same teacher on two different occasions. The shorthand notation which I used on occasions to record teacher interaction are listed in appendix IIIB. These notations

represent only the surface features of communication and were merely rough indicators of the deep structure of communication between teachers and pupils.

The use of this shorthand notation facilitated more available time and space in which I could observe and record unusual or interesting interactions, events and utterances and in which I could 'home in' to the subtleties and nuances of the occasion.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

My intentions were, as I stated earlier, not only to understand and compare the teaching processes within the centre but also between these processes and those reported to occur in mainstream schools. It was not possible for me to make any observations of the teaching process in mainstream schools myself and so, to this end, even though I was sceptical of systematic observational schedules, I decided to try out one of Boydell's systematic observational schemes.[19] This might, I supposed, enable comparison between Alan's style of teaching and those styles typified, from data coded using Boydell's schedule in various classrooms, during the Oracle project, and described by Galton et al. (1980).

Boydell's schedules were originally designed to record behaviour in 'informal' primary classrooms. The schedules, the teacher record and the pupil record, enable the same phenomena, teacher interaction to be perceived from two viewpoints; what and how the teacher communicates and what pupils 'actually' receive, as adjudged by the observer,in the terms of the schedule parameters. With whom pupils interact and their involvement in the lesson can also be recorded. The two schedules focus on the teacher and the pupil respectively and are usually used in conjunction (cf. Appendix IVA and B).

I did not consider using an adaptation devised for coding physical education lessons (cf. Halum 1976), since the original schedules have had extensive use in primary and secondary schools, and have therefore coded substantial classroom interactional data which has been used to produce typifications of teaching approaches (cf. Galton et al. 1980; Galton and Willcocks 1983). Therefore, I reckoned that if I coded teaching behaviour with the originalschedule this

might then facilitate some comparison between the teaching process in the Shotmoor context and that in the school context, at least in terms of the schedule's pre-defined parameters.

Whilst familiarizing myself, however, with the teacher record my scepticism of its underlying assumptions increased. It did not easily identify and naturally code with whom the teacher interacted, nor did it allow for the coding of categories of interaction such as praise, encouragement and humour. These I considered, from my observations, to be important aspects of Shotmoor teaching.

Be that as it may, however, during the fourth week, I did attempt to code Alan's teaching behaviour using the teacher record. Even so, I found, when actually putting the schedule into practice, the category system quite incapable of capturing 'the important things'. As I noted in memos written at this time: ' It was not possible to capture all that was happening' (memo 31.1.83) and

> I don't think I can use the teacher record because it is
> based on a totally different philosophy of whats important
> in education, i.e. it (the Schedule) is based on a totally
> different premise (of) what education is about ... what is
> happening here (in this case), is not measurable by
> conventional methods. If I accept the conventions
> (categories) ... for recording interaction I lose what I am
> looking for.   (memo 1.2.83)

It did not capture, then, those things that made sense to me nor what sense the pupils may have made of the situation. After a few hours, I therefore abandoned the teacher record and returned to my own previously described methods of recording. Whilst continuing to observe during that same day, I wrote the following memo which indicated a possible difference in cultural understandings of achievement:

> How do we measure success. How do the staff measure
> success. What are their criteria for success!?
>   (memo 1.2.83)

Using the scheduled method of data collection had brought to the surface and heightened my awareness of the contrasts between schooling in mainstream schools (at least as it was embodied in the parameters of the schedule) and schooling as it appeared to me in the context of the case study institute.

Similar responses to my own were noted by observers elsewhere, who were using a science teaching observation schedule to code transactions between teachers and pupils in science lessons (Eggleston et al. 1975:38). One observer suggested that the schedule did not do credit to the lesson, another, that the way in which the teacher related to a pupil, his sympathy and other affective aspects of the transaction were not included.

In reply, the research team argued that their concern was to record only intellectual transactions. They were concerned, they said, to establish the relationships between pupil gain and these intellectual transactions. It was assumed, by the team, that only those interactions which related to the lesson content were significant. They did not perceive the manner in which the communication occurred as relevant.

These comments suggest, to me, that those properties of teaching encounters which I attempted to capture at Shotmoor, and which I and perhaps the pupils found to be most meaningful, may well be amongst these properties which increase or limit pupils' learning in any context.

*   *   *

As I indicated earlier in this discussion, the emerging data, highlighted by the critical incident at the end of week four suggested, to me, that although there was a significant similarity between the ways in which different teachers organised lessons of the same subject, their manner of communication could be different. The data also suggested a similarity between the ways in which an individual teacher organised a lesson of the same subject from week to week. This I had proposed had implications for the manner in which teachers might go about accomplishing the lesson; that is to say making their lessons happen. It might I supposed, allow scope and variations in the nature of their encounters with groups of pupils and individual pupils.

Therefore, during week five and thereafter, I focused more intently and with more precision upon the ways in which teachers used their time in lessons. I noted the time which they gave to the

teaching of particular segments or aspects of a lesson, the sequencing of these segments and the time given to whole class, individual or group interaction. I continued to attempt to capture teachers' talk and non-verbal communication. Cummulative impressionistic data suggested to me, however, by the sixth week in the field, that pupils appeared to participate more in the ongoing events, or 'tasks', and there appeared to be a greater degree of pupil-pupil interaction than had been shown to occur in the 'typical' classrooms identified from observational data coded during the Oracle project and described in Galton et al.(1980).

Therefore, although I had rejected ,during week four, the use of the teacher record for coding teachers' behaviour, I felt I could not ignore the opportunity to compare pupil participation and pupil-pupil interaction in lessons at the centre, with those recorded in the school situation using the pupil record, albeit in terms of the schedules pre-defined parameters. Furthermore, the pupils who were to attend during the sixth week were a similar age range to those who were coded in the Oracle project.

The pupil record allows the behaviour (action) of the randomly selected pupil to be recorded on the coded check list, at 25 second intervals for four and a half minutes. In my case, the small number of pupils allowed me to observe all the pupils in the class in this way. I persevered with the schedule, recording the pupils' actions for approximately four hours during that week, on different days and in different subjects. When I was not using the schedule, either during part of a lesson or a whole lesson, I continued to make impressionistic observations using my own shorthand notation, focussing on pupils' interactions with one another and the teachers' use of time.

The schedule method of observation, this time however, did generate data by which I was able to make a limited comparison with some results from the Oracle project. It was possible to compare the amount of pupil involvement in an activity with that typically found in mainstream schools. The amount of pupil-pupil interaction, in terms both of same sex and different sex encounters,was also comparable with that found in the typical school classroom. I found, however, that I

wished to explore the nature of pupils' encounters with each other.
The schedule was unable to capture such aspects of communication as
might be exhibited when pupils encouraged or helped each other, nor
did it capture what it was they said during these encounters. Boydell
excluded such 'high inference' categories so that inter observer
reliability in the technique could be claimed.[20] Here again, the
affective properties of encounters are disregarded.

A further dissatisfaction I found with the pupil record was the
artificial coding of events into regular time units. This seemed, to
me, to grossly distort the natural flow of events. The mechanical
manner in which I was recording observations, I felt, was not only
restrictive but also distorted the teaching and learning processes as
they occurred in this context.

Armstrong (1980) comments, in the similar vein, upon the use of
these schedules for understanding and describing pupils' behaviours:

> Is this clockwork analysis sufficient to pick out ... the
> significance of a child's activity or high degree of in-
> volvement in it?   Armstrong (1980)

For these reasons, and those which Delamont and Hammersley (1984)
point out in a re-appraisal of their own and others' previous
critiques of systematic observation, I did not again use any
systematic observational schedule. I continued throughout the
remainder of the study to record impressionistic data, focussing upon
various phenomena and timing events as they occurred. During the
final week, as I intimated earlier, I used video to record some
lessons.

Some Problems Encountered through Participant Observation

The preceding narration may give the impression that the
accomplishment of a research act through participant observation
occurs as a fairly orderly and precise sequence of ongoing events and
decisions, in which ideas and concepts are instantaneously grasped by
the researcher and by which the next line of action may be readily
mapped out and easily followed. This is not so. The process for me,
as for other ethnographers, was a time of tension brought about

through becoming and maintaining a role as a participant observer (cf. Zigarmi 1978), in which the multitude of possible paths of action are continually created and lost, chosen and disregarded.

The need to maintain and manage this marginal role (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:97-104), to be both a friend and a stranger, and in which I needed to display a neutral image to various people, created in me considerable anxiety. There is the constant desire to be fully aware of one's own relationships with other people and to be fully conscious of the relationships they have with each other. It is also necessary to continuously question or make strange, to oneself, what one might naturally take for granted in 'normal' situations. From my prior knowledge of the case study site and its teachers, I had discerned it to be inappropriate and even futile to ask teachers direct questions about their educational aims. I would not have been taken seriously. Consequently, for the most part, I took part in or on occasions initiated informal discussions through which teachers' views and opinions became more naturally visible. In this way, the indexical properties of communication could be preserved and uncovered (see Giddens 1976). Chapter 11 explores further the theoretical and practical implications of my commitment to reflexivity in research.

This maintenance of a simultaneous insider - outside role can generate on the plus side creative insights and on the negative side psycho-somatic disorders (Zigarmi 1978; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:100) Certainly, I experienced, at times, intense stress and now visualise my 'immersion' in the social setting as a vividly colourful and precise display of events and relationships into which I stumbled and hovered, and in which I would have liked to have become whole heartedly involved. My better judgement, however, constrained me to remain separate and apart. Social anthropologists who have succumbed to the desire to become fully involved in the particular social culture they are studying, and so adopt the participants' assumptions and behaviours without questioning them, are sometimes termed, jokingly, as 'going native' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:98). The researcher making such a choice, thus, abandons and rejects his/her research role. I did experience this possibility and described my feelings at the time in the following memo: ' General feelings of

depression, loss of confidence, would like to assist but would lose aim.' (17.1.83)

I mentioned, earlier in this account, the conflict of loyalties I experienced in maintaining or building relationships predominantly for research purposes rather than my usual social or professional teaching reasons. This may be considered to be a problem of a partly methodological and partly ethical origin (cf. Jarvie 1982). The doubt that one should take advantage of one's previously or newly established relationships in order to pursue mainly research aims is disquieting, but this doubt should be present throughout the whole of any research process. It should be taken into account from the inception, during the process of data collection and analysis through to the final reporting. There are many considerations upon which this can touch, and which I can mention only briefly.

For whom is the research report to be written? I may write descriptively of accounts which were given and events that occurred which may then be returned for respondent validation (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:195-98). However, if I wish to develop or extend existing conceptual frameworks from the data, then, it may be that such concepts lie outside the understanding of the participants. Have I the right to presume to make interpretations of social phenomena in terms which may be unintelligible to those participants?

There is the important consideration of confidentiality. Can the setting and its participants remain anonymous?

Concluding Remarks

I have attempted, during the preceding sections, to illustrate some of the methodological processes which occurred prior to, and during my study in the field. What has preceded, then, constitutes the beginnings of a research act. This account not only makes visible the setting and its members, but also opens up work in which the researcher is an integral part of the research process. This work thus stands only by the credibility accredited this form of methodological research approach and in the degree of rigour which is perceived to have been undertaken throughout the work.

This narration briefly indicates the complex decision making
processes which occurred and may continue to occur within work of this
nature. Not only have I tried to indicate something of the inter-
relatedness of developing concepts, how they are guided by and guide
the emerging data and can be informed by theoretical concepts[21], but
also I hope to have portrayed the effects of and implications for the
researcher as the research instrument. More importantly, I hope I
have indicated my respect for all those participating in the research
project. But for teachers' and pupils' constant friendliness, I would
not have been able to sustain the work in the 'field'.

Chapter 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK 1

Background Discussion - Educational Code, Teaching Approach and the
'Duality of Structure.'

In view of the discussion presented in chapter 1, the notion of
strategy is limited in its contribution towards the development of a
theoretical framework through which this study may be conceptualised.
I am, therefore, proposing a theoretical framework which has
evolved from the emerging empirical data, and which draws upon the
concept of 'frame' as it is perceived and interpreted by a number
of authors in their analyses of the interrelationships of contextual
features with forms of interaction, for the most part, within
educational settings. Utilizing 'frame', I shall present a means of
comparing particular teaching and learning phenomena, the factors
which affect them and the various interpretations within the Shotmoor
institute, with those highlighted in mainstream schools, at a
formal level.[1]

Various notions of 'frame', which are conceptualised by and
through particular authors' works, will be drawn upon, and diverse
dimensions combined,in order to develop a conceptual framework by
which variations in educational code and the differing experiences
within, and between, institutions may be compared.

Educational code refers to the 'underlying principles which
shape curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation', and thereby structures
the experiences of teachers and pupils in the process of schooling
(Bernstein 1977:85).[2]

Bernstein was concerned to explore the ways in which education
contributes towards the reproduction of social order. He proposed
that the form and content of knowledge and skills made available in
schools have a significant influence upon the structure of
experience and its internalisation:

> Educational knowledge is a major regulator of the structure
> of experience. From this point of view one can ask, 'How
> are forms of experience, identity and relation evoked,
> maintained and changed by the formal transmission of
> knowledge and sensitivities?   (Bernstein 1977:85)

Bernstein concentrated his theory upon the reproduction of class structure through the ways in which pupils are categorized by age, sex and social class. He did not directly address gender differentiation within schooling. MacDonald (1980a) suggests, however, that this theoretical framework may be usefully employed as a conceptual tool through which not only class relations, but also gender relations in schooling may be analysed. She proposed a 'Gender Code':

> The school's gender code sets up categories of masculine and feminine as well as the boundaries and relations of power between them. While variations of the dominant gender code are possible in different types of school, what is transmitted is essentially the form of gender relations which is specific to the ruling class.
>
> (MacDonald 1980b:38)

Nevertheless, for a conceptual framework to address process it should be 'grounded' in empirical data (Glaser and Strauss 1967). Whilst Bernstein presents a useful theoretical basis, it tends towards overdeterminism. It cannot be assumed that particular structures necessarily engender specific prescribed modes of thought or forms of relations. Rather, it is the ways in which meanings are accomplished in an educational context which are important, and the various interpretations which are paramount.

It is necessary therefore to consider not only the teachers' views, opinions and actions in analyses, but also those of the pupils'. The pupils' learning experiences and their interpretation of those experiences are imperative to an analysis and conceptualisation of process. Since within any learning experience pupils will make their own interpretations of what constitutes valid knowledge, and they will construct perceptions about themselves and their ability to learn. They will receive through their experiences overt and covert messages about appropriate relationships and behaviours.[3]

A crucial feature, then, of schooling is the form of pedagogic relations (Bernstein 1977); that is the teaching approach through which teachers and pupils communicate.

*   *   *

I shall briefly examine aspects of the theoretical assumptions underpinning two approaches to learning. I shall argue that, contrary to 'critical' or 'radical' critique, it is possible to conceptualize a learning approach in which forms of relations are perceived to be symmetrical without losing sight of the power dimension.[4] Salmon and Claire (1984) adopted a social-psychological perspective in a particular approach to learning which was based upon personal construct theory (cf. Bannister and Fransella 1971). Here, human beings are seen to constantly strive to make sense of their lives in ways which involve continual reference to others. Kelly's theory sees individuals as self determining,in much the same way as Symbolic Interactionists.[5]

Salmon and Claire proposed the concept of collaborative learning, which they compared to traditional modes of learning.[6] Collaborative learning hinges upon the realisation of understanding between teachers and pupil, and amongst pupils, in the meeting of their differing frames of reference.[7] They point out that:

> the most critical aspect of the theory (Kelly's) is probably its emphasis on the frames of reference in terms of which people act, and in particular, on the commonality and sociality across different frames of reference. These terms refer to the relationships between the ways in which different people see things. (Salmon and Claire 1984:5)

Commonality refers to the amount of mutual knowledge shared between individuals or, 'the degree of similarity between the perceptions of different individuals'. Whilst, sociality refers to, 'the degree to which people understand each other's view'.

This perspective assumes the existence of different perceptions and interpretations of situations and, as such, can be seen to have much in common with phenomenological notion of multiple realities (Schutz, 1972).

Salmon and Claire's concept of collaborative modes of classroom learning may be argued to parallel, in a number of aspects, Bernstein's concept of weakly framed pedagogic processes. The similarity lies in Bernstein's consideration of the relationships between the educational knowledge of school and commonsense knowledge and experience of teacher and pupil in the pedagogical relationships:

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> We can raise the question of the strength of the boundary,
> the degree of insulation between everyday community
> knowledge of teacher and taught and educational knowledge.
> Thus we can consider variations in the strength of frames
> as these refer to the strength of the boundary between
> educational knowledge and everyday community knowledge of
> teacher and taught.   (Bernstein 1977:89)

In a weakly framed pedagogic process, then, the teacher's and pupil's everyday knowledge is an acceptable aspect of the learning process. A weakly framed learning situation may offer opportunities for the development of mutual understanding (greater degrees of sociality) between teachers and pupils, and amongst pupils, in a similar way to that supposed in the collaborative learning mode (Salmon and Claire 1984). The significant difference between the two theoretical stances, Salmon and Claire's and Bernstein's, rests in their underlying assumptions, and their attention to the power and control dimension within the pedagogic relationship.

Evans (1982) points to an interpretation of Bernstein's weakly framed teaching context as a situation in which there may be greater intrusion into pupil's personal identity:

> Here we have a notion of frame as alternatively used, that
> is as in "frame-up" implying intrusive even contested
> social control.   (ibid.:34)

This latter perspective of classroom learning would suggest the emergence of forms of resistance and conflict in the meeting of different actors' frames of reference within a weakly framed context. It appears that it is the pupils' behaviour and action <u>as they are adjudged by significant others</u> which is central.

In contrast, Salmon and Claire's concept of collaborative classroom learning perceives a context in which pupils' frames of reference (pupils' interpretations and frames of meaning) become central in such a way that facilitates, 'possibilities of idiosyn-cratic meanings, and openness to change'. In this mode, Salmon and Claire proposed that the pupils' frames of reference become the focus of the learning situation and as such constitute 'the material for exploration, and joint negotiation of change'. This perspective presupposes a 'social understanding' within the collaborative

classroom which does not take account of, or acknowledge, the possible implications of power and control in the teaching relationship.

When commenting upon limitations in works of ethnomethodologists and phenomenologists, such as Garfinkel and Schutz, Giddens (1976) refers to their failure to 'recognise the centrality of power in social life.' As he pointed out:

> Even a transient conversation between two persons is a relation of power, to which the participants may bring unequal resources. The production of an 'orderly' or 'accountable' social world can not <u>merely</u> be understood as <u>collaborative</u> work carried out by peers, <u>meanings</u> that are made to count express asymmetries of power ... social norms or rules are capable of differential interpretation; differential interpretation of the 'same' idea systems lies at the heart of struggles based upon divisions of interest.   (Giddens 1976:53, my emphases)

Giddens' comments might be taken as a critique through which the plausibility of Salmon and Claire's notion of collaborative learning might be considered. His comments spell out particular features of interaction which would militate against the practical realisation of collaborative learning,such that the dominant imposed meanings may be unsusceptible to other interpretations. Giddens does challenge concepts of power, and its integral relation with action, in so far as he points to 'interests' rather than power as being directly related to conflict or consensus.

> If power and conflict frequently go together, it is not because
> the one logically implies the other, but because power is
> linked with the pursuance of interests, and men's (sic)
> interests may fail to coincide ... While power is a feature of
> every form of human interaction division of interest is not.
> (Giddens 1976:112)

However, the notion that social reality, even at an interpersonal level, cannot be accomplished through collaboration but that meanings that count are those which possess the legitimisation of a dominant defining power is, I would argue, a fundamentally one sided, unbalanced perception. This is a 'machismo' perception which conceives of social reality brought about only through the realisation of power as used for the furtherance of self-seeking

interests. This conceptualisation, based upon notions of power and control as they relate to the accomplishment of personal (or cultural) interests, is 'blind' to alternative forms of relationships which do not hinge on these principles. In this perspective, a frame of reference whose centrality is understanding and awareness of others' interests is, by definition, subsumed by one whose centrality is imposition as social control and, as such, is rendered invisible.

For Spender (1982) and Spender and Sarah (1980) working within a feminist framework, this process of 'invisibility' is experienced in the perspective of women and girls and is realised in women's lack of representation throughout the legitimating and dominating structures of society.[8]

*   *   *

I shall briefly digress here to discuss the ways in which the 'invisibility' of women is seen to have been partially accomplished through women's own internalisation of 'society as objective reality'. In so doing I shall draw upon Daly's (1973) comments upon Berger's (1966, 1967) conceptualisation of the social construction of reality. Thence, I shall show how the traditional micro-macro distinction of society, its 'dualism' is implicitly called into question through Daly's argument. This will then lead me to briefly discuss the concept of 'duality of structure' (Giddens 1984), and the implications this and Daly's argument have for my own theoretical framework.

Daly (1973) argues that 'the prevailing sense of reality' over recorded history has essentially been one of 'non-being of women'; that at all levels of social activity women have been 'blotted out'. At the level of literature and scholarship, she suggests, trivialisation has been made of the works of proponents of matriarchal theory, such that an effective process of erasure of women's thought and experience has been maintained.

An understanding of the processes whereby reality is socially constructed, Daly argues, can enable women to perceive the 'essential dynamic' necessary to challenge this prevailing sense of reality.

Daly agrees with Berger's conceptualisation of the dialectic interplay between the individual and their socio-cultural world. In so doing, she points to the ways in which the three processes involved in world building: externalisation, objectivication, and internalisation (Berger 1967:4-15) are in fact constructive of women's 'non-being'. As she comments on Berger's conceptualisation:

> It is men who do the externalizing ... However, it is women who are conditioned to be the internalizers par excellence. (Daly 1973:135-6)

Daly then argues that through recognition and thence rejection of this internalisation of prevailing reality, women will come to challenge the legitimating and dominating structures of society. This she sees as political action, through which:

> 'creativity is drained'. 'The experience itself of battling political power with political non-power ... is revelatory.' (ibid.:1973:136)

What Daly does not explicitly point out, is that such structures are also internalized within men's subjective consciousness, and, as such, are taken-for-granted and sanctioned as 'true' reality. It may be that within contexts where male and female can satisfactorily challenge prevailing reality together, there may be new possibilities for more individuals.

Berger's conceptualisation proffers a tenuous link between the 'micro' and 'macro' social worlds, albeit one which does not contain a 'critical' dimension. He presents an orientation to sociological theory which took seriously the subjective experience.[9]

He points out that emphasis solely upon subjective meanings leads to idealism, whilst emphasis upon objective social reality leads to sociological reification. Viewed in isolation, both are distortions of reality. Only through perceiving these two dimensions together, he maintains, can a 'correct' perception of social reality be realised. Berger's concept of the dialectic between individual and society offers clues to achieving a balance to this dualism.

The 'internalisation' of social structure, Daly perceives, constitutes the 'reproduction' of that structure through time. She proposes that structures not only constrain but also present opportunities, albeit limited; through an awareness of these constraints changes might be effected. Daly's recognition of such

possibilities as well as constraints parallels, in part, some of the assumptions underlying Giddens concept of 'duality' of structure.[10] That is, the structural properties of social systems are considered not only as constraining, but also enabling since they 'are both the medium and outcome of practices they recursively organise'.

Both the latter authors recognise that the structural properties of social systems may stretch through time beyond the control of individual men and women. An individual's concept of social systems, which he or she helps to constitute and reconstitute through his or her activities, may consolidate and thereby reproduce those systems. That is to say, through particular perceptions and individual interpretations of appropriate behaviour, social structures may be maintained or transformed.[11] Thus structures are seen both to be inferred from social interaction and to be a medium through which interaction in that form is possible.

A context, such as that constituting the outdoor institute, in which conventional assumptions about teaching relations and appropriate behaviours appear, in some cases, to be shifted, therefore requires an exploration of how and why interaction is constituted in the way in which it appears. It is also necessary to explore the outcomes of such practices, in terms of individual's perceptions. Such analyses must take account of the possibilities as well as the limitations of all types of learning modes.

<p align="center">*   *   *</p>

Returning, then, to the construction of reality within the classroom and to whether the concept of collaborative learning is plausible in practical reality. The preceding section would suggest that we must acknowledge such a possibility. Since, if we accept the notion of subsumption (in which frames of reference which attempt reflexive awareness are rendered 'unreal' through frames of references which are dominated by personal or cultural interests) to be true, for every 'case' and in all relationships, we are no further forward in 'seeing', and thus realising, the possibilities of a counter definition to prevailing social reality. Nor is it possible to develop a conceptual framework which can accommodate a view of

social relations, within a learning context, which has as its central
tenet an intention, not of imposition but, of facilitating indepen-
dence and accomplishing awareness and understanding in human conduct.

This is not to presume that intended, nor even unintended,
imposition of meaning as social control does not occur in large
numbers of learning contexts. Evidence is cited in numerous works,
in which classrooms are perceived as places of inevitable conflict of
interests (cf.Chapter 1). Neither should it be presumed that in
contexts constituting an 'ideal typical' collaborative, or any other
learning mode, imposition is never realised or constraints and
conflicts not experienced certainly they are. What I am proposing
is that we should conceive of a theoretical framework which can
incorporate possibilities, as well as constraints, and which can
enable comparison of phenomena within, and features of, different
contexts taking particular account of individual teachers' and
pupils' interpretations and their various ways of behaving therein.

The proposition of collaborative forms of learning and their
concomitant relationships, then, may be received as a meaningless set
of concepts when viewed through prevailing perceptions of social
reality. That is if we accept, in totality, Giddens' view that:

> What passes for social reality stands in immediate
> relation to the distribution of power; not only on the most
> mundane levels of everyday interaction, but also on the
> level of global cultures and ideologies, whose influence
> indeed may be felt in every corner of everyday social life
> itself. (ibid.:1976:113)

However, to accept subsumption is to impede understanding of the
potential diversity and creativity of learning experiences. Since as
Giddens comments citing Heidegger (1967):

> 'Any interpretation which is to contribute understanding
> must have understood what is to be interpreted. All
> understanding demands some measure of pre-understanding
> whereby further understanding is possible.(ibid.:1976:56)

To reiterate, unless we acknowledge a process of learning
whereby there may be a practical realisation of symmetrical forms of
relationships, we are limited in our ability to perceive possible
counter definitions of, or contradictions to, the reception of

prevailing educational codes, and thus deprived of the opportunity to understand and conceptualize how pupils, both boys and girls, may differentially mediate alternative educational forms.

In any exploration of the teaching and learning process it is imperative, I have suggested, to consider gender as a fundamental analytical category; how concepts of gender are created and how these constructs interrelate with the accomplishment of other social constructs and constitute the social order in a setting. Such analyses must include, then, an awareness of teacher and pupil predispositions, how these inter-relate and are mediated through particular learning modes, and how they may be affected by the characteristic material and situational features of the educational context under investigation.

Evans (1982) draws upon the work of Dahllöf, Lundgren and Bernstein in the construction of a model which offers a conceptual-isation of the ways in which teachers and pupils make sense of, and act upon, the learning process within mixed ability 'academic' classrooms. Material and physical features such as teacher-pupil ratio, space, time, physical context and subject content are not simply perceived as constraining teacher or pupil action, but as factors which are mediated by and through the teacher. Evans proposed model 1, which conceptualises the personal negotiation of these characteristic features. The Bernsteinian notion of 'frame' underpins the model and the characteristic features are considered to be differently realised in the perspectives of various teachers and pupils not merely as bounding or governing action but as creating opportunities for action.

```
                         Constituting
                          (process)
                              |
          Action             |           Inputs
                             |
Person ──────────────────────┼────────────────────── Resource
                             |
          Limit/Control      |           Givens
                              |
                        Constituted by
                          (frames)
   Model 1                                (Evans 1982:39)
```
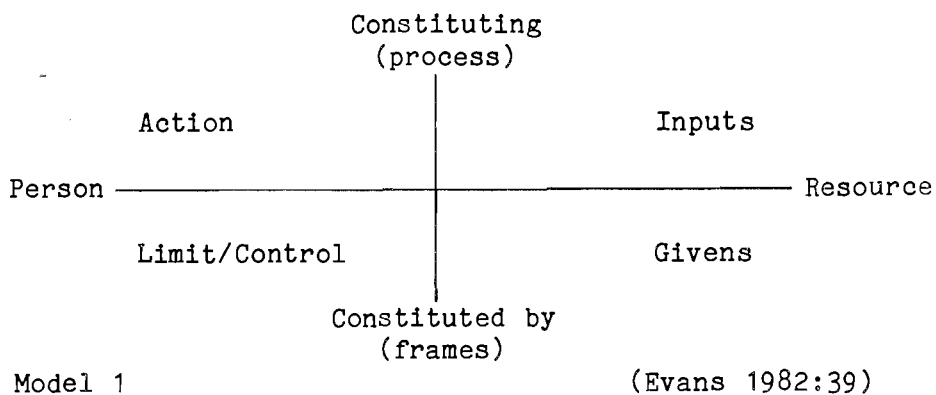
Model 1 illustrates the way in which Evans conceptualised the
teaching process in which resources may be 'given' for some
individuals or manipulable inputs for others. Hence, individuals may
possess more or less control in the constitution of forms of action
in context. That is to say, action may be perceived to be more or
less strongly framed for different individuals. For Evans:

> What counts as person, resource, as constituted or
> constituting varies between individuals. What is frame to
> one, may be context of action for another. What is given or
> fixed by one (eg resource as textbooks, physical context,
> space, etc.) is a manipulable input or point of possibility
> for another. The different individuals may be teachers or
> pupils or the same teacher or pupil in different contexts.
>   Evans (1982:39)

This conceptualisation , then, which was used to examine the
processes of decision making and action in different spheres and
successive socio-historical periods within one mainstream comprehen-
sive, may form the basis for a model which may be used not only to
explore processes in different educational contexts within one
educational institute, but also to explore such processes as they are
mediated through divergent educational institutes.

<div align="center">*   *   *</div>

It is proposed to employ the Evans model to form the basis of a
framework through which this thesis may be conceptualised. It will
be developed, however, to take account of a number of additional
aspects, in particular the gender dimension. I shall also
incorporate into this model the social-psychological orientation in
which the pupils' frames of reference are perceived to be central to
the learning process (Salmon and Claire 1984). It is possible,
therefore, to perceive the available resources to constitute not only
physical properties, but also pupils' frames of reference. Thereby, as
proposed within the ideal typical collaborative learning mode in
which the pupils' frames of reference are (intentionally or
unintentionally) the 'material for exploration and joint negotiation
for change', the pupils' may constitute a major resource for the

teacher. The pupil's frame of reference, then, may be the central
material or resource for the teacher, and pupil decision-making may
become an integral but varying feature of the learning process.

When teacher and pupil interact power may be realised as social
control or it may be realised in the pupils' capabilities.[12] The
teacher may attempt to 'enter into the pupils' frame of meaning.'
On the one hand, building upon the 'intimate knowledge' so acquired
in a manner which might actualise pupils' power in terms of their
reflexive perceptions of their own capabilities. (By reflexive
perceptions, I mean perceptions and awareness not only of self, but
of others.) On the other hand, however, the 'intimate knowledge' so
acquired through such an approach may be perceived and realised, in
the context of actual situational constraints, or in the perspectives
of particular pupils or teachers, as social control.

In practice the ideal typical collaborative learning mode
may continue to reinforce particular images and legitimate existing
social structures. Or it may present opportunities for shifts in
pupils' (or teachers') perceptions of self, appropriate behaviours
and relationships which may, at least at the interpersonal level,
have emancipatory potential. (Of course, it may be possible to
perceive such processes occurring through other learning modes.)

In summary, then, when teacher and pupil frames of meaning
(frames of reference) meet, within any mode of learning, particular
forms of communication are accomplished and structured through which
'messages' are conveyed and received and meanings established, which
may affect both teacher and pupil perceptions and, thus, their choice
of actions. At this juncture, forms of expression are accomplished
and specific definitions created whereby conflict, consensus or
varying degrees of sociality may be experienced. Particular
interpretations of such expressions take meaning from the 'work
culture' in which they are situated (Denscombe 1980b), which
constitutes one facet of the prevailing educational code by which an
institute operates.

The following section will illustrate a conceptual framework
which has evolved from the empirical data, and which draws loosely
upon frame. The concept frame has been employed as a conceptual tool

in the analyses of these data, and it underpins the presentation of this thesis. The ensuing theoretical framework attempts to conceptualise the ways in which the structural properties of an educational institute are mediated by and through the teacher, at the meeting of teacher and pupil frames of reference, and come to be realised in boys' and girls' experiences and their actions. Such actions may be perceived in the particular institutional context, in different teachers' and pupils' perspectives, as either conformist, deviant or idiosyncratic behaviours.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK II

A Detailed Conceptualisation of the Learning Process

My particular concern, within this study, is to explore what are these intended and unintended messages which are imparted through 'classroom' encounters and by the particular non-school, educational environment; to examine how these messages interrelate with the manifest curricula and official, taken-for-granted policies. I take the view, as Cornbleth (1984), that the notion 'hidden curriculum', which has been used to refer to unintended messages of schooling and their consequences, is unhelpful as it 'tends to label more than to explain'.[1] Cornbleth questions the overdeterministic perspective which the hidden curriculum evokes, and points out that:

> schools are enmeshed in such a web of contradictions that any notion of hidden or implicit curriculum serves to flatten, rather than to reveal phenomena we should be exploring. (ibid.:30)

In this thesis, then, I hope to uncover contradictory or affirming messages proffered in the context of this case study; to explore not only the different interpretations as meaning, given these messages by participants, but also how they are mediated and become established as meaning in the forms of communication realised through the 'classroom' interaction.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

'The creation of frames of meaning occurs as the mediation of practical activities', and, says Giddens (1976:113), 'in terms of the differentials of power, which actors are able to bring to bear'.

We may conceive the teacher setting up frames, or rules implicated in encounter, which specify the proper behaviour of pupils (Hammersley and Turner 1980:43; Giddens 1984:87). Pupils may propose alternative frames which may be perceived as deviance or idiosyncracy. It is not simply what counts as proper or appropriate behaviour in context which is important, but why particular actions

and relationships are sanctioned, and others not, and how it is that such behaviour comes to be taken as acceptable in any particular setting.

Pertinent to this study is the way in which gender is implicated in perceptions of what constitutes 'appropriate' behaviour.[2] Davies (1984a), in her penetrating study of school deviance, illuminates how the complex processes whereby deviance is differentially imputed are inexorably linked to the 'sex role ideologies' within the school. Her work highlights the official policies and the 'hidden curriculum' as aspects of schooling which create and maintain social divisions between the sexes; both impart messages concerning different and appropriate 'roles' for the sexes.[3] She draws attention to the fact that it is not so much the existence of overtly different rules for the sexes, but that the 'hidden curriculum' of schooling, or of the individual classroom, may convey gender associated messages about 'appropriate pupil identity by which deviance and normality may be occasionally defined'.

Normality and thence conformity, then, will represent the pupils' 'acquisition of interactional competences' in context (Speier 1974:189), and will be gender implicated. Different learning contexts will constitute different notions of interactional competences for different individuals, and thereby different forms of behaviour and relations will be sanctioned.

Not only are there overt and covert 'rule frames' by which appropriate behaviour is defined within various 'classrooms', and elsewhere within an educational setting, but also school and teacher expectations which may affect pupils' behaviour.[4]

*   *   *

Giddens (1984) emphasises the situatedness of social interaction. The routine or regular features of encounters, he proposes, as they are accomplished or constituted in time as well as space, represent institutionalised features of social systems.

Institutionalised features of schooling can be conceptualised through 'frame factors' (Evans 1982). In the work of Evans, a particular notion of frame is operationalised which draws attention

not only to the principles of control underlying pedagogic transac-
tions (following Bernstein), but also to the organisational processes
occurring within a comprehensive school (following Lundgren 1981).
This concept of frame is used to highlight the ways in which school
policies on, 'timetabling, schooling, curriculum and instruction have
strong boundary and limiting effects on classrooms'(ibid.:41). Evans
suggests that such policies are 'teacher strategies and effect pupil
identity'.

The following diagrammatic outline (model 2) conceptualises the
processes of schooling. It is a mutated, integrated elaboration on
the models presented in Evans (1982:125, 1985:12) and Davies, L.
(1980:124). It attempts to illustrate the complex processes
occurring in schooling in a simplified, elemental form through which
institutional comparisons may be possible.[5] This is not to suggest
that these elemental parts can easily be separated from the whole,
since each interrelates with, influences and is influenced by, the
other elements. However, for analytical purposes, I shall refer to
the elements of the 'exploded' diagram.

Structural features of an educational institute, such as time,
physical and human resources, curriculum content, instructional mode,
behavioural rules and grouping practice (the ways in which pupils are
allocated to groups or classes), I shall term 'frame factors'
(cf.Evans 1982).[6] These frame factors interrelate to constitute
varying messages and to frame contexts, which may be differently
interpreted and acted upon by individuals or groups. In this
conceptualisation, outlined in model 2, particular concern is laid
upon the transmission of meaning through the forms of communication
between teachers and pupils and amongst pupils; how certain meanings
come into being through face to face encounters. This contextual
mediation of intersubjective meaning is conceived in the meeting of
teachers' and pupils' frames of reference, and is realised in
expressions of group and individual action. Here variations in the
strength of frame may be exposed, illuminating the form of relations
and control underpinning pedagogic encounters. A teacher's frame of
reference will be constituted by his or her predispositons and

professional socialisation. Denscombe (1980) has argued that the latter is learnt 'on site' . The 'work culture' of which the Shotmoor teachers constitute will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

A pupil's frame of reference is not only influenced by 'sex role' socialisation engendered by the family, community and school, but also constitutes self images and identity, perceptions of others and concepts of 'appropriate' forms of behaviour and relationships, which are both gender and culture implicated. Through the pupil's interpretation of a particular educational code, which is expressed and experienced at the intersection of related frame factors, understanding and notions of competence will be accomplished whilst images and forms of relations may be created, sustained or challenged.

This framework, then, allows a conceptualisation of the processes of schooling in which cultural and local 'rule frames', in particular those for the sexes, are constitutive of expressions of group and individual identity and perceptions of relations.

The remainder of this chapter explores the interrelation between the analytical elements outlined in model 2. In subsequent chapters, by applying the concept 'frame', loosely or analytically, to the case study institution, I shall illustrate the ways in which the institutional context frames pupils' decision making and how decisions upon or within the timetable, curriculum and/or instruction are influential in effecting 'schooling' at Shotmoor.

*   *   *

The case study establishment makes use, as do schools, of timetabling procedures to formally allocate teachers to groups of pupils, for specific units of time, in specified curriculum areas. The timetable defines the social, material and physical space of pupils, subjects and teachers. The timetable therefore focuses attention upon the 'ecological' setting and on how the learning environment is managed.

FRAME FACTORS

content, physical and human resource, time,
behavioural rules,instructional mode, grouping practice

Primary/Secondary
Socialization

'Sex role'
socialization

Predispositions

Self concept
and images

Mediated by and through
communicative form
in the co-presence of
other actors

Teacher frame
of reference

Pupil frame
of reference

Perception
of others

Professional
socialisation

concepts of
'appropriate'
forms of
relationships

mediated through
cultural
contradictions

family and school
interpretation
of roles and
relationships

experienced as

Socially
conflict or
consensus: varying
degrees of sociality

Individually
'success' or
'failure'

deciding

expressions of acceptance
or rejection   (degrees of
commitment) which constitute
definitions of conformity,
idiosyncracy or deviance

Model 2

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Evans points to time as constituting no less a resource than
materials or staffing, pointing out that time, as a factor of school
policy and organisation, has received little attention in empirical
studies of teaching with the exception of the works of Lundgren
(1972, 1981). However, Pollard (1979, 1980) explores the way in
which the 'temporal rule-frame' creates meanings and represents
boundaries and divisions in the school setting. The basic temporal
unit, the lesson period, is seen to possess various phases through
which the teachers' 'rule frame' may be affected by those of the
pupils', with the flow of processual events (Hammersley and Turner
1980). Although these authors take seriously the ways in which time
is used as a resource, they do not question, or make problematic, the
widespread use of 'clock time' for the division of the day or the
precise structuring of activities in school settings. It is
taken-for-granted that time, as a structure, is a manipulative
property of administrative authority but largely fixed, outside of
the classroom process, for teachers and pupils. The ways in which
teachers, in the case study setting, perceive and operate the
officially defined basic temporal unit are subsequently explored. It
is shown that time in this context may be weakly framed.

Evans (1982,1985) proposed that, in the classroom process,
timetabling concerns may be perceived as problems related to the
timing and pacing of knowledge transmission. Here again, I will show
these are concerns of the Centre teachers but to a lesser degree than
teachers in mainstream schools. The issues which teachers at
Shotmoor found most pertinent are those relating to the pacing of
skills learning in relation to pupil safety.

Evans draws attention to features other than time which are
influenced directly by policies made outside the classroom, or school
context, and which become decisions to be made within timetabling.
Such features are buildings, physical equipment and materials, which
are physical frames (Lundgren 1981) and the number of teaching staff
in proportion to pupils, which is a human resource (Sharp and Green
1975). These together make up the resource 'frame factor'.

A significant feature of the case study institute is the high teacher-pupil ratio. This is a policy decided outside the institute and is directly influenced by LEA safety requirements for pupils involved in hazardous pursuits.[7] In this context resource allocation, in terms of staffing, is influenced by and has direct bearing upon the perceived needs of the pupil. The poor teacher-pupil ratio generally found in mainstream schools requires teachers to view pupils in cohorts rather than as individuals (Lortie 1975). I shall discuss, in a later chapter, the ways in which the case study teachers perceive and interact with pupils in a context in which staffing resource is high.

The allocation of physical and human resources is a common focus of decision making within the timetable of different educational institutes. The allocation of resources, for the provision of varied educational institutes, is directly determined by decisions taken external to these institutions. Founded at a particular socio-historical epoch, influenced by the pedagogic or economic concerns of that period, an educational institution may be considered, in the perspectives of different people, more or less appropriate to the educational needs of pupils at that particular socio-economic period in history.

Whereas the physical presence of pupils in schools is a legal requirement, their participation in outdoor activity curricula is not. During a period of financial recession, then, institutions providing outdoor activity curricula may well be reduced in number or privatised. Those remaining under LEA funding would, however, still retain their high teacher-pupil ratios.

The relative unimportance attached to this area of the curricula has meant that little concern has been shown to the broad issues connected with how pupils are grouped in this sphere.

Policies concerning the ways in which pupils are grouped for teaching purposes in mainstream schools, and the debate surrounding such decisions in terms of educational opportunities, educational achievement and social mobility such grouping affords, have tended to reflect the political and educational concerns of a male dominated educational and political system.[8] Research focussing upon the

schooling effects of grouping, proposed that 'grouping becomes centrally about socialisation' (Evans 1982). However, the particular effects of grouping upon forms of gender consciousness were not explored in this work, nor were the ways in which gender may implicate pupils' understanding of their own capabilities. The construction of gender within our society is primarily a construction of power relations (Connell et al. 1982) and will thus give meaning to girls' and boys' concepts of their own capabilities and their ability to act in relation to others. Meta-learning, the ways in which pupils learn about their own ability to learn, is 'framed' by gender.

Feminist intervention in the sociology of education has raised additional dimensions concerning not only the social construction of knowledge, but also in relation to the debate about how pupils are grouped (cf. Deem 1984). Research and developmental work have tended to suggest that, for a variety of reasons, girls do not achieve as well in mixed schools or groups.[9] On the one hand, many feminists view co-education with suspicion, seeing it as girls going into boys' schools (Shaw 1980). On the other hand, however, it is argued that sex segregation would prevent girls from learning to cope with, and to challenge male domination later on (Byrne 1978).[10]

Likewise, in the area of physical education, segregated classes may be seen as divisive, consolidating images of particular gender stereotypes. The various gender differentiating processes, which studies have uncovered in co-educational classes in schools, are discussed, in a subsequent chapter, and I shall show that the processes are generally less pernicious within lessons at Shotmoor. The consequences for girls' and boys' behaviour and identity will also be explored.

Schooling, or 'appropriate behaviour within the context', is not only associated with grouping practices, but also with a particular institute's policies on proper 'classroom' behaviour, correct movement around the setting and in various spaces, and the expected clothing to be worn. Such policies are 'images of conduct, manner

and character' (Bernstein 1977:38) which confront the pupil.These will vary from one educational institution to another and will be gender implicated.

<center>*   *   *</center>

Physical and human resource frame factors may constitute contexts of action or restraint for both teachers and pupils. Temporal and physical resource frame factors together create the context for the type of instruction or mode of transmission (MOT) adopted by the teacher. The mode of transmission is the choice of how curriculum material is organised and is made available (Evans).

By the type of instruction or MOT, I mean the ways in which the teacher chooses to group the class in order to convey knowledge and skills. For analytical purposes, I propose three categories which constitute the MOTs which were observed, in various lessons, at the case study centre. These include, (a) the whole class teaching method in which the teacher talks with or at the class as a whole (referred to as recitational)[11], (b) the individualised method, in which pupils work alone, the teacher transacting with individuals (privately or publicly) and (c) the group method in which pupils work in groups of two or more, the teacher interacting with individual pupils or groups (privately or publicly). These categories are similar to those used in the Oracle project (Galton et al. 1980; Galton and Willcocks 1983). Whereas Galton uses these categories, when relating to teachers' style, to describe the predominant pattern of interaction which a teacher uses throughout a lesson, I propose to use these categories to refer to the MOT adopted by the case study teachers during different phases of the lesson. As the MOT varies through a lesson, not only will teachers appear to have varying degrees of control over the pupils' activities and their communication, but also pupils will perceive themselves more or less responsible for what is happening. The apparent shift in control in some situations at Shotmoor, will be discussed in a later chapter as it is mediated through pupils' and teachers' perspectives.

<center>*   *   *</center>

<center>IOI</center>

Frame factors, then, create the context in which a particular teaching approach is adopted. Analytically, a teaching approach, I propose, can be perceived to be constituted by two interrelated dimensions. Firstly, there is the instructional dimension or mode of transmission (Evans), and secondly, the communicative form. Thus a teaching approach (pedagogic practice) will consist of both the ways in which knowledge and skills are made available to the pupils, and the forms of communication by which these are conveyed to the pupils. It will, therefore, consist not only of organisational and managerial properties of the teaching process but may also include, in some cases, affective properties of interaction.[12] I take the view expressed in Edwards and Furlong (1978), that:

> The forms of communication which predominate in classrooms make up a large part of what is learned there ... what is said, and how it is said (is inseparable) from the social relationships in which speech is embedded. (ibid.:24)

The form of communication (communicative form) is, then, the teachers' and pupils' particular choice of words, actions and manner of communication (form of interaction) which involves the communication of meaning. It may include the teacher attempting to enter into the pupil's frame of reference, or, as more usually evidenced, the pupils being expected to move towards the teacher's frame of meaning (meaning system) (see Edwards and Furlong 1978).

The form of communication, I propose, includes the transmission and the reception of feeling such as fear, excitement, friendliness, warmth, coolness and so forth (the affective properties of inter-action), and the indexicality of the situation.[13] Indexicality refers to the ways in which actions and speech acts are related to the particular educational context in which they are accomplished, and to the way their meanings may be shared implicitly by teachers and pupils, and amongst pupils; it is the taken-for-granted assumptions underlying the 'social' in the particular teaching situation, frequently embedded in nuances and subtleties in interaction.[14] An analysis of communicative form is not an analysis of language, or how it is used, but rather how words and actions in context accomplish, transmit or maintain meaning.[15] Giddens makes this point admirably:

> From its aspect as a medium of communication in
> interaction, language involves the use of 'interpretative
> schemes' to make sense not only of what others say, but of
> what they mean: the constitution of 'sense' as an
> intersubjective accomplishment of mutual understanding in
> an ongoing exchange; and the use of contextual cues, as
> properties of the setting, as (is) an integral part of the
> constitution of comprehension of meaning.
>
> (Giddens 1976:104)

Although Stubbs (1981) points to the limitations of inter-
actionist studies which attempt to relate features of language to
various social-psychological concepts, he does admit that little is
known about 'the communicative function of different aspects of
language'. What he pays insufficient attention to is the interpreta-
tive process of communication (how meanings are accomplished and
understood) which is not only embedded in language, but also in the
indexicalities of a situation. Walker and Adelman (1976) show how a
particular classroom discourse, mutually intelligible to teachers and
pupils, is unintelligible to the observer who is not clued into the
'sense' of the discourse. Pollard (1980), Hargreaves et al. (1975)
and Swindler (1979) demonstrate the kinds of analyses which are
necessary to understand the underlying features of verbal interaction
in the classroom.

The MOT along with the communicative form,which make up a
teaching approach,will be contingent upon teachers' personal
predisposition, and particular professional socialisation (or
previous reaction to it). Their communicative form may be intended
or unintended. They may consciously wish to adopt an authoritarian
manner, or a 'collaborative', style which may or may not be realised
in practice. They may attempt to operationalise a Life Skills
approach in their teaching.[16] However, I would suggest that many
teachers may have only limited knowledge of differently defined
teaching approaches and ,furthermore,will adopt those which they find
most 'successful' and appropriate, if not satisfying, in the context
which frames their work. This appears generally to be evident in the
Shotmoor setting.

At the level of classroom activity in general, a particular
teaching approach is influenced by decisions relating to available
levels of resources, that is to say the amount of money and time made

available to the subject and teacher. Evans points out that time is
rarely made available to teachers for instructional preparation.
Similarly, in the case study centre, time is not regularly timetabled
for such preparation. Given that teachers teach identical curricula
from week to week, albeit to different pupils, it seems unlikely that
such a resource would be required. However, time is allocated, when
required or requested, for maintenance and seasonal preparation, and
for the introduction of new staff to the teaching procedures.[17]

In a previous chapter, I refer to the highly routinised nature
of teachers' instruction (MOT) exhibited in lessons, pointing out,
however, that the manner by which the official curriculum content is
conveyed appears, generally, to be far from carried out 'ritual-
istically' or mindlessly (subsequent chapters evidence these
features). That is to say, there appears to be variety, and in some
cases a richness, in the teachers' communicative form.

Not only are the MOTs routinised, but also the official subject
content is repeatedly taught, from week to week, to different pupils.
Teachers, however, may be encountering these different pupils as the
new 'material' in the course of their work, relating to them in ways
which they consider to be most 'appropriate'. I shall show later,
that, for a variety of reasons, there is, generally, a significant
lack of reproof or chastisement of pupils at Shotmoor. I will also
suggest that the 'rules' which are constituted, in this context, are
differently framed from those which pupils (and teachers) experience
in schools.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

'Appropriate' behaviour necessary for the achievement or
portrayal of a competent performance at Shotmoor is, I will argue,
generally unlike that expected in the school situation. This is so
for both teachers and pupils.

Giddens (1984) illuminates, and theoretically develops,
Goffman's empirical work and that of ethnomethodologists, such as
Garfinkel, laying emphasis upon their evidence that routine features
of encounters are not 'given' but that:

the routinised character of most social activity is
something which has to be 'worked' at by those who sustain it
in their day to day conduct. (ibid.:87)

Following Goffman, Giddens perceived the 'rules' by which the
repetitive, regular day to day activities are constituted as
'frames'. For Giddens, framing is the way in which the ongoing
taken-for-granted events and meanings both shape and are accomplished
by individuals in the process of interaction:

Framing may be regarded as providing the ordering of
activities and meanings whereby ontological security is
sustained in the enactment of daily routines. Frames are
clusters of rules which help to constitute and regulate
activities, defining them as activities of a certain sort
and as subject to a given range of sanctions.

(Giddens 1984:87)

Bernstein used the concept frame to draw attention to power
dimensions in educational interaction. Framing, in the Bernsteinian
sense, thus focuses, albeit in a structuralist manner, upon the
control or decision making aspect of pedagogic transactions in
different educational contexts. Bernstein proposed that as the
framing or the control dimension changes in different contexts, so
will pupils' social understanding change:

Framing refers to the principles of control underlying
pedagogic communication. As the principle varies, so do
the form and content of the social relationship. Different
principles of framing regulate the experience of the pupils
which is realized in the pedagogic relationship. So –
different principles of framing, different forms of
experience. (Bernstein, 1977:176)

Frames, then, which shape activities and behaviour in
educational contexts may be perceived to be concomitant, in part,
upon the frame factors which structure the context of interaction.

The 'classroom' environment as a context of transmission is
framed and constituted by the intersection of these related frame
factors. The latter are mediated by the teacher through a number of
negotiable frames. Evans (1982) proposed the following: The
'content frame' which is what is made available; The 'transmission
frame' which is how knowledge and skills are made available (in terms
of the MOT and, as I suggest, also in terms of the communicative
form); The 'pacing frame' which is when various stages of knowledge
and skills are made available; The 'resource frame' which consti-

tutes the ways in which the characteristic human and physical factors are allocated or made accessible to teachers and pupils and the discipline frame which is what counts as acceptable behaviour (Evans (1985). Pollard (1979, 1980) utilized a similar category system which, however, was not concerned with the transmission of knowledge, as he stated:

> I am applying the concept, not to knowledge transmission but to behaviour. (ibid.:1980:47)

I have suggested that appropriate behaviour and relations constitute what are learnt in context and these include received messages about pupils' ability to learn. It is difficult, therefore, to perceive how either knowledge transmission or the transmission of appropriate behaviour can be ignored in any analyses of learning, since they are inexorably intertwined in any learning process. Pollard conceptualised four 'rule frames' which he proposed create meaning and represent boundaries in the school setting. These consist of the 'temporal rule frame' (which I mentioned earlier), the 'ecological rule frame' which parallels, in part, Evans's resource frame but which focuses more specifically upon the immediate physical space and its boundary and limiting effects. The 'curricular rule-frame' and 'personal rule-frame' are two further categories which Pollard utilized to represent the constraints associated with particular 'purposes and personnel' in a classroom situation. Pollard's rule frame categories represent only one set of negotiable rules which constitute and regulate activities within schooling. He does, however, recognise the possibility of 'institutional rule framing' as constructing experiences which, in time, become taken-for-granted social fact within an organisation.

In a learning context, when teachers' and pupils' frames of reference meet through interaction, particular attitudes, beliefs and opinions held about self and others, and forms of relationships will be transmitted, sustained or challenged. Parameters for action will be realised at this juncture, which may be experienced as constraints or opportunity in the perspectives of different teachers and pupils. That is to say, not only are the possible practical actions and attributed 'abilities' of certain pupils perceived by different teachers as either fixed or open to change, but also, perhaps more

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subtly, what for one pupil may appear a controllable aspect of the social setting may seem to others something which 'happens' rather than something which is 'made to happen', which may change in different social contexts. Different pupils may therefore perceive themselves more or less capable in social settings which are differently framed.

In any study which attempts to explore the learning process, it is essential to examine not only how frame factors are mediated by teachers and create the particular parameters for action, but also the pupils' understanding of their experience and their shaped, and chosen responses to it.

<div align="center">* * *</div>

Turner (1983) has shown that pupils may adopt a particular behavioural orientation which may vary in different contexts. Female researchers, who have focussed upon girls and women, have been cautious to utilize the type of cultural analyses which Willis (1977) employed in his study of working class boys (Griffin 1985). Girl centred studies have highlighted an apparent difference in the structure of female friendship groups from their male counterparts (see Furlong 1976; Davies, L. 1979, 1984; Walden and Walkerdine 1982; Griffin 1985). This thesis is concerned with the interpretations, behaviours and relations of, and between, girls and boys in the context of co-educational outdoor education. I shall adopt, therefore, for the purposes of exploring pupils' perspectives, an orientation which takes account of the variations in both boys' and girls' actions and relations in different situations. For analytical purposes, then, I propose to loosely employ the notion of 'scripts,' in the form which it is developed by Davies, L.(1984),in order to explore pupils' individual or group expressions in relation to their perceived 'definition of the situation'. Traditionally, role theory is used to account for the ways in which 'roles', or particular sets of expectations attached to a social position , become internalised, learnt and then acted out by individuals. 'Roles', according to Berger, are forms of activity performed by a type of actor who

identifies subjectively with this particular typification or conduct. He noted that by playing roles, the individual participates in a social world:

> By internalising their role, the same world becomes
> subjectively real (and meaningful) to him.(Berger 1966:74)

However, this is a rather static deterministic view, in which the 'given' character of roles does not allow for individual creativity or diversity in one or various contexts.[18] As Davies points out, the notion of role, whereby an individual 'acts out' particular social positions with which he or she has been endowed, does not take account of the 'flickering complexities' of human interaction; nor does it allow for the multiple realities which make up the variety of experiences in everyday life. Giddens (1984), however, argued that the term 'role' has some conceptual precision when used to refer to 'closed' social systems which have become highly routinised, within which 'roles' are constituted by regular encounters in time and space.

Davies defines 'script' as the way an individual makes a statement about their identity and their definition of the situation (1984:95). A person's 'script' may give an indication where and how they locate themselves in relation to what they perceive and understand to be occurring in any particular situation. Pupils' experience, in the context of my study, is of relatively short time span. The concept of script, therefore, is appropriate since it allows for individual or group expressions which range from short speech acts or 'one liners' through long durations of time. Also relevant is the way in which 'societal type-scripts', which constitute the background expectancies associated with various statuses and membership, can be perceived to be 'pre written' as internalized structural factors.[19] These societal type-scripts may encompass a diversity of dimensions, including that of sex 'role', and may be the precursors to individual predispositions which give rise to personal scripts. Personal scripts may conform to or challenge existing societal type-scripts through instantiated or long term individual or group expression.

Within particular forms of schooling, pupils may experience contradictions in and between what constitutes 'successful' behaviour and performance, in that context, and their perceptions of appropriate behaviours and 'abilities' which are gender and culturally implicated. Pupils may, therefore, adopt personal scripts, acting out alternative frames from those mediated by the teacher, which may result in conflict. The teacher may, however, attempt to enter into a pupil's frame of reference and varying degrees of sociality may be established. The concomitant expressions of conformity, deviance or idiosyncracy which are verbal and/or non-verbal are embedded in, and take meaning within, the particular forms of communication in context. The pupils, their interpretations of their experiences of school, Shotmoor, themselves and each other and their forms of expression are the foci of the tenth chapter.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

The preceeding sections have been concerned with the establishment of a theoretical framework through which the processes occurring within different forms of teaching and learning may be conceptualised and compared. This framework attempts to draw together both the teachers' perspectives and those of the pupils' whilst taking account of characteristic material and physical contextual features.[20] Enmeshed within it is the concept of structuration which assumes the 'duality of structure' (Giddens 1976, 1979, 1984):

> Structuration as the reproduction of practices, refers
> abstractly to the dynamic process whereby structures come
> into being ... social structures are both constituted by
> human agency and at the same time they are the very medium
> of this constitution. (ibid.:1976:121)[21]

Moreover, as Edwards and Furlong (1985) point out, structuration not only includes the features of temporality represented in immediate experiences within, and the 'life cycles' of, an organisation , but also an historical dimension. This third feature constitutes the long term development of an institution, in which routine activities and taken-for-granted meanings become sedimented. These must take account of the means by which gender becomes implicated by and through the process of structuration. In Chapter

1, I indicate the need for research to address the ways in which the socio-economic conditions, prevailing at different epochs, effected the development of outdoor education and the particular 'philosophies' or 'cultures' which then evolved. This, however, is not to any great extent possible within this thesis. The concept frame may be operationalised to analyse the forms of communication constituting and embodied in interaction.

The framing of a learning environment has been conceptualised in a number of related ways (see Hammersley and Turner 1980; Bernstein 1977; Pollard 1979, 1980; Evans 1982, 1985). All of which are concerned with the ways by which specifically defined 'givens' create meaning and represent boundaries and divisions in the school setting. None of these studies, however, have recognised gender as a significant feature which not only is accomplished and creates particular meaning, but also may represent divisiveness and limitations or possibilities within an educational institution.

For the most part, studies which have identified gender as a salient feature in schooling have focussed upon the effects or outcomes of 'being' female and have tended to neglect the consequence of 'being' male and the variable actions of, and variation in relations between, boys and girls in different educational settings.[22]

Pupils' interpretations of, and expressions within, a learning environment are paramount to any analyses of schooling. The ways in which individual and group actions conform to or challenge their own and/or the prevailing concepts of appropriate behaviours and 'abilities' are conceptualised through the notion of 'scripts'. These are expressions realised through speech acts or in forms of gestures and nuance in co-presence with other pupils or teachers and they may be embedded in individual pupils' accounts of their experiences.

The outlined theoretical framework, which attempts to illuminate some of the complex and interrelated processes occurring in schooling, underpins and is a means by which the subsequent chapters may be conceptualised. A brief historical sketch of the case study institute and a short discussion of the specific physical and social

context, within which particular pedagogic practices occurred, and 'legitimate' forms of communication were evoked, follow in the next chapter.

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Chapter 5

SITUATING THE INQUIRY

An Historical Perspective

Interactionist and ethnographic studies of schooling and curricula have, for the most part, been ahistorical, neglecting the process whereby individuals and interest groups negotiated limits and constraints over time (Goodson 1983a,b)[1]. It is argued that:

> Focusing investigation on participants' perceptions and short span interactive situations is then to 'take the problem as given'; what is needed is data on how circumstances are 'transmitted from the past'. By developing our analysis from further back we throw more light on the present and afford insights into the constraints imminent in transmitted circumstances. The human process by which men (sic) make their own history does not take place in circumstances of their own choosing, but as both men (sic) and circumstances do vary over time so too do the potentialities for negotiating reality.   (Goodson 1985:125-26)

Likewise, Woods (1985) points out that studies which have explored ongoing situations as they occurred have tended, 'to become a representation of a culture, a picture frozen in time.' Inclusion of historical data allows access to patterns and structures which have emerged and facilitates a greater understanding of the ways in which social action is either recurrent or transformative through time.

The following section, therefore, attempts to locate this study within an historical context[2]. The historical data presented here highlights not only the factors effecting the ways in which the Shotmoor curriculum developed and was made available to participants, but also the divers effects of the sudden impact of wider economic forces upon the erstwhile unfettered, relatively autonomous institute. Briefly, I shall examine the ways in which the shift in the material conditions which provided for the Shotmoor 'work culture' was negotiated in the perspectives of individuals and by particular interest groups, and the different and complex relations which emerged between Shotmoor and various external agencies. In the light of the effects of broader societal influences acting upon Shotmoor, the ambiguities concerning where its curriculum contents stood in relation to external symbolic arrangements is illuminated. The criteria evoked both implicitly and

explicitly by policymakers for defining what constituted valid
educational experience contrasted markedly with those expressed by
educational practitioners. The relations between these different
definitional forms are briefly explored. The final sections examine the
physical features which make up the Shotmoor environment and the
practices by which the pupils were grouped for their classes. This
chapter then constitutes the contextual background within which the
subsequent analyses of teaching and learning processes are embedded.

Shotmoor - Past and 'Present'

The land and derelict buildings which were to become Shotmoor were
leased to the County Council in 1964. One councillor, in particular,
had been influencial in convincing the remainder of the council members
that both the location and nature of the buildings would make an ideal
centre in which to provide adventure type activities for local school
children.

Initially, the institute provided water based activities but it
quickly expanded, converting some of its undercover space to provide
facilities for other types of adventure activities. An environmental
studies department was established at a later date, which thus
complemented the three original sections whose central commitments were
to sailing, canoeing and adventure activities, respectively. Shotmoor
gradually over the years developed a further education section which
enabled the facilities to be used not only by pupils and teachers, but
also in part by the local community.

Although funded by LEA (Local Education Authority), Shotmoor had
enjoyed, prior to 1981, considerable autonomy from it. Even though it
was answerable to the education committee, it was thought by a number of
educational advisers to be more likely to act independently than
acquiesce to any local dictate. Shotmoor was 'the tail that wagged the
dog', in the words of one local education adviser. Until a year prior
to the threatened closure of the institution a retired military man held
the position of principal. He was much respected by the staff, amongst
whom he was known to be 'a man who acted first and asked after'.
Although, during his twelve or so years as principal of the institute,
he had made a considerable impact on the ways in which the centre

worked, he was perceived never openly to articulate his own particular philosophy. However, in an interview which was conducted sometime after his retirement, he commented that the underlying ideals with which he had acted upon during his principalship stemmed from the Outward Bound movement. But, since this philosophy had been disparaged by his employers he had refrained from verbalizing it to the staff.

> The Education Committee frowned on the Outward Bound philosophy so I didn't use the term, but I based everything I did on that concept - giving the children a challenge which they think they can't do and where they have to dig from the bottom to achieve it. They don't know they can do it and they find they can. It builds their self confidence.

On his retirement from the institute in 1980 his deputy was appointed as acting principal.

Permanent teaching staff were employed on teaching contracts similar to those held by teachers in schools. However their conditions of service included weekend work, residential duties and reduced holidays. They were generally qualified teachers who had graduated from a variety of subject disciplines. The majority of teachers in the activities department had trained as PE teachers. Three of the ten permanent teaching staff employed on teaching contracts at the time of the study were qualified PE teachers. Most of the remainder were qualified to teach 'academic' subjects. One had taken outdoor education as his main subject, whilst another had no teaching qualification. Supporting the permanent teaching staff were a migratory group of young, often unqualified teachers who were employed for periods from six months to about eighteen months, on minimal remuneration. Until 1981, contractual arrangements guaranteed permanent teachers a post in a local LEA school, if they wished to transfer, after a minimum of three years' work with the institute. A number of teaching staff were offered positions in schools. However, since no one took this avenue, it was eventually erased during 1981. As an educational institute, Shotmoor prior to 1980 developed largely autonomously. Ideas which emanated from the principal or staff were generally acted upon with little intervention from education committees and much that happened at Shotmoor went unnoticed.

In January 1981, it was rumoured that the county's education
committee would discontinue its substantial financial support and the
centre would be shut. From then on this threat of closure hung over
Shotmoor and the teaching staff. Its impact remained during the period
in which I carried out the field study, even though in principle the LEA
had agreed to maintain a financial subsidy.

That none of the Shotmoor teachers opted for the security of posts
made available to them, in mainstream schools, at this time of crisis
when the continuance of their jobs was obviously threatened, suggested,
in a sense, that the teachers held a greater identification with their
work culture than that which most had previously experienced in
mainstream schools. All but one of the permanent teachers had taught in
mainstream schools. The majority of Shotmoor teachers had, therefore,
chosen to migrate to this sphere of education. Roberts et al. (1974)
have alluded to the disaffection which teachers who moved from
mainstream schools or youth work to outdoor education may have felt for
the former type of schooling. Nias (1984, 1985a) points out that for the
teachers of her study the decision to remain in teaching was related to
the pursuance of their personal ideals. She suggested that once they
felt technically competent they looked for jobs in which they could find
a reference group 'which felt right for me' and which had much to do
with the responses of and relations with their pupils.

It is perhaps of interest to juxtapose at this juncture the work of
Nias with that of Goodson. Nias, who explored the biographies of a
group of predominantly female primary teachers, uncovers a different
dimension to the motivations and job satisfaction of her teachers from
those which emerged from teachers of Goodson's study. Goodson, whilst
exploring the ways in which individuals and professional subject groups
were influential in the evolution of 'academic' subject positions and
status within particular structural constraints, suggested that it was
the 'structuring of material interests', in particular the teacher's
self interest in which the career structure, their pay and promotion
were significant features. From these two studies emerged contrasting
professional interests. On the one hand, personal ideals and the pupils
featured centrally and on the other, career structure and status were
the overriding concerns. This is not altogether surprising considering

the probable different cultural milieux in which the two groups had trained and the societal type-scripts available to the predominently 'feminine' culture of Nias's study and 'masculine' domain of that of Goodson.[3]

On the threat of closure, the majority of the Shotmoor teachers turned not to alternative employment in which they could pursue a more secure career structure, but to help from the clientele who had used the institute in the preceding years.[4] Support was thus given by members of the LEA schools and the local community who, to counter the closure threat, presented a petition to the county council demanding a stay of execution for the centre. The centre was given a reprieve. It could stay open until April 1982, providing the money saving schemes which had been devised by the institute's formally constituted supporters' group, could be seen to work. Schemes which were proposed and adopted included offers made by some of the the teaching staff to accept a reduction in their salaries. At this point in time (January 1981), the heads of two of the departments were nominated by the acting principal to act as deputy principals. Consequently, their deputies became acting heads of department. During 1982, one permanent member of the teaching staff took early retirement. His deputy became acting head of department. Two other teachers obtained posts elsewhere, one in a school and the other in an outdoor centre. Two domestic bursars retired and were replaced by only one. Appendix V portrays the vicissitudinous nature of the management structure at the time of the field study.

The following years saw greater usage of the institute, with more residential places being offered to schools. The cost of these places along with that of further education classes were increased, whilst staff and supporters worked hard to initiate additional events which would attract more money. Shotmoor thus found itself developing rapidly but with decreasing resources and fewer staff. Contemporaneously, tensions began to emerge between the various interest groups within the institute. The appearance of discord amongst staff was remarked upon by both teaching and non-teaching staff. The new domestic burser, Dorothy, felt herself an intermediary in disagreements which arose:

> There is so much argument, I have to sit on the fence. They
> seem to have lost sight of their goal. It would be such a
> good centre (to work in) if they could be more flexible and
> could work together.   (Dorothy/wk8)[5]

Furthermore, the acting principal pointed to what he considered the
reasons for friction amongst the staff. Not, he maintained, the threat
of closure, but events which occurred just prior to it:

> It (the tension) happened four years ago when the salaries
> were reviewed and people realised what (the little amount of
> money) they were getting for what they were doing. Then it
> was me and the old man against the rest ... Now (with the
> forthcoming report recommendations) it's me in between the
> county and them.(Acting Principal/wk 10)

One consequence of the various efforts to keep the centre open was
the creation of a working party, which consisted of a cohort of
supporters and LEA officials, to look at ways in which money could be
made or saved. A management services review was commissioned by the
County Education Officer, at the request of this working party, to
recommend ways in which financial saving could be made in staffing
terms. At this time Shotmoor's future became more secure with the
recommendation from the education committee that it should remain open
so long as it could show itself to be more financially viable.
Subsequently, an organisation and management team visited the institute
for a few weeks during the spring of 1982, interviewing and observing
the staff at work. During my period of research at the centre, the
staff were awaiting the comments and recommendations which were to be
made as a result of that visit. These were made public in April 1983,
immediately following my observation in the institute. As a result of
the review, the acting principal, his deputies and the acting heads of
departments were confirmed in their positions.[6]

One recommendation, which was vehemently resisted by most of the
teachers, was a change in their contracts from educational status
(Burnham) to youthworker/recreational status JNC (Joint National
Council). This suggestion made little difference to the salary
costings. It merely reduced the teachers' holiday by one week. Even
though the more 'senior' staff were more favourably disposed toward this
change, the remainder of the staff's strong formal opposition caused its
abandonment. However, any future teaching appointment would be made
only on JNC contracts.

The financial exigencies had thus pushed Shotmoor into a position of direct negotiation with fiscal agencies. After some seventeen years as a relatively autonomous educational body largely free from external demands and expectations (except that is in relation to the safety of its clientele), Shotmoor was now vying for scarce resources to maintain its survival. Despite the LEA's determination to rid itself of this intractable burden (and an attempt by the recreation section of the LEA to gain control), the collective action of the institute's supporters sustained it, albeit in a slightly changed and less harmonious form, but still remaining within the education authority's jurisdiction and maintaining its educational image.

Societal influences and constraints which imposed upon Shotmoor and upon its staff had brought to the surface diverse interests which, in some cases, had given rise to conflicting demands amongst the staff. Moreover, the institute's philosophy, albeit tacitly understood, in which educational ideals were central, appeared to be undermined and an attempt made to substitute for these a concept of recreation. This redefinition was for the Shotmoor teachers perhaps untenable if, like those in Roberts et al.'s (1974) study, they had migrated to this educational sphere because their own ideals for society had seemed to them to be more readily actualized around them in their teaching.[7]

The unique set of events previously delineated had caused these teachers to become less separate from the prevailing order and the dominant social structure. In a sense, Shotmoor had entered the market place, perhaps on its own terms.[8] Evenso, the demand for stringent financial accountability laid upon the erstwhile largely independent institute impinged upon teachers' ideological commitments and created a tension for them. There was, in part , I suggest, an identity crisis brought about through these external demands. Consequently, the institute's relevance and individual staff's raison d'être were for them called into question.

The historical role of capital is theorized, from a neo-marxist perspective, as aiming to organise all the various leisure forms as commercial enterprises through the commodification of leisure pursuits (Rojek 1985):

> Corporate institutes ... have transformed every means of
> entertainment and 'sport' into a production process for the
> enlargement of capital ... So enterprising is capital that
> even where the effort is made by one or another section of
> the population to find a way to nature, sport or art through
> personal activity and amateur or 'underground' innovation;
> these activities are rapidly incorporated into the market as
> far as it is possible.
>   (Braverman 1974:279 cited in Rojek 1985:108-9)

From this perspective and from an understanding of the philosophy within which Shotmoor grew, it is perhaps possible to surmise the underlying reasons for the Shotmoor teachers' resistance to a change in their professional status. Such a change would be inconsistent with their particular ideological commitments. More abstractly, they were in part resistant to becoming , in neo-marxist terms, 'agents of capital'.[9] This analysis is tentative and its features considerably more complex than I propose here. However, I am suggesting that much of the reason for teachers' migration to this sphere of education was the 'freedom' which they experienced from the conflicting demands operating within mainstream schools. These constitute not only the material conditions such as poor teacher-pupil ratios but also the antithetical educational aspirations of 'success' and satisfaction for every pupil set alongside the underlying ideologies of competitive achievement (see Chapter 1). The underlying assumption that at Shotmoor the necessary prerequisite for pupils to succeed was not their possession of any particular attributes but merely to be taught is uncovered in the following comment made at a 'special' staff meeting by Chris (Week 10):[10]

> We have got to be able to teach, its not very good if they
> (the pupils) are doing something but not being successful.

The proposed change in status, then, acted to redefine the teachers' professional identity and to realign it not with an educational philosophy, but with the aims of recreation which for these teachers did not meet or fulfil their aspirations. As one teacher commented, 'We wish to be considered as teachers.' To accept this realignment would have located the teachers symbolically within the 'consumer' society.There was a partial awareness to the relations prevailing in broader society and for some teachers their was a need to relate their actual teaching to the 'outside' world . This permeation of external social reality with that which was experienced

inconsistencies in their perceptions of their work. These dilemmas which arose from the intermeshing of the range of tensions within the frames of reference of the Shotmoor teachers, the situation and wider society became evident throughout the study, particularly from the accounts expressed by Bill, one of the longer serving teachers. He frequently, in the normal course of conversation, not only tended to relate and justify his teaching in external terms, but also explicitly brought to attention teachers' material conditions of work (see Chapter 7). In the latter sense, Bill foresaw alternative, conspiratorial tendencies lying behind the ways in which the authority had negotiated the future of Shotmoor:

> The fabric of the centre is rapidly going downhill. They can afford to paint the buildings but nothing is replaced. They want us to run down so that they can shut down a section, even though there are more people using the centre.(Bill/wk4)

Managing Change

Shotmoor had devised a number of schemes whereby money could be raised. On the one hand, it had opened its doors to the general public, making its facilities available for a variety of exhibitions. On the other hand, it had increased the number of pupils in each teacher's class from eight to ten (for pupils over thirteen years) and lowered the age limit at which pupils could attend the centre. Prior to the threatened closure, the main clientele to use Shotmoor were pupils from secondary schools and thirteen years or older. However, with the increase in additional residential spaces and the necessity for them to be filled, places were offered to junior and middle school aged pupils and, in the vacations, to general public usage. Consequently, during the period of field study, pupils and their school teachers came from both secondary and junior/middle schools, generally located within the county, and mostly for one week's residential stay. Shotmoor's first two courses in which the age of the pupils was below thirteen years took place during my period of field study.

The teachers expressed different reactions to encountering these new clientele. A considerable amount of discussion was engendered amongst staff in relation to the teaching and organisation of this new age group. Initially, some teachers felt that they required some

training about how to teach and organise this age range. Some teachers also felt that teaching younger pupils tended to undermine their professional image:

> (But) we're not prepared for it. We should be preparing how
> we are to handle this type of course. Considering the type of
> activities we are giving the kids ... We aren't experienced
> to teach these kids and its only a watered down type of
> ordinary course. I feel as though I'm running a circus. You
> fit the guns into the blocks and they fire. A monkey could do
> that ... It doesn't take fifteen years' experience in this
> (field) for that. (Bill/wk6)

Nevertheless, it was generally seen as a challenging although problematic innovation. This is evident from the following discussion during a staff meeting which met solely over concerns about the feasibility of incorporating this younger age range.

> TK: Over the last seventeen years we have made thirteen years
> our minimum age. We need to educate the schools that we do take
> the middle age range.
> TL: Let us have some one to come and talk to us about how
> junior's tick.
> TD: The policy is to take anyone who can physically cope.
> TC: The only (junior) course we should have is mixed activities
> and studies. I think it affects job satisfaction. We aren't
> trained to teach this level.
> TE: Bit much saying we have no job satisfaction. I enjoy it.
> TC: Some staff can't adapt to (juniors).
> TE: Yes, perhaps that leads to lack of satisfaction.
> TB: When we ran the handicapped courses, we all put a great deal
> into it. If you make it up, it works. You think you are great but
> you can't keep doing that, people can only put in so much.[11]
> (Special staff meeting/wk10)

It was felt necessary for Shotmoor teachers to re-educate themselves and to 'sell' the curriculum to the different clientele. Furthermore, not only had the LEA policymakers viewed the curriculum as insufficiently worthwhile and attempted to withdraw its financial support, but also other non-practitioners had to be convinced of its value. One head teacher, Mr. Andrews, from an out of county middle school, had found it necessary to justify this type of education to his superiors before he was able to offer the experience to the pupils in his school:

> I had to justify the pupils coming here, to the county and
> governors, it's due to a recent case concerning VAT. The
> county won't allow a visit if its just recreational, it has to
> have an educational element. I justify it on social grounds.
> The pupils are learning to work together and live together.
> The map and compass day is educational, they are learning

> about scale ... sat in a classroom looking at maps is not as
> good as their seeing the map and then going out into the
> forest. I get them to write up a diary of the day's events.
> (Mr. Andrews/wk1)

The knowledge and skills conveyed in outdoor education was perceived, by those unaquainted with it, to be inappropriate to the needs of pupils. Policymakers who possessed little personal experience of this aspect of the curriculum were able to define what constituted valid education knowledge to which pupils were to be exposed. It was necessary, therefore, for Mr. Andrews to negotiate with his superiors and to justify the visit in those terms which would be thought to be most appropriate.[12]

The preceding discussion briefly exposes the complex interplay of and between various 'external' (to Shotmoor) forces and structures (which acted to define, constrain and legitimate 'knowledge') and 'internal' individual and collective self-determination (which acted to resist challenges to its concept of 'knowledge' and to its identity). Furthermore, the evidence does suggest a challenge to the simplistic 'structuralist' theoretical stance in which human consciousness and action are seen merely to be reducible, 'in the last instance to relations of the economic base.' It lends support to a theoretical orientation which recognises a more complex process in structuration (in its variously preferred and perceived guises), in which action is thought to transform existing conditions but in so doing may also transform the conditions of its own existence. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the ways in which the characteristic physical and social features constituted the Shotmoor environment.

The Situational Context - Physical Site and Social Structuring

The Shotmoor curriculum provided a variety of forms of outdoor education which included not only adventure activities but also environmental studies. However, I shall be concerned in this thesis largely with the the ways in which the adventure activities were made available and meaningful to participants. The activities through which aspects of adventure education were proffered and on which I focussed my field reseach took place mainly in or close to the Shotmoor institute. The physical structure of an educational institute, Smith and Keith

(1984) argue, is one component of the 'total system' and it is a concrete link between past and present. What follows is a portrait of the physical site into which the participants and events can be situated.

The establishment itself physically consists of a number of residential blocks, one of which houses the environmental studies department, and four very large converted buildings. Although these buildings are very cold in winter, they do provide cover from the prevailing, and sometimes harsh, weather conditions. Craft of various types, which are used on adjacent waters, during the summer season, are stored in two of these buildings whilst the remainder are fitted out to facilitate teaching spaces for a variety of activities. Not only are areas made available to pupils and adults for lessons in skiing, archery, shooting, track cycling and climbing, some of which I observed during the field reseach project, but also large areas are marked for tennis, badminton and other court games. The latter areas are used in the evenings, mostly by adults, during further education classes or for recreation.

Set aside from the main area is a room adapted for further education use, as a navigation lecture room, which also serves occasionally as a daytime classroom. Other rooms provide spaces, or clubrooms, in which teachers and pupils informally meet, mostly at breaktimes. Each subject has its own specifically designated space. The institute consists of a variety of different physical environments in which various subjects are made available. Each of which presents a diversity of physical features.

Physical features of any setting are not unimportant; they can shape the experiences and actions of both teachers and pupils (Denscombe 1980:50; Pollard 1980, Smith and Keith 1984). The climbing and ski areas and the cycle track presented settings which most pupils, and some school teachers, found intimidating and exciting. This boy's comment clearly shows his trepidation of the climbing area.

> I went up that thing. I just froze. I can't do it at all, my
> head just goes when I get up that high. Its like as if
> there's nothing to hold on to you. I'm not really scared of
> falling. I'm just scared of being up that height. I don't
> know why.   (Andrew/Wk4/C6)

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The climbing walls and the cycle track are situated at opposite
ends of the largest building. Central to the climbing space is the main
thirty foot high climbing tower, which consists of four artificial
climbing walls. A further three thirty foot walls are situated in a
corner of the building. On a side wall, painted in a moment of artistic
fervour by one of the Shotmoor staff, is a nearly life size mural
depicting a precariously balanced climber, in an exposed position, on
the side of a mountain. The substantial space within this area permits
pupils to move where they wish, at ground level, with little physical
obstruction or teacher resistance. Teachers and pupils in this space,
as those on the adjacent ski slope, are readily accessible to visitors
and their actions are highly visible to passers-by. Frequently two
classes may be seen to be taught, at the same time, by different
teachers, in each of these two areas.

The cycle track is less visible to a casual observer than the
spaces previously described. However, access to a point of observation
is easily found and most of a lesson can be seen by any visitor. The
elliptical eight feet wide track, which is banked at about 45%, rises
from a narrow three feet wide flat beginner track. On rare occasions
there might be more than two pupils riding the track together. When
experienced adult cyclists are in training, a dozen or more can be seen
hurtling around, and bunched together on the track.

The physical features of these three teaching settings,then, give
the appearance of an 'open plan' setting. That is to say, pupils and
teachers are not inaccessible, nor are their actions obscured from other
participants and non-participants. Delamont (1976b) pointed out how
teachers could influence their physical environment considerably,
providing different visual stimulus and creating features 'appropriate'
to their subject. Whilst Eggleston (1977) and Wallace (1980) cite
evidence from a variety of schools in which spaces designed as 'open'
plan have been effectively divided by teachers, who set up various forms
of partitions in order to recreate the 'closure' and privacy of
traditional classrooms. Individual Shotmoor teachers, however, would
experience some difficulty in creating or increasing the physical

boundaries around, and within, the climbing, skiing and cycling areas.
The last two teaching spaces which I wish to briefly portray, present a
different picture from those previously described.

Archery and shooting lessons take place in oblong rooms situated to
the side of the large main activity space. The ranges are generally
heated by one or two rather inadequate radiators. Natural light enters
through windows which are situated along one side of the range, too high
for most pupils to see out. Archery targets, which consist of large
straw bosses supported by easels, are positioned at the far end of the
range. In the rifle range, the rifle shooting targets are pinned to a
large battened lattice structure, behind which lies a sheet of thick
steel designed to deflect the pellets and bullets downwards into a
sawdust trough. At the opposite end to the targets, in both ranges,
between the shooting lines and the entrances, are a number of chairs
where those individuals who are not shooting may sit. Affixed to walls,
near the chairs, are blackboards on which pupils and, where applicable,
schoolteachers' scores can be recorded. In the ranges, in positions
along the walls, are a number of posters depicting various types of
equipment, ways of using them and how the activity developed.

When not in use, air rifles are locked securely in steel cabinets
and bows and arrows kept in a small locked store room. During shooting
and archery lessons the range doors are, for safety reasons, bolted on
the inside to prevent sudden entrance. These areas, unapparent to
casual visitors and inaccessible to non-participants, have strong
boundary markers being used only for their particular activity and, when
not in use, locked to prevent unauthorized access by teachers, pupils or
visitors.

The physical properties of different subject areas and the ways in
which they are officially defined and used appear to present features
which are associated both with 'open' and 'closed' learning situation.
There were, however, physical boundaries which prevented access to the
various subjects anywhere but in the designated spaces and only when a
Shotmoor teacher was present. If we consider only the official
knowledge and skills associated with each subject to be conveyed during
'classroom' interaction, then, the Shotmoor curriculum would seem to
resemble a collection type (Bernstein 1977).

Bernstein (1977:101) proposed a collection code to constitute an educational form in which there is a 'high insulation between the different contents', and in which there might be 'considerable differences between teachers in their pedagogy and evaluation'. I shall show in subsequent chapters, however, that in terms of the Shotmoor teachers' MOT (which I proposed in chapter 4 to constitute the organisational aspects of the pedagogic approach) and generally in their forms of evaluation, there were marked degrees of similarity between teachers.

<div style="text-align:center">*   *   *</div>

Not only physical settings, but also personal appearances are influential in shaping teachers' and pupils' experience. Davies (1984a) pointed to the importance placed upon wearing 'correct' uniform in schools and to the way in which the response of teachers to pupils' 'bending' uniform rules is dependent upon the sex of the errant pupil. In a similar vein, Margrain (1983) argued that sex related differences in uniform is a possible source of discrimination. It may, she suggests, encourage teachers to perceive and treat boys and girls differently. In mainstream schools, boys and girls are expected to change into specifically approved clothing for PE and games lessons.[13] At Shotmoor, pupils who followed the winter programme remained in the same clothing throughout the day, changing only in the evening for supper. Generally, both teachers and pupils chose to wear either jeans or tracksuits and, as a result, girls were frequently indistinguishable from boys and, often, teachers from pupils, particularly when wearing climbing or cycling helmets. This was evidently the case for Glynis:

> (The) teachers from other schools, I didn't know they were teachers until someone said, 'That's my teacher.' 'Cause they used to fit in so well and never used to still be teachers. They're all nice and friendly and the same as the instructors. Ms. Matthews, if I didn't know she was a teacher - you would think she was - she used to join in with everything and (was) sort of friendly. (Glynis/Wk9/C6)

In this context, on the surface, differences between pupils and teachers and amongst pupils appeared obscured.

Moreover, Shotmoor teachers and pupils were generally observed to be together during a large proportion of the day, not only sharing lessons often along with the pupils' school teachers, but also sharing many of the facilities. There was no separate toilet or staff room provision on the main activity site. Moreover, teachers and pupils met informally together for tea or coffee at break times.[14] This sharing of privileges, which suggests a greater degree of integration between teachers and pupils than in mainstream schools, created more time, both in and out of lessons, in which pupils and teachers were in each other's presence.

Table 1

Percentage of 'activity' lessons which were observed during the field study in which a visiting school teacher was present

	Climb	Ski	LESSONS Cycle	Shoot	Arch	Total
No. of lessons observed	32	22	15	11	12	92
No. of lessons with 1 male school teacher	14	6	3	1	2	26
No. of lessons with 1 female school teacher	2	3	3	1	1	10
No. of lessons with 1 male 1 female teacher	1	1	0	0	0	2
No. of lessons with 2 male 1 female teachers present	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total No. of lessons with one or more school teachers present	17	10	6	3	3	39
Percentage of observed lessons which occurred with one or more school teacher/s present	$\frac{17 \times 100}{32}$ = 53%	$\frac{10 \times 100}{22}$ = 45.5%	$\frac{6 \times 100}{15}$ = 40%	$\frac{3 \times 100}{11}$ = 27.3%	$\frac{3 \times 100}{12}$ = 25%	

Percentage of all observed lessons which occurred with one or more school teachers present

$$\frac{39 \times 100}{92} = 42.4\%$$

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Table 1 shows the number of observed 'activity' lessons in which the school teacher was present. Although not evident from the table, teachers generally participated in the lesson's activities. School teachers visiting Shotmoor with their pupils no longer perceived themselves in authority over pupils, but as learning alongside and giving them support. This is evident from one visiting school teacher's comment, who perceived her relations with pupils altered through her participation with them in lessons:

> Well, I suppose we are learning as well 'cause we want to help the kids and reinforce what is being taught to them. We aren't in charge... The kids like you to do it, they think you bottle out if you don't.
>
> (Ms Chrissy/Wk2)

Although during the research, most of the school teachers chose to take part informally in lessons , they still expected pupils to address them with their usual formal title.

Shotmoor teachers, nevertheless, generally introduced themselves by their first names and frequently promoted the development of informal and interpersonal relations, often encouraging pupils to refer to them by this name. As the following observed lesson (10.4/CL1/E/N1) indicates[15]:

Sue: Sir.
Eddy: My name's not Sir, by the way, it's Eddy.
Sue: Sir, I mean Eddy, what do I do when she comes down?
Some time later Sue calls out:
Sue: Eddy, we've done it.

Grouping

This final, brief section is concerned with grouping. The social mix of the classes which were taught and how and why they were so constituted are briefly outlined.

On arrival at Shotmoor visiting school groups gathered together, generally, in the clubroom area. Here pupils and teachers were introduced to others from different schools and to a member of the Shotmoor staff who explained the 'workings' of the centre. This first meeting provided the opportunity for the classes, which formed the teaching groups during the week, to be arranged.

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The LEA policy determines the permissible maximum number of pupils who are to be taught a specified hazardous pursuit by one teacher. This maximum limit had risen, just prior to the field research, from eight to ten pupils. However, this new teacher-pupil ratio still remained remarkably high in comparison to that generally achieved in mainstream school classrooms (see Appendix IIC). Studies have pointed to the practical exigencies which constrain teachers from responding to pupils as 'unique individuals' within large classes and to the ways in which this leads to the typification of pupils, and contributes towards differential treatment of pupils (Sharp and Green 1975; Lortie 1975; Hammersley 1977b). The small class sizes at Shotmoor presented opportunities for the development of greater variety in the forms of relationships between teacher and pupils and amongst pupils than in the larger teaching groups found in mainstream schools (see Chapters 9 and 10).

There was no Shotmoor policy regarding the sex or 'ability' mix of pupil groups. This was generally left to the school teacher's discretion or to the pupils themselves. Group construction, then, was not decided by institutional policy, but rather came about as a result of 'accident' (who was sitting next to whom during the initial meeting). With a few exceptions, members of each group were pupils from the same school, and often knew each other. The groups frequently consisted of five boys and five girls, or six boys or girls and four girls or boys. The latter combinations, even numbers of each sex, arose if school-teachers felt that pupils preferred to work in same sex pairs if the circumstances arose. These classes so constructed consisted of boys and girls who possessed a variety of physical and academic 'abilities', and who came from a range of social backgrounds. (A breakdown of case study groups' construction by sex, age and socio-economic class, physical and academic 'abilities' is given in appendix 11C, whilst appendix 1X gives details pertaining to all secondary aged pupils who attended Shotmoor during the study).

Schools which attended the centre as a mixed sex group were generally accompanied by both a male and female teacher since the county policy, concerning residential experience in outdoor pursuits, makes it necessary for mixed sex groups to be accompanied by teachers of each

sex. Many of these accompanying teachers were qualified PE teachers, a
number were middle school teachers and some were secondary teachers
qualified to teach subjects other than PE.

The surface features of appearances and social relations evident at
Shotmoor suggest a greater degree of informality than is generally found
in mainstream schooling. Further, there appeared to be considerable
integration between boys, girls and teachers which constituted weak
classification of categories such as sex, 'ability' and even age. That
is to say, the classificatory principles within the institute reduced
the degree of insulation between certain categories . It provided for
'specific recognition rules' which enabled particular categories to be
put together in ways by which 'referential relations', such as those
which accomplish privileged and 'privileging' relations, appeared less
meaningful. However, it cannot be assumed that these superficial
differences between Shotmoor and mainstream schools signified changes in
the deep structures of communication between teachers and pupils, or
amongst boys and girls. The subsequent chapters examine in greater
detail the form and content of the knowledge and skill made available to
pupils, the ideological underpinning of the communicative context and
the messages conveyed through interaction.

TEMPORAL STRUCTURING AND THE ORGANISATION OF LESSONS

Temporal structuring of schooling is realised through timetabling procedures which organise the social, physical and temporal spaces of pupils, subjects and teachers.[1] The timetable focuses attention upon the educational setting and how the learning environment is managed. Physical and human resources together with time constitute the context within which a particular MOT (mode of transmission) is adopted by a teacher (see Chapter 4). Changes in the organisation of a lesson, in the MOT, will create variations in the degree of teacher control. Consequently, pupils will feel themselves more or less responsible for what is occurring. Timetabling concerns, such as the syllabus to be covered in a given time span, may be experienced as problems associated with the timing and pacing of knowledge and skill transmission (Evans 1982; 1985). Teachers, then, are bounded and limited in their teaching by this packaging of time. They are constrained by the length of the lesson unit or school day and by the appropriate sequencing of lesson content and by the amount of topic material which is to be covered in any particular time unit (Lundgren 1981; Evans 1982; Pollard 1980; Ball et al. 1984).

Time, structured through the timetable, is a significant but taken-for-granted contextualising feature of schooling which is understood as a manipulative property for administrative authority but for classroom teachers and for pupils is largely fixed. Moreover, Giddens (1984) points to its importance as an appropriative resource:

> The school timetable is fundamental to the mobilization of space as co-ordinated time-space paths ... Like all disciplinary organizations, schools operate with a precise economy of time. It is surely right to trace the origins of school discipline in some part to the regulation of time and space which a generalized transition to 'clock time' makes possible. The point is not that the widespread use of clocks makes for exact divisions of the day; it is that time enters into the calculative application of administrative authority. (ibid.:135)

In the day to day process of schooling, secondary school teachers and pupils are subject to strong temporal rule framing which is symbolised by, and enforced through, the sound of the school bell. Ball et al. (1984) have shown that, although a feature virtually ignored as an aspect of school, time is a basic organising principle which shapes the experiences of both teachers and pupils. Furthermore, its use and expropriation in school may generate conflict between teachers and pupils. The ways in which activities are temporally regulated in school constitutes a socialization, they suggest, into a form of subordination to time which may correspond to that experienced in other institutional contexts. Evidenced in Measor and Woods (1984) and Delamont (1983) is the creation through schooling of a new division of time for pupils. Time becomes either the pupils' 'own time' or that which is appropriated by, and seen to be the property of, the school.[2]

Commonsensically, time is an external measure of duration which is segmented into quantitative fixed units and yet also it is an:

> 'inner duration (which) cannot be partitioned into
> qualitatively homogeneous unities ... temporal articulation
> is concerned with exhibiting the temporal frames of
> reference which are the basis of the constitution in
> consciousness of well-circumscribed experience and of our
> grasping of its meaning. (Schutz and Luckmann 1974:54-5
> cited in Ball et al. 1984:49)

Not only does time create boundaries which impose 'logical' patterns upon social actions but also it embodies experiences which constitute a diversity of meanings in various circumstances. These expressions of inner duration may differ from person to person.

Phenomenological and ethnomethodological work is frequently criticised because of its failure to acknowledge the significance of power in social interaction (cf. Giddens 1976). However, Hustler and Payne (1983), in a penetrating and detailed ethnomethodological analysis of one lesson which focussed upon time as a resource, demonstrated how a teacher accomplished particular authority relations between himself and the pupils. They highlighted, by analysing a number of lesson extracts, the ways in which the 'timed' nature of the

occasion, which accomplishes the teacher's superordinate position in relation to pupils, provided for the constitution of a notion of time over which pupils had little control.

The main focus of this chapter is temporal structuring of and within lessons, largely in terms of its 'external' measurement. The subsequent sections explore how lesson time was organised, the formal contents of each subject lesson and how they were transmitted. Shotmoor teachers' perceptions of and actions within and upon the official basic temporal unit are examined. The ways in which different teachers organised their lessons in each of the subjects are compared in terms of three aspects. Firstly, the total lesson lengths are compared. Secondly, the formal content and its timing, pacing and sequencing are examined. Thirdly, the MOTs (whole class, group or individual) are juxtaposed within the institute. The temporal framing and MOTs evident at Shotmoor are considered in light of those aspects reported in mainstream schools.

The Shotmoor Timetable

A replica timetable, similar to that reproduced in appendix VIA, which detailed the times at which particular classes participated in specified subjects, was distributed to all pupils and teachers on each Monday morning, on their immediate arrival at Shotmoor. It indicated the Shotmoor teacher or teachers to whom each class was assigned during their week stay. The allocation of teacher or teachers to each class was arbitrary. Those teachers who taught case study classes and the number of pupils in these classes are indicated in Appendices IIA, B and C. This allocation of usually one teacher for the majority of lessons which a class received during the week broadly resembles the form of teacher provision generally evident in primary and middle rather than secondary schools.

Each case study class contained ten pupils with the exceptions of week eight group six and week ten group one where there were eight and nine pupils respectively. The timetable (appendix VIA) shows that different subjects were allocated varying amounts of teaching space. Teachers were expected to cover the knowledge and skills associated with each subject in the time units (one and a quarter hours) which

were allocated. Shooting, archery and track cycling occupied two lesson units each, whilst skiing and climbing were allocated three lessons each. One day (five lesson units) was available for orienteering, in which half a morning was employed, in the classroom, to familiarise pupils with the usage of maps and compasses. Practical application of the classroom lesson was carried out during the remainder of that day on the nearby moor.

Table 2

The Shotmoor Day   A Skeletal Outline of the Shotmoor Timetable

Lesson I	Break time	Lesson II	Lunch	Lesson III	Lesson IV	Break time	Lesson V

9.15   10.30   11.00   12.15   1.45   16.15   16.30   17.45

Appendix VIB shows the timetable which was followed by junior or middle school groups, who frequently included in their week some environmental studies. Table 2 represents a skeletal outline of the timetable detailing a Shotmoor day.

As we see from Table 2, the Shotmoor day appears to be organised in much the same way as any school day with the exception that formal lesson time extended in the region of two hours more into the evening than in mainstream schools. It was divided into five distinct lesson periods which, unlike the school day, were not demarcated and structured by audible signals. The actual times at which these breaks occurred, as I shall show, in many cases were not rigidly adhered to.

The ways in which a number of teachers organised and structured corresponding lessons of the same subject will now be examined.

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Table 3

The organisation and use of time by teachers A to J
in Lesson 1 of the Climbing Syllabus

Temporal Structure and Lesson Content	Teacher A Wk4	B Wk5	C Wk8	D Wk9	E Wk10	*F Wk6	G Wk8	H Wk2	J Wk2	A Wk2	C Wk2
Case study Group	C.S.	C.S.	C.S.	C.S.	C.S.	C.S.					
				Time in minutes							
Phase 1. Introduction to equipment	25	34	26	20	19	20	34	12	14	14	18
2. Practice climbing on small wall	-	4	5	4	-	26	4	10	7	10	14
3. Explanation and demonstration of climbing and belaying	10	12	9	12	15	20	8	10	18	12	10
4. Organisation of pupils into pairs	2	2	3	2	3	-	2	2	2	3	-
5. Climbing in pairs	40	15	47	37	32	-	31	34	20	39	39
Total Time (Tt)	77	67	90	75	69	66	79	68	61	78	81
Time for phases 1 to 4 Predominantly whole class teaching C	37	52	43	38	37	66	48	34	41	39	42
Time spent climbing I	40	15	47	37	32	0	31	34	20	39	39
Percentage of lesson spent in whole class teaching C x 100% (T̄t)	48.1	77.6	47.8	50.7	53.6	100	60.7	50	67.2	50	51.8
Percentage of lesson in which pupils climb	51.9	22.4	52.2	49.3	46.4	0	39.3	50	32.8	50	48.2

*Teacher F is teaching junior age pupils

Climbing

I shall begin the discussion with an analysis of climbing lessons; what was made available in terms of climbing skills, how this content was transmitted (the MOT) and how time was both structured and structuring.

Table 3 outlines the allocation of time made by each teacher to various phases of the introductory climbing lesson. The content of each phase of the lesson is represented in the Left Hand column and the amount of time, in minutes, each teacher gives to each phase is indicated in the column below that particular teacher.[3]

Also listed in each teachers' column is the week in which the lesson was observed. The case study classes are identified by the abbreviation C.S.

Revealed in Table 3 are a number of similarities and differences in the ways in which each teacher organised his or her lesson. Initially we have an introduction phase, then generally a short phase 2 in which pupils practice climbing on a low wall. Phase 3 was concerned with the teaching of the skills of belaying and climbing.[4] The pupils during phase 4, generally decided upon a partner with whom they wished to climb and in phase 5 the pupil pairs worked together, more independently of the teacher, climbing different walls.

A common syllabus and limited time will constrain what is to be taught.[5] (Appendix VIIA shows the official climbing syllabus documented at the time of the study.) Teaching achieved a marked degree of similarity, at least in terms of the skills content of teachers' communication during each phase and the sequencing of these phases.

Table 3 shows that teachers varied in the time they took to teach each lesson phase and in the overall amount of time they spent in each lesson. It appears that the overall available time to teach the syllabus may have imposed constraints upon teachers' choice of which mode of transmission to adopt to teach the knowledge and skills associated with the subject.

The predominant MOT used during phases 1 to 4 by all the teachers was whole class teaching. In contrast, during phase 5, each teacher tended to make face to face private encounters with individual pupils.

The whole class method of teaching conventionally found in mainstream schooling and not generally associated with a 'progressive' child centred teaching approach but with the traditional instructional method, may well have been adopted because of the pressures of time.[6] The following remark suggests it was assumed, at least by one teacher, to be the most effective way to make available the basic skills and knowledge of climbing, to all the pupils, in the least amount of time, so that pupils had longer periods in which to work more independently of the teacher:

> One thing I've learnt (here) is that unless you're prepared to keep repeating yourself, you get them (the pupils) all together and quiet, and get the message over in one go. That way you spend less time giving instructions and they spend more time climbing.   (Eddy)

The teacher's decision upon when to move on to phase 5 of the lesson was contingent upon that teacher's perceptions of the pupils at that time. Such perceptions included an opinion upon whether each pupil was sufficiently prepared to work independently and in safety. Since the teachers had no previous knowledge of the pupils' experience, this decision to change to an individualized MOT was, dependent upon the teachers' 'on-the-spot' assessment of when and how well each pupil could cope with the skills safely. Generally, neither written nor verbal reports of pupils' behaviour, 'ability' or even age came with or prior to the pupils' attendance at Shotmoor. This teacher highlights the lack of knowledge concerning individual pupils and thus, the necessity for him to assess pupils' 'ability' to participate without incurring accidents in climbing:

> They all come with different backgrounds. Some have climbed before, some have not. You just have to assess what they can do and take them as far as that.   (Doug.)

The Shotmoor teachers knew nothing about the pupils' background and school defined attributes. Moreover, school teachers were, in a number of cases, reluctant to divulge details about individual pupil's school behaviours, defined aptitudes and even physical disabilities.[7]

This was evidently so for one boy, Colin, who appeared to have had trouble completing the questionnaire since his writing skills were underdeveloped. His school teacher, when asked what he was like at school, replied rather cagily:

Oh he's O.K. I don't have any trouble with him, he does as
I say. He's got young parents. Dad looks just like him.
(Aside to another school teacher, 'Haven't you seen his dad
frequently outside the head's office?'). He's not clever
with school stuff but he's got a brain on him for out of
school things. Did you see him on the initiative course?
He knew how to do many of the problems. He's been good for
the last three months because he wanted to come here.

(Mr. Lewes/Wk2)

(Appendix VIIB outlines the problem solving content of the initiative
course at the time of the study.) Not only was Colin considered
to be badly behaved at school, hence his father's visits to the head,
but also of low 'ability'. However, Mr. Lewes perceived him to have a
degree of 'intelligence' in non-school knowledge and to have changed
his behavioural mode to one more acceptable by the school so that he
might attend Shotmoor. Generally, information about whether pupils
were perceived as 'good' or 'bad' at school was unavailable to the
Shotmoor teachers. Consequently, the pupils may have been more easily
able to negotiate alternative images for themselves in this out of
school context. The pupils equally had no perception of the Shotmoor
teachers and their frames of reference. Both teacher and pupil were
encountering each other for the first time with a similar lack of
information about each other.

*   *   *

I shall now consider the percentages of the total climbing lesson
time in which a number of teachers whole class taught and examine how
this varied in relation to the average age of each class group.

Table 4 outlines the amount of time each teacher (A to G) spent
in whole class teaching and the corresponding class's average age. The
average age, in years and months, for each class is represented below
their teacher and the percentage of whole class teaching practised by
each teacher presented in the bottom row.

Table 4 reveals the degree to which teachers differed in the
amount of time they allocated to whole class teaching. The percentage
of whole class teaching ranges between approximately 48% of their
total lesson times in the cases of teachers C and A, and 100% of his
total lesson time in the case of teacher F.

Table 4

The Relationship Between the Average Age of Each Class Taught by Teachers A to F, and each Teacher's Percentage of whole class teaching in Lesson 1 of the Climbing Syllabus

Teacher		F	B	G	E	A	D	C
Average age of class in years and months		9	13-10	13-11	14-3	14-11	15-1	15-2
Time for phase 1-4 (whole class teaching) in minutes		66	52	48	37	37	38	43
Total lesson time in minutes		66	67	79	69	77	75	90
Percentage of lesson spent in whole class teaching	%	100	77.6	60.7	53.6	48.1	50.7	47.8
Percentage of lesson spent climbing	%	0	22.4	39.3	46.4	51.9	49.3	52.2

Pupils taught by teachers A and C are amongst the oldest, whose average age was approximately 15 years. Whilst the pupils taught by teacher F are the youngest, whose average age was approximately nine years. The Shotmoor teachers were unaware of pupils' ages, except to know that they were from either middle, primary or secondary schools. There appears to be some degree of correlation between the pupils' ages and the period of time before which the teacher moved from whole class teaching into phase 5, when the pupils were enabled to work more independently. In all but TF's case, however, the pupils' ages could only have been surmised by the teacher.

Unlike their 'academic' counterparts in schools, Shotmoor teachers did not pace their lessons by taking cues from particular groups of pupils[8], but rather they appeared to have made decisions upon each individual pupil's readiness to cope safely with the skills required, and the responsibility presented to them, during the latter part of the climbing lesson. These assessments were made on the basis of whole class observation, which also included individual encounters, during phases 1-4 of the lesson. Table 4 suggests that the Shotmoor teachers' perception of pupils' 'readiness' to move to phase 5, in the lesson, varied in relation to the average age of pupils in his or her

class. Although not evident from this data, it was also dependent, particularly for junior groups, upon the availability of a 'competent' visiting school teacher to assist with the lesson. It had become a policy, when the pupil-teacher ratio was raised from eight to one to ten to one, to ask visiting school teachers to attend the first lesson of the climbing syllabus for each of their classes. This, it was hoped, would ensure the safety of these larger classes. It was not always the case that visiting staff did attend, nor that they were sufficiently competent to assist. However, it was assumed that a visiting teacher, even with limited experience, would constitute an 'extra pair of eyes.'

Returning to Table 3 which shows that teachers varied considerably in the overall amount of time they spent in the lesson. Whilst the timetabled time for a lesson was 75 minutes, we see seven teachers taking all of or more than this time, and four teachers less. The greatest range is between teacher J and teacher C, being 29 minutes. Some teachers appeared, then, to have some freedom to choose their lesson length; they created more time by extending into breaktime or into the next lesson slot (if they remained with that class) or by reducing the lesson, as teacher J whose class took their break early. This was a feature of most of the lessons, as I shall show subsequently, but particularly so for the second and third climbing lessons.

                    *   *   *

The lesson structure of the second lesson of the climbing syllabus was similar in a number of ways to that of lesson one.

This is evident from table 5, which outlines the structure and content of a number of second climbing lessons taught by teachers A, B, D, E and L.

In the left hand column of table 5 is a representation of the content of each phase. The time in minutes which each teacher allocated to the various phases is represented in the column underneath that teacher and the week in which the lesson was observed is also indicated. C denotes predominantly whole class teaching, I predominantly individual. All the lessons involved case study pupils.

Table 5

The Organisation and Use of Time by Teachers A, B, D, E and L
in Lesson 2 of the Climbing Syllabus

Temporal Structure and Lesson Content	Teacher A Week 4 C.S.	B Week 5 C.S.	D Week 9 C.S.	E Week 6* C.S.	L Week 8 C.S.
Phase	Time in minutes				
1. Introduction to equipment	15C	2C	6C	20C	6C
Explain and demonstrate abseil	-	10C	4C	-	-
2. Climbing in pairs	8	14	-	-	-
3. Each pupil abseils on practice wall	-	11	10	10	5
4. Explanation of procedures for abseiling from middle central wall	-	5C	2C	-	9C
5. Teacher abseils each pupil from 30ft. central wall, whilst other pupils continue to climb in pairs	52**	38	39	53	48
Total time (Tt)	75	80	61	83	68
Time spent predominantly whole class teaching C	15	17	12	20	15
Time spent predominantly in individual, face to face encounters I	60	63	49	63	53
Percentage of time whole class teaching $\frac{C}{(Tt)} \times 100\%$	20	21.3	19.6	24	22.1
Percentage of time in individual teacher-pupil encounters $\frac{I}{(Tt)} \times 100\%$	80	78.7	80.4	76	77.9

*Junior aged pupils

**Pupils abseil from 50ft girder

C.S. Case Study class

Like lesson one (table 3) there was both congruity and dis-
similarity between the ways in which each teacher structured their
lesson. The lesson content taught was much the same for most of the
teachers, except for the unusual change in procedures adopted by TA.
He, rather than abseiling the pupils from the central 30 foot tower
which was the normal course of action during the second climbing
lesson, attempted to get the pupils to undertake a free abseil from
the 50 foot high platform.[9] This activity was part of the climbing
syllabus which was generally undertaken in lesson three.

Lesson two was similar to lesson one of the climbing syllabus in
that, after an introductory phase, pupils worked independently
climbing the various walls. However, part way through this climbing
phase, the technique of abseiling was introduced. First, each pupil
abseiled down the gently sloping abseil wall, usually with the teacher
moving alongside. The pupils, after they had received instructions
about the procedures for abseiling from the middle wall, recommenced
climbing to the top of the walls to await their turn to abseil. Each
pupil, who was to descend by abseiling, was attached to a safety rope
which the teacher, alongside them on the top, controlled. The pupil
then attached him/herself to the fixed rope down which he/she was to
slide using a clog 8 descender. He/she was able to control the speed
of their descent by using this latter device. During this phase, the
teacher interacted with each individual pupil for the period of time
which it took the pupil to 'go over the edge' and abseil to the
ground.

Like Lesson one, Lesson two evidences differences in the overall
amount of time which each teacher gave to the lesson as a whole. TA
matched the official timetabled time of 75 minutes, whilst TE, working
with junior aged pupils, extended his lesson by 8 minutes to 83
minutes and TD reduced his by 14 minutes to 61 minutes.

Again we see teachers operating with flexibility with regard to
time structure. Such variations from the official timetable would
rarely be apparent in mainstream schools where predetermined lesson
lengths are taken-for-granted, with little scope to visibly expand or
contract time (see Pollard 1980; Ball et al. 1984). It was possible
and acceptable for the Shotmoor teachers to control the management of

time for lessons in terms of how long they allocated to lesson phases
and more significantly the total lesson length. However, formal
content of lessons remained largely invariant. It appears that
teachers were operating within a temporal framework which was
relatively weakly framed. Nevertheless, within lessons, teachers'
actions and decisions regarding pacing and lesson length may have
been strongly framed not only by the syllabus, but also by the demands
of safety and more significantly by the pupils' needs.[10]

<center>* * *</center>

Arch and Shoot (Members' terms for Archery and Shooting lessons)

I shall now consider how a number of teachers organised lessons
which occurred in spaces which appear to present physical features of
'closure'. I shall examine the introductory archery and shooting
lesson respectively. Descriptions of the skill content which was
taught, how it was made available (MOT) and how time was framed
within a number of these lessons will be made. Tables 6 and 7 outline
the allocation of time made by each teacher to various phases of the
introductory lesson of archery and shooting lessons respectively. The
content of each phase is represented in the left hand column of the
particular table and the amount of time in minutes each teacher gave
to each phase is represented in the column below that particular
teacher. C denotes predominantly whole class teaching, I denotes
pupils engaged in arching or shooting. Also listed, in each teacher's
column, is the week in which the lesson was observed. All the classes,
with the exception of the shooting lesson taught by teacher L in week
2, were case study groups.

Table 6 shows the variations between each teacher in the ways in
which he or she organised his or her archery lesson. Similarities lie
in the subject content which was conveyed, in the ways in
which teachers organised their lessons and in the MOT used by each
teacher. The manner in which teachers communicated I will discuss in
greater detail later. At the introduction, phase 1, individual pupils
were equipped with a bow and three arrows of the correct size. Each
pupil received a leather arm brace to prevent clothing from
obstructing their bow string arm. During this phase the teacher,

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Table 6

The Organisation and Use of Time by Teachers A, D, E and G in Lesson 1 of the Archery Syllabus

Temporal Structure and Lesson Content		Teacher A Week 4	Teacher D Week 9	Teacher E Week 8	Teacher G Week 1
Phase		Time in Minutes			
1. Introduction to and allocation of equipment		10 C	10 C	9 C	7 C 5
2. Exposition of (a) safety (b) rules of the range		5 C	1 C	3 C	3 C
3. Explanation and demonstration of skills (a) how to find dominant eye (b) how to handle bow and arrow (c) positioning (d) scoring		5 C	5 C 4 C	3 C 3 C 4 C	3 C
4. Group shooting (one group shoots whilst remainder sit and watch. G_1. ... G_n. After each group (x), or after each set of groups (y) pupils collect arrows. Scores are sometimes recorded.)	Gr.1 Gr.2 Gr.3	(y)))20) 2(a)10 C	(x) 1.3 2 3(c)5 C	(y) 1.2 2.2 1 2 3 4 T1	(x) 1.4 2.4 5 6 6 5 3(c)5 C
	Gr.1 Gr.2 Gr.3	))10) 3(a)2 C	2.10 3 2(a)2 C T1	3.1 4.2 1 2 2 3 T2	3.3 4.) 4)7 3)
	Gr.1 Gr.2 Gr.3	))20) 3(b)4 C	3.5 4.4 2 4 T2 T1	5.1 6.1 2 1 1 1 T4	5.1 2 4 T2
	Gr.1 Gr.2 Gr.3		3 2 T1	7.1 1 2 T1	
Total time (Tt)		86	70	66	79
Time spent whole class teaching C		36	27	22	18
Time spent Arching I		50	43	44	61
Percentage of lesson spent in whole class teaching $\frac{C \times 100}{Tt}$ %		41.8	38.5	33.3	22.8
Percentage of lesson in which pupils Arch %		58.2	61.5	66.7	77.2

T represents the time collecting arrows and scoring

C represents phases in which the teaching is predominantly whole class teaching

I represents arching phase

)
) represents an indistinct separation into groups
)

n. indicates the number of times each set of groups arched

All classes were case study classes

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although tending to address the whole class, on occasions talked with individual pupils in the class about the equipment and its correct usage. The pupils generally made various comments to each other and to the teacher. Phase 2 was concerned with establishing the safety rules of the range, whilst phase 3 was concerned with teaching the skills of archery. The pupils, during the final phase 4, practiced arching. Generally, whilst one group arched, the remaining group or groups sat and watched. Again, it appears that time and a common syllabus may be significant factors which constrained teachers' choice of what was to be taught and the way in which they organised their lesson. Teaching attained a significant degree of congruity in terms of the skills content and safety aspects of teachers' talk during each phase, and in the MOT adopted.

Technical terminology and correct range behaviour were, without exception, conveyed through a whole class teaching MOT, generally, at the beginning of the first lesson.However, there was a slight variation in teachers' choice of where, during the lesson, they covered aspects of skill or safety. All the teachers, except Teacher E, allowed pupils to arch one round and then they devoted periods of time to a more detailed expose which was concerned with sighting the target and the most effective way of holding the bow to gain better scores. Each teacher emphasised the dangers to pupils' eyes if they removed arrows carelessly from the boss (technical term for target support). During phase 4 pupils worked in 2 or 3 groups, consisting of 3 to 5 pupils. Whilst one group arched the remaining group or groups sat and waited, occasionally talking with their neighbours. The groups then alternated arching, collecting their arrows either at the end of their turn or at the end of the group's sequence. Teachers adopted a variety of approaches in this final phase 4. These included the teacher moving from pupil to pupil giving individual, private assistance. Or the teacher stood at the side of those arching or sat amongst the non-shooters monitoring the proceedings and interjecting various comments. Teachers A, E and G used the first instructional method whilst teacher D tended to use the latter, although occasionally attending to individual pupils.

Table 6 shows that the lessons varied only slightly in their length from that formally timetabled, which was 75 minutes. Teacher E reduced his lesson unit by eleven minutes whilst teacher A extended his by eleven minutes. The length of TE's lesson was framed by what he perceived to be the pupils' interest in archery. Eddy explains why he concluded that particular archery lesson early:

> You've got to finish it off while they (the pupils) are on a high or they get bored with it. They were doing well. You can't go on too long with archery. Its always best to finish when they are succeeding rather than risk lower scores because they become bored. So next time they are looking forward to archery because they remember it as a highlight. (Eddy)

Here we see TE's choice to reduce the length of the lesson was contingent upon the needs of the pupils. Time for the pupils was weakly framed, dependent upon TE's perceptions of the situation and his assessment of the pupils' interest and success in the activity.[11] The pupils' frames of reference appear to have been central to his decision. Likewise he was able to make this decision because, for him, time was not strongly framed but a flexible manipulable entity. In a sense, on this occasion, time may be considered to be weakly framed for both teacher and pupils.

Revealed in table 6 is the variation in the percentage of lesson time which teachers spent in whole class teaching. Teacher G allocates 23%, whilst teacher A gives 42% of his lesson unit to whole class teaching.

<p align="center">*   *   *</p>

Table 7 portrays the temporal structure and lesson content in lesson one of the shoot syllabus. It shows the variations between TE, TB and TL in the ways in which they organised their shooting lesson. The table shows that the lessons progressed through phases which followed a similar structure to that evident in the archery lessons (Table 6). First, there was an introductory phase in which pupils were introduced to the equipment. This phase was generally short, since it entailed merely the collection of four or five rifles, along with pellets, from the padlocked cupboard. Phase 2, however, which was concerned with establishing the safety rules associated with the range, was of greater duration. Here the teachers, for the most part,

Table 7

The Organisation and Use of Time by Teachers B, E and L in Lesson 1 of the Shooting Syllabus

Temporal structure and Lesson content	Teacher B Week 9 C.S.	E Week 1 C.S.	L Week 2	L Week 8 C.S.
Phase		Time in minutes		
1. Introduction to and allocation of equipment	15 C	2 C	21 C	20 C
2. Exposition of (a) Safety,(b) Rules of the range		1 C		
3. Explanation and demonstration of skills S				
a) how to find dominant eye	5 C	5 C		
b) how to handle rifle	3 C	15 C	5 C	4 C
c) sighting on rifle			(see below Sd)	
d) correct breathing	5 C	(see below Sd)		
4. Group Shooting				
(A) Group 1 of pupils shoot. Group 2 either				
(a) assist group 1 load or	(a)10		(a) 9	(a)5
(b) sit watching		(b)12	Sd 1 C	
(T) Targets collected	2	2		
and replaced		1		
scoring explained	2 C			
(B) Group 2 of pupils shoot. Group 1 either				
(a) assist group 1 load or	(a) 8		(a) 8	(a) 6
(b) sit watching		(b) 9		Sd 3 C
(T) Targets collected	2	2	1	
and replaced		Sd 1 C		
(A)	(a) 6	*school teachers (b)10	(a) 4	(a) 4
(T)	2	2	Sd 2 C 2	
(B)	(a) 4		(a)10	(a) 6
(T)	2			
(A)		(b) 9		(a) 7
(B)		(b) 5		(a) 4**4
(A)		5	7	6
Total time (Tt)	66	81	70	69
Time spent whole class teaching C	30	24	29	27
Time spent shooting I	36	57	41	42
Percentage of lesson spent in whole class teaching $\frac{C}{(Tt)}$x 100%	45.4	29.6	41.4	39.1
Percentage of lesson spent shooting $\frac{I}{(Tt)}$x 100%	54.6	70.4	58.6	60.9

**This time was spent with an individual pupil, Bella

*Three school teachers shoot together   147

made explicit the reasons behind the particular 'rules of the range.' Phase 3 constituted an explanation of the required skills to handle and fire the rifle adequately. All the teachers adopted a whole class MOT in this and the preceding phase. Phase 4 corresponded to phase 4 of the archery lesson in which pupils practised with the equipment and, like archery, the pupils shot in groups. There is, however, variation between teachers in how they organised these groups. Both TL and TB gained the participation of the second group of pupils who were not, at that time, shooting, to assist with loading the rifles between each firing (this is notated as (a) in phase 4 of Table 7). Whilst TE and other teachers not included in the table, did not encourage this form participation in this phase (this is notated as (b) in phase 4 of Table 7). Each round consisted of the pupils taking five shots at their target. This they performed at their own pace. When all the pupils in the group had fired their round, the targets were collected and replaced for the next group. Although the lesson progressions were very similar for all the teachers, there was some variation in the ways in which different teachers encountered pupils during the final phase. Frequently the teacher stood at the side of those firing, monitoring the pupils. Some teachers occasionally moved towards a pupil whom they considered needed individual assistance. TE, and on occasions TB, tended to use the latter method whilst TL tended to monitor the pupils from a distance, communicating publicly with the group and individuals.

Table 7 shows that, like the climbing and archery lessons exemplified, the lesson lengths diverged from the formal 75 minute timetabled time. As we see TB reduced his lesson by 9 minutes, whilst TE extended his by 6 minutes. The average age of TE's class was ten years and that of TB's fifteen years. Again, we see that teachers are able to define the duration of their lessons. They were operating within a temporal frame which was relatively weakly framed. The content and sequencing of these shooting lessons are, like in other subjects, seen to be remarkably similar.

The subjects with which I shall conclude this section are track
cycling and skiing. I shall briefly explore what is made available in
terms of knowledge and skill associated with skiing and track cycling
respectively, how this is made available (the MOT) and the temporal
framing of these lessons.

Ski

The introductory phase consisted of the pupils collecting the
correct sized boots, skis and sticks. After the teacher had
explained to the whole class which equipment they needed and how it
should be fitted, he or she moved amongst the pupils talking with and
assisting individual pupils. During this 'fitting out' period pupils
talked amongst themselves and with the teacher.

The formal ski syllabus, followed at that time, is displayed in
appendix VIIC. Ski lessons taught by different teachers were generally
of a similar structure. A skill or technique, for example the
snowplough, was firstly explained and then demonstrated to the whole
class. Each pupil in turn then tried to imitate the skill which
had been shown to them by the teacher. The teacher took up a stance
either opposite the class in position (i), below and to the side of
the class (ii) or occasionally amongst the pupils (iii), as
illustrated in figure I, below.

Figure 1
The positioning which teachers adopted in relation to the pupils in ski lessons

```
  O        |  X      |  X      |  X
           |  X      |  X      |  X
           |  X      |  X      |  O
           |  X      |  X      |  X
         ↓ X    O  ↓  X      ↓  X
                                 X

          (i)         (ii)       (iii)
```
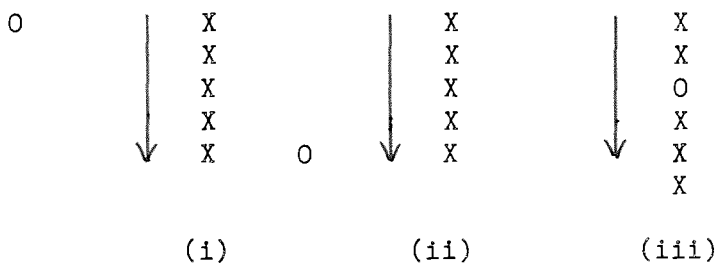
    x   pupils
    O   teacher
    | movement of pupils
    ↓   down slope

Most teachers adopted position (i) or (ii). These were frequently interchanged during a lesson. A few teachers occasionally took up position (iii). In this latter stance, the teacher became part of the class queue and moved with the pupils as they side stepped up the slope. The pupils took turns running down the slope, practicing the skill which they had been shown. As a pupil, or their school teacher,slid down the slope their techniques etc. were monitored by the teacher who offered corrective and often complementary remarks along with humorous comments. This communication, between the teacher and an individual pupil, was generally made available publicly. On occasions, a teacher usually in position (ii) or (iii) would comment privately to a girl or boy at the end of their run, giving encouragement, explaining where they had made mistakes and sometimes physically picking them up from a fall. Some teachers interspersed these instructional sequences with various forms of games in which the pupils sometimes worked in pairs. For example, in order to develop confidence and balance, two pupils would schuss together down the slope throwing perhaps a ball of gloves, or some such similar object, to each other. Thus most ski lessons progressed through similar repetitive stages: the teacher demonstrated the technique followed by the pupils practising it themselves. All the pupils therefore tended to spend similar amounts of time performing the skill, or whatever, whilst the rest of the pupils watched and listened to any public comments.

Near the end of a lesson, the pupils proceeded in ones and twos to the ski room where they replaced the equipment, whilst the teacher remained on the slope until the last pupil had finished and had left the area.

The whole class MOT was used by all the teachers to introduce a skill or technique to the class. This was followed usually by public, but often private, communication with individual pupils, which frequently included encouragement, praise and the correction of apparent mistakes. Those pupils not at any particular instant actually performing watched the boy or girl who was, frequently taking notice of and responding to what that pupil was doing.

Table 8 illustrates the variation in time by which different teachers organised their ski lessons. It shows that the temporal framing of these lesson units is, like other lessons, fairly weak, with teachers generally reducing the official 75 minutes time period. However, it should be noted that the lesson lengths outlined in Table 8 exclude the final 'checking out' of the ski equipment room by the teacher.

Table 8

The Temporal Organisation of Ski Lessons by Teachers A, D, E, F and G in Lessons 1, 2 and 3 of the Ski Syllabus

Lesson	Week *	Teacher	Introduction in minute	Total lesson length in minutes	Variation from official lesson unit time in minutes
	1	E	26	70	-5
	2	G	10	75	0
1	2	G	6	65	-10
	2	F	14	66	-9
	4	A	15	65	-10
	5	J	16	63	-12
	9	L	15	65	-15
	1	E	10	60	-15
	4	A	10	64	-11
	5	J	15	80	+5
2	6	F	14	66	-9
	8	L	15	60	-15
	9	D	9	69	-6
	1	L	10	66	-9
3	8	E	10	75	0

*All lessons except those of week 2 were Case study classes.
Week 1 and Week 6 were junior aged pupils.

The introduction of the ski lesson, shown in Table 8, included the allocation of equipment which took place in the ski equipment room. The actual duration for this introduction phase was reckoned from when pupils entered the ski equipment room, until the lesson began on the slope. The total lesson length reported in minutes includes this introductory phase but concludes when the teacher and all the pupils have left the slope. It does not include the time in

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which equipment was returned to the ski room.   Pupils tended to leave
the slope near the end of the lesson at various times usually
individually or in pairs.

Cycle

The structure of a track cycle lesson was in many respects
similar to that of a ski lesson. That is to say, there was an
introductory phase which was then followed by the lesson proper in
which usually individual pupils performed the activity whilst,
generally, the remainder observed. Table 9 outlines the temporal
structure of the cycle lessons of teachers C, F, L and J. This is
listed in minutes in the column below each teacher, the lesson content
of each phase of the lesson is displayed in the left hand column.
Revealed in Table 9 are similarities and differences between each
teacher in their organisation and temporal structuring of a cycle
lesson. The contents covered by each teacher in lessons were similar,
as were the MOTs adopted during the various phases. Appendix VIID
shows the official track cycle syllabus.

Generally, the introductory phase, Phase 1, consisted of the
teacher explaining to the whole class, the features of the track and
how to find a correctly sized cycle for themselves. The remainder of
the lesson consisted of pupils riding the track alone, or in small
groups, phases 3 and 5, whilst the teacher publicly called
instructions. The other pupils usually attended to the pupil on the
track, frequently adding their own words of encouragement to those of
the teacher's. Interspersed between the activity phases were short
instructional phases, phase 2 and 4, in which the teacher generally
interacted with the class as a single cohort, in order to give various
explanations.

As the lesson progressed, some teachers allowed two pupils to
ride the track simultaneously. Starting at opposite sides of the
track, the pupils would be urged to try to catch up the other rider.
Either at the end of the first cycling lesson, but often during the
second, pupils would 'do a timed lap.' This usually entailed one
pupil holding a stop watch and facing the start line marked on the
track. The timed pupil would 'warm-up' on one lap and half way around

Table 9

The Organisation and Use of Time by
Teachers C, J, F and L in Cycling Lessons

Temporal Structure and Lesson Content	Teacher C wk 8 C.S. Lesson 1	C wk 8 C.S. Lesson 2	F wk 5 Lesson 2	L wk 9 C.S. Lesson 1	J wk 5 Lesson 1
Phase	Time in minutes				
1 (a) Introduction	2C				
(b) Collection and adjustment of bikes	9	10	18C	20C	15C
2. Explanation of procedures (a) general	4C	2C			11C
(b) timed lap					
3. Pupils ride track (a) individually	33				6
(b) timed					
(c) No. of pupils (n)		17(3)(2)	15(2)	24(2)	7(3)
4. Explanation of (a) general	2C	11C		2C	(5C)
(b) timed lap			2C		8C
5 Pupils ride track (a) individually	9		23		13
(b) timed		25			13
(c) no. of pupils(n)		10(2)		14(8)	
Total time (Tt)	59	75	58	60	82
Time spent predominantly whole class teaching C	8	13	20	22	39
Time spent cycling I	51	62	38	38	43
Percentage of lesson spent in whole class teaching C ($\overline{Tt}$) x 100%	13.6	17.3	34.5	36.6	47.6
Percentage of lesson spent cycling I ($\overline{Tt}$)x100%	86.4	82.7	65.5	63.4	52.4

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the second lap another pupil, or the teacher, would ring a bell
loudly, indicating to the cyclist that they had half a lap before the
start of their timed lap. The cyclist then began to increase speed in
order to start the lap at maximum speed. It was often at the end of a
timed lap that problems occurred.

The pupil's feet were fixed into toe clips on the pedals of the
cycles, which were fixed wheel. It was therefore important that the
cyclist kept his or her feet in the toe clips and tried to pedal
backwards when wishing to slow down the bike. 'If, however, the
cyclist's feet inadvertently came loose from the toe clips, they were
unable to 'break' the bike and furthermore were in danger of their
legs or feet being hit by rapidly revolving pedals. An additional
hazard was the track bend, since here it was necessary for the pupil
to pedal hard whilst leaning away from it. Slowing down too much at a
bend meant that the cyclist had insufficient centrifugal force to
'take' it and so would slide down the banking and fall from the bike
often badly grazing arms, legs or, occasionally, face.

Cycling was considered by many teachers to be a high risk
activity in which they had little physical control over the ways in
which the pupils participated. What happened to individual pupils
when they cycled around the track was in the pupil's own hands and
it was totally dependent upon their self confidence which was largely
perceived to be concomitant upon the teacher's approach (see Chapter
7). For Bill, who had had an unpleasant experience (as did the pupil)
in which during one of his lessons a girl lost her front teeth when
she fell from her bike, it was an activity which he was not willing
to push pupils, particularly girls, into:

> I ask the girls if they want to do track cycling and if not
> I let them watch. After that injury, I'm not prepared for
> it to happen again.   (Bill)

Table 9 shows the differences between teachers in the amount of
time they allocated to whole class teaching and the variations in the
overall length of their lessons. Whilst TC spent only 14% and 17% of
the lesson in whole class teaching, teachers F and L spent 35% and 37%
respectively and teacher J 48% of their lessons in whole class

teaching. The lesson units ranged between 59 minutes for TC and 82 minutes for TJ. Again we see each teacher choosing to shorten or extend the lesson duration as he or she so wished.

School Time and Shotmoor Time

Delamont (1983), Hustler and Payne (1983) and Ball et al. (1984) exemplify the considerable degree of, and versatility in, the emphasis which teachers in mainstream schools placed in their lessons upon time, the passing of it, the keeping to it and the compartmentalization into it. Persistently, in studies of schools, time appears to have acquired an externality to which both teacher and pupil are subjugated but over which teachers attempted, if only superficially, to assert their control.

Unlike those teachers reported in mainstream schools, Shotmoor teachers were not observed to draw the pupils' attention to aspects of time. On occasions when teachers wished to influence the speed at which pupils worked, rather than recourse to the imminence of a bell marking periodicity, teachers tended to make reference to sustenance. As the following lesson extract (8.3/CL1/C/C5) portrays:

> It is 10.37 am and the first climbing lesson. Bella, who is belayed by Carol, has reached the top of the climbing wall and is about to come back down. Most of the other pupils are dispersing for their coffee break and the teacher, Chris, explains the routine for putting equipment away. Bella begins to 'practice abseil' down the wall but is apprehensive and returns to the top. Jokingly, Chris calls to Bella, 'What do you want, coffee, tea, lunch, dinner, breakfast?'
> Mr. Bullworker, Bella's school teacher also calls out, 'Come on, Bella, my tea's getting cold.'
> Chris talks with Carol and continues to encourage Bella as she gradually moves down the wall.
> At 10.45, Bella reaches the ground and comments, 'I don't think I'm going up any more. Look I'm sweating.' Chris continues to explain and talk with Bella.

Here we see that the lesson had encroached well into break time and although it was unnecessary for Mr. Bullworker, the visiting school teacher, to stay behind, he remained with Chris whilst she 'talked down' Bella.

The preceding extract contrasts with form of communication reported in the following extract from a mainstream school lesson:

Come on (   ) you're not going to get this done are ya?
Come on, lads, you've about three or four minutes left.
(Hustler and Payne 1983:58)

In this latter extract time is made explicit and strongly framed
the teacher-pupil relationship. Time at Shotmoor however appeared to
be more weakly framed, interpersonal and less disconnected from the
individual. Although there was a timetable which defined lessons,
breaks in activity appear to have occurred fairly flexibly and in some
cases in response to the needs of the pupils. Emphasis was not laid
upon temporal externality but rather upon the more personal require-
ments of rest and refreshment.[12]

I have shown in the preceeding sections that the teaching at
Shotmoor was both repetitive and in many aspects uniform. Homogeneity
was evident in the formal content and sequencing of same subject
lessons and in the MOTs adopted by teachers during various lesson
phases.

Table 10 outlines, for each set of subjects portrayed in the
preceding section, the average percentage of the lessons in which the
MOT was predominantly whole class teaching and that which was
predominantly individual.

Table 10

The average percentage of the total lesson time of climb 1 and 2,
arch, shoot and track cycle lessons in which the teacher used
predominantly (a) whole class, (b) individual mode of transmission

Lesson	Climb 1	Climb 2	Arch	Shoot	Cycle	Total
Table from which average is calculated	2	5	6	7	9	
a. Average percentage of lesson in which the MOT was predominantly whole class teaching %	59.8	21.4	34.1	38.8	29.9	36.8
b. Average percentage in which the MOT was predominantly individual %	40.2	78.6	65.9	61.2	70.1	63.2

Portrayed in Table 10, with the exception of lesson 1 of the climbing syllabus, the MOT most frequently adopted was one which favoured more individual teacher-pupil encounters. On average 63.2% of the teaching in all the lessons referred to in this chapter was individually rather than whole class, didactially orientated.[13] Differences in teachers' organisation and management of lessons lay in the ways in which they used time to structure their lessons.

Lesson units varied in length. Not only did teachers have flexibility within certain limits, to choose the time at which their lesson ended but, as exemplified in the case of TE, this choice was mutually contingent upon the pupils. Time was a weakly framed for teachers and, in a sense, for pupils.

There was limited variation in the surface features of the lessons of different teachers in the same subject. Lesson content, sequencing and the MOT's were similar. The predominant MOT adopted was individual and there appeared to be weak temporal framing for teachers and in some sense pupils.

Such surface features, homogeneity in teaching practice, the degree of control over time and pacing in lessons and the mainly individual rather than didactic MOT, appear to be those properties which indicate an educational form resembling, in part, the Bernsteinian concept of an integrated code:

> The integrated code will not permit the variations in
> pedagogy and evaluation which are possible within collection
> codes. ... integrated codes will, at the level of the
> teachers, probably create homogeneity in teaching practice.
> (Bernstein 1977:101)

The concepts, integrated and collection codes, structuralist in nature, are, in effect, abstract, ideal type models representing oppositional forms of educational message systems (cf. Atkinson 1985).

It is, however, the regulative principle, underlying particular message systems, realised through the pedagogic and evaluative processes, which is of interest:

> The inherent logic of integrated code is likely to create a
> change in the structure of teaching groups, which are likely
> to exhibit considerable flexibility. The concept of
> relatively weak boundary maintenance which is the core

principle of integrated codes is realised both in the
structuring of educational knowledge and in the organisation
of social relationships.   (Bernstein 1977:102-3)

I have shown (Chapter 5) that the forms of grouping, the surface

features of appearances and social relations at Shotmoor suggest

weaker classification than is generally evident in mainstream schools.

Nevertheless, the question is not which model of educational code,

integrated or collection, it is which constituted the ways in which

knowledge and skills were made available and meaningful at Shotmoor,

but rather what are the deep structures of communication therein; what

were the particular forms of relations engendered, what was the

principle of social control which underpinned the message system, and

how were particular images accomplished or challenged through its

realisation?

This chapter has been concerned with temporality and the ways in

which various teachers organised different subject lessons. A brief

account of the contents of these lessons has been included, but the

main concerns were the temporal framing of and within lessons and the

MOT adopted by the teachers during different phases of the various

subjects which they taught. The evaluative process has been barely

touched upon. Furthermore, neither the forms of communication used by

different teachers when interacting with individual pupils, groups or

classes, nor the ways in which teachers distributed their time amongst

individual girls and boys have been discussed here to any degree.

Analyses of these dimensions will form the substance of subsequent

chapters. But first, it is germane to explore the Shotmoor teachers'

'work culture' and its ideological underpinning. The next chapter,

therefore, focuses upon teachers' views and beliefs about aspects of

their occupation and about teaching and learning. It attempts to

uncover their individual, and shared, intentions and assumptions, and

to highlight the philosophies and ideology which shaped their actions.

Chapter 7

PERCEPTIONS OF TEACHING

TEACHERS' IDEAS, ASSUMPTIONS AND BELIEFS ABOUT THE NATURE OF TEACHING

Features constituting the 'classroom' context at Shotmoor
differed in a number of ways from those generally evident in
mainstream secondary schools. Many of these features paralleled those
which are considered to constitute 'open' classrooms.[1] Furthermore,
highlighted in the the preceding chapter was the routine, repetitious
nature of the teaching task which the teachers accomplished during
their daily work and the apparent lack of diversity between teachers
in the type of MOT which they adopted and in the content and
sequencing of same subject lessons. Such homogeneity in teaching
practice resembles in part the ideal typical integrated code proposed
by Bernstein (1977). Nevertheless, Bernstein (1977:101) argued that
for an integrated code to operate successfully there should exist some
'supra concept' or 'relational idea' and that considerable
'ideological concensus ' would necessarily prevail amongst the
teachers' frames of reference through which this particular
educational form is mediated.

Nias (1985b), drawing upon the Meadian concept whereby mind, self
and society interrelate as process, points to the importance for
teachers of specific reference groups by which individuals assess
themselves and through which they perceive sources which inform their
personal values and intentions. Through identification with reference
groups, Nias argues, teachers support and defend their substantial
selves (Ball 1972) which are frequently resistant to situational
change. Furthermore, in time, the outlook peculiar to a reference
group becomes internalized by the teacher and it then becomes the
frame of reference through which new situations are perceived,
determining acceptable 'reality' defining information. Teachers'
participation in various social worlds, constitutive of divergent
frames of reference, will inevitably bring about dissonance between
the different principles of reality construction within the division

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of 'roles' of modern, differentiated society. Teachers, then, at
various points in their careers may be confronted with conflicting
frames of reference by which they must make choices.

The greater mobility of the teachers of Nias's (1984, 1985a)
study and those of Ashton et al.   (1975), of whom all were considered to
hold more 'child centred' views than their colleagues, Nias argues,
was a consequence of those teachers attempting to resolve the conflict
arising within their own value system ,largely because ofthe
situational constraints. They wished to preserve their particular
ideals rather than having to adapt them to the schools in which they
taught. Moreover, Nias argued that:

> Its purpose (of teachers changing schools) was to achieve a
> match between the deeply held values and attitudes of the
> 'substantial' self and the behaviour expected by significant
> others of the 'situational' self... Those who achieve this
> match were able to consolidate their sense of identification
> with teaching by becoming successful at it, a process in
> which the reactions of pupils were highly significant.
> (Nias 1985a:8-9)

Consequently, when teachers found themselves in a situational and
ideological context which was both compatible with their own values
and philosophy and which apparently permitted these to be realised
through their practical teaching, these values were reinforced and the
circumstances provided for teachers' greater professional
identification and commitment.

All but one of the permanent Shotmoor teachers had taught at the
institute for more than six years. These teachers had thus internal-
ized much of the institute's underlying goals and values. The Shotmoor
teachers' resistance to the institute's closure, their rejection of
offers made to place them in secure posts in mainstream schools and
their fight to maintain an educational identity (see Chapter 5),
underlines the teachers' particular identification with teaching in
outdoor education (at least as it was experienced at Shotmoor).Their
apparent disaffection with teaching in mainstream schools suggests
that they shared similar ideologies.

It is reasonable to argue that these permanent teachers, of whom
many had taught in mainstream schools and of whom a number had been
trained in subject areas other than PE, were committed to the

'philosophies' underpinning outdoor education and to the ideological basis of the particular educational code and its realisations within the case study institute.

I have suggested that teachers teaching in the realm of outdoor education are removed from the situational problems associated with large classes and perhaps experience the realisation of 'success' and satisfaction for every child (see Chapters 1 and 4). In this chapter, I shall explore the ideological underpinning to teaching at Shotmoor through analyses of the perceptions of a number of teachers which were made available through the account which they gave.

Analyses of the following accounts uncover teachers' perceptual frameworks (frames of reference), highlighting both similarities in and differences between the perceptions of individuals and partially exposing the principles which constituted notions of valid knowledge and acceptable forms of communication and evaluation at Shotmoor.[2] Furthermore, revealed in the ensuing accounts are each teacher's particular predispositions, intentions and the ways in which they perceived pupil motivation and made assessments concerning pupils and the professional teaching 'role'. The beliefs, values and concerns which these teachers held were mediated through their frames of reference and were affected by their individual biographies and their previous teaching experiences within Shotmoor and elsewhere.

Rather than attempting to fit the subsequent perceptions of teaching in any particular typologies[3], I shall explore both the diversity in, and similarity between, the teachers' constructs and underlying assumptions about teaching and learning, and thereby attempt to throw light upon particular ideological principles. The patterns of understanding which emerged, and the similar ways of interpreting events, were the tacitly shared understandings amongst teachers about the nature of the practical activities which they confronted from day to day, and the appropriate ways in which they considered they might tackle and explain them. These formed the ideological basis of the Shotmoor 'work culture' (Denscombe 1980b). The ability to interpret events in an appropriate manner and to act accordingly required that the teacher became part of that culture of teaching in the specific situational context. Denscombe (1980;1985)

suggests, furthermore, that the process of socialisation into what passes for competence in a teacher's behaviour is learnt 'on site' and is rarely a product of professional training. The particular situational competence was, therefore, something continuously accomplished, not through qualification or status but through action in the routine activity which was undertaken by the Shotmoor teachers.

The five Shotmoor teachers, whose accounts are explored here, were chosen for a variety of reasons. The teachers Alan, Bill, Chris, Doug and Eddy, were not necessarily representative of different member categories of teacher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:50). Rather, practical circumstance within the field study provided greater accessibility to some teachers' views and opinions than others, of which these five are a selection (see Chapter 2). Len, a teacher who offered very little in the way of his personal views, is however included in a later chapter concerned with analyses of observational data. He and the other five teachers were finally selected for the different ways in which they perceived pupils and, from my observation of the lessons which they taught, for the variations in the manner by which they encountered individual pupils. Embedded in their subsequent accounts then are those aspects of the Shotmoor teachers' occupational perspectives through which they made sense of and interpreted the teaching and learning processes and their outcomes within the Centre (Schutz and Luckmann 1974:3-4).

Visiting school teachers' (Mr Andrews, Mr Bullworker, Ms Clere and Ms Ellis) observations and opinions concerned with the form and the content of the learning experience within Shotmoor, along with the ways in which the learning context appeared to them to differ from that which they experienced within their own schools, are also included. Such data enables interpretations of the nature of teaching and learning at Shotmoor to be explored through a broader range of perceptual frameworks, and provides some first order comparisons between schooling at Shotmoor and that occurring in mainstream secondary schools (cf. Schutz 1972).

The particular effect on Shotmoor of the economic climate, which prevailed at the time of the study, was a major cause of anxiety amongst staff. The imminent threat of closure resulted in the need

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for the institute to become more economically viable, and created a situation in which permanent teachers experienced sudden insecurity. As a result, the concerns which dominated much of the conversation, of many of the permanent staff, were those which related to the ability of the centre to secure and maintain its survival. Even so, only those accounts which pertained to teachers' perceptions of teaching and learning are examined here. However, in a few cases, these perceptions of processes were significantly affected by the financial circumstances.

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Alan

Alan, who was one of a number of young temporary non-trained teachers, had been asked to remain at Shotmoor, along with two others, for the winter season. In this capacity he was expected to undertake similar teaching duties and responsibilities to those of the permanent staff.[4] He was considered to be a 'good' teacher by most of the permanent staff and had been selected by the Heads of Departments because he was 'enthusiastic, capable and possessed initiative'. His previous experience had been varied. About to take his finals for a science degree, he had decided to 'pack it in' and to travel to the Oman desert where he took charge of local workers laying pipelines.

> I felt I was wasting my time (with the degree). I didn't
> have much respect for most of my lecturers and I didn't want
> to end up in a boring job.

As a non-trained teacher, only recently involved in teaching at Shotmoor, Alan attempted, in various ways, to understand the underlying ideas and beliefs of the culture in which he was located and to determine what was expected of him:

> No one gave me any idea what they wanted in terms of what
> the aims of what we were trying to do.

There are a number of possible reasons why this was so. Firstly, the institutionalized meanings had become so taken-for-granted during the centre's long establishment that the permanent staff, who generally had been teaching at the centre for a number of years, considered it unnecessary to explicate any underlying aims. Such aims may well have been assumed to be 'understood' even by new staff. Or

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it may well have been that staff, aware of a particular underlying philosophy, discerned it more appropriate that new staff gained their own interpretation through experience.

As a result of the apparent lack of any formal guidance, Alan and other temporary staff initiated and used, with the pupils, a concept which Alan felt helped those less motivated pupils to participate more fully in the activities:

> You see the effect on the kids if you tell them to have PMA
> (positive mental attitude). Some don't understand to start
> with if you explain, but not too much, it really makes a
> difference. I had two lads on the cycle track and one lad
> copped out and gave up trying. I said, 'You'll never beat
> him if you don't try and if you do try you can't lose
> anyway.' So next time he tried really hard. Even though he
> didn't win he did much better and was pleased with himself.
> He felt he had achieved something.

Alan perceived that pupil participation was important, and that in this particular situation the pupil's lack of motivation was due to the competitive element; the pupil's resignation to the inevitability of failure if he competed against another pupil gave him little reason to become involved. However, Alan suggested that personal success could be achieved not necessarily through measuring one's performance against another, but through the actual experience of trying. Alan therefore perceived pupils' success not in terms of comparison of performance with other pupils, but in how hard they tried. This latter concept, how hard they try, might well be a criterion which replaced performance by which pupils were judged in relation to each other. However, my interpretation is that Alan perceived pupil 'success' realised personally through active involvement. That is, the concept 'how hard they try' is self monitored and not measured against the effort of other pupils. Alan indicates, in his last sentence, how the pupil's own satisfaction is a confirmation of this view. Later, we see a further expression of Alan's perception of pupils' personal assessment:

> They (the pupils) come here with so little self esteem ...
> They don't think they can do anything. I try to get them to
> believe in themselves ... they could do things if they
> tried. I try to build up their self confidence.

Alan later perceives that the reason for pupils' non-involvement are the images they have of themselves and their abilities. Over a period of time, through his contact with pupils in this particular work context, he had begun to interpret pupil action in terms of their own perceptual frames of reference:

> When I first came here, I wasn't really bothered ... but since I've been working (with groups of pupils) I've begun to feel very responsible for the group. It's quite a lot of responsibility really. You don't just have the activities there is the sort of caring side. At first I wasn't interested in those not very good ... (Now) I try to make them think they can do things. I want them all to enjoy themselves.

Alan's intentions were to enable pupils to gain a more positive perception of themselves and their abilities. He appears to see himself as a facilitator, considering it necessary to approach certain pupils in different ways. This latter attitude can be readily identified in Alan's concern over the reaction he received from one pupil, whom he had had difficulty in motivating. Discovering that the pupil was considered to be a behavioural problem at school, Alan commented, 'If I had known about him earlier I would have treated him differently'.

In his attempt to enable all the pupils to experience 'success' Alan felt it necessary to communicate in the same manner with both boys and girls:

> I usually find the girls are as good as the boys. I try to treat them all the same.[5]

Alan did not view gender as a category by which to interpret pupil behaviour, nor as a guide to the ways in which he might motivate pupils. Not only was pupil motivation important in facilitating 'success' but also, Alan perceived, it was significant in relation to pupils' safety. As we see below:

> I don't think staff realise how they cause accidents in cycling. I had a group ... one lad wasn't interested really ... he didn't push round the bends and slid down the side ... A good lad ... ran into him went over the handle bars and had to have stitches.

We see, then, that Alan, as he gained more experience and perhaps became more 'socialised' into the work situation, began to think that pupil's participation was contingent upon individual pupil's self

images and perceptions of their abilities and, in a sense, was to do with relationships with other pupils. His primary concern was that of motivating individual pupils, not only to participate but to become wholeheartedly involved. It was the teacher, Alan believed, whose responsibility it was to ensure this total commitment in pupils; partial commitment could lead to injury.

<div align="center">*   *   *</div>

Bill

The topic which consistently emerged, dominating Bill's conversations, was his concern that the centre teachers would be unable to adapt to and cope with the demands created by the financial exigencies. This was clearly uppermost in his mind throughout his conversations, both with others and myself. The following comment evidently expresses the concern, 'You should be asking people about their pay and conditions.'

Bill had taught at Shotmoor, almost from its beginnings as an educational establishment. Initially, he was employed as a temporary non-trained teacher and later as a permanent qualified teacher. Both this long association with the centre as a teacher and his concern with its survival are of particular relevance to an analysis of the ways in which he perceived himself and the context in which he worked. During Bill's duration as a teacher teaching at Shotmoor, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he had internalized and had had some influence upon much of the stable institutionalized meanings.[6] The new externally imposed economic accountability appears, in some ways, to have had an affect upon his perceptual framework.

However, he did not see the specific concerns and tensions generated by this crisis, the low morale of the teachers, affecting the pupils. As is evident in his response to the following question.

BH: It's a pity there's so much tension. Do you think it rubs off on the kids you teach?

Bill: No. I don't think anything would here. The atmosphere exudes from the walls.

The particular culture, within which the teacher-pupil relationships were embedded and which was experienced by pupils, Bill believed to be resilient to external social pressures. Nevertheless,

throughout much of his discourse about his aims in teaching various activities there were similar persistent themes. The comment below illuminates these concerns in archery, but they were also expressed in relation to his views about teaching shooting and climbing:

> I must be like a dinosaur in this place, this is the most dangerous activity here. I've spent almost the whole session trying to drum into them how to do the skill. Really moaning at them. There's no point in not making it like a proper archery club session where you follow a set of rules, if you don't do that with kids its just a circus.

Bill laid particular emphasis upon the learning of skills and the relationship between them and safety. We can also see the ideas and assumptions upon which the Shotmoor ideology was based being called into question. Bill makes comparisons of the occupational role at Shotmoor, with that of an agent hired to provide fun and thrills in exchange for payment. This is most clearly evident in the following passage in which, although the point he is making concerns the access to background knowledge of the pupils he teaches , he exposes his underlying concerns and the apparent contradictions in his perception of himself and his manner of teaching in the light of wider societal values:

> We should be told about the type of pupils attending. I had one who had just come out of care who had been done for GBH. Once I had a lad who was really attention seeking by being stupid and said he wouldn't do the free abseil. I chased him up and down the slope and asked him why not. He said, 'cause I don't want to,' and then said he'd paid to come here and didn't have to do something if he didn't want to. I saw red then. I thought bloody consumer society. Its not a circus. So I got hold of him, shook him 'till his helmet rattled. I felt a bit guilty afterwards.

The implicit situational meanings and the structure of the relationship between teacher and pupil are seen to conflict. This situational tension was made sense of and understood in the light of 'official' world views, to be a consequence of consumerism impinging upon the Shotmoor 'reality' (see Chapter 5). The preceding accounts uncover a range of tensions within Bill's perspective. Situational contradictions, as they were filtered through Bill's perceptual frame of reference, become resolved in this incident in the form of control

which he made over the pupil. Clearly, we see in the following contrasting example, there are inconsistencies in the ways in which he exercises his authority over pupil's action:

> There is not a lot of point in going to extremes (physically forcing pupils to do the free abseil) they lose more in the eyes of their group if they go down screaming than if they don't even do it. They (the pupils) are all different, I try to talk them down and I would spend longer if I had the time. I've spent ages talking to some of them - giving them the spiel. 'There are harder things in life that you've got to face so you ought to try this.'

Not only do we see that Bill's particular resolution of this dilemma is influenced by the ways in which the pupil's image may be affected in the presence of his/her peers, but also evident, in the use of the term spiel, is his cynicism about the traditional assumptions which underlie pupil participation in this particular activity. However, he, like Alan, perceived the pupils as individuals and believed in talking with and encouraging each pupil where possible.

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Chris and Doug

On the surface, Chris and Doug's perception of teaching and their views about pupils appear similar to each other. However, interpretation of their underlying assumptions, portrayed in their accounts, suggests a significant difference in their understanding of what counts as appropriate interaction between teachers and pupils, and, as I will show later, in the ways in which they perceived gender. Chris and Doug, both of whom were permanent staff and trained PE teachers, had taught at Shotmoor, for many years, Chris for almost as long as Bill.

The account which follows illustrates the views and attitudes which constitute Chris's teaching perspective:

> I am trying to make it so that they (the pupils) achieve something. Give them as much help so that they achieve something, so that they can develop their full potential in the activities. Each one is an individual and you have to assess their capabilities so that you can take them as far as they are able to go. Each one is different so that their physical and mental abilities are different and you have to gauge how far they are able to go and aim for slightly above that. It comes out with one teacher, this is why he

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> has so many cycling accidents. He is unable to assess
> pupils' capabilities and so pushes them too far. It's not
> necessarily the activities that I'm interested in it's the
> individual pupils and what they can achieve themselves...
> The free abseil, I wouldn't push them over the edge if they
> are too scared or I think they can't cope mentally. Like
> some people, you don't know what you are doing up here
> (gesture towards mind).

Like Alan, Chris perceived pupils as possessing unique individuality. Her predominant concern was to promote the personal achievement of individual pupils. A competent teacher, she believes, is one who assesses the capabilities of each pupil and who then, by giving appropriate encouragement, enables pupils to realise their true potential. She emphasises the link between the teacher's understanding of the pupil and the risk of accidents. Conscious not only of the possible physical injury, but also psychological injury to pupils, she proposes that pupils should not be pressured, against their will, to participate in a hazardous pursuit of which they are excessively afraid.

Although not evident in her account, Chris laid particular emphasis upon girls' achievement in this context. This was highlighted during the final coffee break, at the end of the week, which was also used as a winding up session. When she pointed out, to all the pupils, how specific pupils, who had been very nervous at the beginning of the week, had made a number of personal achievements. These pupils of whom she referred were generally girls.

Doug's account which follows suggests that he held a different view about teacher authority in the climbing situation:

> They all come with different backgrounds. Some have climbed
> before, some haven't, you just have to assess, what they can
> do and take them as far as that. It's fear (that limits
> their success), the walls are very simple, physical ability
> is not in evidence it's their being scared. Even some of
> them are scared of belaying ... It's a matter of overcoming
> their fear ... if I had more time I could talk to them and
> get them all to the top... They are extremely nervous some
> of them, I gently push them (in the free abseil) because
> they think they can't do it but once they are over the edge,
> they think they have succeeded.

Again, like the others, this teacher perceived pupils as individuals. He believed that it was the fear which pupils experience at the prospect of undertaking a hazardous activity which limited

their success. This fear must be overcome gradually by the teacher. He assumes it is necessary for the teacher to assess pupils' previous experience and potential ability in order that they can enable pupils to experience personal success. In the context of the free abseil Doug, unlike Chris, assumes that it is the teachers' responsibility to decide for the pupil that he or she will participate.

As well as the differing views which Chris and Doug held about teacher authority, they also reveal contrasting attitudes towards girls' abilities. Although Doug maintained it is 'mental attitude' rather than strength which inhibits pupils, particularly girls, he perceived that girls are lacking in some way and so he tends to 'treat them differently' because he believed, 'girls are different, they are not able to do some things.'

His differentiated concept of gender is further highlighted in the comparison he made between male and female as teachers of hazardous activities:

> Usually they (the women) aren't as good as men, they don't seem confident enough or able to make decisions. It might be their background. They tend not to dominate or want to dominate and therefore it's easier (for them) to sit back and let others make decisions.

Not only are his stereotypical views about the sexes illuminated but also exposed are his assumptions about the necessary form of relations required for the accomplishment of decision making processes. That is, he perceives a direct relation between domination, the imposition of meaning, and the resolution of action.

* * *

Eddy

A trained PE teacher, Eddy had taught at the centre for about as long as Doug, and had taught overall for a similar period of time.

Eddy distinguished pupils by the degree of commitment to learning new knowledge and skills which they appeared to show. He believed there were, 'those pupils who are prepared to work, who are more intelligent and open minded' and those 'not prepared to work ... who have closed minds about things and a negative attitude, who are not prepared to try.' The reasons for pupils' apathy were as follows:

> They are scared of hurting themselves, or making a fool of
> themselves, resulting from no confidence in themselves. This
> is because they may not have been encouraged to do physical
> activities when younger.

This reluctance by pupils 'to try', Eddy perceives, is because

they had little confidence in themselves and their abilities. Previous

paucity of positive experiences and encouragement prevented pupils

from trusting themselves in situations in which they may incur

physical injury or damage to their self esteem. These sorts of

negative self images, Eddy believed, are due to external factors. He

felt that, with the help of a teacher, each pupil should

experience success:

> They are all able to do the activities ...(some) activities
> are frightening. Staff need to overcome this fear in the
> pupils.

It is necessary for the teacher, Eddy suggested, to encourage pupils

to experience risks through which they may challenge their

assumptions about their own abilities. How Eddy perceived his

function in enabling pupils to overcome fear, in relation to

participation in climbing lessons, is illustrated in the account which

follows.

> Eddy: In climbing I try to encourage them as it's quite safe and
> they can do it quite easily. It's only a small physical
> and psychological step up. Whereas abseilling is a large
> physical and psychological step for them to launch
> themselves off, it's therefore more traumatic. If they
> are really, I mean really screwed up about it, shaking and
> on the verge of tears, I say, ' well you'd better walk
> back again.' Far better that they do that, than they go
> down out of control, screaming their heads off, thereby
> losing more status with their peers than they would if
> they just moved back again.

> BH: Do you think it important for them to try it?

> Eddy: It's just another of those things that they think is
> difficult but once they've tried it they know it's not.
> It's showing them that life isn't as difficult if they try
> things.

> BH: If that's the case why don't you force them?

> Eddy: No point, it's got to come totally from themselves. I had
> a lad last week who said, 'I can't do this.' He wasn't
> shaking, so I just lifted him over the edge. It was just
> a mild psychological barrier not a profound one. It

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> doesn't matter that he hasn't done it, it just means he's
> succeeded in finding out he's not going to be a steeple
> jack.

We see a number of concepts which are similar to those mentioned
by other teachers. The overriding factor which influences Eddy's
decisions about whether it is appropriate for a pupil to participate,
is the particular way in which the pupil may be viewed by his or her
peers; that is the images which pupils convey of themselves to other
pupils. Eddy appeared to be ambivalent in his views about who, the
teacher or pupil, has the right to decide whether the pupil should
undertake a hazardous activity. We see however, that primarily Eddy
believed that pupils should be seen to be in control by their peers.
The latter part of the account indicates that Eddy did not hold a
notion of pupil failure. Rather, pupils discover different aspects of
themselves. It is not the activity which was Eddy's overriding
concern but pupils' self realisation through it. Ultimately it is
Eddy who decides. His decisions were based upon his understanding of
the unique situation, and upon the interpretation he makes of the
meanings which the pupil, and his/her peers, may have attached to any
particular course of action which was taken. Eddy appears to make the
pupil's frame of meaning central in the learning process. He perceived
that interpersonal relations between pupils are an important source of
support and orientation for pupils. This is clearly emphasised in the
following in which Eddy expresses further views about the learning
experience and his own intentions.

> I'm getting them to help each other, understand each other's
> problems, (in) skiing - through trying to improve their
> skills, you try to foster a group awareness, develop their
> self-confidence. Improving their skills is only a vehicle
> for doing that, if their skills improve, their self-
> confidence improves. Also by talking to them and
> encouraging them to talk to you, discussing the situation
> -again that will develop their self-confidence.

Not only are interpersonal relations between pupils important,
but also those between teacher and pupil.

He considered, as did the other teachers, that talking with
individual pupils was an important influence on the ways in which
pupils respond and participate. Eddy's intentions were to develop
understanding between himself and each pupil and to create a climate

of support and co-operation amongst pupils. Within such an atmosphere, he supposed that skills are more easily learnt and, as a result, pupils gain in self-confidence.

Eddy's perception of his own approach to teaching is one in which the peer group is held to be an important source of orientation, relation and order. However, not all teachers in adventure education were seen to be able to create the same atmosphere or to maintain an inter-personal relationship rather than a positional relationship with pupils (cf. Bernstein 1977). A number of factors are seen to militate against this form of teaching approach:

> Some staff are more concerned with the skill side as an end in itself. Some with a more disciplinarian attitude, more formal approach do this. They (teachers using this approach) don't feel confident in themselves in a relaxed situation with kids. They feel the kids may be getting out of hand, if they relaxed they may lose control. A member of staff in an outdoor pursuits ... situation should always be in control ... because of the safety aspect.

It was, therefore, the teacher's confidence in his/her own ability to maintain order and keep control which Eddy perceived to have implications for the particular form of communication which teachers might adopt as an aspect of their teaching approach.

Teachers who lacked confidence in their ability to motivate pupils, Eddy suggests, tended to adopt a positional form of authority relationship. This in its turn contributes towards the pupil's socialization into dependence upon the teacher rather than independence in their learning. In the former case the teacher is perceived to place emphasis upon skill acquisition rather than the pupils' realisation of their own abilities to 'succeed'.

With regard to the construction of gender, Eddy appeared to convey to pupils a questioning of conventional concepts of gender appropriate behaviour, associated abilities and relations. As we see, in his response to the following unique question asked by one boy at an introductory meeting: 'What will the girls be doing while the boys are climbing and skiing?' To which Eddy replied, 'I expect they will be leading you up the climbing wall and down the ski slopes.' Prior to a summarisation of these teaching perceptions, a number of visiting school teachers perceptions of the schooling process are presented.

* * *

Visiting School Teachers' Views of teaching and learning
Mr Andrews, Mr Bullworker, Ms Clere and Ms Ellis

Mr. Andrews, a headteacher of an out of county middle school, and Mr. Bullworker, a PE teacher who taught in a rural, medium sized comprehensive school, had both brought pupils to the centre on a number of occasions. Their accounts which follow reflect each teacher's different professional backgrounds.

Mr. Andrews,not surprisingly, reflected some of the 'child centred' views frequently expressed by teachers in primary education and embedded in the 'progressive' teaching ideology. This particular learning experience, for Mr. Andrews, became more valid when it was used to stimulate specific forms of communication. He considered that the centre gave pupils the opportunity not only to develop socially, but also to gain knowledge experientially (see chapter 5):

> I believe in education through experience and what is this
> if it's not one of the biggest experiences in their lives
> and if they can write about it and communicate then that's
> education. (Mr. Andrews/wk 1)

Girls, he perceived, encountered situations which they would not normally experience. Although he made assumptions about girls' physical ability, he highlights their initial diffidence and the eventual personal achievements which he believed they experienced through participation:

> It's interesting (climbing) especially with regard to the
> girls, well they haven't climbed trees and walls and their
> arms aren't very strong, they don't think they can do it.
> But they do and they get over their anxiety as well.

By contrast, Mr. Bullworker describes the pupils' experience from the perspective of a PE teacher. He juxtaposes pupils' PE experience at school with that at the centre:

> They (the pupils) all have a new experience, with a new
> activity and it's not necessarily competitive so they are
> learning new skills together which tends to bind them
> together. Even your fat Jo Bloggs can go round the cycle
> track and the good footballer will encourage him. Often the
> good lads won't do the free abseil but the little girls
> manage to climb up the walls. Its learning socially as well
> ·as learning a new activity ... It's often not the good
> footballers who choose to come but those who are on the
> periphery of sport. (Mr. Bullworker/Wk8)

Mr. Bullworker illuminates the differences between physical education in the context of the institute and physical education in school. He perceived these differences in terms of the curriculum content, the ways in which the learning experience is made available to pupils and the ways in which pupils evaluate themselves and each other. In particular, he focuses upon the nature of the interaction between pupils. We see, in the perspective of Mr. Bullworker, a view of teaching in which the physically 'more able' pupil acknowledged and supported those pupils whose physical attributes would generally lead them to be perceived as physically 'less able'.

Whereas (in this context) Mr. Andrews saw girls challenging sex stereotypical images, Mr. Bullworker suggested that both girls and boys were challenging received notions of physical ability and conventional concepts of gender. Traditional notions of what constituted appropriate behaviour for boys and girls and their related concepts of abilities were apparently called into question through the Shotmoor experience. Likewise, concepts of mental 'ability' appeared, in some cases, to be questioned. This was highlighted in the comment made by Mr Lewes concerning Colin who was considered to be difficult and less able at school, but competent at problem solving in out of school contexts (Chapter 6, p138).

*   *   *

A number of the visiting secondary school teachers from secondary schools expressed dissatisfaction with either school teaching in general or with their particular school circumstances. Mr Bullworker was in the process of applying for posts in youth work and commented upon the bureaucratization within schooling and the lack of career prospects. From the same school, Ms Clere, a classroom teacher, planned to leave at the end of her probationary year. She had found her teaching experience dehumanizing:

> I'm leaving school this summer. I went into school having taught a year abroad and having spent a year away before going to college. I have been told that I shouldn't use my personality when I'm teaching. My philosophy was that I would joke with the kids and talk to them at lunchtimes but this is frowned on. It's got a lot of older staff who were left over from when it was a secondary modern. Like the Deputy, she's 55. I suppose the kids don't want to talk

> about their problems with her, but I am much nearer their
> age. The scale 1 teacher, who told me I shouldn't use my
> personality, said that if I asked the kids if they learnt
> anything in my lessons they would say no. I had previously
> asked some of them and they said they did enjoy my lessons
> because they were fun and they did the homework for it.
> I don't see how you can divorce your personality from
> teaching. I wanted to work out two years in this job but
> they are holding open my old job in France. ... I found
> that Alan has given me confidence here. (Ms Clere/wk4)

For Ms Clere personal relationships were important in her
teaching but her particular school situation prevented her from fully
exploring and developing them. It appears that the school structures
and the strong boundary maintenance were successful, at least in Ms
Clere's case, in dividing the personal from the practice - separating
the affective properties of communication from the instructional.[7]

Ms Ellis, a PE teacher teaching at an all girls' school, also
experienced dissonance. Tensions were evident not only between her
own frame of reference and the particular institutional 'rule frame',
which decreed the expected form of relations with pupils, but also
between her perceptual frame of reference and some of the values
expressed in her professional training. These tensions appear to have
arisen in part as a response to the depersonalization in the teacher -
pupil relationship which she experienced in her school:

> I came from a big comprehensive in London where the teachers
> were superb. I was a difficult kid but they helped me. I
> went into PE not because I was good at hockey but because I
> wanted to teach. Its really frustrating teaching where I am
> now as the headmistress is really tight and doesn't like us
> to develop relationships with the girls. I have been
> pulled over the coals for being too 'familiar' with the
> girls. I taught in a mixed school which had a woman head
> and she was good ... There isn't much future in teaching
> now, no career prospects.   (Ellis/Wk5)

Many of the school teachers were considered by their pupils to
have 'changed' and become more friendly whilst at Shotmoor (see
Chapter 10). This shift in Ms Ellis's relations with pupils was
commented upon by a number of her pupils and may well have been due in
part to the particular ways in which the situation was framed at
Shotmoor.

The Work Culture

Implicit in all the Shotmoor teachers' accounts was the
'personal', caring element which they developed in their relations
with pupils. Alan, the relative newcomer, verbalised this particular
aspect of his relations with pupils. A largely taken-for-granted,
internalised dimension of the Shotmoor teachers' work was then the
ways in which affective and instructional properties of communication
were intricately and perhaps necessarily bound together in their day
to day teaching approach. Since, as we saw, there emerged from all
the Shotmoor teachers' accounts overriding concerns which related to
pupil participation and to their safety.

Alan, Chris and Eddy perceived that through participation, skills
learning and by overcoming fear, pupils were able to challenge
individual self images and develop a more positive understanding of
their own abilities. Furthermore, the formal curriculum was
considered to be merely a vehicle through which pupils realised their
full potential. A more extrinsic, utilitarian value was placed upon
the Shotmoor curriculum by Bill and Doug, however. Bill, who was
cynical of the traditional concept underlying outdoor pursuits, that
of character building, stressed the importance of skills acquisition,
safety rules and the relation of the activities to adult recreational
clubs. He attempted to make the curriculum more meaningful to pupils
in these terms. Doug appeared to perceive the acquisition of skills
simply in terms of enabling participation for its own sake. However,
all the teachers believed it was essential to assess, or to under-
stand, each individual pupil and to encourage and communicate with
each one. Pupil inter-relationships were seen, in the majority of
accounts, as an important source of support and motivation for each
other. Sociality between pupils was a feature of interaction to which
Mr. Bullworker also referred.

The prevailing concept of learning in this context was one in
which it was believed to be the pupil who evaluates him/herself, not
for the most part against any external criteria of success but rather
through a greater understanding and realisation of her/his own
individual capabilities. Rigid labelling of individual pupils by the
Shotmoor teachers in terms of 'ability', social class, or gender is

not apparent from these accounts, although there were clearly differences between the ways in which teachers perceived gender. Teachers perceived and distinguished pupils in relation to their emotional or affective attributes rather than in relation to 'athletic' stereotypes. That is to say, non participation or non involvement on the part of the pupil was seen to be the result of fear, not only of physical injury but also more particularly of failure and loss of self esteem in the eyes of their peers.

Each pupil was considered to be able to achieve in this context. However, for this to be so teachers, who had no access to preconceived school knowledge about individual pupils, must, in some perspectives, assess what pupils could do and, in others, understand the pupils' problems. This required that the Shotmoor teachers talked and communicated with pupils on their own terms most effectively by entering into their frame of reference. That is, the teachers had first to find out what pupils knew and thought they could do, their common sense knowledge of themselves and their abilities, and then to build upon this. In this way, teachers could then decide upon the manner by which they might best approach or communicate with individual pupils to facilitate each pupil's safe participation.

Eddy maintained that the manner in which teachers encountered pupils was contingent upon each teacher's perceptions of their own abilities to maintain control, which, in a potentially hazardous situation, is imperative.

All the teachers made reference to this aspect, to the possibility of pupil injury which might be incurred through misinterpretation of, or lack of understanding about, the way in which individual pupils might act when exposed to a potentially dangerous situation.

Implicated then, within this work context, was the need to understand each pupil, since it was only by knowing why pupils were afraid and how teachers could increase pupil trust in the teacher, in their own capabilities, and in their peers that accidents become less probable. In a sense, all pupils must 'succeed' since ultimate 'failure' synonymous for the teacher with injury, was unacceptable.

Through the process of socialisation, then, 'on site' within Shotmoor, what passed for competence in teacher's behaviour was the ability to engender maximum pupil participation in, personal achievement through and commitment to the particular learning experience without incurring emotional or physical injury. As a result, underlying all these teaching perceptions was a common situational tension, or dilemma which, as we saw, they perceived and responded to in a number of ways.[8] This dilemma consisted of, on the one hand teaching basic skills to ensure each pupil could cope safely with a task On the other, it consisted of giving individual pupils responsibility for, and control over, decisions to accept a challenge,thereby allowing pupils greater discretion and choice to participate in what may appear to be a dangerous activity.

The preceding analyses of Shotmoor teachers' frames of reference suggest a concensual ideology in which the pupil's frame of reference was centralized and where each individual pupil was considered to be unique. A sense of recognition of pupil's feelings was evident. Trust between teacher and pupil and amongst pupils was an important feature of relations. Pupils were motivated, in a sense, by other pupils and by their own increased self confidence. With the teachers' support, all pupils succeeded, in some cases by becoming more independent. Personal achievement was not measured against external criteria or another's failure. Skills learning and participation were merely vehicles for developing pupils' sense of achievement, confidence and self esteem. This crudely resembles some of the aspects associated with the child centred progressive ideology recommended in the Plowden Report (1967) for Primary Education.

The ensuing chapters explore if and how the Shotmoor ideology was realised through teachers' practice and in the perceptions of pupils. The manner in which different teachers made sense of and attempted to resolve the situational dilemmas though their pedagogic approach and the pupils' interpretation of the learning experiences made available to them both at Shotmoor and school are the concerns of the remainder of the thesis.

INTERACTION PATTERNS AND THE PROCESSES OF DIFFERENTIATION

The Shotmoor lessons appeared on the surface to be organised and structured in similar ways to those in mainstream schools with the teachers adopting a variety of MOT's; whole class, group or individual. However, the ways in which pupils participated in the lessons, and the forms of communication between teacher and pupil and amongst pupils, often contrasted with those corresponding aspects of interaction which are generally evidenced in mainstream schools. Pupils and teachers at Shotmoor participated in each other's performance. That is, individual pupils became more consciously aware of the ways in which other pupils and, in some cases, their school teachers both reacted to and performed in different situations.

This chapter explores the ways in which different teachers distributed their time amongst individual pupils in some of the 'informal' phases of the Shotmoor lessons. That is to say, during lesson phases in which the teachers did not predominantly teach the whole class as a single cohort.[1] I shall examine the emergent patterns of interaction within the Centre and juxtapose these patterns with those reported to occur in mainstream schools. This juxtaposition draws upon evidence from sociological studies of an interpretative genre which paid attention to patterns of interaction and differential treatment mediated in the learning process in mixed ability classrooms (cf. Corbishley and Evans 1981; Tickle 1983); or those which have addressed interactional inequalities associated with gender within co-education classrooms (cf. Stanworth 1983; Kelly 1985). These studies were concerned largely with lessons in mainstream secondary schools.

Ball (1984) points to the paucity of research data concerning processes occurring in mixed ability classrooms in secondary schools. He argues that the problems which teachers and pupils face in those classrooms are not dissimilar to those which are prevalent in 'progressive' primary school classrooms. The subsequent discussion

will, therefore, also draw upon data from the Oracle Project[2], along with findings and analyses from the primary classrooms of Sharp and Green (1975). The latter have shown that the teachers of their research propounded child-centred 'progressive' teaching ideologies, but partly because of the large numbers of pupils they were unable to realise these in practice within their classrooms.[3] Consequently, the pupils were in competition with each other for the attention of the teacher. Individual pupils were shown to receive more or less of the teacher's time and attention, those perceived to be the 'brightest' being the most favoured by the teacher. Not only were those pupils who were construed to be the least successful allocated less of the teacher's time, but also the ways in which learning was structured and directed for them was different. This differential treatment, they argue, was one factor in determining the future level of pupil achievement. Further, differentiation and classification were dependent not only upon particular teacher predisposition and pupil characteristics which, it is argued, may include the pupil's sex, social class, or ethnicity, but also upon the material context in which pupils learn (Barakett 1981).

Teachers working in mainstream schools with large numbers of pupils need to arrive at certain pupil typification in order to organise and distribute their time and attention within the classroom. Hammersley (1977a) suggests that the processes of typification are largely confined to determining the extent to which individual pupils appear to fit into the established categories utilized by a teacher in his/her classroom, thus providing a basis for the prediction of pupil behaviour.[4] In this way the teacher is able to reduce the range of information sources which must be scanned. The amount of interpretative work which is required of the teacher, on any occasion, to make sense of or to understand the frames of reference of each pupil is thereby reduced. Through continuous one to one encounters, it may be possible for a teacher and a pupil to develop a relationship in which there is a high degree of consociality.[5] However, Sharp and Green point out that the material and social constraints upon teachers in the classrooms of their study tended to prevent teachers from enhancing the level of consociality

between themselves and most pupils. Consequences may thus arise if the pupil's frame of reference is remote from that of the teacher. There may be little mutual understanding between teacher and pupil. The meanings ascribed to teachers' messages may be misinterpreted by pupils (Torode 1976) or pupils' actions may be misunderstood by teachers (Driver 1982). Low intersubjectivity, then, contributes towards a pupil becoming categorized as a 'type'. This initial reification constitutes the beginning of the process whereby the pupil's identity becomes more rigidly abstracted and thus less negotiable(Sharp and Green 1975).

Hargreaves et al. (1975) proposed, for the purpose of analysis, three broad stages of process whereby pupils come to be perceived as certain types by their teachers. Speculation occurs during the initial encounters between teacher and pupils whilst the teacher attempts to discover into which of his/her particular categories a pupil fits. The main constructs teachers utilize, Hargreaves et al. suggest, are appearance, 'likeability', peer group relations and conformity to what is perceived to be appropriate behaviour in that context.

Feminists have argued that perceptions of what constitutes appropriate behaviour in pupils is different for boys and girls and is accentuated by the wearing of sex related clothing (Margrain 1983; Davies 1984a). These gender dimensions Hargreaves et al. omitted from their analyses. Thus, teacher actions which may have been associated with expected gender behaviours were taken-for-granted and not rendered problematic in their work. Over time, the school teacher builds up a characterization from observed events, his/her encounters with pupils and his/her constructs which, I suggest, are gender implicated.

Not only do teachers in schools have varying degrees of direct transactions with certain pupils, but also access to existing knowledge of pupils' backgrounds which may include records of pupils' previously attributed 'academic' and physical 'abilities', behaviours and aspects of their home environment. Hargreaves et al. further suggest that teachers build up pictures of different pupils in terms of their knowledge of pupils and their interpretations of

these attributes which in Hargreaves et al.'s analysis appeared as gender neutral. In the final stage, which they term 'type-stabilization', some pupils, they suggest, are perceived as unique individuals of whom a few stand out and may be perceived as deviant. Woods (1983), however, points to his own research, and that of Keddie (1971) and Lortie (1975), in which the complexity of the teachers' task and the unfavourable teacher-pupil ratio prevent teachers from 'knowing' pupils as unique individuals. This is exacerbated within secondary schools, Woods (1983) argues, since teachers meet infrequently with the same class during any week. Teachers' knowledge of some pupils, usually those of so called average or satisfactory bands, may be 'restricted to "speculation" based on stereotypes' (Woods 1983:50). Stereotyping, as Davies (1984a) highlights, is generally unconsciously influenced by conventional concepts of gender. Gender is thus a fundamental taken-for-granted organising category by which teachers implicitly construct 'types' of pupils and which affects the ways in which they act towards boys and girls.

These processes by which pupils are 'typed' are related to, and further aggravated by, the ways in which sponsorship occurs during the lesson. The teacher, in offering individual attention in response to pupils' 'needs', creates 'localised meanings' for pupils (Edwards and Furlong 1978:135). Such messages can have implications for pupils' perceptions of their own abilities to learn and cope with particular circumstances or situations. Pupils who fail to meet the requirements of the prevailing mode of transmission may come to be seen as 'less able' in that subject (Evans 1982, 1985). Studies of secondary schools have shown that it is largely those pupils who experiencing problems in their learning, presented the teacher with the most behavioural difficulties in lessons. As I previously pointed out, those pupils creating the most demand upon teachers' time tended to be boys (see also Lundgren 1981). Furthermore, practical exigencies such as accountability, colleague and parent expectations place particular limitation and direction upon teachers' behaviour (Denscombe 1980b, 1985).

Differentiation therefore occurs as a consequence of the interplay between multiple factors. In any learning context, the interrelationship of these factors constitute for the teacher specific categories by which he/she characterizes, differentiates or explains differences between boys and girls in terms of participation, motivation, performance and ability.

Sex related differences in pupils' appearances were generally more obscured at Shotmoor than in mainstream schools. Also, as I have shown (Chapter 6), the MOT adopted by the Shotmoor teachers was routine and repetitive and the curriculum content taught was almost identical from week to week for all teachers.

In one sense, then, the complexity of the teaching task at Shotmoor was reduced through the teachers' familiarity with its subject content. However, what varied weekly and therefore required the teacher to engage in a continual process of interpretation was the new intake of pupils. Each week, it may well have been for some teachers the pupils and their frames of reference which constituted the new material with which they worked. That is to say, the routine nature of the Shotmoor teacher's work, its apparent reduction in content complexity, freed the teachers, if they so wished, to concentrate more fully upon individual pupils. The more favourable teacher-pupil ratio at Shotmoor provided for the possibility of a greater number of one to one encounters between teacher and each pupil than in mainstream school classrooms, which had the potential, since frequently a teacher taught the same class for most of the week following the pupils from activity to activity, of also being more sustained .[6] Moreover, the majority of Shotmoor teachers, like most of the teachers of Grace's (1978) study, perceived pupils as 'unique individuals' requiring individual attention.

The material, situational and organisational features which make up the Shotmoor institute created a particular learning context which appeared to be weakly framed and in which the classification between certain categories was weakened. Thus in many ways, the situation appeared to be more favourably disposed toward the development of

mutual understanding and varying degrees of sociality between teachers and pupils and amongst pupils than those generally apparent in mainstream schools.[7]

Nevertheless, common to all the Shotmoor teachers was an underlying tension which arose from the conflicting demands associated with the philosophy of individual 'development' embedded within the practical framework of safety.[8] The prevalent concern was the potential risk of damage to physical and, for some teachers, the mental wellbeing of pupils, which was further exacerbated by the need to involve each and every girl or boy fully in their own learning experience. The ideal, and in some situations the practical imperatives, that pupils should make decisions and take responsibility for themselves and each other presented immediate problems for teachers. Not until the teacher had assessed a pupil and considered him/her competent enough, while possessing the appropriate degree of confidence which would enable him/her to cope safely and independently in an activity, could a teacher allow the pupil to experience a greater degree of control. The ways in which the Shotmoor teachers managed such circumstantial dilemmas were complex and varied. Problems, of this sort, which were confronted by teachers perhaps compelled some of them, given the opportunity, to attempt to understand each pupil through face to face encounters whereby they might attempt to enter into their frame of reference. Consequently, teachers might well treat each pupil differently. Pupils who are perceived, in some way, as less capable of undertaking a particular task may be offered more or less attention together with different degrees of opportunity to take decisions. It is pertinent to draw attention here to a study of teacher-pupil interaction in Art and Craft lessons. In this, Tickle (1983) evidences that, even in the same lesson, various pupils received different curricular experiences, which conferred opportunities for or limitation upon 'bright' or 'backward' pupils respectively to develop individual choice and independence through this learning.

Each pupil's experience of learning, in Tickle's study, was differentially mediated through the ways in which the teachers tried to make the skills and knowledge accessible and meaningful to

individual pupils. The 'less able' pupils were more closely controlled and restricted, whereas the 'ideal' pupil was given greater independence. Pupils, then, may not only receive different amounts of teacher attention but also this attention may be significantly different in its form which may shape individual pupil's experience of schooling differently.

The subsequent discussion draws upon observational data recorded in the 'informal' phases of a number of different lessons. It focuses upon the various ways in which several of the Shotmoor teachers distributed their time and attention within these lessons and upon the apparent increase in pupil discretion engendered.

Patterns of Interaction and Pupil Participation

Although, for the most part, there was a considerable degree of similarity between different teachers in the ways in which they organised same subject lessons, there was, however, variation in the numbers of pupils physically participating during any 'informal' lesson phase in different subject activities (see Chapter 6).

Whilst observations of climbing phases of the first and second climbing lessons showed that generally all the pupils were physically involved (Tables 3 and 5), observations of track cycle evidenced that in a high percentage of lessons there were seldom more than one or two pupils cycling (Table 9). Nevertheless, in the latter subject (as in lesson 3 of the climbing syllabus in which pupils individually free abseiled) there appeared, on occasions, to be a large amount of peer group participation which was generally manifested in the different forms of encouragement. Likewise, skiing did not present the opportunity for continuous physical practise, rather one or two pupils skied as the rest looked on. Generally, half the class were physically involved in arching or shooting at any one time. During these 'informal' phases in which some or all the pupils were involved in a physical activity each teacher engaged, to varying degrees, in either face to face, private or public interaction with an individual pupil.

In the lessons in which it was practice for fewer pupils to be
physically involved at any one time, the Shotmoor teachers interacted
more often with those pupils who were physically participating. In
all the lessons the forms of communication between the teacher and
individual pupils were predominantly concerned with engendering
maximum participation by each pupil without incurring injury to the
physical and, in some cases, mental wellbeing of the pupils.
Frequently, this required the teacher to provide the conditions most
conducive to each pupil for rapid skill acquisition. These
encounters were at times public and were visible to all the pupils.
Pupils thus observed and, to varying degrees, participated in each
other's performance. Consequently, they became not only more aware
of the ways in which other pupils (and their school teachers)
responded and performed in these different situations, but also
conscious of the forms of communication which the centre teachers
employed when addressing those individuals.

For the majority of the pupils, the most frightening lesson was
the climbing and frequently their most intense experiences of fear
were during an abseil (see Appendix 1X C). The Shotmoor teachers
appeared to be much a part of the pupils' experience, particularly in
moments of fear, when they shared with each pupil their experiences
and related in various ways to their perceptions of the pupil's frame
of reference and to pupils' emotions at that instant. On these
occasions, scenarios of self-image maintenance and decision making
were enacted between teacher and pupil to an audience of the other
pupils and often the school teacher. Each teacher spent varying
degrees of time talking with the pupil encouraging (or perhaps
coercing) them to 'go over the edge'. The amount of time which each
teacher spent with different pupils varied. Moreover, the messages
conveyed and the meaning construed were dependent upon the teacher,
his/her predispositions and his/her interpretation of the pupil and
the pupil's frame of reference. The ways in which the teachers
allocated their time were largely dependent upon the individual
pupil's needs. The degree to which a teacher engaged with a pupil,
particularly when managing an abseil, was contingent upon that
individual pupil's response. In climbing lessons in which all the

pupils were 'activating' (a term used by the Shotmoor teachers), that is during the climbing phases of lessons 1 and 2, the teacher was observed to monitor and interact with each pupil fairly equally until each pupil's capabilities had been assessed. Then, the teacher interacted with those whom he or she believed to be the least confident and perhaps the most at risk. The following interaction patterns were representative of those of other lesson 1 of the climbing syllabus.

Teacher-Pupil Interaction During Phase 5, the Climbing Phase of the Lesson 1 Taught by Doug, Eddy and Chris Respectively

How Doug, Eddy and Chris organised their time and distributed their attention, whilst the pupils worked more independently in pairs during phase 5 of lesson 1 of the climbing syllabus, will now be examined. The first two lessons described are those of Doug and Eddy and are referred to in Table 3, Chapter 6 under columns TD and TE respectively.[9] The third lesson described is that taught by Chris, whose lesson structure is portrayed in Table 3 under column TC.

In this latter part of lesson 1, pupils were climbing various walls, whilst their partners, secured to the ground by a short tape, controlled the rope to which the climber was attached. Each rope ran through a karabiner fixed at the top of the wall. The belayers, who were fixed to the ground, concentrate intently on their partners and were ready to hold them with the rope should they slip. All the teachers, in the majority of observed lessons, moved rapidly around the class interacting with individual pupils. Although conveying an air of confidence in the pupils' capabilities to the pupils, the teachers' continual monitoring of each pupil's progress suggested that they were indeed concerned about the possibility of accidents. This is highlighted in the following comment, in which Eddy likens his teaching in this phase of the lesson, to the actions of a juggler who is 'trying to keep ten plates spinning on the top of poles.' He continues the comparison, 'You've got to keep an eye on all of them. You get to know who are likely to be the wobbly ones.'

Table 11a

The Incidence and Distribution of Interactions
in a 37 minutes Climbing Phase of One
Climbing Lesson taught by Doug

	Pair Composition	Number of teacher/pupil interactions	Pupil names
Pair 1	2 girls	8	Nicky, Tracey,
Pair 2	1 boy/girl	8	Dick, Glynis,
Pair 3	2 boys	8	Trevor, Ian,Keith
Pair 4	2 boys	6	Stuart, Jackie,
Pair 5	2 girls	9	Debbie
TOTAL	10	39	

Table 11b

The Incidence and Distribution of Interactions
in a 32 Minutes Climbing Phase of One
Climbing Lesson taught by Eddy

	Pair Composition	Number of teacher/pupil interactions	Pupil names
Pair A	2 girls	13	Emma, Lyn,
Pair B	2 girls	10	Sue, Pat,
Pair C	1 boy/schoolteacher	4	Sam, Mr Kip
Pair D	2 boys	7	Tony, Clint,
Pair E	2 boys	9	Paul Peter
TOTAL	10	43	

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Table 12a

The Incidence and Distribution of Interactions
as a Percentage of the Total Teacher Interaction in a
37 minutes Climbing Phase of One Climbing Lesson of Doug

	Pair Composition	% per Pair	% per Individual
Pair 1	2 girls	21	10
Pair 2	girl/boy	21	10
Pair 3	2 boys	21	10
Pair 4	2 boys	15	8
Pair 5	2 girls	23	12
TOTAL	10	101	50 x 2

Table 12b

The Incidence and Distribution of Interactions
as a Percentage of the Total Teacher Interaction in a
32 minutes Climbing Phase of One Climbing Lesson of Eddy

	Pair Composition	% per Pair	% per Individual
Pair A	2 girls	30	15
Pair B	2 girls	23	12
Pair C	1 boy/schoolteacher	9	5
Pair D	2 boys	16	8
Pair E	2 boys	21	11
TOTAL	10	99	51 x 2

It was this consideration for the safety of pupils, combined with Eddy and Dougs' teaching philosophy which created considerable activity and busyness within their classes, as is evident from Tables 11a and 11b. These tables show the incidence and distribution of encounters Doug and Eddy made with pupils during the climbing phase of their lessons which consisted of time periods of 37 minutes and 32 minutes respectively. These patterns of interaction were representative of those of other teachers during phase 5 of the first climbing lesson.[10]

Each interaction, recorded in the tables, represents a complete encounter between the teacher and a pupil of verbal and/or non-verbal type (as adjudged by the researcher).[11] The majority of both teachers' interactions, although not evident from the table, were face to face with individual pupils, either the belayer or the climber, rather than with the two pupils together. As we see from these tables, the teacher interacted frequently with all the pupils in the class. This can be more clearly shown if we look at the incidence and distribution of each teacher's interaction as a percentage of the total encounters each teacher has with individual pupils. The data shown in Tables 11a and 11b are displayed in this form in Tables 12a and 12b. The right hand columns of Tables 12a and 12b show the average percentage of the teachers' total encounters for each individual pupil of the pair.

Tables 12a and 12b show that Doug's maximum and minimum percentage of encounters with an individual pupil is 12% and 8% of all his interactions, whilst Eddy's maximum and minimum percentages of encounters with individual pupils are 15% and 8% of all his interactions. (The 5% in Table 12b represents Eddy's interaction with pair C which constitutes a teacher as well as a pupil. Since Mr. Kip was expected to monitor and interact with Sam this % is omitted.)

We can juxtapose these data with those interactions found in mainstream schooling.[12] Corbishley et al.(1981), for example, during one 40 minute portion of an individualised maths lesson involving 20 pupils, found the average maximum and minimum of teacher encounters per individual pupil was 2.8% and 1.7%

respectively of the teacher's total interaction (cited also in Ball 1984:27). Extrapolating these percentages to correspond to those which could be evident if the maths class consisted of ten pupils, a particular individual pupil could receive on average a maximum of 5.6% and the pupil receiving the least attention from the teacher would receive 3.4% of the teacher's total encounters with individual pupils.

In comparison, an individual pupil who experienced the most teacher encounters in Doug or Eddy's lesson (12% and 15% respectively), received more than twice the percentage of teacher interaction than any pupil in the individualised maths class referred to above. The individual pupils who interact least with the teacher in Doug or Eddy's lesson received (in both cases 8%), twice the amount of teacher interaction than did the individual pupil receiving least attention in the individualised maths class.

Further, if we juxtapose Eddy and Dougs' interaction in phase 5 of the lesson with average or 'typical' interaction patterns in primary 'progressive' classrooms derived from data from the Oracle project, we see again variation.[13] This 'typical' interaction pattern indicates that the majority of the pupil interactions with the teacher were as members of the whole class, only a small proportion (14.6%) of all interaction took place between pupil and teacher 'outside' of the process of class teaching.[14] Galton et al. (1980) points to the 'striking feature' which emerged from his data, that of 'the asymmetrical' nature of teacher/pupil encounters:

> Whilst the typical teacher spends most of the lesson time interacting with pupils (either individually, as a member of a group, or of the class) each individual pupil, by contrast interacts with the teacher for only a small proportion of his time. And most of that interaction is experienced by the pupil when the teacher is addressing the whole class.   Galton et al.(1980:60)

By contrast, in phase 5 of the prevously outlined lessons of Doug and Eddy, most teacher contacts were with individual pupils and the majority of pupil interactions with the teacher took place privately with the pupil on his/her own, rather than as a member of a group or class. The form of the interaction pattern evidenced in Doug and Eddy's lessons constituted a more personalised learning context

and suggests a more symmetrical teacher-pupil relationship than generally found in mainstream schools. That is to say, unlike the 'typical' pupil in the Oracle project who encountered the teacher infrequently and generally as a class or group member, a pupil in Eddy or Doug's class experienced a significantly greater degree of individual attention. The picture to emerge from the actions of Eddy and Doug was of an interaction pattern in which teacher-pupil relationships matched more closely the favoured total individualisation of the teaching-learning process recommended in the Plowden report (1967). Moreover, this picture suggests that teacher-pupil relationships in the lessons of Eddy and Doug were largely mutually contingent.

The individual pupil of the Oracle study interacted with the teacher for only a small portion of his/her time in class. Galton et al.(1980:61) point out that pupils in a 'typical' lesson received a paucity of individual attention from the teacher which amounted, on average, to one minute and twenty three seconds in a one hour session. This small amount of individual attention, Galton et al. found, was distributed roughly equally between the pupils although there appeared to be a tendency for boys to encounter the teacher slightly more often than girls. This latter evidence was, they stated, 'statistically non-significant' (ibid.:65). Recent interpretive studies of classroom interaction, in which the researcher remained within the classroom for more extensive periods of time, have shown evidence in which this is otherwise. Gender differentiated interaction is, like differential treatment based upon any other criteria, shown neither to be an insignificant feature of classroom life nor to make little difference to pupils' self image (Tickle 1983; Kelly 1985).

Numerous studies, which focused upon patterns of interaction in co-educational mainstream academic classrooms have revealed that boys reap more of the teachers' attention, in the form of instruction, praise and punishment, than do girls (see Martin 1972; Brophy and Good 1974; Deem 1980; Spender and Sarah 1980; Lundgren 1981; Stanworth 1983; Wilkinson and Marrett 1985; French 1986). Moreover, co-educational PE classrooms, which Leoman (1984) observed, exhibited

similarly gender differentiated interaction patterns to those found
in the academic classrooms. That boys received substantially more of
the teacher contact than girls, Stanworth (1983) suggested, had
implications for the ways in which both the boys and girls of her
study perceived themselves and each other. She proposed that,
consequently, boys are reluctant to associate or identify with girls
and frequently denigrate girls' abilities.

A salient feature at Shotmoor was the interaction patterns which
were displayed in the various Shotmoor teachers' classes. These
patterns were strikingly different from those evidenced in co-
educational classes in mainstream schools in terms of the ways in
which Shotmoor teachers distributed their attention amongst the boys
and girls. Returning to Tables 11a and 11b, we find that although
there are differences between Doug and Eddy in their interaction
patterns, and despite their differences in assumptions about girls'
behaviour, both teachers allocated their attention marginally in
favour of girls. The number of encounters which Doug made with the
boys and girls in his class were 18 and 21 respectively. Whilst Eddy
interacted with the boys and girls in his class 18 and 23 times
respectively. Crudely then 54% and 53% respectively of Doug and
Eddy's total interaction during phase 5 of their lesson was with the
girls in their class. Such patterns of interaction contrast markedly
with those typically found in co-educational classrooms in mainstream
schools. Not only in the climbing lessons described, but also in
many other lessons observed at Shotmoor, girls generally received an
equal or greater share of the teacher's time than boys. Moreover,
girls were generally found to be physically participating in an
activity for periods of time at least as long as, frequently longer
than, boys. Girls at Shotmoor, unlike in schools, were not
peripheral to the central focus of classroom life; they were brought
more actively into the learning experience. This significant change
in the pattern of interaction and in the teachers' use of time,
together with the forms of communication, has, as we will show
subsequently, important consequences for the ways in which individual
pupils perceived themselves, each other and their teachers.

These unusual interaction patterns evidenced in both Doug and Eddy's lessons may be explained with recourse to a number of interrelated factors. It is worth noting that Doug appeared to hold no less sexist assumptions than many teachers in mainstream schools (see Chapter 7). Comparing Tables 11a and 11b, we see that Doug appears to have distributed his attention more equally amongst the pupils than Eddy. This difference, between the patterns of Eddy and Doug, may be explained since the pair C, in Eddy's lesson, comprising a male school teacher who was working with a pupil, received a good deal less attention from Eddy than other pupils. As a result the teacher had more time available to spend amongst the remaining pairs. Eddy acknowledged that the school teacher was able, perhaps possessing the necessary skills and confidence, to work safely and independently with his partner.

In Doug's lesson, pair 4, consisting of two boys, encountered the teacher marginally less frequently than did the others in the class. Data from interviews, completed questionnaires and observation of these pupils in other lessons suggest they were committed to involvement in both school work and to sport. These two pupils appeared highly self-motivated and confident. Consequently, Doug assessed them as able to cope with the skills of climbing safely and more independently.

We might suppose that teachers such as Doug and Eddy, who appeared to adhere to a philosophy which placed the pupils' interest central in the learning process and in which the pupils' interest was considered to be the primary motivation (in both the pupils' and teachers' behaviour), might be expected (given the opportunity) to concentrate their attention on those pupils perceived to be the least confident, and who might require more encouragement. As Stanworth (1983) and others have pointed out, such pupils often tend to be girls, who possess lower self expectations than boys and generally underrate their abilities. The girls who attended Shotmoor were no exception in this respect (this will be evident in the penultimate chapter which focuses primarily upon pupils' perspectives).

Girls at Shotmoor, as elsewhere in various circumstances, perceived themselves, for the most part, as less competent than their male counterparts. Frequently, during observations of many lessons early in the week, girls appeared hesitant and could be heard repeatedly to retort, 'I can't do that.' Whereas, rarely was this a feature of boys' talk. It was assumed by the teachers that girls were often less confident than boys and as a result they were considered generally in need of, and thus frequently given, at least as much of the teacher attention as boys. This is illustrated in the following lesson taught by Chris.

Teacher-Pupil Interaction During Phase 5, the Climbing Phase of Lesson 1 Taught by Chris

The following lesson extract highlights the diffidence with which girls acted and their initial reluctance to fully participate in climbing phase of Lesson 1 of the climbing syllabus. The consequential allocation of time and the particular type of attention which the Shotmoor teacher, Chris, gave during this phase is discussed. Unlike the two climbing lessons referred to previously, the school teacher who is present, Mr. Bullworker, is an experienced teacher of climbing and he assisted in monitoring individual pupils and continually interacted with various members of the class. The availability of a competent teacher in the lesson enabled Chris greater opportunity to choose the way in which she distributed her attention. Portrayed in Table 3, Chapter 6, we see that phase 5 of Chris's lesson was 47 minutes, 10 and 15 minutes longer than the corresponding phases of Eddy and Doug respectively. During this phase, 22 minutes, almost 50% of this time was spent interacting with and monitoring the only two girls in the class of eight, Bella and Carol. The ensuing lesson extract (8.3/CL1/C/C5) portrays the lesson segment just prior to that segment reported in Chapter 6.

> The pupils have collected their equipment. Bella and Carol, both wearing helmet and jeans tend to be indistinguishable from each other and appear much the same as the others in the group. When Chris has checked each belayer, the pupils begin to climb. Chris asks the pupils to 'find a partner you trust'. Chris calls up to Bella who has reached the top of the climb, 'Oh my God.' Bella says, 'Where do I go to?' and Chris replies, 'She's got

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you, you'll be alright.' Carol belays Bella as she moves
down. Carol, turning to Chris says, 'I can't do it.'
Chris turns to BH and says in humour, 'Disaster isn't she?'
Chris reassures Bella as she climbs down and then moves
away to another group when Bella reaches the ground. Bella
asks Andy on another wall, 'How did you get on?' and
remarks, 'It's 'orrible coming down. I don't mind going
up, its coming down.'
Bella takes over belaying from Carol and Chris returns,
helping Bella to use the stitch plate. Carol starts
climbing and Bella calls, 'Tell us when you want more
rope.'
Chris leaves and Bella says, 'Do you like it?' 'No, I
don't', Carol replies. 'It's worse coming down,' says
Bella.
Chris returns and speaks with Carol. Carol replies, 'I
can't, my legs are like jelly.'
'Come to the edge honey', encourages Chris. She then turns
to Bella and talks quietly with her.
'Put your left foot on the ring,' Chris suggests to Carol.
'That's your right, dimmy,' laughs Bella. Chris helps
Bella with the belaying and again encourages Carol as she
climbs down. Chris then moves to another group. Carol
asks Bella for more rope, 'Can I have a lot more 'cause
I've got to make a big step now.'
Meanwhile at wall 5, Mr. Bullworker gestures as if to catch
Gary if he were to jump from the top. General laughter.
Carol reaches the ground and Chris shakes hands with her,
'Oh, you're down Carol, well done.' Chris moves over to
wall 5 where Gary is now 'practice' abseiling. Chris
says, 'Lean out, lean out,' whilst assisting Jeff who is
belaying.
A member of the staff arrives and talks with BH and Chris.
Chris talks with Bella who responds, 'I can't.' 'That's
your favourite catch phrase, 'I can't.' replies Chris.
Chris continues to encourage Bella while she climbs. Bella
says, 'Can I fall?' Chris says, 'Yes.' Carol holds Bella
with the rope when she falls. Chris tells Bella what to
do for the 'practice' abseil.
Bella then reaches the top. At wall 5 Mr. Bullworker,
belayed by Gary, has climbed the wall and 'practice'
abseils down.

The considerable amount of attention which the girls,

particularly Bella, received from Chris in this lesson, as in other

lessons, is remarked upon by Mr. Bullworker in relation to the amount

which she appeared generally to receive in school:

Probably because she's the weakest in the group. She
wouldn't get much shift from Rachel (Bella's PE teacher at
school). She'd think she was wet because she wasn't
interested in games.
(Mr. Bullworker, school PE teacher Wk8)

This substantial amount of attention paid to Bella might well have acted to constrain any opportunity for her to experience independence. However, this does not appear to be so, rather the form of interaction appears to have been more 'empowering' than inhibiting:

> They help you if you can't do it. They really help you do it, like I done climbing, I couldn't go any further - I'm glad she made me go further, it was alright after that ... she was trying to build your confidence, I think ... you don't get treated like babies. (Bella/Wk8/C5)

Not only the large amount of time given to the girls, but also the form of communication which appeared to place the pupil's frame of reference central suggested to Bella that she was considered to be equally worthy and capable of taking responsibility.

An exceptional case, however, did occur in which one girl rejected the attention and encouragement given to her by a male teacher. This incident is delineated in Appendix VIII.[15] This exceptional case highlights the possible ways in which a girl's frame of reference, influenced by her latent culture and the media's frequent representation of female as sex object[16], mediated the male teacher's attention in those terms. Rare cases like this underline the need to take account not only of the amount of time which the teacher allocates to a pupil, but also the localised meanings which are created and the ways in which the pupil interprets the form of communication which he or she encounters. Further, it suggests that some girls may more readily trust and be perhaps more responsive to a female teacher.

Patterns of interaction in which teacher-pupil interaction was more symmetrical and where girls were not neglected were found to prevail in the majority of lessons observed.[17] It was also evidently the case, on a number of occasions, that boys who appeared to be in difficulties for various reasons generally received a not unsubstantial amount of attention.[18] The opportunity for Shotmoor teachers to more equally allocate their time and on occasions concentrate on those least confident pupils, it may well be argued, may have been due to few 'disruptive' pupils attending the centre or to such pupils who did attend being particularly predisposed towards this form of physical activity. This could be inferred from the

observational data of the lessons in which few disciplinary types of teaching encounters were apparent. However, not all the pupils attending Shotmoor were defined by their school teacher as 'good' pupils at school. As we see from this comment, 'Lisa, she's been suspended from school twice.' Another pupil was pointed out (to the researcher) as having spent the previous week in the school's 'sin-bin'. (See also the reference made to Colin in Chapter 6.) Clearly, pupils attending Shotmoor were not representative only of those pupils who were considered to be the best behaved or most physically or academically able in mainstream schools. Neither 'ability' nor 'good' pupil status achieved in mainstream schools are thus sufficient to explain the levels of commitment shown by most pupils to the form and content of knowledge and skills made available at Shotmoor(See Chapter 10).

Analyses of the surface features of teacher interaction in the observed lessons suggest that communication in the Shotmoor context, in the majority of cases, was different from that generally found in conventional mainstream school classrooms. Lortie (1975), Woods (1979, 1983) and Beynon (1985) are amongst the many who highlight the apparent conflict occurring in schooling.   Furthermore, the PE lessons recorded on video by Anderson (1978) in America were found to be didactic in form and to contain little teacher praise or empathy (cf.Anderson and Barrette 1978:48). However, Cook (1985) does offer evidence to suggest that PE classrooms can contain, in some cases, empathetic properties of interaction. Properties of teacher talk which constituted the surface features of communication in the majority of lessons observed at Shotmoor, revealed a high incidence of praise and encouragement which was given to both boys and girls.

Considered cautiously, teacher interaction recorded as examples of praise, encouragement, help, etc., may constitute rough indicators of the deep structures of communication engendered by teachers within the Shotmoor context. These data ,however, can only be employed alongside the interpretative data which emerged from the exploration of teachers' and pupils' perspectives. Without an explication of the 'indexicalities' of the occasion and a shared understanding of the situation, the ways in which different actors made sense of the

messages conveyed through interaction and the meanings so accomplished and the manner of their accomplishment cannot be uncovered. This is evidently so, as we saw both from the preceding lesson extracts and accounts and Appendix VIII. The meanings and intentions underpinning the actions referred to briefly in the final segment of the preceding lesson extract (8.3/CL1/C/C5) are of interest in this respect:

> Mr. Bullworker, belayed by Gary, has climbed the wall and practice abseils down.

Mr. Bullworker describes the circumstances leading up to this event and gives his explanation of why it occurred and the meanings which were constituted through the various members' actions:

> I had been helping at the bottom and after everyone had had their go, Gary said to me, 'Do you want a go then, Sir?' When I said O.K. he said, 'I'll take you up then, Sir.' The fact that we'd talked down Jeff in tears, with Gary doing the belaying, made Gary feel confident in what he was doing and made him feel he could manage other situations. He felt the knowledge and technique he had could handle the situation. It could have been for a laugh or to bring the teacher into the situation. It could have been a challenge (to my authority) but I don't think so.
> (Mr. Bullworker)

Gary's account suggests there was a high degree of mutual understanding between Mr. Bullworker and himself about that event.

> BH: What do you like best?
> Gary: Cycling.
> BH: What about climbing?
> Gary: Uhm, that's alright but it gives you the shivers when you're at the top coming down.
> BH: You get nervous in climbing then do you?
> Gary: It's alright going up, but coming down, that's the bad bit, when you got to go over the ledge.
> BH: Yeh, 'cause - were you holding somebody who got very nervous?
> Gary: Yeh, he started crying.
> BH: So what did you do?
> Gary: I uhm, Mr. Bullworker just told him he wasn't goin' to get no dinner. So he came down. (Laughter)
> BH: I see, you got Mr. Bullworker to climb didn't you?
> Gary Yeh.
> BH: What did you do, did you ask him to or did he want to?

> Gary: Well, he got all geared up but he wasn't goin' up,
> like, so I just said, 'I'll hold you while you go
> up.' 'cause he wasn't goin' up 'till we'd all been
> up. But it was only an easy one so he went up and I
> held him.

This was not an isolated event. Increased discretion on the
part of a pupil in relations with their school teacher was observed
on a number of occasions, most frequently during climbing lessons.
This was referred to by Bill. He makes this point in relation to the
free abseil, part of lesson 3 of the climbing syllabus.

> It's amazing, the kids don't appear to take in what I'm
> saying but when their school teacher came up, who hasn't
> done it, they explained to him in great detail. (To enable
> their school teacher to participate with them.) (Bill/Wk2)

From these accounts, we see that the school teacher's control
over meaning was, in some way, more relaxed than in mainstream
schools (see Edwards and Furlong 1978:142). The school teachers
appeared to respond to what the pupils suggested and almost in some
cases to exchange 'roles' with their pupils in the learning
situation.

The particular organisational, material and social features at
Shotmoor which fostered, in many cases, a more symmetrical
teacher-pupil relationship appeared to also provide for a process of
're-contextualising'. By this, I mean that activities, meanings and
social relationships, and the ways in which these interrelate, in
certain learning situations at Shotmoor, perhaps acted to refocus and
redefine those procedures and performances acquired through the
process of formal education made available in mainstream schooling.

Processes of differentiation embedded in communication and
mediated through classroom interaction are complex indeed. I have
suggested that it is not merely a matter of who receives the most or
least of the teacher's attention nor what constitutes the surface
features of these interactions, but rather the form of these
encounters, the ways in which pupils mediate them, and the deep
structures of relations and identity created therein which are
paramount.

THE CONSTITUTION OF 'REALITY' WITHIN LESSONS

In part, this chapter provides, in a sense, a more 'formal foundation' to the conventional ethnographic descriptive analyses presented elsewhere in this thesis.[1] It tries to pinpoint, through loosely applying a form of ethnomethodological analysis to selected short extracts of lesson observations, how teachers, in the ongoing process of lesson production, created for themselves and the pupils what were, on that occasion, relevant relationships and images.[2] This allows for an exploration of the manner by which 'appropriate' forms of interaction and behaviour were accomplished by different teachers through the ways in which concepts such as safety, responsibility, independence and order were made available and accessible to members constituting that event.

The interpretation of the accomplishment of meaning, within the subsequently proffered speech acts and communicative events, is made from my position as a 'competent' member both familiar with but estranged from the contextual situation of the happenings.[3] By reason of this, I propose to make explicit the taken-for-granted and indexical features of communication which gave meaning to the 'hidden' and overt messages (both intended and unintended) accomplished in the subtle and complex process by which 'reality' was created and defined on that particular occasion.[4]

Giddens (1984) underlines the covert identification which solicits individuals when they interact in particular contexts:

> Social interaction refers to encounters in which individuals engage in situations of co-presence, and hence to social integration as a level of the 'building blocks' whereby the institutions of social systems are articulated ...
> Interaction depends upon the 'positioning' of individuals in the time-space contexts of activity. Social relations concern the 'positioning' of individuals within a 'social space' of symbolic categories and ties. Rules involved in social positions are normally to do with the specification of rights and obligations relevant to persons having a particular social identity, or belonging in a particular social category... They may ... be tacitly followed rather than discursively formulated.   (Giddens 1984:89)

Like Edwards and Furlong (1978 and 1983), Giddens highlights the
inseparability of the form of communication from the structure of
social relations within which and by which interaction occurs.[5] Payne
(1976) uncovers, in analyses of a half minute lesson extract, the ways
in which the taken-for-granted communication enacted within the
classroom re-identified and constituted the category and the status of
'teacher' in relation to that of 'pupil'. He shows how, through the
use of members' 'methodic' practices and their common cultural
understandings, the situation is constructed as the beginning of a
school lesson. Through an analysis of the teacher's talk, Payne shows
how the teacher had brought about and provided for his recognition as
the member in charge in that situation. Torode (1976), by a similar
style of analysis, draws comparisons between order and disorder which
were created in the lessons of two teachers who used talk differently,
such that their speech constituted their actions and contributed
towards the constitution of order or chaos in their respective
lessons.

To illuminate the ways in which order, relations and images were
accomplished within Shotmoor, I have identified properties of
communication which emerged from the data and which I propose
constitute five categories of teaching approach. The Shotmoor teachers
from whose lessons the extracts are taken, did not exclusively
manifest only those properties of communication associated with the
analytical category into which such properties are slotted, but rather
such properties appeared the main features of their perceptions of,
and relationships with, pupils on that occasion. All the teachers
did, to varying degrees and at various times, exhibit properties which
could be considered to belong to any other category. Nevertheless, I
shall profile those properties of communication which, during the
period of the field study, appeared the most prominent and consistent.
(However, not until later analyses of the observational and other data
sources did all the features of the properties of communication fully
emerge (see chapter 11).) The intention is not to identify particular
teachers who represented particular teaching approaches but rather to
explore the differing forms of communication which constituted
'reality' for and by those actors, on those occasions.

Where possible, I have chosen to present selected extracts of teacher-pupil interaction from Lesson 1 of the climbing syllabus which, for the most part, is drawn from the predominantly whole class teaching phases (1 to 4) of that lesson. The formal content of the syllabus and its sequencing, as I have shown, were remarkably similar from week to week and for different teachers. The divergent forms of communication were more readily identifiable when formal content and procedural variables remained relatively constant. In addition, in some cases, extracts from other subject lessons are included as further examples highlighting features and properties of different communicative forms. Accordingly, the subsequent lesson observations are analysed for a number of features: How particular forms of communication accomplished order and thereby constituted control or independence on particular occasions. The ways by which pupils' frames of reference were 'positioned' and understood, and the manner of reception and transmission of affective properties of interaction.

Features associated with the nature of control evidenced in the different manner by which teachers communicated were identified to constitute three analytical categories which I shall label X, Y and Z.

In the first category (X), the properties of communication provided for the internalisation of 'behavioural rules' which brought about an implicit understanding and awareness of self in relation to concern for members co-present. That is, a reflexive awareness was accomplished. Pupil responsibility was fostered and the boundaries between 'teacher' and 'pupil' categories and between specific 'pupil' categories were weakened. Possibilities were opened up through the teachers' positive expectations of and trust in the pupils. Personal relationships between pupils were fostered which provided for their constitution as a source of support, order and motivation.

In the second category (Y), the properties of communication accomplished the recognition of the teacher as person in authority over the pupils. The 'rules of behaviour' were imposed by the teacher and little explication for their maintenance was evidenced. The use of imperatives resting upon the authority vested in the teacher provided for responsibility being localised in an external source, the teacher. A more subtle form of communication was identified in this

category, which did not exhibit explicit imperatives but which ultimately provided for recognition of the final responsibility resting in the teacher. When these properties of communication were exhibited the possibilities for action brought about through pupils' own decision making were limited and constrained. The boundaries between 'teacher' and 'pupil' categories were maintained to varying degrees.

In the third category (Z), the properties of communication provided for the recognition of 'rules of behaviour' which were external to both teacher and pupil. Rules were manifested and emphasised through their necessity for safety in action. The reasons lying behind such rules were elucidated in terms of the risk of accidents to both teacher and pupils. Boundaries between teacher and pupil were frequently superceded by recourse to external 'commonsense' rules. Those properties which were identified in subcategories X and Z were those which featured most prominently in the observed lessons.

Diverse forms of communication provided for and identified the positioning of 'teacher' in relation to the pupil frames of reference. The predominant forms of communication provided for the centrality of pupils' frames of reference in interaction at Shotmoor. However, the manner by which teachers attempted to make lessons meaningful to individual pupils brought with it implicit and explicit messages about 'abilities' and gendered behaviours, and depended not only upon teacher's own perception and understanding of individual pupils and how they (the teachers) might enter into each pupil's frame of meaning, but also upon teachers' perception and interpretation of gender societal type-scripts. The processes by which teachers tried to make their lessons accessible and meaningful to individual pupils contained features which were constituted broadly into three categories, which I shall label S, T and U.

Firstly, in category (S), the teacher tried to understand individual pupils and assumed that pupils often identified their abilities in gender terms. The teacher understood that pupils were influenced in their understanding of their capabilities by the societal type-scripts available to them. The forms of communication, both verbal and non-verbal, public and private, provided for the

weakening of boundaries between 'boy' and 'girl' and other constructed categories. Expectations were high for all individuals and there was potential for each pupil to 'realise their capabilities'.

Secondly, category (T), the teacher appeared to assume inherent gender differences in behaviour, interest and expectations and thereby different and differentiating forms of interaction were explicitly used to make the situation meaningful to either 'boy' or 'girl'. Therefore, the ways in which the teacher attempted to motivate boys and girls drew upon stereotypical versions of gender. Gender boundaries appeared to be maintained through the verbal communication. Girls were not, however, marginalized but given equal if not more attention than boys (see Chapter 8).

In the Third category (U), the teacher assessed individual pupils and assumed that most pupils underestimated their capabilities. The teacher did not draw upon an understanding of the effects which gender societal type-scripts, embodied in pupils' frames of reference, may have had upon girls' aspirations or indeed, in some cases, upon boys' self esteem. Boys' and girls' frames of reference appeared to be similarly perceived. The form of communication, public or private, did not recognise categories 'boy' or 'girl'. That is to say, differences in self images and self appraisal between boys and girls were not appreciated. On occasions, the communication provided for boundary weakening of gender categories but on rare occasions it brought about some resistance from girls. Subdivisions within this category were identified in which affective properties were (a) sympathetically acknowledged, received and transmitted or (b) in which they were ignored or rejected.

Analytically, categories X Y Z may be perceived as representing regulative communicative forms whilst categories S T U as representing instructional communicative forms. Moreover, gender construct is a central interlinking dimension . Regulative and instructional communicative forms are inexorably linked experientially.[6] The matrix (Model 3) attempts to illustrate , albeit simplistically, by profiling the various properties of communication identified from the

Matrix portraying regulative and instructional (motivational)
properties of communication (communicative forms)
evidenced in the teaching approaches adopted, on occasions, at Shotmoor

	Regulative communicative forms		
	X	Y	Z
	Collaborative rules internal	Divisive rules vested in teacher's authority	Collaborative rules externalised in safety
	interpersonal	positional	interpersonal
Instructional communicative forms			
S. Societal type scripts appreciated as inhibiting and challenged	TC TE		
			TB
T. Stereotypical notions of gender and ability assumed, seen as meaningful and appropriate		TD	
U. All pupils expected to react in the same way to the same forms of communication	TA (embryonic)	TL	

Model 3

     This model profiles the forms of communication which were
evident from the data and which may arise in any teaching approach. It
is an elaboration on the central element in Model 2, p97 (see
pp.264,265) The insertion of teachers A, B, C, D, E and L, whose
lesson extracts are protrayed in the subsequent sections, are
positioned solely on the identification of particular properties of
communication which were evident in the extracts. It must be clearly
understood that no teacher's approach conformed in all situations to
any particular typology.

observational data, the principles of control underpinning the
particular pedagogic encounters at Shotmoor. It portrays , albeit
frozen in time, the dialectic through which the localised frame
factors for Shotmoor were realised in classroom interaction (see p.265).
Features of five teaching approaches evidenced on occasions in the
lessons of various Shotmoor teachers are outlined.These features are
delineated subsequently through recourse to extracts from the lessons
of teachers A B C D E and L.

        The forms of communication and the ways in which pupils were
perceived to 'make sense' of the embedded messages in a number of
lessons are the concern of the subsequent discussion. Here, through
the inspection of 'original data' and by making teachers' methods of
'practical reasoning' the topic for inquiry access is given to the
researcher's methods and analyses. Nevertheless, these analyses are
only partially illuminative if they are not also informed by pupils'
perceptions of their experiences. Pupils' views specific to the
teaching categories identified in the ensuing sections form the latter
part of this chapter.

Eddy's 'Reality'
        This first climbing lesson (10.1/CL1/E/N1), which is outlined in
Tables 3 and 4 (chapter 6), was Eddy's initial encounter with the
class. To begin with, four girls and five boys, along with their male
school teacher, gathered together in a group around Eddy who then
indicated the equipment they needed and explained its function:
                Make sure it's (the Karabiner) screwed up, someone's life
                might be in your hands'.
Almost immediately Eddy had pointed out to the pupils their
responsibility for each other's wellbeing, through and by establishing
the importance of the procedures associated with the correct and safe
use of the equipment.The pupils then equipped themselves, whilst Eddy
mingled amongst them answering questions and offering help. One girl
presented herself in a manner which seemed to the researcher an
attempt to establish a less than competent image, to act out a
'feminine' type-script. However, Eddy found her self presentation
unacceptable, redefining and transforming it through his suggestion
that she was, in fact, capable in this particular situation.

Gathering the pupils around him again, Eddy discussed different
aspects of climbing, pointing out how the rope is secured and giving
reasons for the wearing of helmets. He then demonstrated how to
climb, making the following utterance:

> When we start climbing we don't climb (just) on our toes.
> Keep your toes facing inwards .

'Repairing' this speech act, it could be taken by the members present
to mean: I am not telling you to climb but suggesting we are sharing
this experience. In so doing we can perform the action in a
particular manner.

We can argue that Eddy was establishing the collaborative nature
of the event. However, both Payne (1976) and Torode (1976) have shown
that the teacher's use of 'we', in the extracts taken from the
classrooms of their studies, did not negate the teacher's positional
authority, but rather it provided for the identification of 'teacher'
and 'pupil' 'operatives'. Payne shows how through the use of 'we',
the teacher had provided for his recognition as the member present who
has power over those co-present. He had provided for his recognition
as the member in charge in this situation, as the 'teacher'.

In every climbing lesson taught by every teacher, the ways in
which one pupil could protect their partner from a fall through the
use of the climbing rope was explained and demonstrated. Eddy
approached this phase of the lesson through the use of questions, as
did many of the other teachers. He asked the pupils what might
happen in certain situations and how they thought they might deal with
potentially dangerous predicaments. He believed that, in this lesson
phase, the pupils 'have to think a bit', but that,'I have to prompt
them sometimes'. Having discussed this aspect of the lesson and
established an understanding of safety, Eddy proceeds towards the
final phase of the lesson, where pupils worked more independently of
the teacher:

> O.K., all know what we're doing then? Don't climb till
> I've checked you out.

Again we see an expression of the collaborative nature of the
situation. The speaker can be heard to be cueing those present into a
collaborative project. At this point, the teacher visibly relin-
quished control into the hands of the pupils. The pupils were given

physical responsibility to maintain their own and their partner's safety. On this occasion, it can be argued that the teacher was collaborating in enabling pupils to take responsibility for their own action apparently independent of the teacher. The pupils, both boys and girls, in this situation, at that moment in time, I am suggesting, received messages concerning their own abilities, and those of other members present, to handle potentially dangerous situations and to take responsibility for each other's wellbeing. The change from whole class MOT to individual MOT was a feature of every Lesson 1 of the climbing syllabus and involved a considerable symbolic and actual shift in control from teacher to pupils. However, not all the different subject lessons called for this degree of independent responsibility from the pupils themselves. Skiing was for some pupils a frightening experience, but one which did not necessarily by its nature, demand their independence or facilitate collaboration between pupils.

The following, then, explores the 'reality' accomplished within Eddy's first encounter with a class of ten year olds from designated educational priority area (EPA) schools, during week 1 of the field study. This was the first meeting of Eddy and Alan with this lively group of pupils who were anticipating their first ski lesson. Two class groups consisting of twenty pupils were busily engaged in fitting themselves with ski boots and chattering amongst themselves. Some pupils had problems; boots were put on the wrong feet with clips on the inside and some boots were too large. After about fifteen minutes in which Eddy and Alan wandered around helping individual pupils and responding to their questions, Eddy calmly and in a kindly manner explained to all the excited pupils why they should listen to what was said. He began:

11   One of the reasons we are here is to learn to look after
        ourselves.(1) Listen to what is said, then we will know
        what to do.(2) I've had to show ten people how to do their
        boots up.(3) If we'd all listen, we would be on the slope
        sooner.(4)

Payne (1976) has shown that a sense can be provided for an utterance through the membershipping of those co-present as hearers, through the recognition of the two membership categories as elements

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of a standardised relationship pair. Moreover, in the context of mainstream schools, 'teacher' and 'pupil' are the readily available categories for membershipping persons.

Now, referring to segment (1) of Eddy's utterance (communicative event 11 above) , I suggest that the speech act provides for the permeation of the boundary constituting this taken-for-granted category membership of 'teacher' in relation to the category 'pupil'. Since, the object of the speech act is also its subject. That is to say, the agent of the activity is the 'we' which constitutes and provides for the 'looking after' of 'ourselves'. The utterance does not provide for the identification of a membership category 'teacher' being in the position to make impositions upon a category 'pupils' co-present. Rights, obligations and expectations are transferred to 'we', 'ourselves' as the hearers. In a sense, we can argue that Eddy is constituting the other members' (the pupils') frames of reference as central to, and agents of, some future activity. I suggest that Eddy is heard to be cueing the hearers into a future collaborative project in which those co-present are not category-bounded as 'teacher' or 'pupil'. Furthermore, he has justified to his listeners why 'we' are in that particular setting. Justification of action is not generally an obligation associated with membershipping of 'teacher' categories, but rather with the membershipping of 'pupil'. Now, furthermore, we can suggest that these utterances can be understood not as stating the usual or obvious, but rather as drawing attention to 'remarkable' features of the occasion (Garfinkel and Sacks 1970 cited in Hester 1985).

The usual situation or 'norm' which Eddy invokes as a background is 'not here', which might be 'in situations generally' or more specifically 'in school'. The 'norm' or appropriate 'rule' which functions as the category bound activity to be learnt might be in those circumstances 'to write', 'to obey commands'. We might 'repair' utterance (1) to highlight the 'remarkable' features:- We are here, and not in school, not to learn to obey commands or to learn a range of specified localised knowledge and skills but to develop greater independence and self understanding.

Further extracts of the same lesson exemplify the ways in which Eddy constitutes particular messages concerning appropriate behaviour of and relationships between members co-present. Embedded in these messages are the 'rules' which express and delineate the boundaries and limits of acts of members and the associated rights, obligations and expectations which identify members, and to which they make identifications, in the context of Eddy's lesson. Thus the process whereby frames of meaning or 'rule frames' are constituted within Eddy's lesson is exposed and made a topic for discussion. The subsequent communicative events and occurrences are continuations of lesson (1.1/SK1/E/C1), referred to previously. They portray a number of features of interactions.

17 TE (2 girls, Pr)[7]:   You're not sisters are you?
18 (C)[8]   Look at those girls, they are lined up already.
19 (individual girl, Pr):   Looks as though the girls are better than the boys at this.
20 (C):   Now go towards Jack's way.
21 TE praises various pupils and then demonstrates to the whole class how to use their sticks to get up if they fall over.
22 TE (C):   Lads you are a bit close together.
23 Mandy (Debbie):   Go on just fall.
24 TE helps Serena to stand up.
25 Donna (TE):   Help me up.
26 Richard explains to Darren how to stand up, whilst TE helps some of the other pupils.
27 Richard physically helps Darren to stand up.
2.29
28 TE (C):   If someone falls over give them a hand to get up.
30 TE: Well done girls. Come on lads don't let them beat you.
31 TE (boy):   Where are you going?
32 Debbie calls to Ms Eves who has just arrived with Mr Frank: Miss it's hard.
34 TE: OK girls off you go.
35 He catches Debbie as she is just about to disappear from sight. Mandy falls over.
36 Aaron (shouts to no-one in particular): I did it, I did it.
37 TE (Aaron, pr):   Didn't you fall over.
38 Aaron: No.
39 TE: Good lad.
40 TE (another pupil):   Stand up, well done.
41 Eddy continues to encourage and help individual pupils. In order to get Jack up the slope he holds his hands and moves up with him. (*Jack appeared to have considerable difficulties with the activity).[9]
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*
52 Jack (TE):            You taking us next?
53 TE:                   Yes
54 Richard (TE):         I'm coming here with my family.
55 Jack is sitting on the ground attempting unsuccessfully to
removed his skis.  TE goes over and assists.
```

Every encounter which Eddy, or any other teacher teaching
skiing, makes with pupils is such as to be visible to all the members
co-present and to be visibly accessible to outsiders. When the teacher
is not addressing the class as a whole he or she interacts with an
individual pupil or group of pupils. In this MOT particular
communications may be received publicly or privately (face to face).
When an interaction between a teacher and an individual or group of
pupils is made available publicly, it draws attention to that
individual pupil, to the ways in which the teacher appears to perceive
that pupil and to his or her forms of communication which he or she
uses with that pupil (or group of pupils).

The private encounter 17 acts to make identification for the
girls, drawing upon their everyday knowledge. It establishes through
the use of familial category pairing their images and relations as
'girl'. This constitutes, I suggest, a weakening between the
educational environment in which the girls find themselves and their
common sense 'community' knowledge. It provides for the acknowledge-
ment and centring of their frames of reference, in this context.

Utterance 20 directs the members co-present to attend to where
Jack is situated and to move towards him. It recognises Jack as being
a person co-present without identifying 'ability' (later we see a
different form of communication in which (dis)ability is exposed). The
obligations to which the teacher himself is subject, through his
visible actions, are verbally reinforced as ones to which members
co-present are also expected to recognise and respond. That is to
say, utterance 28 then, drawing upon the preceding actions of members
co-present (event 27) provides for the establishment and legitimation
of support and assistance between members.

Communicative events 36-39 accomplish acceptance of a member's
undirected speech act which expresses satisfaction and, drawing upon
this expression, accomplishes recognition and reinforcement of
personal achievement.

In order to highlight properties of differing forms of communication which are the prevailing features of two categories of teaching approach I shall juxtapose the preceding extracts of Eddy's encounters in the ski lesson with extracts from Len's lesson with the same case study group of pupils. This juxtaposition is used to illuminate the properties of differing forms of communication and contrast the alternative forms of motivation adopted.

Len's 'Reality'

The following extracts from the ski lesson (1.4/SK3/L/C1) is Len's first and only encounter with the case study pupils who were referred to in the preceding discussion. The observations were recorded on the afternoon of the third day of the pupils' visit at the centre and during their final ski lesson. The empirical analyses which follow illustrate the ways in which Len operationalized the power and authority 'commonsensically' invested in 'teacher' and how he accomplished a relationship in which the category 'pupil' was subordinate to 'teacher'. The communicative form which provides for this positioning of 'teacher' in relation to 'pupil' is that most frequently reported in lessons in mainstream school (see Payne 1976; Hustler and Payne 1983; Hammersley 1977b;Ball et al. 1983 etc.). The pupils in these reported lessons are expected to move into the teacher's frame of reference.

```
3.10
1.    TL:          How long are we going to take.  Who's going to
                   be last?
2.    TL talks to TF, ignores group.
3.    TL:          Is there any of this group on the slope?
Mr Payne assisting.
3.14
4.    Come on everybody, jump up and down, get yourself warmed up.
Group splits up to go up slope.
5.    TL:          I said, green line.
6.    All group across slope coming down practising snowplough.
7.    TL (Jason): No, that's not a snowplough.
Aaron falls.
8.    TL:          Back up and try again.
9.    TL (Tim):    Let me see you go down.
FD
10.   TL (C):      Sticks there.  When I say sticks to anyone
                   I mean there.
11.   TL:          Where are your gloves?
12.   TL (Tim):    That's good.
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13.   TL (Jack):   I'm watching you, come on, move. Your're not
                    up there yet. Come on, move. Forward,
                    forward (taps Jack with stick and moves up
                    with him). Onto mat, onto mat.
14.   TL (C):   Now this time, when you get down to the
                    bottom, I want everyone to wait.
15.   TL attends Jack, who does snowplough down.
16.   TL collects class together but says to Jack, go and do
that again.
17.   Pupils practising snowplough on mats.
18.   Pupils move along slope.
19.   Jack falls.
20.   TL: Well done.
21.   TL (Jack): Come on Jack.
22.   TL shouts at Jack to get into correct position (Jack
falls) and then goes up to him and explains what to do.
23.   TL:(Tapping mat.) On your mat.
24.   TL (Jack): Push on your sticks.
TL uses no physical contact.
Still near to Jack and helping him quietly.
TL: Try again.
Jack gets down.
TL: Well done.
25.   TL shouts: Jack, I want you to do that again.
Jack has fallen over.
26.   Tim goes over to help Jack.
27.   TL (Tim):   Come on tosh.
3.32
Jack appears to be nearly crying.
BH had to leave group.10
BH returns.
3.53
48.   TL (Jack): No, down the slope, wider apart, go and try.
Jack, you haven't done a snowplough. Try a straight snowplough.
(Jack has an almighty crash.) TL goes over. Jack seems OK.
3.49
(*No laughter or jokes.)
49.   Lad falls. Silence. TL goes over and picks him up.
50.   TL: I don't want to see anybody above this green
                    line.
Girl falls.
(*Not a lot of praise.)
51.   Mr Payne: Good, Jack, smashing.
Mr Payne goes to pick him up.
53.   TL (C):   Four at a time. Now you four can go from red
                    line. Groups of four going down.
(*Far less individual contact with pupils.)
4.06
54.   Mr Payne not acting independently, but helping pupils
when they fall.
55.   TL not saying anything.
56.   Mr Payne appears to make a gesture of amazement about
TL's interaction.
57.   TL does snowplough turns, runs from near the top.

58.　　Jack goes from high up and manages without falling.
Nobody says well done.

In this lesson the numbers of pupils physically participating at
any one time were high in comparison with other ski lessons observed.
There was a greater number of communications which were imperative in
nature.　Interpersonal communications were few and the acceptance of
feelings was comparatively negligible.

Utterance 1 appears as rhetorical not to be heard as a question
but rather acts both as an assessment of pupil actions and a command.
We can 'repair' the utterance so:- We are taking too long. Hurry up.
Who is going to be the last person. It provides for the identifica-
tion of the pupil not complying with the teacher's request.

The communication embodied in utterances 4-11 is impersonal and
imperative in form.　Although the teacher is drawing attention to
'incorrect' execution of a skill, he does not make available
information which might enable the pupils to perceive and understand
the problem and from which they can draw upon to improve their skills.
Communicative event 13 acts to bring to the attention of members
co-present the problems and difficulties which Jack is experiencing.

The form of communication is not supportive but accomplishes
Jack's humiliation.　Not only is the communicative form devoid of
affective properties, it is also imperious in nature.　Jack's
difficulty is further highlighted to his peers in the subsequent
events 15-20.　He is expected to try harder without being given
instructions as to how he can 'do better'.　The communication does not
make available the 'tools' from which Jack can draw support.　Events
26 and 27 deride another pupil's attempt to offer help to Jack.　If we
'repair' utterance 27 it performs to accomplish divisiveness:- You
are not to help him up, he can do it himself.　Come away from him.

Caring, supportive relations are not fostered in this form of
communication, it does not acknowledge the affective properties
embedded in the attempted inter pupil interaction.

The subsequent lesson extracts (9.3/CL/L/C6) again exemplify the
divisive and denigrating nature of this particular form of communica-
tion.　The teacher has pointed out the platform 50 feet above the
ground from which the pupils will undertake a free abseil.

1.57
4. Ian (TL):   I'm not going off there.
5. TL (Ian):   It's not as high as it looks, come and have a
              look.
6. The teacher, Ian and four others pupils go to the top of
the abseil platform.
2.28
30. Ian is still sitting at the top of the platform 31 minutes
later after the others have all gone down.
31. TL (Kevin): Give Ian your sling.
32. Shaun is attached to the rope and abseils. Teacher
encourages.
33.
2.30
Trevor and Paul have been sent up to Ian by Mr Mind their
school teacher to try to encourage Ian.
34. Paul (Ian): Go down now.
35. TL shouts: You two, go down and do some climbing like
              you've been told.
*
*
*

2.45
47. Ian goes over to TL on the platform.
48. TL talks to Ian.
49. Mr Mind sends Kevin and Shaun away from watching Ian.
2.58
50. Ian reaches the ground. (TL has spent 13 minutes talking
to Ian to get him to take action.)
51. BH (Ian, Pr.): Would you do that again?
52. Ian (BH, Pr.): No never, I'm not doing that.

Later, on the same day, whilst queueing at the drinks machine, a boy
from another class comments to Ian:

You couldn't do the abseil.
Ian: Yeh.
BH: Yeh, he was OK.
Ian: Yeh, I did it after a while, but I shit
                myself.
          (9.3/Break/Ian/C6)

The extracts from the lesson present an absence of affective

properties of communication. Interpupil support was rejected. Ian's

emotional state was apparently disregarded and his own decisions were

overridden. Ian was expected to experience the abseil irrespective of

his wish to do so. He was subjected to the emotional and double

indignity of 'failing', not only in his own perspective but also in

the eyes of his peers. The teacher's persistence highlighted Ian's

reluctance which was thereby brought to the attention of many other

pupils. Ian was subjugated to an external imposition apparently

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without awareness of and concern for the possible implications which this manner of communication may have had for his self esteem. Ian's interpretations are included later in this chapter.

Alan's 'Reality'

The ensuing extract (2.3/CLI/A/4) is derived from Lesson 1 of the climbing syllabus taught by Alan in the second week of the field study. Its temporal framing is outlined in Table 3, Chapter 6. Alan had encountered these pupils, five boys and five girls, on a number of occasions prior to this lesson, during that week.

1.   Ms Biggs arrived and asked Alan if she could participate
TA: Yeh, join in.
2.15
2.14 After the equipment was collected by the pupils, Alan gathered them around himself and explained how easy it was to balance and walk along a narrow ledge only six inches off the ground. This same ledge, he suggested, 20 feet from the ground, would be technically just as easy to walk along, but apprehension would make it appear a much more difficult feat of skill.   (*General feeling of calm and quiet.)
3.20
15.   The pupils along with Ms Biggs practise traversing the lower sections of the walls.
18.   Theresa: I'm scared.
3.30
23.   TA commented in a friendly way to various pupils and then
24.   asked the class a question. Sue tried to respond but was interrupted by the others.
25.   TA: Shush, let's hear Sue
26.   Alan then asked Rose, the biggest girl in the class, to attach herself to the end of the top rope. The remainder of the class stood watching and listening.
27.   TA: Do you feel all right, Rose?
28.   Rose: No.
29.   TA: What do you want?
30.   Rose: A crash mat.
31.   TA: Perhaps you want someone on the other end of the rope? Right Ted.
Ted was the smallest pupil in the class.
32.   Rose: I don't want Ted.
33.   TA: Why not?
34.   Rose: He's too small.
35.   TA attached Ted to the ground by a short tape. Ted held in his hand the other end of the rope to which Rose was attached.
36.   TA: How do you feel about that now, Rose?
37.   Rose: I'm not sure.
38.   TA: How do you feel Ted?
39.   Rose: Put the rope round your waist (to Ted).

40.　TA explained the way in which a stitch plate could be used
to hold a falling person. Three pupils were then asked to pull
on the other end of the rope in order to demonstrate that Ted
could hold, with the stitch plate, quite a considerable weight.
45.　TA:　　　　Don't let go of the rope, Sod's law says
　　　　　　　　that if you let go some one will fall off.
Rose began to climb.
46.　TA:　　　　If Rose decides to jump, you can hold her
　　　　　　　　(with the rope).
47:　TA:　　　　Split into groups, decide who's going to climb
　　　　　　　　first and who's going to belay. Don't climb
　　　　　　　　till I've checked. (*Creating general feelings
of possibilities.)
3.47
52.　TA then explained the meaning of tight rope and slack
rope.
53.　TA　:　　　　Your job is to hold tight. It is someone's
　　　　　　　　life on the end of that.
 TA talked with Ms Biggs who was belaying Sue and then to Yvonne.
56.　TA (Yvonne):Your job, Yvonne, is to watch she's doing
　　　　　　　　that properly.
81.　At the end of the lesson TA pointed out Sue to the boys:
　　　　　　　　Look at this lads, have you seen Sue, she's at

　　　　　　　　the top.

2-14 is a resume of what was said, the actual words spoken
were not recorded. Here the teacher is suggesting that appearances
are deceptive. The communication acts to challenge pupils' inter-
pretations of degrees of difficulty. It provides for the recognition
that the amount of skill required to participate or their 'ability' to
act may be distorted by unnecessary fear of 'failure'. The school
teacher is acknowledged to be a member co-present and to occupy the
same social space as the pupils.

Events 24 and 25 provide for the recognition by the hearers of
another's right to be heard without interruption. Utterance 27 calls
upon the pupil to identify her perceptions and feelings in relation to
the situated event. Utterances 27 and then 28 ,however refrain from
exposing the pupil's apparent or real feelings of fear negatively to
those co-present, but rather provided for the possibilities of the
pupil's own decisions about how to improve her situation.

Communicative events 32 to 40 acted to challenge conventional
assumptions associated with particular physical attributes. They
provided for not only the recognition of the smallest person being

both physically capable and responsible, but also for the recognition of category 'girl' as physically active and equally capable as category 'boy'.

Communicative events 27-40, 45 draw attention not only to the particular techniques which are necessary for the safe execution of the activity but perhaps more importantly to social relations and to the responsibility which is delegated to each pupil for another person's wellbeing.

Utterance 46 and 47 makes available the recognition of pupils' decision making. The 'rules of behaviour' are accomplished through an awareness of others and the recognition of pupils' responsibility to prepare for possible accidents.[11]

Doug's Reality

This climbing lesson (9.2/CL1/D/C6) is Doug's first meeting with the class. The MOT and lesson content, outlined in Tables 3 and 4, Chapter 6, is similar to that preferred and used by all the teachers teaching the first lesson of the climbing syllabus, being predominantly whole class teaching during phases 1 to 4. The form of teacher/pupil relation and the 'rules of behaviour' are however subtly different from those accomplished in Eddy, Chris and Alan's first climbing lesson.

The following analyses of extracts (segments of which are also presented in appendix IIIA) uncover the ways in which relations and order are accomplished by and for TD on this occasion.

20. Ian (Mr. Lewis)   I'll take you up first, Sir.
25. TD (Keith, very small boy): You've got further to go than any one else.
9.37
28. The class gathers around wall (1). TD is holding the two ends of the rope.
29. TD: Any volunteers.
30. TD hands the rope to Nicky.
31. Nicky: I'm not going up there.
32. TD: That's not the way to volunteer (pupils' laughter).
33. TD attaches Nicky to the rope.
34. TD (Nicky): Right, lean back.
35. Nicky falls backwards (pupil laughter).
36. Nicky: I'm not going up there if that happens.
37. TD (C):   Right, what do you think I should do.
38. Pupil: Put the rope around you.

39.   This time Nicky leans back and doesn't fall.
40.   TD shows how to use the stitch plate.
41.   Keith (TD): What's the red rope for?
42.   TD (Nicky): Now climb up.
      TD (C):   She doesn't know it yet but she's going to
                  fall half way.
43.   TD (Nicky): Now scream and fall.
44.   Nicky screams but retains her contact to the wall with her
feet.
45.   TD (to all but Nicky): Someone pull her legs away.
46.   Tracey obliges.
47.   TD (Nicky): That was alright, except for your friends
                  taking your legs away.
50.   TD: No one leaves the ground until one of us has
                  physically checked you.

Event 20, which was pupil initiated, was a common feature of a
number of the climbing lesson observed and occasionally occurred in
other lessons. The relationship between pupils and their school
teacher provided for a greater degree of symmetry and sociality
through the pupil's own action. Either the pupils gave encouragement
to the teachers or, on occasions, in these circumstances, pupils
initiated interactions which enabled schoolteachers to share the
pupils' experiences with them. In such situations the pupil was
frequently in control and had wished to take responsibility for the
teacher's safety and wellbeing. This aspect of communication in which
there was a considerable shift in relations between pupils and their
school teachers at Shotmoor is briefly mentioned in Chapter 8.

Utterance 25 publicly draws attention, for no apparent reason,
to the physical attributes, the diminutive stature of a small boy. The
communicative events 29 to 33 provided for category 'teacher' to be
recognised by those co-present as in authority over 'pupil'. The use
of the rhetorical question and the subsequent interactions created the
notion that the 'pupil', in actuality, has no choice in the matter at
hand. The communication portrayed in events 32 to 39 effected a
situation in which supportive action is not the prevailing message,
but rather that a pupil's discomfiture (albeit minor) is an acceptable
feature in the process of demonstrating a particular teaching point
and creating humour.

Events 41 to 47 again provided for the identification of the teacher in control whilst the pupil is not. The form of communication drew upon and promoted stereotypical images of femininity in which the category 'girl' is perceived to behave in a particular way.

Events and utterances 45 to 47 sanctioned and promoted unsupportive pupil-pupil interaction, and thus the form of communication provided for the recognition of the teacher's ultimate control. The sanctioning of specific stereotypical gender responses albeit encouraging female participation, accompanied particular forms of teacher-pupil interaction which did not appear to foster a caring awareness of others co-present.

<center>*   *   *</center>

Moreover, the ways in which Doug drew upon his concepts of appropriate 'gendered' behaviour, tended to highlight, amongst the pupils, apparent differences between boys and girls. This was evident in the ways in which he attempted to make the lesson meaningful to pupils, particularly girls. The following short extracts are from an archery Lesson (9.3/A2/D/C6) which was taught to the case study class previously referred to. In these extracts the teacher publicly draws attention to the distinctly different forms of communication by which he addresses either boys or girls.

```
9.45
14.   TD:     Right, let's have the girls.
15.           Pupils move to line.
16.   TD:     I'll get some of the girls a lighter bow.
9.57
26.   The girls take their gear back.  The boys change over.
27.   Some of the girls are giggling.
28.   Glynis does not talk with the rest of the girls.
29.   TD (Dick)
30    TD (physically assisting Keith):   What are you supposed
to be doing?
32.   TD (Ian):   Your chin's in a funny place.
39.   TD:     OK, let's have the girls back again.
41.   TD:     Stand up straight, chest out.  The arrow won't hit
              it.  Draw the bow back so that you are kissing it.
              So lots of kisses then girls.
43.   TD (Debbie):      Go on, go on, chest out.
44.   Tracey (Nicky):   I hit the target.
58.   (*Boys looking fed up perhaps with amount of attention
given to the girls who continue to giggle.)
```

Doug is here announcing differences between boys and girls. Although he makes girls more central to the learning process, at the same time, he identifies differences between boys' and girls' appearance and 'abilities' and makes visible the ways in which he differently relates to them publicly. For the most part, the girls in this case study group were not inhibited by this form of communication They largely found the attention motivating(see Chapter 10). However, Glynis actively separated herself from the other girls, tending to interact only with the boys in lessons. Furthermore, the boys were, in a sense, less enamoured with some of the girls in the class than they perhaps might have been (see Chapter 10).

Bill's Reality

The following extract is taken from the second lesson (9.2/SH2/B/C6) of the shoot syllabus which was observed during week 9 of the field study, its temporal framing is portrayed in Table 7, Chapter 6. Bill explains to the whole class, which consisted of five boys and five girls, the procedures associated with this lesson, laying emphasis upon the reasons for and importance of adhering to them in practice:

2. TB: Most injuries in England are caused by shooting accidents. So we must work under the rules of the range. These are usually broken by accident. Some people may be taking off a target when some Nelly picks up a gun and says, 'I want to have a go at that.' (Pupil laughter.) When reloading the rifle they lean it against someone's ear. (Pupil laughter.) Or someone has a misfire and says, 'Bill, it won't go off,' waving it in front of my face. I beat them over the head with the rifle and then send them outside. (Pupil laughter.) No one breaks the rules of the range when I'm here. (*Calm and peaceful.)

3. TB explains how the rifle is used, continuing to lay emphasis upon safety and safety rules.

9. TB: Loaders kneel down, quiet during partner's shooting, talk quietly. One, I want to be heard if necessary and two, I might want to tell you something. This emphasis on rules may sound a bit silly but it is necessary.

Here we see the teacher drawing attention to the relationships between the subject he is teaching, outside 'reality' and personal injury. Keeping to the 'rules of the range' are identified as a necessity for both teacher and pupil. Drawing humorously upon

incidents to which pupils might easily identify he shows how accidents occur. Here an atmosphere of calm is created in which attention to safe behaviour is of paramount importance.

<p style="text-align:center">*　　　*　　　*</p>

Examination of the meanings and messages conveyed in the form of communications evidenced in Lesson 1 of the climbing syllabus which were accomplished by Alan, Eddy and Doug exposes both contrary and similar visual and verbal messages conveyed publicly and privately within these three lessons. There are obvious differences in the ways in which each teacher establishes order and presents himself in relation to the pupils. Eddy and Alan emphasised the risks involved, tending to suggest that the pupils were responsible for and in control of their action. They also drew attention to pupils' awareness of others and Alan provided for the possibilities available to pupils if they recognised their abilities. Doug however provided for himself as the ultimate decision-maker making little reference to pupil responsibility. Nevertheless, all three teachers attempted to make the climbing lesson meaningful to pupils in the pupils' own terms, which for Doug was concomitant upon his perception of appropriate female behaviour. Nevertheless, Doug, Eddy and Alan provided for a girl as central to the learning experience, physically participating. This was also evident in the climbing lesson taught by Chris described in the preceding chapter. Furthermore, all teachers visibly relinquished to both boys and girls responsibility for themselves and each other when they were expected to work together as climbing partners.

The Ethnography informing the Ethnomethodology

I have tried to highlight, through making accessible teachers' methodic practices, the ways in which 'positioning' and 'under-standing' of pupils' frames of reference were accomplished on occasions at Shotmoor and to show if and how teachers attempted to enter into pupils' frames of meaning. Nevertheless, analyses of the properties of communication in lessons, although indicating the various ways in which 'messages' constituting images and relations are accomplished and transmitted, are only partially illuminative of how

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such messages are received and understood. Messages embedded in communicative forms may to the analyst be sympathetic, enmeshed in affective properties, whilst others may not. However, it is the pupils who receive, experience and interpret these messages through their own frames of reference and it is they who can add to our understanding of the meanings accomplished by different communicative forms. Likewise, teacher intentionality should feature in this work of interpretation.

The prevailing work culture, which was elucidated in Chapter 7, did not encompass Len's perspective.[12] However, Len offered some of his views immediately after the ski lesson (1.4/SK3/L/C1) previously examined. These opinions give an indication of Len's underlying motives:

> TL: What did you notice about that lesson?
> BH: Well, they were all very actively involved.
> TL: Yes, but anything in particular?
> BH: I think Jack was getting a bit upset.
> TL: Well he hadn't even been up to the green line yet.
>   Did you hear what I said to him at the start?
> BH: No.
> TL: Good job.
> BH: I noticed he managed to go from higher up near the end of
>   the lesson.
> TL: Yes, he did it in the end. You see it's all sticks and
>   carrots.

Here, for Len, the emphasis is laid not upon participation for its own sake but upon reaching some external goal, the green line. The impetus for action by Jack is believed to come not from Jack himself but from an external source, the teacher. By applying alternatively sanction and reward, direct blame or praise, Jack is perceived to be motivated. These views contradict the prevailing underlying assumptions, held by the teachers at Shotmoor about teaching and learning, which were evidenced in Chapter 7.

However, Jack, who was considered by Mr. Payne (the accompanying school teacher) to be 'very thick', declared skiing to be the subject he liked best, giving the following reasons: 'You go down the slope really fast and do all kinds of things, snowploughs.' (Jack/Wk1/C1)

Jack expresses personal satisfaction at having managed to execute skills which enabled him to experience speed. Len appears to have realised his aim for Jack through the particular communicative

form which he adopted. Likewise, Ian, the boy who was the focus of the pedagogic transactions reported in extract (9.3/CL3/L/C6) seems unaffected by his apparent ordeal:

BH: What did you think of the activities?
Ian: I could have done better.
BH: What did you think of the teachers? What do you think they are trying to do?
Ian: Teach us the best they could at that subject, basic skills and things ... I don't like sport. I don't put as much as I could into it.
BH: What about the teachers here?
Ian: Better than in school. Also they've got to know us better. At school they just know us as a class where as they know us individually not as 30 boys. I'd come again if I had the chance. (Wk9/C6)

Ian makes a self-appraisement unique amongst the pupils who were interviewed. He claims that he experienced failure which was the result of his not pushing himself enough. In a sense, he finds fault in himself for not having participated fully. He also points out the more favourable teacher-pupil ratio which enables teachers greater access to the pupil's frame of reference and, in this case, perhaps allowing greater intrusion into his personal identity.

*   *   *

Pupils' views which provide for some sort of comparative data specific to the teaching categories identified within Shotmoor now follow:

BH: What about your teachers?
Aaron: Eddy and Alan are best.
BH: Why?
Aaron: Alan tells jokes.
Tim: Eddy, 'cause he's dead straight. He doesn't mess about. He gets on with what we're doing and does it all straight. (Wk1/C1)

Aaron finds the informality which allows Alan to joke an important feature, whilst Tim perceives a non-complex, perhaps sincere, relationship between Eddy and the pupils. In a sense, for Tim, Eddy communicated on the pupils' terms and engendered a degree of mutual understanding in which the group's interests were central. Tim identifies the members co-present and their interest to include Eddy. Perhaps for Tim, Eddy had accomplished the collaborative nature of the experience.

Pupils who expressed comparative views concerning the different
forms of communication which they encountered in lessons at Shotmoor
did so, for the most part, by describing the different ways in which
teachers related to them and the particular effects which this had
upon their ability to learn. The following extracts, taken from an
informal interview with Carol and Bella, highlight not only the
importance which these girls laid upon sympathetic approaches, but
also the differences and similarities which they identified in the
lessons of teachers C, E and L and the ways in which they experienced
these different forms of communication.

Carol: I think it helps you to enjoy the things they're teaching
         you. If you don't like the people or they're horrible or
         anything, you don't seem to enjoy what they're supposed to
         be teaching you.
BH: Do you not learn so much then?
Carol: I don't know really, I find the lesson more interesting if
         the person's nicer.
Bella: Yeh, 'cause if the person's horrible then you're a bit
         nervous, bit on edge about getting it right and everything
         goes wrong for you. That's what I found in shooting,
         'cause I couldn't get it on the target first of all in
         shooting and he shouted at me.
BH: You didn't think that was uhm necessary?
Bella: No, not really - I tried - I couldn't do any better than I
         did. I like Chris a lot. I think she's nice. I like all
         the others.
Carol: Chris was nice and so was Eddy ... I didn't really think
         much of Len 'cause he was shouting a bit.
BH: Why did you think Eddy and Chris were nice then?
Carol: Well they were sort of more jokey and that and things like
         that. I don't know they seemed more fun.
BH: Did you learn more from them?
Carol: I don't know - 'cause I think Len was good 'cause he sort
         of pushed us quite a lot to get everything right and Chris
         ... I learnt quite a bit out of that 'cause she pushed us
         a bit and made us do things if we didn't want to do
         things. Eddy is nice as well but I didn't enjoy the
         archery 'cause I couldn't do it.[13] (Wk8/C6)

These girls appreciated a form of communication which enabled them
to personally achieve more than they expected and which was supportive
and sympathetic to them as individuals.

The communicative form, which was manifested on occasions in
Len's lessons and on occasions elsewhere, was considered to be
anomalous by a number of teachers. That is, the properties of
communication which constituted this category of teaching approach

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were considered to be inappropriate. Such a view was expressed by one
school teacher who observed that, 'The kids were more scared of the
teacher than the activity.' Whilst a Shotmoor teacher, Fred, remarked
on leaving the climbing area in which he and Len had both been
teaching:

> I'd be put off for life. No I can't handle it. If anyone
> had bullied me like that when I was young it would have
> devastated me. Doug also bullies but usually it works.
> There is a fine line between when it can and cannot be done.
> I certainly don't agree with it.   (Fred/Wk6)

An unacceptable communicative form, for Fred, is one in which
coercion is the predominant motivational feature. Fred sees such an
approach as 'depowering' and overwhelming. In a sense, he finds
interaction in which machismo is displayed and perhaps celebrated
iniquitous. Few pupils, for the most part, experienced this anomalous
communicative form and those who did only on brief occasions.[14]

Moreover, the properties of communication most frequently
evident were those which provided for the collaborative 'empowerment'
of both boys and girls. On most occasions and in most circumstances
then, it was each pupil's frame of reference which constituted the
central resource for the Shotmoor teacher and it was pupil
independence and awareness of those co-present which were the
prevailing features of the communicative form in lessons.

In this chapter, I have identified a number of communicative forms
manifest in lessons at Shotmoor. From analyses of the emergent data,
I identified two supra categories which I call regulative and
instructional communicative forms (see Model 3). These parallel in
some respects the Bernsteinian theoretical concepts regulative and
instructional discourse respectively (cf. Bernstein 1985).
Bernstein's theoretical concepts (although largely concerned with
verbal transactions) and the categories which were generated from the
observational data are each concerned with the forms of communication
by which skills and competences are transmitted and by which social
order, relations and identities are constituted. (The ways in which
Bernstein's writing informed the research are outlined in Chapter 11).
Significant features of the communicative form in the Shotmoor lessons
were the ways in which pupil's frames of reference were 'positioned' and
understood. The teacher frequently entered into the pupil's frame of

reference and attempted to discover what pupils thought they could do, their common understanding of themselves, and tried to build upon that. The various ways in which gender societal type-scripts affected pupils' understandings of their capabilities (in relation to skills, confidences and emotions) were appreciated by most teachers, albeit tacitly in many cases, and this understanding was taken into account on occasions in their forms of communication.

Chapter 10

THE PUPILS' PERSPECTIVES

The preceding chapters attempted to explore not only how the
'frame factors' were mediated by teachers through the Shotmoor culture
to constitute the contextual features within which interaction
occurred, but also how the forms of communication were evidenced and
enacted therein. Patterns of interaction accomplished at the
intersection of teacher and pupil frames of reference and the diverse
verbal and non-verbal cues transmitted do not solely create particular
pupil self images, identities and relations. Rather, as I have
indicated, it is the interpretations which pupils make, and the
choice of actions which they take at this juncture, which are
paramount. It is imperative in any analysis of the learning process
to acknowledge and consider the pupils' perceptions and
interpretations of the forms of pedagogic communication to which they
are exposed and to explore what are the concepts of themselves and
each other which they accomplish, reinforce or challenge by and
through the particular forms of interaction.

Hammersley and Turner (1980) suggested that pupil orientation in
a specific context is related not only to concepts of 'achievement'
and the situated behavioural rule frames to which the pupils are
exposed, but also to mediated forms of their own latent cultures which
are constituted through class, gender and generation identities.
Variability in pupil decision making and action, as they move through
areas of the curriculum, has been highlighted in recent interactionist
research (cf. Turner 1983; Woods 1983; Measor 1983; Measor and Woods
1984; Beynon 1985).[1] Furthermore, Furlong (1985) points out that
recent work, largely neo-Marxist or Marxist feminist in orientation
(cf Willis 1977; McRobbie 1978), has highlighted the importance of
pupils' cultural responses to schooling adding, however, that missing
from such analyses have been the ways in which the historical and
situational context help to constitute pupils' future material
conditions:

> Cultural production is concerned with how people 'creatively
> occupy particular positions, relations and sets of material
> possibilities,' (Willis 1983:114) and such constraints vary
> historically and geographically; they are also mediated at
> least in part by specific educational institutions.
> (ibid.:193)

Pupil actions, then, are expressions, mediated through their particular frames of reference, of the ways in which they interpret and give meaning to the overt and covert messages conveyed through the school organisation and through the form of the teacher interaction. Moreover, in any curricular area boys and girls may experience contradictions between received notions of 'successful' behaviour and performance and their own perceptions of appropriate behaviours and 'abilities' which are both gender and culturally implicated. These contradictions have a bearing upon the degree to which pupils become involved in a subject or an activity.[2]

Measor (1983) and Measor and Woods (1984) show that the pupils of their study attempted to redefine and give expression to 'reality' in accordance with their own particular concerns. The most prominent of these were associated with notions of status, competence and relationships which were interlinked through the pupils' desire to establish or re-establish an identity. Not only did the pupils of Measor and Woods' study tend to locate themselves in relation to polarised behaviour and attitudes associated with particular orientations ('pro' or 'anti') towards academic and formal school values, but also with regard to polarities of gender. Concepts of what constituted 'normal' gender behaviour, beliefs and attitudes took particular reference from notions of 'ultra masculinity' and 'ultra femininity'. Moreover, much research suggests that concepts of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' are frequently constructed as polar opposites. This was evidently so for the boys in the all boys' school of Beynon's (1985) study who celebrated 'masculinity'. Here the boys expressed abhorrence for 'feminine' behaviour which they construed to be that which did not match their particular views of appropriate 'masculine' behaviour. Further, Stanworth (1983) shows that the boys of her study tended to denigrate girls, whilst using them as negative reference points for themselves.

With regard to interaction between boys and girls, Measor and
Woods (1984) found that, after a few weeks in secondary school, pupil
attitudes and behaviour changed dramatically so that they created a
rigid gender divide. Pupils' decisions to adopt particular modes of
behaviour, which might be considered by the school to be conformist or
deviant, were frequently influenced by notions of gender (as was the
behaviour of the 'lads' in Willis's (1977) study). This created
dilemmas for pupils, who tended to employ 'knife edge' strategies in
attempts to balance formal acceptance with that of cultural. Reported
in Davies,L.(1979, 1980, 1984) and Measor and Woods (1984), girls' lack of
interest in school work, unlike boys', went largely unnoticed and
unchallenged.

In this chapter pupils' understandings of their experiences at
Shotmoor are explored. Brief accounts of pupils' interpretation of
their own experiences in school are also included. This juxtaposi-
tion, along with recent ethnographic research evidencing pupils'
perceptions of their school experiences, acts as further comparative
reference in which schooling and gender are explored. Firstly,
predominant views which pupils held about Shotmoor teachers and
teaching approaches will add to those previously presented (see
Chapter 8). Secondly, school curriculum, sport and gender are
explored. Thirdly, the ways in which boys and girls realise their own
and each other's capabilities through the Shotmoor curriculum and
the particular relations, competences and identities which were evoked
within the context of Shotmoor are examined. Data from the pupil
questionnaire are presented and briefly discussed in Appendices
IXA-D. Here, the case study pupils (see Appendix IIC) may be located
within the broader characteristics (sex, age and socio-economic class)
of the pupils who attended Shotmoor.

Teachers and Teaching Approaches

The majority of the Shotmoor teachers were perceived by most of
the pupils as 'friendly', willing to 'have a laugh' and generally
different from many of their teachers in school. With few exceptions,
it was a felt that most of the teachers had given 'encouragement' and
'help'.[3] Moreover, those school teachers who were attending the

centre with their pupils were perceived, in all but one pupil's view
to have 'changed'[4]: 'He's a lot different here, he doesn't seem so
strict.' (Paul/Wk5/C4)

These differences between a 'teacher' who operated within a school
environment and a 'teacher' who operated in the Shotmoor context were
identified by pupils in two interrelated dimensions. On the one hand,
in terms of the forms of relations expressed and experienced between
the teacher and themselves (both a Shotmoor teacher and school
teacher) and, on the other, in terms of the ways in which the
knowledge and skills were made accessible and meaningful to them.

The pupils generally perceived a significant weakening of the
barriers constraining interpersonal relationships between their
teachers and themselves. This weakening of pedagogic frame was
frequently accomplished in conjunction with the apparent permeation of
boundaries constituted by particular constructs such as 'age' and
'gender'. The latter I shall discuss in more detail later.

For Helen, although the teachers with whom she had contact at
Shotmoor were relatively long serving, she conceptualised the
teacher-pupil relationship in terms of a lessening of age barriers:

> They seem to sort of relate to you more, as if they're more
> your age, more than the teachers we've got at home.

(Helen/Wk5/C4)

This reconceptualisation of 'age' relation was not considered by
pupils as representing a type of 'fraternisation' by the teachers,
but rather as engendering a greater degree of mutual understanding
between themselves and the teacher.[5] This is evident in the next
pupil's comments.

> Bob: They are more social. In school they usually tell
> you to do something and then they shut up and don't
> say anything else, but Miss Freeman, I've never seen
> her like that before. They get on and they talk to
> you more as if we're adults.
> Bert: Yeh (they) treat you as an adult, as one of them
> instead of having the teachers above everyone.

(Wk10/C3)

For Bob and Bert, not only are both their school teachers and the
Shotmoor teachers more ready to talk with them, but also to do so on
more equal terms.

Lack of strictness was a feature of interaction which pupils
repeatedly commented upon.

> BH: Is it what you thought it was going to be like
>   (here)?
> Keith: It was better. I sort of imagined it would be more
>   strict, not very easy going. But it's good.
>   (Wk9/C6)

The nature of status and authority between teachers and pupils
perceived at school and expressed in the context of Shotmoor is
brought strongly into relief in the following discussion.

> Andrew:It's fun. The teachers at school - right - half of
>   'em rise above you - like - and they really sort of
>   treat you like little scum. But our instructor -
>   right - he comes right down with us.
> BH: What about Sid, what do you think then, compared to
>   school.
> Sid: I don't like being disciplined much, see.
> BH: Don't you think you're disciplined here?
> Sid: Yeh, you are a bit. You don't feel so sort of
>   trapped in.
> BH: Why do you think that?
> Sid: Well you can talk to your teacher or instructor,
>   whatever it is.
> BH: Yeh.
> Sid: More freely than you can to a teacher. If its a
>   teacher you've got to crawl to them. (Wk4/C6)

Or, more simply, in the words of one ten year old pupil:

> 'At school you get bossed around a lot by the teachers - and
> that - but not at Shotmoor.' (Darren/Wk1/C6)

Empirical evidence has suggested that pupils tend to type
teachers in terms of the ways in which he/she regulates behaviour and
keeps control (Beynon 1985; Furlong 1976). With few exceptions, most
of which were examined in the preceding chapter, the characteristics
attributed to the Shotmoor teachers by the pupils closely matched
those which constituted a 'good' teacher for the pupils of Gannaway's
study (1976). There was, however, one significant difference between
these pupils' perceptions. Whilst Gannaway's pupils acknowledged
strictness as a property of a 'good' teacher, the pupils at Shotmoor
did not recognise strictness as a feature of the majority of teachers'
approaches at Shotmoor. In other studies lack of strictness was
perceived to be a 'bad' characteristic, reflecting 'softness'. This
attribute, associated with 'femininity', was generally denigrated,
particularly by the boys of Beynon's (1985) study.[6]

Furthermore, one of the 'offences' of a bad teacher, for the largely male pupils of Marsh et al.'s (1978) study was being soft which they contrasted with expected strength. Again, as in Benyon's study, it is an apparently 'feminine' construct which was denigrated.

Most pupils experienced a less constrained and more personal form of relationship between themselves and teachers in the context of Shotmoor. This is aptly demonstrated in the following discussion amongst a group of fourteen year old girls.

Belinda: We're really changed from school we are.
Caroline: 'Cause we haven't got no teachers and we haven't got to be quiet and all that lot.
Ann: They treat us like normal people ... we call each other -they don't call us girls.
BH: What have you been called then?
Ann: Women, your names, sometimes Sunshine. You don't get treated like little kids like you do in school.
Belinda: We goes, 'We're only kids,' and he goes, 'You're not kids.' If you do it wrong he treats us as though we're his age and he's our age ... you're treated like one of them ... If one of the teachers (school teachers) is with us they treat us exactly the same as the teachers. (Wk10/C3)

These girls were responsive to and motivated by the forms of relationship which prevailed between themselves and teachers at Shotmoor. These relationships were clearly more relaxed and symmetrical than those which pupils generally experienced in conventional mainstream schools.

That girls did not receive less teacher attention than boys (see Chapter 8), and that this attention was perceived by girls as similar in type to that made available to boys, was perhaps an indication that individual attributes were equally valued. We see how Tracey interprets the teacher's manner of communication:[7]

I think it was good that we weren't made to feel lower than the boys, that we was able to do exactly the same as the boys and we got the chance to do the same as them - 'cause sometimes you feel lower than them, that you can't do it. I don't think we was any better than the boys - maybe on a couple of things but everybody's got their weaknesses. (Tracey/Wk9/C6)

Moreover, this evidence contrasts markedly with that of Woods and Hammersley (1977), Davies, L. (1984a) and Measor and Woods (1984) in which it was found that male teachers tended to reinforce a culture of femininity which celebrated incompetence.

This desire that they should be individually accepted with equal rights to that of others and not recognised in ascribed pupil 'roles' is reiterated by Bella. Here, she also highlights the importance for her of the responsibility and trust fostered in the pedagogic relationship:

> Bella: I'd say it's a lot friendlier. It's a nice place, you don't get treated like babies. I mean you do at school sometimes. I think it's just good. You've got responsibilities.
>
> BH: Uhm, I mean in what way?
>
> Bella: You're responsible for all the equipment and - you know - because it's dangerous and they trust you. (Wk8/C5)

Bella believes that she had been given the opportunity to take responsibility. She was thereby enabled to experience independence. This confidence in her own abilities to handle particular situations, she perceived to have been made possible through the teachers' approach (see Chapter 8).

Thus it was the teacher's assistance or support which facilitated Bella's independence. This realisation of her own capabilities she received embedded in a form of communication which did not locate her in a subordinate position within the teacher-pupil relationship but rather one in which she is more symmetrically positioned. Not only girls but boys also felt that teachers were trying to develop their own and each other's self esteem.

> Graham: I thought they were good. They were trying to encourage you and trying to tell you not to be scared 'cause they know its safe for you and try to get it into your head that you can do it. So if the girls think they can't do it, but they (the teachers) make sure they can in the end. Then they won't be scared.
>
> BH: Why do you think they are doing that?
>
> Graham: Just to - you believe in yourself really. Try to get you so that you can do things. You say you can't do it and you can if you really try. (Wk5/C4)

Graham's perceptive comment shows his awareness of the ways in which girls underestimate their own abilities. Almost all the girls interviewed, and a high proportion of the boys, expressed the opinion that they were being stretched by the teachers beyond a level which they thought themselves capable.

A considerable number of pupils, particularly girls, found the teachers' expectations for themselves far in excess of that which they had experienced in school. This view, expressed in the following comment, was representative of that articulated by pupils from all the case study classes who were interviewed.

BH: What do you think the teachers are trying to do here?

Jackie: Teach you to be more confident in yourself. They are pushing you to get the best out of you which I think is good. They are making you have a good time and enjoy yourself. (Wk9/C6)

A few pupils, however, mainly fairly confident boys who participated in sports regularly, expressed their views of teaching in terms of the ways in which skills and knowledge were made available and accessible to them: (Appendix IIC lists the pupils, referred to by their pseudonyms, in each case study class and indicates pupil's age, socio-economic class, participation in school sport and self rated abilities. These data were collected via pupil questionnaires.)

BH: What do you think of this week?

Gary: Pretty good. I think 'cause they teaches you what to do, then they lets you do what you want to. You don't 'ang about doing the activities. They lets you get on with it when they've taught you what to do; the safety rules and that, there aren't no 'anging about. (Wk8/C5)

and

BH: What do you think the teachers are trying to do?

Dave: Smart actually.

BH: Why?

Dave: Well they kind of uhm, they explain it in a way that you'd know how to do it, you know you could carry it out, everything they say. Yeh, know what I mean? Other teachers would say all this complicated stuff while other people shorten it down to simple basics so you can just go and do it.

BH: What do you think they are trying to do here?

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> Dave: Teach us the basics so that we can do that
>   subject, so if you did it in the future you'd know
>   what basic stuff to do it. (Wk5/C4)

Both Gary and Dave found the teaching approach, which quickly enabled
them to become involved and in which they perceived opportunities to
make decisions, very acceptable. Dave points to a feature of
interaction which for him was important, that of simplification in
instruction such that he could readily participate in the task at
hand.

Not only were teacher expectations, the accessibility to the
skills and knowledge and the form of the teacher-pupil relationships
important in creating for pupils a worthwhile experience, but also a
significant aspect for many pupils was the way in which time was
organised. This is expressed in Debbie's comments.

> BH: Did you find climbing scary?[8]
> Debbie: When I got half way up I didn't know where to put
>   my feet. I was scared then. I came back down but
>   I went up again. Also the teachers make you go
>   right to the top. Its good this 'cause if you go
>   half way then you never go to the top. The
>   teachers always push you up and after a couple of
>   times you go to the top anyway. They make you do
>   everything even if you don't want to do it. I
>   think that's good, 'cause after a while you like
>   it and you just get on and do it. You go right to
>   the top or as fast as you like. (Wk9/C6)

Both Gary and Debbie appear to have viewed the speed at which
they worked not governed by external criteria but as a manipulable
resource over which they felt able to hold some control.

Moreover time, as a teaching resource, was seen to be more
readily available than in the school situation. Although the pupils
believed that the Shotmoor teachers 'pushed you', teachers were
perceived to employ an approach with which pupils felt comfortable and
unhurried:

> I think they're very good. They sort of take more time, not
> like teachers at our school. They seem to go through it
> more. They don't get impatient with you, they give you more
> confidence to do it. They sort of tell you you can do it
> even if you don't want to uhm. They're certainly much
> better. (Karen/Wk5/C4)

Glynis, however, points to a teaching approach which was
expressed rarely in the accounts of the interviewed pupils, one in
which the teacher appeared impatient with her:

They're (the teachers) nice and friendly ever so helpful and
that. I like Doug, I think he's sort of jokey all the time.
It gives you a lot of confidence. When you were going
abseiling the first time and he sort of said, 'go down now'
and gave a little shove. I think Len was trying to hurry
you and I didn't like that. But they're always nice to you.
They sort of push you as far as you can go. (Glynis/Wk9/C6)

There were a number of reasons which pupils gave to explain why
the skills and knowledge were more accessible and meaningful in the
context of Shotmoor. Both physical and human resources were
considered to be more plentiful than in the school situation.
Moreover, Howard felt that it was important that the teachers had
gained their knowledge 'on the job' through experience:

BH: What do you think of the sports compared with the
           sports at school?
Howard: Oh, well there's a lot more facilities here, and I
           suppose you get better instruction - instructors
           here.
BH: Why?
Howard: Well, I don't know if they've been trained in it
           but I suppose they've been here for ages and
           they've learnt as they've gone along as well. I
           suppose they just - like - they've got to have
           safety rules and they've to keep - abide by them I
           suppose they just keep to them.
BH: Why are they better then?
Howard: They sort of explain things better. At school
           you've got thirty odd kids all in one class all
           sort of going, 'How do you do this, how do you do
           that? And here they just tell you all to have a
           go and if you do anything wrong they just correct
           it. (Wk5/C4)

Fewer pupils, Howard, like Ian (week 9), believes allows for a
greater number of individual encounters between teacher and pupil in
which diagnostic assessment and then correction may be experienced. It
was therefore apparent to Howard that there were greater possibilities
for teachers at Shotmoor to respond to individual pupil's need for
assistance than for teachers in mainstream schools.

Regulative order was seen to be a 'commonsense' matter in the
Shotmoor context and the acceptance of reasons of safety as a
regulator for modes of behaviour for both teachers and pupils was
generally understood and accepted, if not always verbally articulated
amongst the pupils. The majority of the pupils expressed appreciation
for the pedagogic approach which they generally encountered within the

Shotmoor context. For the most part, pupils felt that the pedagogic relations were more symmetrical and relaxed than in mainstream schools and that the teachers were more able, largely because of the more favourable teacher-pupil ratio, both to understand and rectify problems they experienced and to monitor their progress in the subjects. Interlinked for these pupils were the instructional, motivational and regulative properties of the pedagogic transactions. The form of pedagogy which appeared most satisfying and most enabling to them was one which was weakly framed; one in which there appeared less positional authority and in which they felt they had more control over their own actions. (Analyses of questionnaire responses show that thegroup profiles of teachers at Shotmoor compared with those at school, which the pupils rated on an Osgood's semantic differential scale, were statistically significantly different at $p < 0.05$. That is, at least within the parameters of the scale, the concept of teacher in the two contexts was perceived differently (see Appendix IXD).)

Curriculum, Sport and Gender

> One of the most influential sets of factors which has impact
> upon the curriculum is that of gender. (Measor 1983:171)

Drawing from their research on pupil behaviour, Measor and Woods (1984) argue that pupils actively utilized aspects of the school curriculum to construct their gender identities. Boys and girls in their study read gender related characteristic into many subjects but particularly into domestic and physical sciences, consequently responding and acting accordingly in those lessons.

Boys tended to take more extreme disruptive work avoidance strategies in areas of the curriculum which they defined as appropriately 'feminine'. Whilst in the 'masculine' arenas girls expressed fear and revulsion and practised unobtrusive work avoidance strategies (see also Davies, L. 1979; Measor 1983; Kelly 1985). In a sense, it seems that pupils were 'creatively producing' the basis for different material conditions associated with being male or female.

Separate curricula received by boys and girls in the traditional school physical education programme is overtly gender specific. In Scraton (1986), it is argued that girls' PE tends to reinforce rather than challenge girls' assumptions and stereotypical notions about

appropriate female behaviour and abilities. The conventionally divisive PE curriculum generally available, at least in the early years of secondary schooling, to boys and girls in British secondary schools does not challenge the taken-for-granted gender biases associated with out of school, adult sport and leisure activities (Byrne 1978). It reinforces the 'natural' exclusivity of sport to one or other sex and the largely 'masculine' nature of sport. It legitimates the symbolic representations of the superiority of male over female which is portrayed through the media and experienced within the family (Willis and Critcher 1975; Clarke and Clarke 1983; Theberge 1985). These representations of social relations and images constitute the latent cultural identities by which pupils mediate their physical education and other school curriculum.

The pupils who attended Shotmoor varied in their perceptions of the curriculum which was offered to them. Indeed, many had been unaware of what to expect before their arrival. A few were occasionally surprised, not merely at the content of the curriculum but with the mixed sexed groupings. A rare comment by one girl, who attended the centre from an all girls' school, which a teacher reported to the researcher at the beginning of week 5, does suggest that for this particular girl the curriculum offered was identified as exclusively 'masculine', 'Why don't we do any girls' activities?'. With this one reported exception, opinions which perceived the Shotmoor curriculum as more appropriate to boys than to the girls were not explicitly articulated by girls. However such assumptions may well have underpinned the behaviours of a number of girls during the very early part of their week's stay. Many girls who were observed in these initial lessons tended to manifest a more apprehensive manner and a less competent persona than did the boys.

Girls could, on occasions, be heard to say, 'I can't do that', or words to that effect which were rarely features of boys' public talk. These observations lend support to Stanworth's (1983) proposition, which draws upon evidence from her study, that girls have lower expectations of themselves than boys and generally underrate their own abilities. The evidence suggests that girls are less likely than boys to perceive themselves coping in potentially dangerous

situations. Davies, L. (1984) argues that for a variety of reasons, not least informal expectations concerning female behaviour, girls are reluctant to engage in risk taking activities. Prevailing gender societal type-script provides for girls' reluctance to participate in such forms of activity. However, accounts presented in the initial section, which were representative of the majority of girls' opinions, clearly show that Shotmoor teachers held similar expectations for them as for boys. Moreover, it was clearly evident, both from girls' accounts and their actions in lessons, that after a reluctant start, most were interested in and had been fully involved with every aspect of the curriculum.

For Nicky, as for the majority of girls, the experience of risk taking had been both successful and worthwhile.

> Well, it's quite a challenge when you see other people doing it and you think, 'Oh, I'll never do it', and you do. It's ... enjoyable to know that you've actually done it.
>
> (Nicky/Wk9/C6)

The evidence from the study strongly challenges the conventional stereotypical assumption that girls do not derive considerable satisfaction from the learning of skills which can enable them to participate competently in activities which contain elements of risk, at least in the context of Shotmoor. Notwithstanding, it was not only girls who articulated feelings of personal achievement from their participation but also many boys expressed similar sentiments.

> I think I've got courage, 'cause I didn't like to go up high - like on the climbing and that. When I climbed up, I looked down and thought - did I climb that? You know I don't really like heights - and that - so when I abseiled down I was pleased with myself. (Howard/Wk5/C4)

For the most part, boys, particularly those who had gone to the institute as a single sex cohort, tended to view the Shotmoor curriculum as appropriately 'masculine', but, unlike the boy quoted in Chapter 7, not exclusively so. This contrasted markedly with boys' perception of the school PE curriculum; soccer, rugby and cricket, which was considered only proper for boys themselves. This is clearly the case for Dave whose account uncovers interesting assumptions and contradictions concerning gender.[9] Dave, whose expertise as a soccer player enabled him to be selected for the city youth team, highlights

the barriers surrounding girls' participation in the arena of
traditional sport and the lower status afforded to girls and their
'abilities'. His account draws attention to differences between
physical activities made available at school and Shotmoor. It also
shows a certain sensitivity to, and appreciation of, girls' position
and experience.

Dave: Well on that climbing thing. I won't say nothing but
boys are stronger than girls ... I mean they don't
go in for this stuff really but you don't take that
into consideration 'cause climbing - you know -
physical sports or attitudes are boy's sports. I'm
not being biased.

BH: No.

Dave: They can do it if they want but I'm just saying that
boys generally do it better, actually.

BH: Why do you think they do?

Dave: I don't know - its unusual to see girls playing
football or -cricket - or rugby 'cause it's all
physical games, isn't it?

BH: But you think its different here is it - or not? I
mean all the activities - you think it's different?

Dave: All the activities I done are like this - its equal,
absolutely equal, 'cause they've never done it
before. So we're all on the same level. So if the
boys can't do something the girls laugh. If they
make a mess up we laughs.

BH: So do you think girls could take these sports up
equally as boys - do you reckon?

Dave: Yeh. Just - 'cause its boys that play football,
cricket and rugby and if girls played football,
cricket and rugby, they'd be more acceptable. You
know what I mean, if they started to play.

BH: Yeh, they do actually don't they?

Dave: Yeh, they like playing it but it's funny to see 'em
play.

BH: Don't you like that or---.

Dave: Uhm, its funny.

BH: Just funny.

Dave: Well it's a serious game.

                    x   x   x

Dave: Well if they wanted to take up football and rugby and
that, well they can do it. But you wouldn't see a
girl in league football. You just wouldn't, 'cause
it's so physical.

BH: Yeh and you don't reckon girls can do physical---

Dave: Oh well they got their own leagues, women's leagues
and that ... They can do it at the same standard.
You know what I mean. That's the only thing I reckon
that separates us from the girls and that's standard.

BH: What do you mean standard? Skill or what?

Dave: Skill and - you know - fitness and strength. You
          don't see girls lifting up weights do you? I mean
          body building?
BH: Not often, sometimes.
Dave: Sometimes, yeh. They're not built for it. They're
          built for other things.
BH: What sort of things?
Dave: (   )Tennis, the non-physical games, if you know what
          I mean. Because everything demands a lot of work but
          some are more physical than others. The boys' sports
          mostly you have to be very physical or otherwise the
          game won't be enjoyable.[10]
BH: But here, given the chance, don't you think the girls
          could be as good or---
Dave: Definitely, sure they can 'cause we don't do it
          anyway. So I mean there's a girl good at skiing. I
          think it's Gayle. She's rather good, she's better than
          me anyway. I falls over. I can't roller skate. Yeh,
          the girls are better than us at roller skating.
BH: Do you reckon it works well, working in the group
          with the girls then, or---
Dave: Depends what activity it is. When you're playing
          something like - and the girls don't usually play it
          then when they muck something up - you get all angry
          and cross then. 'Cause you don't really think about
          when they don't really play the sport. You know. Say
          if I wanted to play netball I'd mess everything up
          wouldn't I? 'Cause I couldn't play netball to save
          my life.
BH: But probably if it (netball) had been a boy's game
          which you'd learnt earlier on you'd probably been
          alright wouldn't you?
Dave: Yeh, but you still wouldn't be accepted 'cause you'd
          be a girl - that's the only thing. (Wk5/C4)

The preceding account contains views and opinions which stem
from a frame of reference immersed in and oriented toward the cultural
milieu of the soccer field. It suggests that the traditional PE for
boys tends to reinforce rather than challenge boys' assumptions and
stereotypical notions about not only appropriate male behaviours and
abilities but also those of females. Here we see the way in which
girls' non-participation in 'masculine' activities, for Dave, is
evidence of their non-possession of the required attributes and skills
which would enable them to successfully participate in an area of
sport so defined. Ultimately, for Dave, the most damaging attribute
is that of being a girl. Juxtaposing these perceptions of girls'
abilities alongside the ruling made by Lord Denning by which a girl,
whose ability to play league soccer was not in question, was legally

barred from participation because of her sex (see Chapter 1), we see the subtle ways in which, over time, hegemonic control is accomplished by and through the dominant group's (male) assimilation into the 'official' view.[11] It also neatly, albeit crudely, exemplifies the double bind situation experienced by girls and women in all spheres of society but most visually evident in the realm of traditional sport. It highlights the way in which a male dominated society 'logically' shapes and structures women's 'ability' and so prevents her access to those areas which are valued and perceived as exclusively 'masculine'. (- They have the ability but they must not be seen to do it since it is not behaviour appropriate to female. We do not see them do it so they do not possess the ability and therefore cannot do it. - Ipso facto.[12])

Dave's account highlights the ways in which boys' and girls' apparent lack of skill is differently received and evaluated by the peer group within Shotmoor and within the school. In an environment which is perceived by boys to be appropriately 'masculine' and in which, nevertheless, boys perceive themselves to possess similar aptitudes to girls, because of their apparently similar lack of experience, mistakes are acceptable. But in contexts which celebrate 'masculinity' girls' aptitudes appear to be of a lesser standard and inappropriate and their mistakes provoke anger. That is to say, in appropriately 'masculine' contexts in which boys do not necessarily excel, then it is acceptable for both boys and girls to make mistakes.

Grouping Structures and Gender Relations

In much of their experience of schooling, it is evident that boys and girls routinely meet attitudes and organisational structures which announce differences between them rather than those which encourage co-operation and a recognition of similarity. The formal division of sexes, particularly in the sphere of PE, as I have argued, strongly frames concepts of gender. This is so to the extent that initial attempts to integrate boys and girls within school PE contexts have been met with mistrust and antagonism both between pupils and amongst teachers.[13]

Studies of mixed sex gymnastics and dance classes, Evans, M. (1985) and Duncan (1985) in Britain, and Griffin (1983) in America, demonstrate the reluctance of pupils to engage in cross sex interaction and the apparent hostility which initially emerged between girls and boys when sharing apparatus or ideas. This hostility was also articulated by the pupils of Evans, M.'s (1985) study when they were interviewed in single sex groups.[14] Lopez (1985) found that boys were more egoistic and confident in their own abilities than the girls in co-educational PE lessons. Furthermore, Evans, M. (1985) and Griffin (1983) highlighted boys' aggressive and dominating behaviour and girls' reluctance to assert themselves. Duncan (1985) found the boys of his study reluctant to participate in dance lessons, since they perceived dance to be a more feminine activity.

In contrast to these studies, the majority opinion expressed in interview and evident from the pupil questionnaires was one which clearly indicated preference for working at Shotmoor in co-educational groups which were constituted by equal numbers of each sex (Appendix1XA).

This preference contrasts with the attitudes uncovered in the work of Murdock and Phelps (1973) where the boys in their study apparently favoured exclusively male groups. Boys at Shotmoor gave a number of reasons for preferring mixed groups. The following views were given by boys who had expected to be working in all boy groups:

> ... it's better 'cause you get to know the girls as well, you're not just talking to the boys. I'm talking to everyone in the group. It's better as a mixed group.
> (Chris/Wk5/N1)
> Well, I think it's better that way 'cause if you get a load of boys, they start mucking around and that and like ... (some) of the girls, they don't want to bother and that. If you get a mixed group I think they try equally well.
> (Howard/Wk5/C4)

Not only did this grouping arrangement provide greater opportunities to make friends, but also, for Howard, the presence of girls contributed towards a more committed involvement in the activities by both boys and girls than might otherwise have been the case. The girls represented a form of control over potentially difficult behaviour of boys whilst Howard felt that boys' presence acted as an incentive for girls to participate.

*   *   *

This was clearly so for Glynis who expresses her satisfaction at
working collaboratively in a co-educational group. Furthermore, this
form of grouping provided for visible evidence that girls could and
did achieve as well as boys:

> I like the climbing best, that was the most exciting and
> when you're at the top and looking down ... we did the
> abseil and I thought I'd never do that when you're going up,
> but when you get to the top you see everyone else doing it.
> Its good when you're working with a lot of other people as a
> team, especially with boys as well 'cause they help out.
> Sometimes you see they're no good at something and you are,
> so (laughter) boys aren't the best. (Glynis/Wk9/C6)

Glynis was motivated by other pupils, particularly the boys who
she perceived as giving her support. However, this support was not
seen to engender a relationship which placed girls in a subordinate
position to boys. Frequently, girls were observed to give support and
encouragement to boys. This particular feature of relationships, in
which boys are seen in many cases to offer encouragement and support
to girls to participate on equal terms alongside them (and vice versa),
is quite contrary to that revealed by Leoman (1984) in his study of
girls' resistance to PE.

The complexities of and contradictions associated with gender
and gender identities and relations, which are intermeshed in each
pupil's frame of reference, in some cases, gave rise to ambiguities
which emerged in a number of the discussions and individual
accounts given by pupils. Inconsistencies were apparent in Dave's
account and contradictions were manifest through the various ways in
which some pupils perceived the form of interaction between boys and
girls. Experiences of non-cooperation and unfriendly interactions
between the sexes at Shotmoor were identified in only a very few
accounts and were frequently in contradiction with views expressed by
the same pupil at different times during an interview.

The following discussion contains the perspectives of a group of
girls who had come from an all girls' school. It gives a glimpse of
the complex processes by which gender identification is accomplished
and highlights the ambiguities which emerged for these girls in their
interpretation of gender relations.

BH: What do you think about your group.
Julie: Good.
BH: Why is it good?
Julie: Because it involves lots of people and you make
           friends with other people.
BH: What about the fact it's a mixed group? What do
           you think about that?
Julie: It's better.
BH: Why is it better?
Julie: 'Cause you work as a team.
BH: What do you mean?
Julie: 'Cause the boys are stronger.
BH: Are they?
Louise: We've got the brains and they've got the
           strength.
BH: How does that make you work as a team? Did you
           think that at the beginning of the week?
Louise: We're not used to uhm working with boys so it's
           kind of a new experience really.
Julie: 'Cause we go to an all girls school.
BH: Do you like that?
Louise: No. At first we thought, 'Oh gawd' with boys you
           know because we've always been with all girls.
BH: Why do you think it was better then, when did it
           start getting better?
Julie: Very first day really, during the first activity.
           You got to know them, 'cause they writ their names
           up in the shooting. Didn't they.
BH: So you got to know them then. Do you think it's
           made any difference to the ways you worked?
Julie: Not really.
BH: You would have worked the same whether it was
           girls or boys?
Julie: Yeh, it wouldn't have made much difference.
BH: What do you think, does it make any difference to
           you?
Leslie: I think so.
BH: Do you work harder or are you more embarrassed?
Jane/Leslie: More embarrassed.
BH: Why?
Leslie: (Laughter) 'Cause when you get something wrong
           they all laugh at you - call you names.
BH: But you still enjoyed it - even though it was like
           that?
Leslie: Yeh.
BH: How do you mean you worked as a team? Don't you
           think they encouraged you?
Leslie: No.
Julie: Yeh, some of them did, they said 'go on' didn't
           they?
BH: It's more encouraging with boys is it?
Leslie: It's more fun. You meet new people, make new
           friends.
BH   You enjoyed meeting the boys. Would you not meet
           them at home?

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Leslie:	You do but you only meet 'em when you go to say discos or something like that. All the boys you was with in Junior School don't speak to you now. You just meet them when you - say - go to discos and things like that.
BH:	Is it so it's a different sort of friendship here?
Leslie:	Yeh.
BH:	How is it?
Leslie:	Well like you're not with them every day are you? They all seems to talk to you.
BH:	Do you think they treat you more equally perhaps as real friends rather than ---
Jane:	Sometimes.
BH:	Would you like to be in this sort of situation a lot?
Julie/Leslie:	Yeh.
BH:	What do you think of girls who do well in sport? Would you think they were funny?
Julie:	No.
BH:	Would you like to do something like that?
Leslie:	Yeh.
BH:	What would you like to be good at?
Julie:	Everything.
Leslie:	Shooting.
BH:	What about Julie.
Julie:	I'd like to do cycling, apart from I'm too scared.
BH:	Don't you think if you tried hard for a long time you'd be able to do it?
Julie:	The good thing here, (if) you don't want to do something here, like climbing, but they make you do it. And afterwards you feel really good.
Leslie:	I was scared with climbing until the teacher showed me how to do it and I like it now.
Julie:	I was stood at the top ready to abseil down and then all the boys said, 'Go on, go on', and so they made me walk over and I went down. And I had another go after.
Jane:	They encourage you to do it, they say 'Go on then'.
Leslie:	They just call you chickens if you don't so you do it 'cause you don't like being called chickens.
BH:	So if you were with an all girl group they wouldn't bother to---
Leslie:	They'd go, 'Oh I'm not going up there', and probably all of us would chicken out. (Wk5/N2)

These girls attended an all girls school and therefore their frames of reference were constituted by a form of schooling which was generally free from the direct imposition of boys' needs and demands. They did not at school directly experience a situation in which they provided a negative reference group for boys, nor were they deprived of same sex 'role' models. Such girls should perhaps possess greater

self esteem and hold higher aspirations for themselves than might
otherwise be expected (cf. Whyte et al. 1985).[15] Like many of the
boys, of great importance to these girls were the new relationships
they were able to make with other people. The form of learning made
available at Shotmoor gave them the opportunity to develop friendships
particularly with the other sex.

Not only did these girls perceive the teachers to foster
sociality between the sexes, but also they felt that the Shotmoor
teachers were more concerned to help them overcome their own
reluctance to risk participation in unknown spheres than were their
school teachers. Unlike many girls generally, these girls considered
'success' in sport as an appropriate aspiration for themselves as
girls. However, boys and girls are still perceived to possess
different types of attributes, albeit ones in which, whilst boys'
physical prowess is extolled, it is girls' academic competence which
is celebrated.

The importance of peer group expectation and the effect which it
had upon the girls' involvement and feelings of success are high-
lighted. We see the discrepancies in opinions concerning forms of
interaction between boys and girls. Whilst one girl perceived boys to
be coercive in their influence upon her, the others perceived them to
be encouraging and supportive in their relations. For this group of
girls, an all girl group would not necessarily have fostered such
commitment to the curriculum. Nor would it have opened up for them
greater possibilities in their choice of actions and in their
    understanding of their capabilities.

Paul, whose class group was predominantly male in composition,
although seeing boys' and girls' behaviour as different, did not
denigrate girls or underrate their abilities. He held similar
sentiments to those of Howard.

> Paul: I think it would have been better if we'd had more
>   girls ... it would have been a lot more fun with
>   four girls and four girls.
> BH: Why?
> Paul: Well you would laugh at each other, with the boys
>   they seem to do the same sort of thing but the girls
>   do it differently. It would have been better, a lot
>   of them are better than us at sport. (Wk8/C5)

Many boys and girls attending Shotmoor saw and felt that each
motivated and supported each other and recognised each other as
individuals. In many cases, a more sensitive understanding between
pupils appears to have been fostered. This contrasts markedly with
the majority of studies in mixed sex classrooms in mainstream schools,
which evidence that boys are reluctant to associate or identify with
girls, and girls' abilities are underrated (Stanworth 1983; Measor and
Woods 1984; Evans, M. 1985).

However, some reservations which were rarely expressed were
given by Keith, who was quoted earlier.

BH: What did you think about the group?
Keith: There's some (girl) that complains about
          everything, really fussy, apart from
          that they're all right.
BH: Are they as good as you then?
Keith: Well at some things better, at other things worse.
BH: Do you like mixed groups (here)?
Keith: Yes I like mixed groups ... but I'd change it
          around a bit. (Wk9/C6)

It was not mixed grouping, however, which Keith has difficulty
in coming to terms with, but the way in which one girl appeared to
receive a high percentage of the teacher's time and attention which
was overtly different (see Chapter 9).

Moreover, pupils' observed behaviour in lessons evidenced that
the form of relations between boys and girls, in this context, was
markedly different from that generally reported to occur in mainstream
schools. These data suggest that most pupils entered into
relationships with each other in ways which were more collaborative
and symmetrical than those generally experienced between boys and
girls, men and women.

Competence, Capabilities and Gender
        Not only did girls at Shotmoor, even in the co-educational
groups, receive a similar amount of teacher attention as boys and
thereby became more visible and more fully drawn into the learning
process, but also they perceived teachers to hold similar aspirations
for them as they held for boys. Generally, the girls were responsive
to the ways in which teachers communicated their expectations of

them.[16] Consequently, many of the girls perceived themselves to be more capable than they had originally supposed, whilst it appeared immediately visible to them, as well as to the boys, that they could and did achieve as well as boys.

The following accounts, as those preceding, are representative of those given by the pupils interviewed at Shotmoor. Although containing some residual, albeit ambiguous, notions of stereotypical gender behaviour and abilities (largely amongst the boys), nevertheless they suggest an increased awareness of similarities between the sexes and consequently an upgrading of girls' abilities in the perceptions, not only of most girls, but also many boys, at least in this context.

The newness of the curriculum to both boys and girls was evidently a significant feature which contributed towards these views:

> I think girls are as good ... if you've been rock climbing before then it's O.K. for you, but girls and boys that haven't been rock climbing before must feel the same way, they can't feel differently can they? I think we are as good as the boys and they are as good as us.
> (Debbie/Wk9/C6)

For Debbie, the competences of boys and girls in this sphere were not dissimilar. This, she believes, is a result of their equally limited experience which initially provides both with similar perceptions of themselves and their capabilities.

The following discussion draws attention to differing underlying assumptions about girls' abilities and behaviour held amongst a group of boys. It highlights the emergence of a challenge to stereotypical versions of gender. Again, it is felt that starting from similar experiences is important in countering differences:

> BH: What about your group?
> Jim: Yeh, I think we've got quite a good group. I mean we work together well.
> BH: How do you get on with the girls?
> Jim: We get on fine. We just get on like a team, there's no ---
> Duncan: They act as though they are boys, same as us.
> Jim: No, they act as though we're all the same.
> BH: Why is that do you think?
> Jim: I don't know 'cause we're all doing the same sort of thing and you've got to act the same.

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BH:        Do you think it makes any difference having the
           girls here?
Jim:       No.
BH:        Does it make you work better?
Willy:     No about the same.
Duncan:    Makes you work better 'cause you show off in front
           of them.
BH:        Do you reckon they are better at some things?
Jim/Duncan: Sometimes.
BH:        What things are they better at?
Duncan:    Archery.
BH:        What aren't they better at?
Jim:       Track cycling.
Willy:     Climbing.
Duncan:    Track cycling they are quite good at - sort of
           boyish things like climbing they're not very good
           at.
BH:        Why is that a boyish thing then?
Jim:       No it's not.
Duncan:    I'm sorry.
BH:        It's his opinion - that's alright.  Why do you
           think it might be more boyish then?
Duncan:    'Cause boys like more strenuous things.
BH:        Yeh and you don't think girls have got the
           strength?
Willy:     No, they've got the strength it's just that...
Duncan:    They are scared - they ain't got so much bottle as
           we've got. Boys are always climbing stuff.  Its
           seldom you see girls climbing.
BH:        Why do you think that is?
Duncan:    'Cause they don't find it interesting.
BH:        Why do you find it interesting?
Duncan:    It's adventure.
BH:        Don't you think girls like adventure?
Duncan:    Don't know.
BH:        Do you prefer a mixed group to a single boys'
           group?
Willy:     You don't get to meet many people (in single sex
           groups). Girls know people and we get to meet them.
           (Wk5/N2)
```

Duncan is oriented toward a frame of reference which celebrates
'masculine' attributes. In recognising successful collaboration
between boys and girls in an appropriately 'masculine' context, he
elevates the girls to positions of honorary boys. However, Jim
questions this notion and posits that boys and girls behave similarly
but such behaviour is unrelated to concepts of gender. Jim later
challenges Duncan's assumption that climbing is an activity less
appropriate to girls than boys. Unlike Dave, Willy suggests that
girls do possess adequate physical strength to enable them to climb.

However, not only are girls perceived to be too frightened to participate, but also there is still the assumption that girls generally lack interest in adventurous activities. Nevertheless, pupils' apprehension at participating in risk taking activities were seen in many cases to affect boys and girls in much the same way:

> The boys weren't a lot better than us 'cause they were frightened of some things, same as us. You can do some things better than them. (Glynis/Wk9/C6)

As a consequence, girls become aware of a more sensitive side to boys' natures, 'They act so tough (the boys) but really they're not underneath.' (Debbie/Wk9/C6)

The pupils then began to perceive contradictions to stereotypical views of gendered behaviours and to related 'abilities'. As we have seen, many of the boys were surprised at the girls' capabilities and this is evident in John's account:

John:	The girls got on quite well, some of them got on better than us.
BH:	Did they? How?
John:	Ann.
BH:	She was good was she?
John:	Yeh.
BH:	As good?
John:	Yeh, better.
BH:	Why do think she did better?
John:	Don't know.
BH:	Would you expect that normally?
John:	No not really, we're supposed to be the stronger sex. (Laughter.)
BH:	Do you think the teacher treated them any differently, then?
John:	No, he treated them the same way.
BH:	Do you think that's got something to do with it?
John:	No.
BH:	No? Just that she's ---
John:	Well, if the girls wanted to back out he tried to push them. None of the boys backed out, we just went on with it. (Wk10/C3)

The apparent ambiguity in John's account concerning his perception of the same but different treatment of boys and girls, can be explained in terms of his conventional concepts of the appropriate behaviour of boys and girls. John takes for granted that boys are expected to be adventurous and that if they showed reluctance there would be an 'appropriate' response from the teacher. This response, however, was given also to hesitant girls. The surface level

contradictions in John's account may, therefore, be explained in terms of his taken-for-granted understanding of teacher's different treatment in relation to appropriate but different expected behaviour of girls and boys.

In this context, however, girls were encouraged to participate, to write an alternative script to that prescribed for them by wider society. In this way their capabilities and talents became more visible. Likewise, boys were also seen to act out an alternative script in which emotions and apprehension were visible and acceptable features. Moreover, the accounts of the majority of pupils indicate that boys and girls entered into different forms of relationships than those which are reported to exist between them in mainstream schools.

The characteristic features of the case study institute appeared to foster amongst boys and girls a more perceptive understanding and awareness of each other as individuals who possessed not dissimilar emotional attributes and physical and mental capabilities and who may need, and were worthy of, encouragement and support. Moreover, support in this context did not necessarily signify subordination but rather collaboration. This is not to suggest that boys and girls did not hold certain residual stereotypical attitudes towards gender. We see this in some of the preceding pupils' comments. However, the evidence suggests that boys and girls were perceiving each other from different angles and from perspectives which, for the most part, contradicted and challenged those societal type-scripts which celebrate machismo and which prescribe conventional, differentiating concepts of appropriate gender behaviour, 'abilities' and relations. Images of what it is to be female or male, to conform to gender stereotypes, were, in many cases, visibly challenged and redefined, becoming more diffuse, negotiable and idiosyncratic concepts. Furthermore, most of the pupils not only made self appraisals in which they saw themselves as more 'successful' than they had expected, but also they generally expressed considerable commitment to the forms of interaction which they encountered. Evidently, even tacit appreciation by teachers of the ways in which gender societal type-scripts influence the ways in which girls and boys perceive their capabilities has important implications for the realisation of pupils' particular

skills and competences. The relations and identities engendered within this context were, I suggest, concomitant upon, and interrelated with, not only surface features, such as organisational procedures , material resource and temporal factors, but also upon the ways in which many of the teachers at Shotmoor communicated; in the ways in which pupils' frames of reference were centralized and the affective properties of communication were acknowledged.

Chapter II

PRINCIPLED ENQUIRY - EPISTEMOLOGICAL PURITY ?

This chapter explores in hindsight the development and
production of this thesis. It examines intermeshing issues
concerning fieldwork, data analyses and the generation of theory. It
attempts to recapture the temporal significance and the dynamic
nature of discovery. Issues of credibility in relation to this
thesis and research more generally are raised.

The unfolding of the fieldwork,the development of the conceptual
framework and the reading of the literature

This section examines chronologically, in greater detail and in
a more concrete form the unfolding of the field work and the ways in
which the reading of the literature located the emergent data within
the theoretical framework. It is apposite to refer to the work of
Glaser and Strauss (1967) which, whilst emphasising the importance of
'grounding' theory in the empirical data, points out that ideas and
insights might also emerge from other sources:

> Generating theory from the data means that most hypotheses
> and concepts not only come from data, but are systematically
> worked out in relation to the data during the course of the
> research. Generating a theory involves a process of
> research. By contrast, the source of certain ideas, or even
> 'models', can come from sources other than the data.
> (Glaser and Strauss 1967:6, emphases in the original)

Prior to the field research, I had read intensively about
methodology and interpretive research. I had also read Bernstein's
(1977) 'Class and pedagogies:visible and invisible' and feminist
writings such as Spender and Sarah's (1980) Learning to Lose. These
latter books appeared over-deterministic and not sufficiently located
in empirical data.

My concern was, as I indicate in Chapter 2, to ground my work in
the empirical data. I was interested in teaching and learning in
outdoor education and I wanted to explore if and how the pupils'
experiences in outdoor education differed from those occurring in
mainstream schools. However, at that time, there appeared very
little empirical interpretive work concerning teacher-pupil
interaction, pupils' experiences, or any relating to boy/girl
interaction. At that time I had read Janet Lever's (1976) work on sex

differences in children's play, Leoman's (1983) research on sex
differentiation in PE and Moir's (1976) 'Nice girls don't'. These
suggested to me that I should attempt to look closely at differences
in teachers' interaction with boys and with girls, and into girls'
and boys' interpretations of their experiences.

Prior to the immersion in the field, I had decided upon my
methods of data collection. These are described in Chapter 2.
Familiar with the setting, I decided not to use teacher
questionnaires as I discerned this would be intrusive and might
affect not only the ways in which teachers acted but also their
interpretations of what they were doing. However, although not
completely happy, I decided to use the pupil questionnaire which,
although it might be intrusive, if used at the end of the week and
carefully, could not influence the pupils greatly since they would be
leaving. I planned to follow a case study group of pupils each week
(Chapter 2).

At the end of the second week in the field, after having
observed all the teachers teaching climbing (pp.60,61,), I wrote the
following memo:

> Can't seem to see anything related to boy/girl treatment
> other than they appear (on the surface) to be treated much
> the same. (memo 21.1.83)

I also noted the following:

> 'Unique' learning experience, school teachers learning
> alongside pupils. (Memo 18.1.83)

The third week I took time out and I left the field to look
closely at the observational data, and my field notes, so that I
could decide the direction and foci for the remainder of the field
study. At this point I formulated the hypothesis based upon Willis's
counter definition of sport (p.62). I needed to test this through
further examination of the timing and content of teacher interaction
in lessons (p.63).

During that time I was also reading Lacey's (1976) 'Problems in
sociological fieldwork' which called my attention to the
differentiation brought about by the school and teachers and the
resultant polarisation of pupil interaction, partly produced by
inter-group competition. Selection, it suggested, provided for a

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self-fulfilling prophecy - children do as well as they think they
can. I made a further hypothesis in relation to the prevailing
feminist argument for single sex schools:

> For pupils to 'succeed' it is not necessary to separate
> girls and boys. To create a non differentiated (society).
> Is it necessary to mix ability and sex? Is it the way in
> which knowledge is conveyed which creates differentiation?
> (Memo 27.1.83)

Looking back through my field notes, I also noticed a memo from
week 1 in which I had noted that one teacher who rarely taught seemed
more 'soft' with the girls than boys. When asked about this he
replied, 'dogmatically' that he treated each pupil individually. Thus
it was also necessary to examine how and why 'reality' was
accomplished for teachers and pupils through different teaching
approaches. That is, what were the messages conveyed in the
teacher-pupil interaction and what were the particular but as yet
intangible properties of these communications.

The collection of observational data which I describe in
Chapter 2, Appendix IIA was governed by the data which emerged in
weeks 1 and 2. I was guided in my choice of which case study class,
where practically possible, to observe weekly, by the types of
teaching approach which I had crudely identified during weeks 1 and 2.
I wished to identify the various properties of interaction associated
with different descriptive categories of teaching, thus to 'saturate'
these, to see if further properties emerged. At the end of week five
I manually analysed the questionnaire to determine whether pupils
preferred mixed sex groups. (196 liked mixed groups. 12 boys liked
all- boy, 6 from the all- boy school. 2 girls, both from an all-
girl school, liked all-girl groups.)

For the remainder of the study I continued to collect lesson
data as shown in Appendix IIA. By week seven (23.2.83) I had the
following memos:

1. I am making the assumption that the educational knowledge
   content and form along with its MOT can be compared with
   educational knowledge and the ways it is made available to
   pupils in mainstream schools.

2. Emerging (lesson observational) data suggests the following:
   Same lesson (in terms of content) taken by different
   teachers is similar to a marked extent in a) its format:
   class teaching or individual teaching, b) its content and
   sequencing of contents, c) the distribution of teacher time
   amongst pupils. Teachers may thus be able to concentrate on
   their inter-personal relationships with the pupil if they

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are freed from routine organisation of the lesson.
Individual pupils regardless of 'ability' or sex receive a
similar amount of teacher time (this contradicts data
evidenced in the school context from Galton et al.1980, Evans
1982 and Stanworth 1983). But c) teachers unaware of pupil's
background so they make their own assessment about
individual pupils. They may have assumptions about a 'type'
from their visible attributes.

3. The Form of knowledge transmission (the way in which
   knowledge is conveyed) varies from teacher to teacher? Or
   the quality of teacher approach (teacher-pupil interaction)
   varies depending upon the teacher's aims/goals, his/her
   biography and is affected by other factors.

4. The form of interaction may be defined in terms of the
   teacher's approach, for example, authoritarian/ legalistic,
   liberal/ permissive (Torode in Stubbs and Delamont 1976)
   which may be characterised by

   a) types of questions open/closed (Galton et al.1980)
   b) the amount of individual praise, encouragement etc.
   c) the form of evaluation.

5. From the emergent data I propose 4 types of teacher
   interaction.

   a) One in which teacher sees each individual pupil as
      different from every other pupil but attempts to get
      the 'best' from each.

   b) One in which the teacher labels pupils from visible
      attributes (i.e. boy or girl) and interacts
      accordingly to the assumptions he/she has about those
      attributes.

   c) One in which the skill or activity is more important
      than the individual pupil.

   d) One in which the teacher does not appear to see
      pupils as individually different but considers them
      all the same and therefore does not vary the
      interaction (i.e. his/her approach) but assumes he
      can get the best out of them.

6. Are 'rules' explicit and governed by safety and stand
   external to teachers and pupils (See reference to Durkheim
   in Barton and Meighan 1979:29) (memos by 23.2.83)

Pupil decision making and teacher's action and intent in the

abseil became of interest, and informal discussions amongst the

teachers were initiated.

Central to my analysis were the properties of communication

mediated through the teaching approach. It appeared that there were

inconsistencies in the various data associated with these teaching

approaches which I had identified. That is, the data had suggested that each pupil regardless of sex or 'ability' received a similar amount of teacher time which thus suggested that girls were not treated very differently from boys. Yet I had identified from the data a type of teacher interaction 5(b) in which assumptions to do with the sex of the pupil were made by the teacher which in some way informed the form of interaction for girls and for boys. (This apparent anomaly was eventually resolved through repeated reading of the observational data after the field research and the separation, for analytical purposes, of the teaching approach into two elements, the MOT and the communicative form (p.101), but not until the ideological implication of gender and its relation to capabilities were considered (p.91; note 12,p.273).) Thus it was necessary to collect more data from the four teaching types in order to check the distribution of teachers' time amongst boys and girls and the verbal and non-verbal interaction between the teacher and boys/girls and amongst pupils. The properties of communication which categorised the four teaching types formed the basis for the categories of communication portrayed in model 3, p.207.

I continued to note the timing of the lesson and its content segments. I noted :

> The allocation of time for various sections of the lessons
> varies from teacher to teacher even though the content
> remains the same.   (memo 7.3.83)

Immediately after the field study I began the writing of the first drafts of the methodological chapter and the literature review. I also read Bernstein (1977) 'On the classification and framing of educational knowledge'. The data were initially crudely coded into large descriptive categories for easier purchase upon them . These were made up of a) lessons which were sub-divided into the different subjects, b) teachers which were sub-divided into lessons and accounts, c) the data from each week, d) pupils' accounts collected during the lessons or at break-times (the interview data had not been transcribed at this point in time), e) accounts given by school teachers, f) accounts given by others. I continued to code and analyse the data. This was a long process which went sometimes smoothly, sometimes tortuously and involved constant moving between the raw observational data coded in the three categories of

activities, teachers and weeks. There were much data from many data sources. During the summer of 1983 I transcribed the pupil interview tapes and crudely coded the pupils' views as follows:

A The ways teachers treated girls compared with boys (treated girls/boys)

B What girls/boys thought of themselves with respect to boys/girls

C What girls/boys think of boys/girls (i.e. their relationship with them in the context)

D What girls/boys think of boys/girls (general)

E Boys'/Girls' aims

F How the situation affects individuals (general)

G How the mixed sex situation affects individuals

H Comments on mixed group

I What girls/boys think the boys/girls think

In the summer of 1983, I also worked on the beginnings of the paper 'Learning for a change' (Humberstone 1986). The focus of this was the timing and distribution of two teachers' interaction in the first lesson of the climbing syllabus, together with the perceptions of teachers and case study pupils. This evidenced that although the two teachers' concepts of boys' and girls' 'abilities' were different from each other they both distributed their time fairly evenly amongst the pupils. This was followed by an analysis of Shotmoor teachers' accounts to identify features of the Shotmoor work culture. Here emerged more strikingly the concept of independence/dependence in a risk-taking situation, the dilemma which this entailed for teachers and how various teachers perceived these issues in relation to pupils. Teachers' concepts of pupil 'success' and pupil independence (decision-making) were highlighted and shared meanings uncovered (Chapter 7). Further coding and analysis of the observational data were made in terms of the timing, content and sequencing of the teaching approach. I was concerned also to see if there was incongruency between what teachers thought they did and what they appeared to do. Drafts of the methodology chapter and chapter 1 were made and the penultimate draft of the methodology chapter was completed during the summer of 1984.

<p align="center">*   *   *</p>

> Just doing grounded theory with trust in its process leads
> to the analyst realizing that creativity is cyclical and
> multi-levelled and that it feeds back in and upon itself in
> order for the generation of ideas from data to occur.
> (Glaser 1978:22, emphasis in the original)

I have stressed the importance of disciplined enquiry and
careful ' grounding' of the research in the process of data
collection and through the analyses. But I have not made reference
to the more complex and perhaps creative aspects in the process of
analysis and theory development. Mills (1959) makes the following
points in relation to the perplexities of research:

> The sociological imagination... in considerable part
> consists of the capacity to shift from one perspective to
> another, and in the process to build up an adequate view of
> a total society and of its components. It is this
> imagination, of course, that sets off the social scientist
> from the mere technician. Adequate technicians can be
> trained in a few years. The sociological imagination can
> also be cultivated; certainly it seldom occurs without a
> great deal of often routine work. Yet there is an
> unexpected quality about it, perhaps because its essence is
> the combination of ideas that no one expected were
> combinable... There is a playfulness of mind back of such
> combining as well as a truly fierce drive to make sense of
> the world, which the technician as such usually lacks.
> Perhaps he is too well trained, too precisely trained.
> Since one can be trained only in what is already known,
> training sometimes incapacitates one from learning new ways;
> it makes one rebel against what is bound to be at first
> loose and even sloppy. But you must cling to value images
> and notions, if they are yours, and you must work them out.
> For it is in such forms that original ideas, if any almost
> always appear. (Mills 1959:232-233, cited in Woods 1985:70)

From the analyses of the various data sources (pupil informal
interview, observation data, informal conversation) emerged a
patterning and a complex interplay of the ways in which boys and
girls perceived themselves and each other, the notions of their self
esteem and increasing competences, and the various properties of the
teaching approach. Running alongside the analysis of the distribution
of teacher time amongst boys and girls was the dialectical interplay
between teacher and pupil relations and messages of independence and
order. Looking at various works which had attempted to explore
particular teacher types and pedagogic approaches, the concept of
enabling through the teaching approach and the apparent differences
in the ways in which boys and girls perceived their capabilities
interlinked with the notion of power and control underpinning the
pedagogic encounter and began to make sense of the data. That is to

say, a growing awareness of the significance of the ideological implications of gender for the interpretation of teachers' 'understandings' of pupils and pupil motivation ,and for pupils own meta-learning (p.100; note 5,p.294), created a feedback through which gender as a conceptual code became 'workable' and 'relevant' (cf.Glaser 1978:95).

Of significant influence, and which shifted my thinking and gave me confidence to move from analysis at the micro level and thus to enter into dialogue with broader theoretical issues, was the work of feminist theologian Mary Daly with whose values at a personal level I could identify. Her work, like that of Giddens and Evans, recognised opportunity as well as constraint, but she also recognised oppressive machismo affecting both men and women. At this point (Nov/Dec 1984), I felt it necessary to engage in more depth with theoretical conceptualisations of power: constraints and independence. My engagement with these concepts and the relevant literature is given in Chapter 3.

This formed a critical period both in my own thinking and the development of the thesis; I think my frame of reference which had located me largely within a radical naturalist orientation had blocked me from moving beyond the conscious awareness of teachers and pupils in analysis towards a structural perspective (p.78). The anomalies in the data (girls get as much if not more of the teachers' time, yet in some cases differences were announced) could be resolved if the ideological implications of gender were taken into account. I could now develop the emergent data into a theoretical conceptualisation and the thesis into its chapters.

It was a time of intense involvement with the data, in dialogue with various works in the literature, in which I drew together the disparate elements of the research, the different perspectives, inter-linking these with factors expressing decisions about economic, physical and personal resources, to form a more holistic picture by which to view educational knowledge and the thesis (model 2,p.97). Model 2 which developed out of the dialogue of the data with various literature represents a framework by which education as a social phenomena may be understood. It attempts to link organisational and ideological factors, which may underlie any curriculum form, to their institutional and interactional setting within wider existing

structures. The frame factors (cf. Dahllöf 1971; Lundgren 1981;
Evans 1982) which are directly influenced by policies external to
an institution are mediated by that institution through its
timetable. In the classroom decisions which have been made in
respect of these frame factors effect individuals within, through the
ways they constitute diverse messages and frame contexts. Through
this model, processes at an individual level are linked to those at a
structural level in the mediation of these frame factors. This
framework which is elaborated in Chapter 4 and which indicates links
with the literature is actualised for Shotmoor in the chapters which
follow. Thereby, the ways in which the localised frame factors are
realised at Shotmoor are delineated. Model 3, p.207 lies at the
centre of this framework (model 2) and illuminates the interactional
mediation of the Shotmoor frame factors through the particular
communicative forms identified in the observed lessons. Model 3,
p.207 thus portrays the particular contextual encounters realised by
the Shotmoor educational knowledge code and exposes the differing
forms of relations and control underpinning such pedagogic encounters
at Shotmoor.

The conceptualisation of girls' and boys' understandings
(realisation) of their own and each other's capabilities and
emotional attributes, their notions of 'success' are important
elements of this model and are crucial to any understanding of
schooling. Model 2 enables us to explore the contextual mediation of
frame factors and the ways in which these are realised as forms of
relations and identity on the part of the pupil. Thus, it provides
for us a framework through which it may be possible to explore
localised social production and/or social change as expressions of
particular educational codes.

Through the process of grounded theorizing, constant movement
between the various descriptive categories generated from the
classroom observational data, the core categories and the conceptual
codes, in engagement with the literature, the theoretical framework
was developed. The climax for me was the ethnomethodological work.
Here I was able to share my analyses of the ways in which
'reality'(images and relations) were accomplished through the
different properties of communication evidenced in lessons at
Shotmoor. These properties of communication were identified through

careful analysis of the lesson data and used as empirical indicators in the development of the conceptual codes. Although these properties of communication which constitute the two principal categories (outlined in model 3, p207) were field constructs, throughout the analysis Bernstein's work, in particular on classification and framing (1977), was a rich source of stimulus through which I asked questions of all the various sources and types of data (cf. Glaser 1978:57). Central to these questions were the lesson observational data. Such questions were concerned with what constituted in the lessons (from all the various perspectives) 'valid' knowledge and skills and 'valid' modes of knowledge transmission, and what were the forms of realisation on the part of the pupil. I was looking at the message systems which were embedded in the particular properties of communication by which images and relations were transmitted and identified. I memoed in October 1985: 'Bernstein asks of us, Whose order and what competences?'

I was committed not only to comparing the forms of pedagogy and evaluation, but also these experiences and expressions at Shotmoor with those in mainstream schooling. I included in my readings the interpretive, empirical work which was more recently becoming published and which was concerned with boys' and girls' experiences and which had also identified gender as impacting upon pupils' forms of expressions. One of my first pieces of writing after the field study had been concerned with teacher- boy/girl interactions and pupils' perception and provided the basis for 'Learning for a Change'(Humberstone 1986). Chapter 10 which is concerned with pupils' perceptions of their experiences at Shotmoor and school was the last to be completed and juxtaposes the pupils' accounts from the research with the literature. In this way, the case study pupils' experiences and expressions could be located within this broader societal framework.

'Audience' Responses

I mentioned briefly my initial dilemma and the reluctance I had to the possibility of my producing a thesis which could be largely unintelligible to the participants of the institute (p.78). This was partially reconciled through my additional writing which was intended not only for academic but also teacher audiences.

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One article 'Learning for a Change' (Humberstone 1986) was sent to Shotmoor for comments from the staff, prior to its publication. At that time an external working party was looking at the future role of the institute. The members were aware of the research which had been carried out and had requested to see the article. The principal commented informally to me that he didn't think the initial section (about gender) was of much interest but the descriptive sections on lessons and the pupils' comments he thought would be helpful. Presumably the staff of the institute recognised themselves in the descriptive material but many were unable to see the relevance of the wider and complex questions of gender for themselves. One teacher who had tried to read the more sociologically informed pieces of this thesis had found them generally too complex to have any meaning. Alan who had been particularly interested in the research whilst I was in the field, and had left the institute some six months after to go to Nepal(to be a 'rafter' on the Sun Khosi river) and with whom I had kept some brief correspondence, returned to England some three years after the research. He read 'Learning for a Change' and commented that he thought there were too many references but he was interested to read more of the work. He found considerable difficulty reading the thesis but identified himself and some of the other staff. On reading Chapter 10 on the pupils his comment was, 'It's like someone taking out my heart and liver and inserting someone else's. I'm the same person but changed.'

He also wondered how it had been possible for me to carry out the field work whilst holding the broader knowledge contained in the thesis. I reminded him of a film of which we had talked during the field study in which a prison governor took the role of an inmate to uncover how they were really treated. I pointed out that at the time I had been as an inmate. That is to say, I had not been theoretically informed, rather I had been an insider, a teacher whose sympathies lay mostly with the pupils.

Authenticity, Credibility and Disciplined Inquiry in 'Doing' Research

> Credible research is worthy of belief and entitled to confidence. The credible study inspires belief; however, belief in a study is also a function of the research consumer's pre-existing perceptual orientation and preference for certain paradigms, methods, and tools of research.   (Earls 1985:7)

At the time of the study, I was more orientated towards a radical naturalistic research approach than to one which was theoretically informed by either a positivistic or an ethnographic paradigm. In the field research, I utilised a variety of data collection methods which generated both diverse quantitative as well as qualitative data. I was concerned through this combination of types of data collected from various sources, the focus of which was classroom observation, to understand the processes of teaching and learning within the cultural milieu of the institute. I was seeking not only to understand the situated meanings and interpretations (which might go beyond the conscious awareness of teachers and pupils), but also to set the contextual understandings within a wider perspective.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) point to a fundamental difference in the philosophical assumptions underlying positivistic and radical naturalistic paradigms:

> Positivism treats the researcher - by virtue of scientific method - as having access to superior knowledge. The radical naturalist ... views the social scientist as incapable of producing valid accounts of events that compete with any provided by the people being studied.
> (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 234)

The conflation of philosophical and technical issues in much research in the social sciences is emphasised by Sparkes (1986). He suggests there are inconsistencies and confusion in the work of researchers who claim comparability of positivistic and naturalistic paradigms within a single research project. In attempting to integrate techniques from both paradigms, by using methods which yield both qualitative and quantitative data, the main concern of the researcher, he suggests, is to develop and utilize criteria and procedures which will do for naturalistic inquiry what certain procedures have done for quantitative inquiry; that is to verify true reality with certitude. The work of LeCompte and Goetz (1982) is cited for the ways in which, ignoring the philosophical differences between positivistic and naturalistic paradigms, it develops criteria for the concepts of validity and reliability in naturalistic research which are drawn from a positivistic paradigm. Sparkes thus infers that a synthesis of methodological techniques from the two paradigms, the engagement with both qualitative and quantitative data in the

research process, compromises the researcher but allows him/her 'to avoid confronting key problems within the naturalistic paradigm'(p.5).

These paradigmatic and pragmatic problems are ones with which I was faced at different times throughout the research (pp.46 ,78), and which I wish now to address in greater detail and in hindsight. I shall discuss, with reference to my own work, whether it may be possible, through principled inquiry, to maintain epistemological purity (to stay within an ethnographically informed paradigm) in 'doing' research, whilst utilizing methods of data collection which yield both qualitative and quantitative data.

First, however, I shall present criteria suggested by Earls (1985) for 'interpretive naturalistic research from an ethnographic perspective' which he supposes might enhance the credibility of such research whilst not 'borrowing' from a positivistic paradigm:

A.   Prerequisites

   1. Natural physical setting
   2. Natural participants
   3. Natural social context
   4. Natural activities and content
   5. Natural actions and behaviours

B.   Perspective

   1. Insider's or participant's perspective (emic)
      a. Gaining inside information
      b. Learning to perceive as the insider perceives
   2. Focus on understanding of meanings
   3. Participant observation role
   4. Prolonged and persistent observation with depth and
         increasing focus
   5. Holistic and complex
   6. Research design is flexible, responsive and evolving

C.   Process

   1. Field notes during participant observation
   2. Predominantly open-ended interviewing
   3. Multiple types of data, sources, and methods
   4. Data collection tools are meaningful and appropriate
         for the particular context
   5. Searching for discrepant cases
   6. Peer briefings to challenge diligence
   7. Repeated analysis
   8. Reflective journal
   9. Cross-checking with participants (formative and summative)
   10. Research audit of procedural steps is facilitated

D. Products
    1. Thick description provided
    2. Reports address problems encountered
    3. Facilitation of transferability of results
    4. Description and interpretation are emphasised more than
        evaluation and prediction
    5. Representative of both the modal and atypical
    6. Interpretations are plausible
    7. When appropriate results are carefully related to other
        relevant literature
    8. Research audit of the development of results is facilitated

                                        (Earls 1985:9, Table 3)

These criteria, although forming the basis for credible
naturalistic inquiry, do not suggest ways in which theory might be
generated from the data. Thus, although claiming to be from an
ethnographic perspective, these criteria locate themselves more
within a radical naturalistic paradigm, and only implicitly suggest
ways in which the researcher may explore situated meanings which may
go beyond the consciousness of individual participants (item D7). How
then can principled, credible ethnography be carried out? Glaser and
Strauss's (1967) method of grounded theorizing is not incompatible
with the naturalistic paradigm since its technique of data collection
and data analysis requires the researcher's constant involvement and
checking both in the field and in later analysis of the data. Ideally
certain ideas and insights emerge during the field work which
sensitize the researcher to where, how and in what manner to collect
further data. In my case, the focus of my research was the dynamic
process of teaching. Thus the primary concern of the research was the
process of knowledge transmission and this could only be uncovered by
collecting data associated with this process. The verbal and
non-verbal communication in lessons, to whom and in what manner the
teacher interacted were recorded together with the natural timing of
events. In order to focus the research, I followed Glaser and
Strauss's (1967) procedure of theoretical sampling (pp.60,61). Thus
during week 2,I observed the maximum variety of teaching approaches
whilst minimizing content variables. This procedure which is
elucidated in Chapter 2 and Appendix IIA was followed throughout the
research in the field.

    After the field work,the task of coding the plethora of data
from the various sources was facilitated through the techniques of
grounded theorizing which formed the mainstay of the analysis. All
the data from the various data sources were first coded into the

descriptive categories. Next, data from lesson observation, that is the processes by which knowledge and skills were conveyed, were coded for each teacher into two elements: teachers' organisation and use of time (MOT) and the verbal and non-verbal communication (communicative form). Figure 2 illustrates the categories used for the analysis of the observational data. The left hand branch (MOT) represents the ways in which lessons were structured. The timing of these segments was undertaken at what was discerned to be natural breaks in the course of events (p.71). The right hand branch outlines the type of content of the verbal and non-verbal communication recorded in lessons.

Figure 2

The analytical elements of the teaching process

teaching process

type of interaction (MOT)

Public
individual   group   class

Private
individual group

content (communicative form)

Public
procedural   diagnostic   affective   symbolic

Private
procedural   diagnostic   affective   symbolic
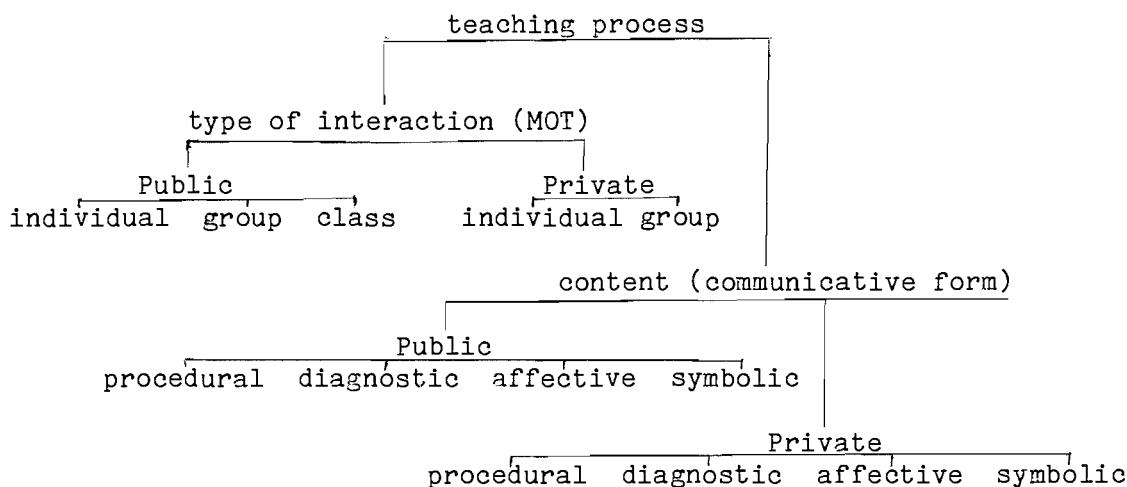
Each lesson was examined to determine the timing of lessons, lesson sequencing (Chapter 6) and the distribution of teacher time amongst pupils (Chapter 8). Here, the handling of quantitative data was not for me incompatible with my naturalistic paradigm. However, as pointed out (p.76), rigid, artificial timing of events did on occasions cause dissonance within the field work.

Certainly, I wished to make sense of the contextual meanings and situated events but also I wished to go beyond description to uncover what to me and to the participants was intangible and to develop an holistic perspective which might transcend that of individual interpretations. But I wished to do this in as disciplined and unobtrusive a manner as I was able, whilst neither ignoring or eliminating the subtleties of the context or the ways in which it was

constituted both within and outside the classroom. This required me at the time of the field work and as an 'insider' to question my own taken-for-granted assumptions (which I then held), to make the setting 'anthropologically strange' (p.45) and so to attempt to gain greater insight into those subtleties and contextual meanings. I was interested in the dynamic process of teaching and learning, the relationship between teachers and pupils through which knowledge and skill were made available, accessible and meaningful to participants. Consequently, the central source of data collection was lesson observation (see Chapter 2 Appendix IIA). However, I was also a participating member of the setting. Like visiting school teachers who were frequently involved in watching their pupils in lessons (as well as participating alongside them) or talking with the Shotmoor teachers and their pupils, I too was participating. So whilst descriptions of lesson activities, what was said, to whom, when, etc. were recorded, I was also able to engage in informal conversation at what I discerned were appropriate, unobtrusive occasions. In this way I was able to ask pupils, teachers or school teachers about their views and opinions on what had occurred.

In this attempt to gain greater insight into teachers' and pupils' interpretations, the collection of accounts was generally carried out only in context (pp.49,50). Informal discussion amongst teachers during breaks gave me greater insight into their interpretations of particular phenomena. This was one of the ways in which I attempted to uncover the ways in which teachers felt they went about getting frightened pupils to do the free abseil. By later analysis, of these discussions, after the field work, together with the lesson observation data, I was able to uncover the 'career beyond the category'; the different teaching and pupil perspectives on pupil decision-making and independence. On rare occasions, cross-checking with an individual or 'validation' with a person of their views and opinions were sought out of context. For example, I wanted to follow up Alan's discussion about the pupils in his class during week 4. As he was interested in engaging in further discussion, we arranged to meet and talk on the immediate following Saturday - we talked whilst running in the forest. I interviewed Glynis (week 8) the following week at her school to follow up my interpretation of her behaviour in lessons. However, my 'insider' knowledge and my own values led me

not to impose myself as a researcher onto teachers and pupils.
Teachers were generally too busily engaged in their work to spend
additional time either in the normal course of their daily work or
out of context going over with me what to them was already apparent
and taken-for-granted. By examining teachers' accounts given at
various times in context after the field research certain patterns
emerged in relation to their views and opinions on pupils and the
ways in which they perceived pupil 'success' (Chapter 7).

Each week a different group of pupils attended the institute
with a different set of school teachers. The case study pupils'
views and opinions were collected during the normal course of
conversation. These pupils were also informally interviewed about
their experiences (p.55) and sometimes non-case study pupils were
interviewed, particularly in relation to mixed sex grouping, to try
to determine if my presence in lessons had made any difference to
pupils' interpretations about themselves and their relations with
each other and the teacher.

I cross-checked events and phenomena in the field where possible
through different participants' views and opinions, as I point out in
Chapter 2, to determine patterns of interpretation but not to prove
what was objective 'reality' (pp.50,51).

An illustration of this cross-checking in the field and the
meanings which it generated is given on pp.200,201. Here we see a
shared understanding between teacher and pupil. The full
significance of the event and the features of its significance did
not emerge until after repeated analysis of the data. Appendix VIII
(and p.198) exemplifies again cross-checking with participants in which
there are contradictory perspectives. My own interpretation of the
event was only partial at the time but became more tangible when
later in the data analysis I considered the possible latent cultural
influences which act upon girls. 'Triangulation' of participants'
perspectives when used in attempts to demonstrate objective reality
can, I would suggest, foreclose understanding and stultify the
emergence of insight. The 'critical incident' (pp.65,66) was related
freely to me by Justin, Andrew and Ms Clere at different times. All
three accounts corresponded in what happened. The event occurred -it
was valid. However, each participant gave different versions of why
it occurred. I could not 'adjudicate between (these) competing

versions', but the incident did highlight particular teacher-pupil relations, properties of communication and the significance of temporality. It reinforced my decision to continue recording verbal and non-verbal interaction in particular teacher's lessons. These events and others sensitized me to the empirical indicators for the core analytical categories (cf. Glaser and Strauss 1967; Glaser 1978): relations and sex. The conceptual codes of informality and independence used in the later analysis emerged as a patterning of these indicators. From comparison of indicator to indicator (forms of communication), similarities and differences between these indicators generated underlying uniformity which resulted in coded categories and their particular properties. Continued comparison of further indicators in the light of these conceptual codes generated further properties until the code was considered saturated, that is, no new properties were generated (model 3,p.207). In this way insights were further stimulated and the data was not prematurely foreclosed.

Cross-checking of the findings from the various data sources was largely made after the field study and during the analysis of the data. As I indicated this was facilitated by 'grounded theorising'. The pupil questionnaire data was used primarily to locate case study pupil characteristics within the more general characteristics of the pupils who attended Shotmoor. However, it also confirmed statistically the findings from both lesson observation and from the pupils' accounts that most pupils found climbing the most frightening experience. However, its inclusion as a methodological tool, like the use of pupil and teacher records (pp.73,76), touched a discordant note for me. The data generated through the Osgood semantic differential technique, T-tested for significance, supported both my own subjective interpretation, which I had held before entering the field, and the findings which emerged from the various data sources. That was that pupils perceived themselves, the activities and teachers to be different when in an outdoor activity situation than when in the school situation (Appendix IXD). However, it was the essence of this difference and how it was accomplished in and through classroom interaction which were my abiding concerns.

The culmination for me of the research was chapter 9 in which I was able through ethnomethodological analyses to make available the complex and subtle processes in which images and relations were accomplished ,in lessons, on occasions, at Shotmoor. By presenting the teacher's 'practical reasoning' as a topic of inquiry my own analyses were made accessible. Ethnographically informing this 'practical reasoning' by presenting pupils' and teachers' accounts further illuminated the ways in which messages were received and understood. This version of 'triangulation' is not incompatible with the philosophical assumptions underlying a naturalistic paradigm since the intention is enhancement of sociality not verification. In this case, the methodological technique remains more epistemologically true to its naturalistic paradigm since it is the making available of the reflexive awareness which is attempted.

The collection and analysis of quantitative data, I have shown, may in some cases create dissonance within a naturalistic paradigm, but in other cases it may add insight to the research or give greater plausibility to subjective interpretations. The accomplishment of credible research of any kind is, I would suggest, a product of principled and disciplined inquiry in a dialectic which sets technical issues alongside the philosophical (see also Erickson 1986).

CONCLUSIONS

The central focus of this study has been upon the teaching and
learning process in mixed ability and co-educational groups in outdoor
activities curricula. Particular attention has been paid to the ways
in which knowledge and skills were made available, to the experiences
of both teachers and pupils, to pupils' commitment and to the
particular images and relations which were constituted. Historical
and economic factors have not been neglected. The investigation has
attempted to utilize a variety of data, especially with regard to the
ways in which teachers perceived and interacted with pupils and to the
ways in which pupils perceived teachers, themselves and each other in
the context of one outdoor institute and to some degree in mainstream
schools. I did not set out to test or examine existing hypotheses or
theory, rather my concern was to explore and illuminate the form and
content of the education provided and received within a realm of
schooling whose organisational features and relations with broader
society have thus far been neglected. This study was exploratory and
the findings should be cautiously considered. Nevertheless, it does
provide a glimpse of the complex processes underpinning and constitut-
ing teaching and learning. Research of this nature rarely lends
itself to the production of uncomplicated, clear-cut conclusions.
Nonetheless, a brief review of the findings might usefully precede the
concluding discussions.

Classroom interaction at Shotmoor occurred within, and was shaped
by, characteristic contextual features which were largely structured
in various ways by the particular spatial, physical and temporal
factors. The sharing of facilities by teachers and pupils, the active
participation in lessons by some school teachers as they 'learnt'
alongside their pupils and the similarity in dress between boys, girls
and teachers were amongst those surface features which indicated a
greater degree of informality and sharing of privileges than is
generally found in mainstream schools. These surface features
provided for possible permeation of the boundaries constituted by

social constructs such as 'age' and 'gender'. Such features were mediated by both teachers and pupils in the course of pedagogic encounters.

The organisation of lessons in various subjects by different teachers was compared. The length of lessons were found to vary from teacher to teacher. However, the timing and sequencing of the formal contents and the MOT's adopted by each teacher were found to be remarkably similar. There was considerable homogeneity and routine in the teachers' practices. The predominant MOT which teachers adopted was individual rather than recitational and time appeared weakly framed for teachers and, in a sense, for pupils. The surface features, together with the co-educational and mixed ability groupings, were indicative of certain properties which Bernstein proposed to constitute the ideal typical integrated code. Further-more, there was a high degree of ideological concensus and commitment amongst Shotmoor teachers. For most Shotmoor teachers, each pupil was considered to be unique and their learning of skills, and thereby their participation in the activities, was seen as a vehicle by which pupils developed their confidence and self esteem. In this way, it was felt every pupil could experience a sense of 'success'.

This 'success', which was not measurable by any external criteria or against another pupil's failure, was believed to be engendered largely through the teacher's support and encouragement. Largely taken-for-granted and more deeply embedded and internalised within the Shotmoor ideology was an appreciation of pupils' feelings and sensitivities. Trust between teacher and pupil and amongst pupils and consequently pupil independence were prevailing concepts.

The favourable teacher-pupil ratios provided the opportunity for a high degree of one to one encounters between teacher and each pupil, which were frequently more sustained than in mainstream schools. Patterns of interaction were largely symmetrical and, for the most part, neither girls nor boys requiring help were neglected.

The pedagogic approach consists not only of the MOT but also the communicative form. Embedded in the latter are not only teachers' choice of words and actions, but also the subtleties and nuances of the occasion. The communicative form includes the ways in which

feelings are understood and acknowledged and the particular ways in which pupils' frames of reference are 'positioned'. It is the way by which relevant and appropriate images and relations were sanctioned and through which concepts of safety, responsibility, independence and order were made meaningful at Shotmoor.

Identified from the data (see Model 3) were the regulative and instructional (motivational) communicative forms which in some sense resemble Bernstein's (1985) theoretical concepts regulative and instructional discourse. These Bernsteinian concepts, however, are not to any degree concerned with non-verbal communication ,the indexicalities of the pedagogic encounter. An appreciation of such properties of communication is vital if we are to understand the ways in which meaning is accomplished in any context.

In most lessons and on the majority of occasions the pupils' frames of reference were a central resource for the Shotmoor teachers. These teachers frequently attempted to discover the pupils' common-sense understanding of themselves and their abilities and generally tried to build upon these understandings. A fostering of pupil independence, together with an awareness of others, were prevailing features of the communicative forms in most lessons. An appreciation, albeit in many cases tacitly understood, of the ways in which gender societal type-scripts affect pupils' understanding of their emotions and competences and their possible choice of expression was embedded in some communicative forms. For the most part, boys and girls perceived themselves and each other in a new light which contradicted polarised sterotypical versions of gender. Societal type-scripts which prescribe the celebration of masculine machismo or feminine passivity and physical incompetence were challenged and largely replaced by more diffuse and idiosyncratic personal scripts.

The evidence suggests that, in the context of the outdoor institute, not only were teachers' intentions for their pupils being realised in practice but, in some cases, the pedagogic approach brought about unintended but somewhat salutary consequences, particularly in relation to gender constructs. The significantly different interaction patterns from those evidenced in school contributed to the fostering of greater involvement, awareness and

independence in the learning processes and moved girls away from the margins of 'classroom' action. The prevailing teaching approach was an important aspect for the pupils and, with few exceptions, it was readily acceptable, and evidently, for both boys and girls, contributed towards the provision of a satisfying and worthwhile learning experience. Activities and tasks in which losers were identified were rarely features of the Shotmoor curriculum. Furthermore, in contrast to conventional belief (particularly prevalent in wider society if not altogether a feature of all school or PE curricula) competition was not a prerequisite to 'success' nor the prime motivator of the Shotmoor pupils. Rather, pupils were motivated by the ways in which their capabilities appeared equally worthy of recognition, regardless of gender or 'ability'.

Learning in the case study institute evoked in many pupils an awareness and appreciation of the similarities between individuals in terms both of their emotional attributes and of their capabilities. This contributed towards an upgrading of girls' capabilities (at least in the Shotmoor context) and a recognition of the affective properties in communication. For the Shotmoor teachers, pupils' responses, which were routinely received from week to week, evidently reinforced the particular ideology to which they were committed. Clearly, this study indicates that within certain contexts, in which there are favourable resources (such as high staffing ratios) and where teachers are able to 'actualize' particular predispositions, a greater degree of sociality may be fostered between individuals which may offer a challenge to existing hierarchical relations particularly in relation to gender.

This study demonstrates, then, on the one hand a marked weakening of pedagogic frame constituting interaction. On the other, it evidences a shift in both received images of 'gendered' behaviours and 'abilities' and a change to more collaboration and symmetry in pupil relations. On the basis of the findings of this study it is possible to argue that behaviours expressed by pupils and the relations engendered between them were independent neither of pedagogic approach nor the characteristic features which shaped a lesson. Organisational procedures, material resources, ideological

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and situational factors all interlink to constitute meaning and action. Contextual features do matter, as does gender. Moreover, this thesis offers substantive data to support the proposition that the characteristic features which differently frame educational institutions intricately interlace with teacher and pupil action and purpose and constitute differences in the 'codings' of educational transmission and the forms of its realisation.

Methodological reflections and issues of theory development

A multiple method approach to data collection has been used, yielding diverse variety of data. Findings have been highlighted through the presentation of detailed descriptions, representative and atypical interpretations of participants and by the inclusion of basic and more complex quantification. These have been drawn upon to compare and contrast both within the outdoor institute and between it and mainstream schools.

'Validity' and 'reliability', terms borrowed from the natural sciences, are frequently called upon in the assessment of the adequacy and credibility of ethnographic works (cf. LeCompte and Goetz 1982). In so far as their usage does not attach narrow 'positivistic', 'objective' criteria to such evaluations, but rather requires that the authenticity of the research and its findings, at substantive and formal levels, be examined through a visible, detailed account of the process, then their employment is meaningful and valuable. Consequently, the research processes associated with this thesis have been made available for scrutiny through the presentation of extensive methodological accounts. Interpretations of the ways in which meanings were accomplished through communicative events in lessons, the identification of indexical properties of communication, were complex aspects of the research and were made visible through ethnomethodological analyses. This dimension was possible, I argue, by reason of my position as a 'competent' member of the Shotmoor culture familiar with, yet estranged from, those situated occurrences.

Rather than 'triangulating' data, in an attempt to show 'the complete picture' or the 'validity' of the findings, I have attempted to uncover the ways in which implicit and explicit messages were

accomplished as meaning in the ongoing situated lessons framed by characteristic contextual features. Various data associated with different case study classes were collected weekly, providing multiple cases by which emergent findings and phenomena could be compared and contrasted from week to week. Consequently, repeated analysis of the different teaching approaches enabled the identification of particular properties of communication and patterns of interpretations and relations.

Whilst quantitative survey research aims to reflect accurately the characteristics of a sampled population, cases selected in qualitative research are chosen for their manifestation of properties which may indicate some general theoretical principle. Silverman (1985) argues that 'validity' in qualitative work depends upon demonstrating that those identified features are representative not of population, but of this general principle.

It is neither valid nor appropriate to claim generalizability of findings from a single case study to other contexts, to claim outright transference of those findings to uninvestigated groups in other situations. For:

> To do so would violate fundamental assumptions regarding the importance and subtlety of contextual differences.
> (Earls 1986:70)

Yet, it is possible and, I would argue, necessary to compare and translate those findings, identifying and contrasting those very subtleties and nuances which constitute that contextual variability. By so doing, conceptual frameworks may be generated (Glaser 1982). Furthermore, through explicitly developing ethnographic studies into more general frameworks, a sense of cumulative knowledge and a development of theoretical insight may be accomplished (Atkinson and Delamont 1985). The problem of 'interactionist empiricism' (cf. Hammersley 1980b) - the production of isolated, ahistorical micro-analyses which lack a comparative dimension and in which actors are considered to be completely autonomous beings - has been addressed in various ways in a number of ethnographic studies. Hargreaves (1978) and Pollard (1982) utilized 'coping strategies', whilst Evans (1982, 1985) employed 'frame', in attempts to understand the complicated mechanism by which economic, political and social constraints on

teaching and learning are mediated through school and the teacher.
Nevertheless, the complex ways in which gender influences decision
making and action, its inhibiting and enabling affects both upon
individuals and organisations remained unconsidered.

Davies,L. (1980), whose central foci were gender and deviance,
attempted to develop her study into a more generalized framework
through her employment of script analysis. However, she largely
overlooked many of the characteristic contextual features in which her
study was located. Although her work has added considerable insight
into the ways in which gender constructs are differently constituted
and challenged, these insights have failed, for the most part, to
penetrate the male bias prevailing in analyses of schooling. Nor have
such insights become fully integrated into generalized conceptual
frameworks of teaching and learning.

In this study, an attempt is made to conceptualise the diversity
and creativity in the teaching and learning processes. The conceptual
framework (models 2,3) which underpins this thesis pays attention to
the complexities and interrelatedness of schooling processes. In its
development, it drew not only upon the empirical data from this study,
but also concepts generated or utilized in other works. 'Frame', which
is employed by a number of authors, is operationalised in analyses of
the relationship of contextual and structural features (frame factors)
with interactional features (communicative forms) and is an integral
concept. A useful analytical device which encompasses the 'framed'
(shaped and creative) aspects of the forms of pupil expression and
response in relation to prevailing images and relations is that of
scripts. Sex is highlighted as an important analytical category and
gender as a significant concept in an understanding of the ways
whereby pupils and teachers differentially mediate divergent codes.

Implications for research, policy and practice

Issues which this thesis raises, at substantive and theoretical
levels, have implications for policy and practice in the realms not
only of outdoor education, but also mainstream schools. The findings
from this thesis highlight both the possibilities for educational
policy and practice and raise a number of questions concerning outdoor

education. It points to the need for more research into this
educational realm which may usefully be explored with recourse to
the following questions:

Would those relations and images evoked amongst pupils and teachers
alter if pupils were to remain for longer durations at similar
institutes? What are the characteristic features of other outdoor
education institutes and what forms of expressions do they evince? How
can the under representation of women teachers in this sphere be
ameliorated? Do the shifts in pupils' perceptions of ability and
gender evidenced at Shotmoor have a bearing upon pupil identities when
they return to their school and family?

With regard to the final question, I would argue that the acting
out of alternative type-scripts, even over short periods of time, may
provide boys and girls with a wider range of personal scripts from
which to choose on other occasions (cf. Davies 1980). I would suggest
that all pupils be given the opportunity to experience independence
and decision-making within contexts which foster reflexive awareness,
together with a concern for others. Dominant versions of gender,
sustained through 'male hegemony', although insecure, are deeply
embedded in our culture and society (cf. Arnot 1982; 1984b). It is
difficult, therefore, to imagine anything but a protracted process by
which such counter versions may diffuse into school, leisure or family
spheres. Furthermore, unless schools consciously and sensitively pay
attention to the issue of gender in their practices and policies, the
'realities' experienced by pupils in contexts like Shotmoor may
have little relevance for their perceptions of themselves or each
other either in school or wider society (Humberstone 1986).

This study, like Lynn Davies (1980;1984), urges that:

> We do have to uncover sexual and domestic ideologies, to look
> at when the school (or alternative educational agency)
> appears to select or legitimate gender or class structures,
> but we also have to discover when it appears to do so least.
> That is, to appear autonomous. One must then find a way
> graphically to describe the relationship between constraint
> and independence, between social structure and localized
> choice.   (Davies, L. 1984:238, my bracketed addition.)

Despite considerable recent research in and concern over gender
in schooling, gender even now is subtlely yet systematically
marginalized if not all but excluded from the ongoing debate regarding

theoretical development within the British sociology of education and is still generally unrecognised as a central component in the development of theory. Even in 1981, Arnot was arguing that it was because of the 'left wing' slant of educational research in Britain that, 'gender and race have not been given much attention, in competition as they are with 'social class' - the dominant category' (p97). This still appears to be the prevailing trend. It is inadmissible, as I point out in Chapter 1, that arguments in support of a particular theoretical development ignore substantive data relating to females because they do not fit the 'logical' development of that theory.

For a theory to be not merely adequate but sufficient for explanatory purposes it must be 'open' and sensitive to anomalies. Consistently studies, including my own, evidence that gender is an important category and must be recognised as central rather than a marginal concern. Gender, an essential dimension of identity, cannot be dismissed from any theoretical endeavour. It lies at the heart of sociology:

> I would ... want to insist that the problem at the very
> centre of any sociology - that the link between identity at
> the individual level and structure at the social level -
> requires us to persist with more than one form of
> explanatory life.   (Davies, B. 1984:101)

Any explanation, not least one concerned with the process of socialisation and the effects of differential treatment must incorporate gender. It cannot be assumed that theory development in education is free from the affects of gender. A tendency towards premature closure in theorizing will necessarily lead to over-simplified and insensitive explanations and consequently to misdirected policies and inappropriate practice.

Unsatisfactory outcomes could similarly arise if policy were to be informed solely by psychologically orientated research, even if it is concerned with gender and the ways in which gender influences classroom interaction. I refer to those findings of American work reported in Wilkinson and Marrett (1985). The majority of these studies, which mostly involved systematic observation of classroom interaction, do support the findings of, although make no reference to, British studies which have focused upon gender and classroom

interaction in mainstream schools. Like Galton and Willcocks (1984), who speak also from psychological perspectives, these American studies stress the need to 'measure' and delineate teacher and pupil characteristics that may influence interaction. Further, Brophy (1985) suggested that to create more equitable classrooms and, 'to counteract existing sex differences ... teachers would have to treat boys and girls differently' (p.139). Such a recommendation for a practical strategy, whose intentions are to bring about equality of opportunity for boys and girls, taken superficially and unquestionably could, in certain circumstances, both undermine girls' and boys' identities and foster antagonistic gender relations. Evidence from this thesis suggests that 'classroom' interaction and teacher-pupil encounters are altogether more complex than the studies in Wilkinson and Marrett are able to portray.

Research approaches which attempt to understand the complexity and diversity of curriculum forms and the ways in which they differently influence images and identities of teachers, boys and girls, need to pay attention to the complexities and inter-relationships in classroom life; they need to be:

> Sensitive not only to the patterned activities of classroom life, but also to the intentions, interpretations and actions of teachers and pupils and features of the social and organisational contexts in which they are located.
> (Evans and Davies 1986:30)

Any policies which attempt to inform practice, not least those which intend to bring girls more fully into the learning process and intervene in their 'achievement' patterns, must pay considerable and sensitive attention to micro features such as communicative form but at the same time cannot ignore the material and structural features which shape classroom context and teachers' and pupils' lives.

Notes Referred to in the Text

Chapter 1

1.   Outdoor activities curricula embrace such terms as outdoor pursuits, adventure education, outdoor education, Outward Bound experience and the like (Mortlock 1984; Loynes (ed.) 1984; HMI Survey 1983; Schools Council Geography Committee 1980). I shall refer to outdoor activities and outdoor pursuits as those physical activities which are potentially dangerous and in which safety is a prominent aspect of these activities. Such activities, for example, include skiing, climbing, archery, mapwork and sailing. Munrow (1972) identified ten categories in which to classify physical activities constituting Physical Education. Since skill was the central defining concept, for the taxonomy, activities such as rock climbing, rifle shooting and archery were not easily classified. Had a different defining concept been used these may more easily have been categorised.

2.   When I use the term classroom, I mean any physical context in which knowledge and skills associated with either academic or physical activities are taught.

3.   Both LEAs and schools vary considerably in the provisions of and financial support for this form of learning experience. However, a number of schools, within the LEA in which this study was undertaken, do attempt to enable every child to experience living under canvas for a number of days, usually during their first year in secondary schools. Many schools participate in extra-curricular schemes such as the Duke of Edinburgh's Award. The Duke of Edinburgh has been a pupil of Hahn and based much of this scheme upon his ideals. TVEI and YTS government schemes have incorporated residential and outdoor experiences into their programmes (cf.MSC Report 1982; Keighley 1985). However, the editorial to the Journal of the National Association of Outdoor Education (JNAOE) points to the paradox in which new funding arrangements for YTS will potentially make 1986 the hardest year in financial terms for many centres since their inception in the '60s (cf. JNAOE 1986, vol.3 no. 1 p.2).

4.   Prior to the early 70s there was, however, one all female staffed Outward Bound centre which catered solely for girls and young females. This centre, Rhowniar, is situated in North Wales. The female principal, influenced by the financial exigencies prevailing at that time in the 'movement' and by her own views about what constituted meaningful experiences for both girls and boys, introduced co-educational courses and male staff to the centre. Later, she became reluctant to relinquish her principalship as she felt that she would not be replaced by another female. However, she did eventually take up an advisory post in an LEA in the early '80s. Her position at Rhowniar was subsequently filled by a male. Males also occupied all the senior and a substantial number of the junior posts. (Personal conversation with the previous principal of Rhowniar 1984) Recently a senior appointment was given to a female PE trained teacher who had spent a year or so, immediately subsequent to her gaining teacher qualifications, at Shotmoor, the case study centre, before working within Outward Bound. More generally, a recent study has pointed to the significant absence of women in outdoor education and apparently none holding senior or 'power' positions (cf. Ball,D. 1986).

5.   This stems from the adolescent myth perspective which
sociologists were beginning to challenge in the early '70s.

6.   Cultural processes and interpretations, it is argued, can
largely only be understood within the context of ongoing interaction
(cf. methodological chapter).

7.   Giddens (1984:4), to avoid the disembodiment of human action
from the contextuality of time-space, supposes human action to occur
as a durée - a continuous flow of action, in which agents reflexively
monitor action and action is seen as a process rather than a state.

8.   Lever (1976) studied the play and games of 10-11 year old
pupils. She observed them at play, interviewed them and collected
regular diaries which they had kept.
> In this study, the children's statements of what they
> usually do and what they prefer to do (ie the questionnaire
> and interview data) showed the strongest sex differences.
> My own observations of what children did in the arena of
> the public schoolyard reflected difference of intermediate
> strength. The diary data, ie what children actually do when
> away from the eyes of parents, teachers and peers of the
> opposite sex, showed the weakest differences. In other
> words, the diary data was furthest from the cultural
> stereotypes of what boys and girls ought to be doing.
> (Lever 1976:48)

9.   Barnes (1976) and Barnes and Todd (1977) however, do give
accounts of work in which small groups of pupils work together
without teacher direction , in a variety of curriculum areas.
Barne s' own focus was concerned with the kind of talk generated by
collaborative as against traditional learning situations. However, he
did find that the pupils tended not to interact with the other sex.

10.   Scraton's research, which examined the construction of
'femininity' in girls' PE teaching, used extensive interviews with
teachers and advisors and short periods of observation.

11.   The importance of the effect of the exclusion of women/girls
from any realm of social interaction cannot be underestimated. Even
when it has been granted, such access may be inappropriate and more
unreal than real. As inappropriate as it might be, Shaw (1985)
argues, it does, however, announce the relations of access and thereby
creates and shapes opportunities for engaging in negotiation:
> ... the experience of access relations, ie. being given a
> formal chance, is profoundly significant and structures the
> politics of access by giving rise to particular ideologies
> and a vocabulary for voicing complaints and reinforcing
> loyalties.   (ibid.:142)

12.   This concern arose indirectly as a result of the Albemarle
(1960) and Newsom (1963) reports which showed that children from
certain social class backgrounds dropped out from voluntary
involvement in PE and sport during school life and afterwards. This
issue was taken up by the Wolfenden Committee on sport (1960), and the
phenomena known as the Wolfenden gap.

13.   Harris (1983) points to the particularly strong influence of
life science research methodology in PE, mainly because of the
associated biological, physiological and kinetic implications of PE
and sport.

14.   The origins and history of systematic observation research in
classrooms have resulted in certain assumptions being implicitly
embodied in the techniques. Research has been generally into 'teacher
effectiveness' and the application of schedule observation in teacher
training (Biddle and Ellena 1964; Flanders 1970; Wragg and Kenny
1971). These assumptions meant that a conservative approach was taken
of research into teaching; to 'improve' teaching within the status quo
without questioning or exploring the basic assumptions inherent in
that teaching approach. This resulted in a normative view of teacher
behaviour rather than a perspective which saw possibilities in teacher
approaches which may appear idiosyncratic.

15.   See notes I and II p.264 in Denscombe (1982)

16.   Hunter (1980) argued that if control of and participation in
schooling were organised on more democratic principles, then many
differences in teachers' accounts would disappear.

17.   The Oracle project, a large scale longitudinal investigation
of primary pupils which examines their move into their secondary
schools, has however used Boydell's (1975) systematic observation
schedule as its main research tool (cf. Galton et al. 1980).

18.   Hammersley (1980b) argues:
        "It is surely quite legitimate to pursue a particular
        project from a particular standpoint, such as intera-
        ctionism, whilst accepting that this work will have
        deficiencies which can be compensated for by other re-
        searchers perhaps from a different theoretical standpoint.
He argues that validity is more important than scope in research but
does not explicate in which ways validity is to be recognised and
understood.

19.   Nias (1984) shows how teachers tend to migrate to particular
work contexts which match most closely their own values and beliefs.

20.   The methodological Chapter 2 discusses the researcher's own
familiarity with the physical and social context of Shotmoor and the
advantages and problems which this entailed. It also discusses the
rationale for adopting participant observation and its importance as a
method of making sense of these taken-for-granted and underlying
beliefs and assumptions.

Chapter 2

Part 1

1.   cf. Giddens (1976) who critiques interpretive sociologies and
Wilson (1974) who discusses normative and interpretive sociological
paradigms.

2.   Fay (1975) discusses the implications which various social theories may present to political practice, whilst Delamont (1984), Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) and Cohen and Manion (1980) are primarily concerned with methodological application.

3.   cf. Kelly, 'A brief introduction to personal construct theory', in Bannister (ed.) (1970).

4.   Holland (1970) argues that the underlying assumptions of Kelly's construct theory closely resemble the phenomenology of Schutz and the notion of multiple realities.

5.   Speier (1974:118) explicates a notion of interactional competences.

6.   cf. Zimmerman and Pollner (1974:80-86) in which Schutz's notion of 'natural attitude' of everyday life is explored and elaborated.

7.   I do not intend in this methodological account to discuss the theoretical framework which is emerging. Rather, I intend only to discuss and describe briefly the concepts and ideas which emerged during the field study. I shall briefly illuminate the ways in which data collection, ideas and readings were (and are) interrelated and interdependent within this study.

8.   Benson and Hughes (1983:100-102) give a skeletal account of Garfinkel's concept, 'indexicality'.

9.   Garfinkel (1967) terms the indexical particulars those aspects of situations where members pay attention, in both verbal and non-verbal communication, to the available contextual features to achieve an interpretation. When I refer to the terms indexicality or indexical properties I use them to refer to communication in general and not simply speech.

10.   Or, in Garfinkelian terminology, accountable.

11.   Keddie (1971) points to the differences between teachers' pragmatic behaviour in classrooms and their educationalist ideals.

Part 2

1.   King (1984) tells how he recorded talk after the event, as have many participant observers. He acknowledges that he could not record everything, but was reasonably confident that records of speech events were fairly accurate. I similarly have confidence that my recordings of conversations with participants were fairly precise. I must add, however, it required considerable concentration and immediate action to achieve this.

2.   See John Heeren's discussion on Schutz's concept of typifications in Douglas (1974:48-51).

3.   This procedure represents part of the general strategy of theoretical sampling recommended in Glaser and Strauss (1967).

4.   This strategy, in which differences and similarities between cases are compared, I continued for the remainder of the study . It constituted a further aspect of theoretical sampling and constant comparison (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Atkinson 1979:27-28).

5.   I shall take curriculum, pedagogy and evaluative processes to be defined in Bernsteinian terms (cf. Bernstein 1977:85).

6.   The processes of schooling reported in the literature are discussed in Chapter 1.

7.   All participants are referred to by pseudonyms.

8.   By the use of the term 'competent' teacher, I mean that other participants perceive a teacher so addressed as exhibiting 'correct' or 'appropriate' teaching behaviours for that particular setting.

9.   Because of limitations in space, I shall not describe in detail what occurred, only give a skeletal description.

10.   There is now a trend toward a policy of co-education in physical activity lessons in main stream schools, in some education authority areas, (cf. Bayliss 1984 'Providing Equal Opportunities for Girls and Boys in Physical Education'). Evans (1984) discusses some problems and possibilities for such curriculum innovations. A number of teachers are engaged in investigating co-educational physical education as a curriculum innovation in their own practices for their MA (ed.) dissertations at Southampton University. Scraton (1985) has argued that such mixing may not in itself provide equal opportunities, and has pointed to the loss of many traditionally 'female' jobs to males when it is considered 'appropriate' for men to undertake these jobs, particularly in the educational field.

11.   I was concerned to compare interactions between boys and girls in this context with that occurring in mainstream schools. Feminist literature describes the subtle processes of polarisation between boys and girls and the ways in which boys underestimate girls' abilities and use girls as negative reference groups (cf. Survey of Background Literature, Chapter 1).

12.   By observing and recording naturalistically I mean I wished 'to remain true to the nature of the phenomena understudy.' (cf. Matza (1967) quoted in Hammersley (1983:5)) at the level of first order constructs.

13.   Systematic observation schedules allow observations to be recorded and coded instantaneously on a checklist. Observations are therefore coded by pre-defined parameters.

14.   See the Survey of Background Literature associated with this project.

15.   cf. Delamont (1976, 1981); Delamont in Chanan and Delamont (1975); Delamont and Hamilton in Stubbs and Delamont (1976); McIntyre (1981).

16.   NCP, non carbon paper, although very expensive, allows recordings to be made in triplicate without the problems of constantly inserting carbon papers. Three copies of recordings is the minimum requirement for ease of filing, coding and analysing data.

17.   See Evans (1982) who adopted a similar approach.

18.   Unlike Walker and Adelman (1979:56) who noted positions at pre-defined times, I made these diagrammatic drawings at times which I considered best represented changes in teachers' and pupils' location.

19.   Descriptions of this instrument are included in Galton (1978) Galton et al. (1980). A user's manual is obtainable from University of Leicester, School of Education, Observation Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation, Leicester LE1 7RP.

20.   Boydell (1975) described the rationale for, and conceptual framework behind, the coding categories of the schedule which she designed.

21.   A detailed description and discussion of the processes by which ideas emerged and theory developed in this work has not been presented here. This would entail a considerable addition to this chapter and my intentions, in this thesis, are to explore and analyse teacher and pupil relations and experiences.

Chapter 3

1.   He (the researcher) will also find himself (herself) comparing groups that seem to be non-comparable on the substantive level but on the formal level are conceptually comparable. (Glaser 1982:229)

2.   For Bernstein:
        A code is a regulative principle, tacitly acquired, which
        integrates relevant meanings, the form of their realisation
        and their evoking contexts.   (ibid.:1977:180)

3.   This experience will be affected both by the official and unofficial curriculum or 'hidden curriculum'. (Snyden 1971)

4.   cf. Hargreaves, D. (1967:114-115) in which he uses the term symmetrical to refer to teachers' and pupils' behaviour which appears to be mutually contingent. Blau (1964) suggested that power, as it is defined in the following quote by Max Weber, principally constitutes the imposition of meaning:
        'power (Macht) is the probability that one actor within a
        social relationship will be in a position to carry out his
        own will despite resistance.' ... (Weber's definition of
        power) centres on imposing one's will upon others. (Blau
        1964:115, my emphases.)

However, Giddens pointed to the significance of the word - even - in the following Weberian notion of power:
        The capacity of an individual to realize his will, even
        against the opposition of others. (Weber quoted in Giddens
        1976:112, my emphasis.)

Giddens suggested that the concept of power does not necessarily imply the imposition of meaning upon others. I take this wider view, which may include imposition but need not and which is aware of the potentialities of power:

> In this most general sense 'power' refers to the
> transformative capacity of human action. (Giddens
> 1976:110)

5.   Symbolic interactionists view individuals as not only learning
from society, whilst continuously modifying and adapting their
thoughts and actions in different social contexts but, at the same
time, in some way effecting the situation of which they are part. See
Cuff et al. (1979) Chapter 4 for an outline of symbolic interactionism
as a perspective. Criticism has been levelled at symbolic
interactionists for their neglect of society as a system. Educational
research adopting this approach has been criticised for its
presentation of research data in 'splendid isolation'   (Hargreaves,
A. 1980).

6.   Traditional modes of learning are usually seen to consist of
the whole class teaching methods, in which the teacher uses a didactic
or recitational approach   (Barnes 1976).

7.   The concept frame of reference can be assumed for purposes of
this analysis to be synonymous with frame of meaning (Giddens
1976:145). This concept has been used by a number of authors in
conceptualising individual or group 'understanding', 'interpretation'
or 'meaning' (cf. Goffman, Kelly, Garfinkel and so forth). It
originated from a variety of sources and is frequently used in one
sense in philosophical discourse to refer to different paradigms (Kuhn
1970). For the purposes of my analyses, 'frame of reference' will be
considered to have a similar sense as Gidden's 'primary frameworks':
> Primary frameworks of daily activity can be seen as those
> generating 'literal' languages of descriptions both for lay
> participants in encounters and for social observers.
> Whatever its level of organization, a primary framework
> allows individuals to categorize an indefinite plurality of
> circumstances or situations so as to be able to respond in
> an appropriate fashion to whatever 'is going on'.
> (ibid.:1984:88)

Edwards and Furlong (1978) use this concept in their study of teaching
in a 'progressive' humanities department. They found that, even
though teachers attempted to adopt a 'progressive' approach,
instructional encounters did not:
> diverge from the basic pattern of a one way movement towards
> the teachers' frame of reference. (Edwards and Furlong
> 1985:25)

8.   Marland (1983) numerates women's under-representation in the
educational field and, in higher education, this is outlined in Rendel
(1984). The last twenty years has seen radical changes in the law
affecting separate spheres of men and women. However, 'even now ...
the removal of discrimination is always perceived in male terms.'
(Atkins and Hoggett 1984)

It is not, however, suggested that the ability to understand and be
aware of others' interests is inherent only to women. It is not
considered that such attributes are specific to either sex, rather
that women are traditionally perceived to be 'carers', whilst men are
perceived to be 'doers', and it is the latter who predominate in
positions of decision making in society. Arnot (1984a) ,'How shall
we educate our sons,' assumes a similar notion and argues that boys:

> Concentrate upon skills for living in only one sphere of
> social life, probably leaving school 'ill-equipped for
> personal independence and for taking shared responsibility
> in home and family life'. They are poorly prepared for
> dealing with people and for dealing with their own emotions.
> ... The result of ideologies about masculinity is that boys
> are taught to see their major commitment and interest in
> life as life-long paid work. ... Unemployment strikes hard
> at men's definition of themselves 'as men'.(ibid.:44)

Biological factors have tended to make particular social arrangements
more probable and as such women's 'universal subordination' can be
accounted for. However, physiological explanations for behaviour have
assumed that this biological difference is the basis for gender
differences in the ways in which men and women act out their 'roles'
in particular cultures. This biological determinant of sex roles has
been refuted through anthropological studies of primitive cultures in
which, in some societies, sex roles have been seen to be
undifferentiated and even reversed (Mead 1935). See also Kessler and
McKenna (1978).

9.   This theoretical orientation formed a basis of much of the
research emerging in the late '60 early '70s which is termed as the
'new' sociology'.

10.   Giddens (1984:94) gives a definition of the concept of duality
of structure.

11.   Sharpe (1976) suggests that the socialisation of boys and
girls in diverse and contrasting 'roles' is more significant now in
perpetuating social structure. She argues that, 'In a society in which
obvious discrimination is condemned, "natural" sex differences help to
preserve the separate roles and thus the inequalities upon which the
economic system still depends.

12.   Pupils' action may be perceived as capability when he or she
perceives themselves to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing state of
affairs or course of events; to be in control of what they do. Pupils'
realisations of their capabilities may be considered as 'empowerment'
(Hopson and Scally 1981:53) and constitutes boys' and girls' percep-
tions of themselves as able to 'make a difference' to a pre-existing
state of affairs or course of events and to be in control of what they
do. The construction of gender in our society frequently prescribes
for pupils certain notions about what constitutes appropriate gender
behaviours, 'abilities' and relations. Frequently this entails both
boys and girls feeling powerless and becoming helpless in certain
spheres of activity. Boys may be 'poorly prepared for dealing with
people and their own emotions' (Arnot 1984:44). Whilst girls may
cultivate helpless behaviours in order to 'protect themselves against
male dominance' (Davies, L. 1984:118). The ways in which pupils
realise their capabilities, the processes of 'empowerment', then, are
inexorably interrelated to, and influenced by, the construction of
gender in any learning environment.

CHAPTER 4

I.   Such messages may be transmitted both through the school
organisational policies and by particular teacher-pupil interaction.

2.   Gender refers to learnt behaviour and is often categorised broadly as masculinity and femininity (Purvis and Hales 1983:14) and it is 'a pattern of relation among people ... an extensive and complex pattern woven through all institutions they live in ... and shapes their lives at every level.' (Connell et al. 1982:33-34) .

3.   There is now extensive literature which focussed upon the ways in which girls and women were disadvantaged within the educational system in comparison with boys and men. A comprehensive reference can be found in Purvis and Hale (1983:3) note 18.

4.   cf. Rist (1977) which reports studies which fail however to find any effect of teacher expectancy upon pupil behaviour.

5.   In contrast to Evans (1985), who suggested that:
        The third factor, schooling ... is not synonymous with all
        that goes on in schools ... to be schooled normally entails
        having the cognitive emotional attributes prerequisite to
        learning in large classes.   (ibid.:11)

I shall take schooling to mean much more of that which goes on in a learning environment. I shall include the particular messages concerning gender appropriate behaviours and relations which may be transmitted in context. Gender messages may significantly frame what is perceived to be valid skills and knowledge to be learnt and they will thereby frame, in part, individuals meta-learning (pupils' understanding of their own ability to learn).

To compare various forms of learning, settings in which the teacher-pupil ratio may be high cannot be ignored. The pedagogic transaction is crucial to learning and this may alter considerably with the increase or decrease in the teacher-pupil ratio. Contexts in which the latter is high is a feature of many contrasting realms of schooling. For example, there are generally small numbers of pupils in 'withdrawal' or 'remedial' groups (cf. Leavold 1977) and in A-level sets in mainstream schools. Whilst many public schools may have high teacher-pupil ratios and this is generally the practice in outdoor education curricula.

6.   This usage of 'frame factors' follows Evans (1982,1985) but is,in some senses, a variation in interpretation and includes features which were not explicitly termed as such.

7.   Most LEAs publish regulations and requirements for pupils undertaking hazardous pursuits. cf. DES booklet, Safety in Outdoor Pursuits (1977) and NAOE booklet, Safety in Outdoor Education (1984)

8   Two studies considered to be the most important regarding educational opportunities, Origins and Destinations Goldthorpe (1980) and Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain Halsey et al. (1980), are concerned only with males. The failure to include women did attract criticism, cf. Review of Origins by Tessa Blackstone in THES 18-1-1980.

9.   cf Stanworth 1983.

TES (Times Eucational Supplement) (5-10-84)'Study highlights co-ed drawbacks' reports on girls' achievements in Australian co-ed schools.

TES (21-9-84) 'Shaping up to classroom equality' reports on 'girl friendly schooling conference' in relation to science.

TES (3-8-84) 'Mixed groups put girls off technology' reports experimental work done in Coventry.

10.   Arnot(1983), who critiques the feminist debate concerning the merits and demerits of single sex versus co-educational schooling for girls, argues that:

> The feminist ideals for girls' education, of whatever variety, do not leave a clear strategy of how to overcome male prejudicial attitude to women. (ibid.:87)

11.   Generally, the term recitational teaching is used to describe teaching in which the class is taught as a single cohort, the teacher-pupil relationship is assumed to be based on the teacher-pupil's formal 'position orientated' authority and lesson talk is limited mainly to public exchanges which are dominated and controlled by the teacher (Westbury 1973:103).

12.   Many accounts of classroom life describe the relationship of teachers and pupils as one in which personal feelings are largely subordinate to the task at hand. Flanders has called classrooms 'affectional deserts' since entries in the 'accepts feeling' category in Flanders' interactional analysis schedule are usually few in number. However, as I point out in Chapter 1, this may well have been due to the insensitivity of the schedule for data collection and not necessarily the insensitivity of the teachers.

13.   The concept of indexicality is explicated in the methodological chapter, where its importance   and relevance to my choice of participant observation as the main research technique is discussed.

14.   Giddens perceives, in his later work, indexicality as synonymous with contextuality in relation to talk, bodily posture, gesture and movement.

15.   Garfinkel (1967) demonstrates the contextuality of gesture and talk in the communication of meaning.

16.   cf. Hopson and Scally (1981).

17.   On occasions these new staff may be non-trained teachers. This is particularly so in the summer season when additional temporary teachers are required to teach the water activities.

18.   Connell (1983) argues that the concept of 'role', funct-ionalist and conservative in nature, is ideologically rather than theoretically based. It conveniently glosses over the questions of resistance, missing or misrepresenting questions of power. Davies' (1980; 1984) use of script is more dynamic, containing a critical dimension which allows for the analysis of opposition to social pressure.

19.   Distinguishing personal scripts from societal type-scripts, Davies (1984) points to the ways in which the interaction of various societal type-scripts can be seen as particular life chances or probabilities.

20. Woods (1985), advocating greater attention to theory construction in ethnographic educational research, suggests that it might be productive to make comparative studies of schools with contrasting structures and adds:

> Such an enquiry would immediately engage in 'theoretical sampling' (Glaser and Strauss 1967), exploring teacher and pupil role and school structure through teacher and pupil perspectives. (ibid.:58)

However, to explore school structure only through teachers' and pupils' perspectives, without taking account of the ways in which situations and contexts are both constituting and constituted in time, is to neglect an important aspect of process.

21. Giddens (1984) summarized this formulation thus:

> Structuration. The structuring of social relations across time and space, in virtue of the duality of structure. (ibid.:376)

22. Exceptions are Macpherson (1983) and Salmon and Claire (1984). The latter has pointed to an interrelationship of particular learning modes and forms of gender relations.

Chapter 5

1. Goodson acknowledged an historical perspective in the work of sociologists such as Bernstein and Young but argues that much of their work tended to overlook historical background and evolutionary process. Indeed, he argues, they worked outward from theories of social structure and social order rather than grounding their work in empirical data.

2. By historical context, I mean those events and processes which preceded the actual field study.

3. However societal type-scripts or expectations for the sexes can influence the emphasis which male or female respondents place upon reasons for taking particular courses of activity (cf. Lever 1976).

4. It is unlikely that teachers who move to the realm of outdoor education do so for reasons of pay and promotion since these are generally poor.

5. All names referred to in this thesis are pseudonyms. Accounts given by participants and conversational extracts, where appropriate, are coded. For example, (Dorothy/Wk8) refers to an account given by Dorothy during week 8 of the field study. In the case of pupils' accounts, the number of the class group to which they belonged is included. A case study group is represented by C, and a non-case study class by N. For example, (Andrew/Wk4/C6) indicates an account given by a boy in class group 6 which was a case study group. Codes which refer to pupil discussions exclude the names of the pupils.

6. Interestingly enough, it was not until the five permanent staff, who had all occupied acting positions of responsibility during the period of threatened closure (see appendix V), gained official recognition in their posts that the then only permanent female teacher

gained a post of responsibility. She had on two previous occasions been overlooked in promotional terms when the head of department's post, in the department in which she worked, became vacant.

7.   Goodson (1985) citing Nisbet (1967) argues that individuals may be deluded into believing that fundamental social change is occuring around them. He draws attention to the distinction between changes or readjustment which are contained within particular institutes (eg. Countesthorpe) and the more fundamental and enigmatic which constitute a change of structure or paradigm. He suggests to explore this distinction one needs to adopt an historical perspective.

8.   For how long remains for future consideration. At the time of writing radical moves may be underway for the expansion of Shotmoor.

9.   That is, Shotmoor tended to counter, through the form and content of its curriculum, the prevailing concepts of 'sport' and leisure through which, it is argued, exiting social relations are reproduced and supported (cf. Hargreaves, J. 1983; Deem 1982).

10.   This meeting of staff was held in order to discuss 'problems' which were encountered when teaching younger clientele and how they might be alleviated.

11.   Bill emphasises the degree of commitment which he feels the institute teachers had unquestioningly put into previous programmes.

12.   'Valid' educational knowledge is generally that which includes the written word. For, 'it is crucial to read early in order to acquire the written code for beyond the book is the textbook which is the crucial pedagogical medium and social relation.   ... Thus visible pedagogies separate 'concrete' and 'abstract' in time which becomes the basis for the separation (strong classification) of manual and mental labour.' (Bernstein 1982:344) Similarily, such pedagogies may form the basis for the separation of personal (emotional) experience and expression and the public, paid labour.

13.   In mainstream schools not only does PE create strong classification between the sexes through separate curricula and single sex classes ,but also the process of changing clothing symbolically reinforce distinctions between physical and mental activity, and thus the low status of curricula which are perceived to be largely non-cognitive.

14.   Leavold (1977) shows similar sharing of facilities in his study of a large comprehensive school's 'sin bin'.

15.   Lesson observational data are coded as follows: for example, in lesson extract (10.4/CL1/E/N1) the first number represents the week and day in which the lesson was recorded. Thus this lesson was observed on the Thursday of the tenth week of the field study. The second notation indicates which lesson 1, 2 or 3 of a particular subject it represents. Appreviations are as follows: A-Arch, CL-climb, CY-cycle, SH-shoot, SK-ski, MC-map and compass. The third notation indicates the Shotmoor teacher present (see Appendix IIA). The final notation indicates the number of the class group. A case study class is represented by C, a non-case study class by N.

1.   Model 2 (Chapter 4) attempted to conceptualise, for analytical purposes, the complexities and interrelatedness within teaching and learning. Structural features are the 'frame factors'. These intermingle in classroom interaction constituting messages which are differently interpreted. Characteristic resources including time 'frame' situations for teachers and pupils, creating limits or providing opportunities for action.

2.   Pupils are not the impassive recipients of school structured time. The 'lads' in Willis (1977) were shown to reject the distinction between school time and their 'own' time through opposition to, and subversion of, the school's ordered and sequential time. Likewise, girls were shown to employ strategies in which they reappropriate time for themselves (Davies, L. 1979).

3.   The times were recorded at what appeared as natural breaks in the course of events (see Chapter 2).

4.   To belay is to hold responsibility for the climber. The belayer is secured to some fixed object and he/she controls the rope to which a climber is attached. If the climber falls, the belayer, often using a mechanical device called a stitch plate, stops the rope from sliding and thereby prevents the climber from falling any distance.

5.   Syllabuses were generally laid down in some written form. Syllabuses of climb, initiative course, ski and trackcycle were available during the field study (see Appendix VIIA-D). A document concerned with shooting was available but this was of a technical nature and bore little resemblance to the actual content taught. Safety procedures, day and night, for any activity inside, outside or on the water were contained in a large document to which any staff had access but this did not contain lesson content. However, those subjects which were documented were not generally given to new, usually temporary, teachers. Rather these teachers were taught by permanent teachers who then 'stood in' during their first few lessons. The head of activities preferred not to give written syllabuses as: 'I prefer them (the teachers) not to rigidly adhere to a set syllabus, but to be flexible'.

6.   See note 11, Chapter 4. Whole class, recitational teaching and learning styles were found to be prevalent in secondary schools (HMI Survey 1979 - Aspects of Secondary Education). For analytical purposes, I have separated teaching style or approach into MOT and the form of communication (see Chapter 4). Thus, in this analysis, it is possible to conceive of a teaching approach in which the prevailing MOT is whole class but in which the communicative form may not be authoritarian/position-orientated. Forms of communication are considered in subsequent chapters.

7.   Although one teacher, Alan, was unaware of a pupil's physical disabilities, it may well have been failure on the part of the internal communication systems rather than the school teachers intention that Alan was not informed (see Chapter 2).

8.   This is in contrast to the 'steering' and 'counter steering' groups found in Evans (1982).

9.   An abseil is the technique by which a climber slides down a fixed rope, frequently using a mechanical device called a descender to control the speed of descent. A free abseil is one in which the descending climber is unable during the abseil to touch the rock or wall with his/her feet. In the teaching situation the descending pupil is also attached to a safety rope which is controlled by the teacher.

10.   The ways in which pupils made sense of and interpreted teachers' usage of time, both in terms of how teachers structured lessons and encountered pupils, are explored in subsequent chapters.

11.   It is pertinent to note that rarely did teachers adopt disciplinary action in lessons. However, when it did occur, it was largely confined to lessons of archery.

12.   Time was differently constructed on the occasion of the 'critical' incident (see Chapter 2).

13.   This percentage is not to be read as statistically significant, rather it gives a generalised overview of the prevailing MOT adopted by Shotmoor teachers. Nevertheless, it appears to contrast with the predominant MOT evidenced in studies of mainstream schooling which is reported to be largely whole class teaching (see DES Survey 1979; Cheffers and Mancini 1978; Galton and Willcocks 1983). However, it must also be clearly recognised that what constitutes whole class teaching may vary considerably in interpretation, and demarcation between different MOTs may be indistinct.

Chapter 7

1.   Denscombe (1980a:50) points to the following features which he suggests are indicators of an 'open' classroom: integration of subject boundaries; integrated social grouping in terms of sex, 'ability', social class, etc.; the teacher acts as a non-authoritarian 'catalyst'; the pupil is self motivated and self disciplined and more actively involved in determining the content and pacing of tasks; teachers and pupils are visible and readily accessible.

2.   Embedded within teacher's perceptions, I suggest, will be the taken-for-granted principles which direct their practice. Only by paying attention to these perceptions can the various frames of reference be identified and ideological concensus or dissonance uncovered. It is not possible to identify ideological principles unless the taken-for-granted assumptions and internalized values held by teachers in their day to day work are acknowledged. The teaching ideology which is proposed by Sharp and Green (1975) to consist of, 'a broad definition of the task and a set of prescriptions for performing it, all held at a relatively high level of abstraction', (p68) is inadequate. Rather, to enable a more revealing and penetrating analysis of the ideological principles which shape teachers' approach, it is necessary to explore their pragmatically orientated views. In a sense, to analyse the cognitive and evaluative aspects of what Sharp and Green proposed to be the teaching perspective. A teaching perspective is:
          Rather similar to 'Operational philosophy' ... a co-
          ordinated set of ideas, beliefs and actions a person uses in
          coping with a problematic situation. A perspective includes
          both thoughts and actions. It contains a number of

elements: some concept of the environment and the problems
it creates: ideas about social objects within the
environment and the various inanimate features of the
resources at hand: a definition of the goals and the
projects and what can be expected from the environment: a
rationalization for being and acting therein: a
specification of the kind of activities one may or ought to
involve oneself in: a set of criteria to evaluate one's own
and other's actions.   (ibid:69-70)

3.   Hammersley (1977a) developed a framework for investigating the
diversity which exists in the ways by which teaching is
conceptualised. He proposed a typology which, rather than
exemplifying teaching as two contrasting poles (Esland 1971), explored
a number of dimensions on which teaching can vary independently.
These sets of dimensions were considered both to be research tools and
as products which emerged through research, undertaken primarily
within 'academic' classes in mainstream schools. A significant
dimension, which Hammersley did not fully develop, was one which allows
for and takes account of a perception of teaching in which the
pupils's frame of meaning is central.

4.   Temporary staff, although undertaking similar duties to those
of permanent staff, received considerably less financial remuneration.

5.   This, on rare occasions, was a feature whichcreated problems
for Alan,since there was resistance to his approach from a girl (see
Chapters 8 and 9, Appendix VIII).

6.   Douglas (1974:41) drawing upon Garfinkel's work, suggests that
settings in which activities have become highly organised and
routinized are those in which meanings become very much taken-for-
granted by members.

7.   Ball and Goodson (1985) point to the ways in which
comprehensive schools have, over the years, become more bureaucratized
and stratified with a more complex division of labour. In particular
they argue there is now the greater specialisation and separation of
pastoral care work (see also Corbishley and Evans 1980). Greater
bureaucratic sophistication, they argue, means that both teachers and
pupils experience school as a less personal and more rational context
which consequently tends to reduce the emotional/affective elements of
communication. Weber (1968) is cited:
        Bureaucracy develops the more perfectly the more it is
        'dehumanized', the more completely it succeeds in
        eliminating from official business, love, hatred, and all
        the purely personal, irrational and emotional elements which
        escape calculation. (ibid:975 cited in Ball and Goodson
        1985:9)

8.   Conflicting demands of imposing 'basic skills', in which all
pupils are expected to succeed, whilst valuing individual fulfillment
and growth in each pupil has been examined by Berlak and Berlak (1981)
in primary classrooms. Such demands are part of a wide variety of
influences acting upon teachers, who respond in different ways.

1.   I use the term 'informal' here to refer solely to the type of
MOT used in which whole class teaching is not the predominating type.
The polarized concepts of 'informal' and 'formal' teaching approaches
exemplified in Ball (1984) tend to make assumptions (specific
classifications) about different properties of interaction between
teacher and pupil which are assumed to be constituted either through
whole class MOT or individualised/group MOT. Moreover, it is
theoretically possible, when the organisation dimension (MOT) is
analytically separated from the communicative form, to conceptualize a
teaching approach in which the teacher employs a whole class MOT
whilst adopting a non-positional/interpersonal form of communication.
Similarly, on this basis, a teacher employing an individualized or
group MOT could, even when engaging in face to face encounters, adopt
a positional or authoritarian form of communication (see also note 6
Chapter 6).

2.   See note 17 Chapter 1.

3.   Sharp and Green (1975) defined teacher ideology as, 'a
connected set of systematically related beliefs and ideas about what
are felt to be essential features of teaching ... a broad definition
of the task and a set of prescriptions for performing it, all held at
a relatively high level of abstraction' (ibid.: 1975:68). However,
see also note 2 Chapter 7.

4.   See John Heeren (1974) in which the Schutzian concept of
typification is discussed.

5.   Consociality is the term used to refer to mutual acceptance
or mutual understanding between teacher and pupil perspectives (Sharp
and Green 1975; Salmon and Claire 1984).

6.   Only on one occasion did I identify more than a maximum of ten
pupils in a class.(Questionnaire data shows 4 classes with 11 pupils).
Appendices 11A and C give the Shotmoor teachers associated with each
case study class

7.   'Relaxed frames not only change the nature of the authority
relationship by increasing the rights of the taught ... and so more
of the teacher and taught is likely to enter this pedagogical frame'
(Bernstein 1977:102).

8.   Mortlock (1984) exemplifies the philosophical assumptions
underlying outdoor education. Within his work we see highlighted the
delicate balance between adventure education ideals and practical
imperatives of risk and safety.

9.   Extracts from Doug's lesson as they were recorded in the field
are given in extract B, Appendix IIIA.

10.   The availability of a school teacher experienced in teaching
climbing effected the pattern of interaction which emerged in Chris's
lesson.

11.   There are considerable problems associated with this form of
data collection . These counts give only indications of an interac-
tion pattern and should only be considered along with the more
revealing interpretive data. Knowing when an interaction began or

ended and what messages were conveyed within this interaction, could only be achieved with further reference to the perspectives of teachers and pupils, and a 'shared' understanding of their actions (cf. Evans 1985:11 and 39)). Chapter 2 details the procedures by which data were collected.

12.   This juxtaposition enables a crude quantitative comparison, which merely gives a numerical comparison of teachers' interaction. However limited, it does give an indication of the diversity of teacher-pupil interaction in the two contexts.

13.   In the Oracle Project, 'typical' or average values of teacher or pupil behaviour were calculated from the observational data coded in 58 primary classrooms. Each classroom was observed for six consecutive sessions each time for three terms. Each session the teacher was observed for 19 minutes. Each term therefore the teacher was observed for 1 hour 54 minutes, resulting in as total of 5 hours 42 minutes observation of each 58 teachers. There were eight 'target' pupils in each of the classrooms. Each target pupil was observed for 27 minutes each term and for a total of 81 minutes over the three terms. 'Typical' or average teacher or pupil behaviour was calculated from these observational data (see Galton et al. 1980:20-22). Interpretive data were largely eliminated (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of 'scheduled' data collection). My concern is to make a comparison, however limited, between the interaction patterns as evidenced in the lessons of Doug and Eddy and that 'typically' reported to occur in 'informal' classrooms. The Oracle project does provide evidence in a form which can enable a crude quantitative comparison. My comparison should not be taken as statistically reliable and should be considered cautiously alongside the more revealing interpretive data from the teacher and pupil perspectives.

14.   See Galton et al.1980:62, Table 4.2.

15.   Since it is an exceptional case, it would be inappropriate and unbalanced to include the data in the main text. However, as interesting interactions and interpretations arise and explanations are offered, it is necessary to provide the original data and the contradictory meanings accomplished. It should also be noted that the girls in week 10 of the study also taught by Alan were largely favourably predisposed toward the manner in which he communicated (see Chapter 10).

16.   The 'working class lads' of Willis' study (1977) obviously perceived girls as objects to which they had claim either for sexual purposes or to provide for their servicing in their capacity as wives and mothers of their children. Popular newspapers are good examples of this form of depiction of women. The overt sexism of adolescent boys and the double standards of morality applied to boys and girls is explored in Wood (1984).

17.   I use the term symmetrical relationships, as defined by Hargreaves (1967: 114-5), to mean that pupils' and teachers' behaviours are mutually contingent.

18.   This was a significant feature of week four in which one of the case study pupils, Adrian who was not only partially deaf and a latent epileptic but also poorly physically co-ordinated. Adrian was given a high degree of encouragement by his teacher Alan to participate with the others in his class. The other pupils often gave

Adrian encouragement and praise and he, himself was frequently surprised by his ability to succeed and achieve in many of the activities, particularly when other lads did not appear at first to do so.

Chapter 9

1.   Like Shone and Atkinson (1983), who argue that an ethnographer's concern with meaning and interpretation should lead toward a closer attention to 'formal properties of natural language use', my concern here is not to 'read off' interpretations of pedagogy but to examine the properties constituting various communicative forms adopted by the Shotmoor teachers. Likewise, language is taken in its broadest sense to be gesture (see Shone and Atkinson 1983), constituting both verbal and non-verbal communication.

2.   Two trends have been identified within ethnomethodology, 'fine-grained sequential analysis', and analyses having 'an ethnographic character' (Shone and Atkinson 1983). Nevertheless, 'ethnomethodologically informed ethnography' has been adopted in a number of published studies (for example Hammersley 1977b; Payne and Hustler 1980). In this chapter, I am concerned with analyses which pay attention to the ways in which the teachers' utterances and non-verbal interaction are addressed to those co-present. Here, in the initial section, the form of communication is analysed not only for the intentionality on the part of the teacher, but also for how it may be heard and understood irrespective of those intentions (see Shone and Atkinson 1983:165). This assumption that an analyst can satisfactorily impute interpretations and intentionality from observed interaction is, I would argue, limited. For a greater understanding of the transaction and its embedded meaning, the ethnomethodology should be ethnographically informed.

3.   See Chapter 2 in which the 'competent' membership of the researcher in the Shotmoor culture is discussed and where the experience of estrangement is described.

4.   'Indexicality' is a property of the ways in which members interpret talk and events and constitute meaning. It encompasses motives, implications, nuances, etc. See note 9, Chapter 2.

5.   An ethnomethodological notion, membership categorization device, has been used to describe the organised ways in which actors both produce and understand descriptions of people and their activities. It may be utilized to examine the ways in which boundaries between particular societal or cultural categories (the positioning of individuals within social spaces) are made an accomplishment or made more flexible by participants in interaction in any particular context.

6.   Bernstein (1985) argues: 'We have said that pedagogic discourse is the rule for imbedding an instructional discourse in a regulative discourse. Instructional discourse regulates the rules which constitute the legitimate variety, internal and relational features of specialised competencies. This discourse is embedded in a regulative discourse, the rules of which regulate what counts as legitimate order between and within, transmitters, acquirers, competencies and contexts. At the most abstract level it provides and legitimises the official rules regulating order, relation and

identity. The tendency is to separate these discourses as moral and instructional discourses, or to see them as ideologically penetrated rather than to regard them as one embedded discourse producing one embedded inseparable text. The grammar (the underlying ordering principle) condenses competencies into order and order into competencies.' (ibid.:13) However, rather than solely pedagogic discourse I am concerned with what I refer to as the pedagogic approach, which consists of the MOT and communicative form (see Chapter 4). I am therefore including in my analysis affective properties of communication and the teacher's 'positioning' of the pupils' frame of reference and ways in which he or she interprets and relates to it.

7. Pr indicated a face to face, private encounter.

8. C indicates the whole class. The brackets around names or C indicates with whom the teacher communicates.

9. The remarks included within (*) were remarks and comments made by the researcher at that time.

10. To have stayed would have required me to intervene in some way. I would have been compelled to interact with Jack in order to alleviate what appeared to me to be his considerable discomfiture. Such an intervention would have been inappropriate at that time.

11. The occasion in which a girl initially expressed resistance to Alan's teaching approach is described in Appendix VIII.

12. As I pointed out in Chapter 2, Len was frequently busily engaged in essential non teaching business.

13. Pupils, particularly girls, said that teachers 'push you'. This did not mean that teachers physically pushed pupils but referred to the ways in which the teachers went about motivating the pupils.

14. The amount of space given over to this form of communication in relation to that given to other forms does not correspond to the ratio of its manifestation to other forms. However, it is considered necessary to portray it and to show in what ways it is atypical in this context.

Chapter 10

1. Furlong (1985) discusses and critiques the numerous theories which have been proffered regarding the ways in which pupils respond to and behave in schools, and their explanations. Turner (1983) integrates in his study the adaptational models with interactionist approaches to analyse how pupils establish deviant and conformist definitions.

2. Through the complex process of schooling, not only do girls and boys 'learn' about their different positions in the world of work but also their own and each other's place in the world of leisure (see Chapter 1). The persistent linking of specific behavioural traits to gender has led to the formation of stereotypical beliefs about 'masculinity' and 'femininity'. Moreover, these are deeply embedded in our culture and give rise to views and attitudes which associate social 'roles', psychological and physiological capabilities with

particular groups of people (Whyld 1983). These assumptions, which
are frequently unconsciously held, influence a person's expectations
not only about themselves but other people. Stereotypical notions
about gender related capabilities and attributes create acceptability,
by both female and male, of supposed limitations in behaviour which
may become incontrovertible and self fulfilling. Furthermore, such
conventional gender societal type-scripts may influence boys' and
girls' beliefs about appropriate gender behaviours and relations,
which may entail boys and girls feeling powerless and becoming
helpless in certain, generally different, realms of schooling and
social life and which may also encourage the acceptance of competitive
and aggressive behaviour in boys (see Chapters 3 and 4).

3.   Exceptional situations are referred to in Chapters 8 and 9.

4.   This pupil perceived the informal relations between himself
and his PE teacher to be much the same in either context.

5.   The use of fraternisation as a teacher strategy to counter
possible conflict between teacher and pupil is described in Woods
1979:155-9.

6.   Furlong's study of girls' interaction sets in classrooms
evidenced that, for these girls, 'softness' was not perceived to be a
'bad' characteristic for teachers to possess.

7.   Tracey was one of the girls in Doug's class, whose lesson
extract (see Chapter 9) portrayed the different ways in which he
communicated with the boys and girls. Doug attempted to make the
lesson meaningful to the girls by drawing upon his understanding of
female interest or upon dimensions with which he felt they could
identify.

8.   Analyses of pupils' questionnaires shows that climbing was
considered to be the most frightening activity by the majority of
pupils (see appendix 1XC).

9.   I have included fairly lengthy extracts of informal interviews
and discussions with pupils since ambiguities and contradictions in
their understanding of gender and gender identities emerged slowly and
differently. Consequently its complexity requires reporting in the
pupils' terms.

10.   () indicates words or phrases which were indescipherable.

11.   Arnot (1982;1984b) argues that gender societal type-scripts
are fundamentally insecure since the power relations between men and
women can only 'work' by gaining the consent of individuals to
prevailing versions of 'femininity' and 'masculinity'. She exphasises
the notion of 'male hegemony', which she draws from Gramsci (see also
Connell et al. 1982 for a similar conceptual development).

12.   Leoman and Carrington (1985) point out that, 'The comparative
exclusion of women from the institution of sport effectively provides
a means of excluding them or dominating them in other areas of social
life.' Further, Deem (1982) argues that   men as well as capital
and state institutions may benefit from women's exclusion and subor-
dination in leisure. Since, she argues, women's time is required to
provide for the leisure of men and children.

13.   Evans et al. (1985) discuss the problems faced by both male
and female PE teachers when it was decided to innovate mixed sex PE in
schools.

14.   Evans, M (1985) used teaching strategies which included the
development of trust and the encouragement of reciprocal talk between
boys and girls which she suggests in time helped to lessen aggression
in boys and helped girls to be more assertive.

15.   There is much literature which both evidences and argues this
view (see Chapter 1).

16.   Girls' persistent reluctance and resistance in this context
was rare. However such a case was discussed (Appendix VIII).

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SHOTMOOR OUTDOOR PURSUITS CENTRE

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

P U P I L   Q U E S T I O N N A I R E

Dear Pupil,

    I am from the Southampton University Department of Physical Education
and I am trying to find out and let people know about what you think of
your stay at Shotmoor.

    In connection with this I am interested in what you think about Physical
Education and sport, at school and in particular at Shotmoor, and I am asking
for your co-operation in completing this questionnaire.

    I have asked you to put your name at the top so that I can talk to some
of you at a later date but I would like to stress that completed questionnaires
will only be read by me, they will not be read by your teachers at school or
at

    Thank you for your help and I hope you enjoy the rest of your stay here.

Barbara Humberstone

Barbara Humberstone.

(1)   What is your name? ....

(2)   How old are you?   Please enter age in box   [   ] years   [   ] months

(3)   Please tick the appropriate box

                                          [   ] Male   [   ] Female

(4)   What is the name of your school? ....

(5)   What is your father's job? ....
      Please describe in as much detail as possible ....
      ....
      Where does he work?   (shop, factory etc.) ....
      ....

(6)   If your father is unemployed

      What was your father's job? ....
      Please describe in as much detail as possible ....
      ....
      Where did he work?   (shop, factory etc.) ....

(7)   Does your mother have a paid job?

      Please tick one box only

YES, Full-time (more than 20 hours per week)	
YES, Part-time (20 hours or less	
NO, does not have a paid job	

      If YES, what kind of job? ....
      Please describe her job in as much detail as possible ....
      ....
      Where does she work?   (shop, factory etc.) ....
      ....

The following questions are about YOU and YOUR SCHOOL.

(8)   Have you ever played for any school sports team since September?

Please tick one box   Yes [   ]

                            No [   ]

If YES, please tick the sport in which you played.

SPORTS TEAM

Soccer	
Netball	
Hockey	
Basketball	
Rugby	
Cricket	
Gymnastics	
Athletics	
Any other	

(9)   Have you stayed after school for any Activity or Club since September?

Please tick one box   Yes [   ]

                            No [   ]

If YES, please name them ....

....

(10)   Have you attended any lunchtime Activities or Clubs since September?

Please tick one box   Yes [   ]

                            No [   ]

If YES, please name them ....

....

(11) Have you gone away with the school at a weekend since September?

Please tick one box

Yes ☐

No ☐

If YES, please say what Activity you were doing ....

....

Where did you go? ....

(12) At school in your year you may be divided into classes of different ability, or you may be in a class of mixed ability.
Please tick which class you are in

	Top ability	Middle ability	Bottom ability	Mixed ability	Do not Know
Maths					
English					
Science					
French					
History					
Geography					
Physical Education					

(13) Below is a list of public examinations. Please list under the examinations which subjects you think you will be taking before you leave school.

'O' level	C.S.E.	R.S.A.	'A' level	Any other	Do not know

(14) Look at the list below and read it carefully before answering the question. In the first column circle 4 things which you think the P.E. staff at your school are most interested in. In the second column circle 4 things you think are the most important.

	School P.E. Staff are interested in	You think are most importan
Helping you to keep fit and healthy	1	1
Keeping you occupied	2	2
Helping you to develop your personality and character	3	3
Helping you have fun	4	4
Teaching you how to do the physical activities	5	5
Showing you how to get on with other people	6	6
Helping you to become more confident	7	7
Helping you to develop an interest in Physical Activities.	8	8

The next three questions ask you to put a cross on the scale which best describes what you think about a particular activity or person. For example at school if I think sports are nearer to difficult than easy I would fill in the scale as shown:
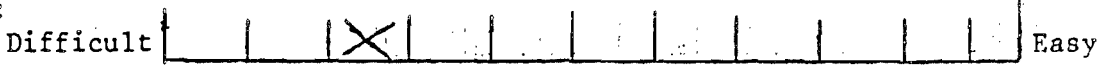
Difficult |___|___|_X_|___|___|___|___|___|___| Easy

Please read the questions carefully

(15) The Physical Education activities and sports at school are:-

Exciting	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Dull
Easy	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Strenuous
Useless	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Useful
Enjoyable	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Boring
Unrewarding	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Rewarding
Fun	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Depressing
Difficult	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Simple
Worthless	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Worthwhile

(16)   At <u>School</u> I am:-

Hardworking |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Lazy

Badly behaved |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Well behaved

Interested |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Bored

Unfriendly |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Friendly

Helpful |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Unhelpful

(17)   <u>Teachers</u> at school are:-

Rigid |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Flexible

Lenient |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Strict

Friendly |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Unfriendly

Boring |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Interesting

Fair |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Unfair

Patient |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Impatient

Hassled |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Calm

Amusing |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Dull

Hard |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Soft

Enthusiastic |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Unenthusiastic

Helpful |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Unhelpful

Not
Understanding |___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___| Understanding

(18)   At school which School Rules do you think are important to keep? ....

....

Give reasons why you think they should be kept ....

....

....

Which School Rules do you think are wrong or should be changed? ....

....

Give reasons why you think they are wrong or should be changed ....

....

....

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOU AND Shotmoor

(19) Which pupils were able to choose to come to Shotmoor

Please tick one box

                    The whole school

                    All those in my year

                    All those in my class

                    All those well-behaved

                    All those good at P.E.

                    All those who could afford to

Any other, please explain ....

....

(20) On Monday you were put into activity groups.

Please tick which group you are in 1⬜ 2⬜ 3⬜ 4⬜ 5⬜ 6⬜

(21) How would you like your group to be made up?

Please tick one box

                    Half boys and half girls

                    All girls

                    As it is

                    All boys

(22) From the activities at Shotmoor, please tick the one activity which:-

	Cycling	Archery	Skiing	Orienteering	Shooting	Initiative Course	Climbing	Roller skating	Give your reasons for this choice
You found the most enjoyable									....
You would like to have more of									....
You found the most frightening									....
You were most successful at									....
You would have liked more help with									....
You would like to carry on when you leave school									....
You would like to have less of									....
You were least successful at									....
You will choose for your free choice									....
									....

(23) Look at the list below and read it carefully before answering the question. In the first column circle 4 things which you think the staff at Shotmoor are most interested in, in the second column circle 4 things you think are the most important.

	Shotmoor Staff are most interested in	You think are most important
Helping you to keep fit and healthy	1	1
Keeping you occupied	2	2
Helping you to develop your personality and character	3	3
Helping you to have fun	4	4
Teaching you how to do the physical activities	5	5
Showing you how to get on with other people	6	6
Helping you to become more confident	7	7
Helping you to develop an interest in Physical Activities	8	8

The next three questions ask you to put a cross on the scale which best describes what you think about a particular activity or person at Shotmoor For example, if I think sports at Shotmoor are nearer to difficult than easy, I would fill in the scale as shown:

Difficult |___|___|_X_|___|___|___|___|___| Easy

Please read the questions carefully

(24) The Physical Education activities and sports at Shotmoor are:-

Exciting	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Dull
Easy	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Strenuous
Useless	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Useful
Enjoyable	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Boring
Unrewarding	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Rewarding
Fun	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Depressing
Difficult	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Simple
Worthless	|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|___|	Worthwhile

(25)　At Shotmoor I am:-

Hardworking									Lazy
Badly behaved									Well behaved
Interested									Bored
Unfriendly									Friendly
Helpful									Unhelpful

(26)　Teachers at Shotmoor are

Rigid									Flexible
Lenient									Strict
Friendly									Unfriendly
Boring									Interesting
Fair									Unfair
Patient									Impatient
Hassled									Calm
Amusing									Dull
Hard									Soft
Enthusiastic									Unenthusiastic
Helpful									Unhelpful
Not Understanding									Understanding

26)　Are there any Rules at Shotmoor

Please tick one box

Yes ☐

No ☐

If NO, please say why there are no rules ....

....

If YES, please list the rules ....

....

....

....

If you think these rules are important to keep please gives reasons why
you think they should be kept ....

....

....

....

If you think there are any which are wrong or should be changed. Please
give reasons why they are wrong or should be changed ....

....

....

....

HANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE.

Generalised summary of who, what and when I observed and how I made the observations. Brief details of other forms of data collection are included.*

Who was Observed	What was Observed	Form of Observation

Week 1 (10th-14th January)

| Case Study Group : Group 1
4 girls 6 boys
10/11 years old
E.P.A. mixed Middle School
Teachers : A D E G K L* * | What teachers and Pupils said, with whom they interacted. What they did. The time was noted at natural breaks in the course of events or teachers' utterances. | Paper and pencil note taking |

Comments : No questionnaires were completed. Pre-arranged interviews with case study Pupil's were tape recorded.

Week 2 (17-21st January)

| No Case Study Group
13/14 years old
Mixed Comprehensive Schools
Teachers : A B C F G H J L | As Week 1.
Mainly in climbing lessons. | Paper and pencil note taking |

Comments : Questionnaires were completed by 57 pupils.
            No interviews were tape recorded.

Week 3 (24-28th January)

| No observations :

13/14 years old | Looking over data.
Initial ordering, filing and analysis of Data. | |

Comments : Questionnaires were completed by 56 pupils.

Week 4 (31st January-4th February)

| Case Study Group : Group 6
3 girls 7 boys
13/14 years old
Mixed Comprehensive School
Teachers : A J | As Week 1 with greater focus on teachers talk and timing of events. | Teacher record.
(less than half a day)
Pencil and paper note taking. |

Comments : Questionnaires were completed by 57 Pupils.
         Pre-arranged interviews with case study pupils were tape
         recorded.

Who was Observed	What was Observed	Form of Observation
Week 5 (7-11th February)		
Case Study Group : Group 4 5 girls 5 boys 13/15 years old Girls private school Boys from a mixed comprehensive. Teachers : B C F J	As Week 1 with focus on Teachers' organisation : timing of lesson sequences. Some pupil-pupil interaction.	Paper and pencil note taking.

Comments : Questionnaires were completed by 41 pupils.
         Pre-arranged interviews with the Case Study Pupils and Pupils
         in Group 2 were tape recorded.

Week 6 (15-18th February)		
Case Study Group : Group D 5 girls 5 boys 9/10 years old Mixed junior schools. Teachers : E F (L) M	As Week 5. Greater focus on Pupil-pupil interaction and specific individual Pupils.	Pupil record. Pencil and paper note taking.

Comments : No questionnaires were completed. No interviews were tape
         recorded.
         The pupils were taught not only physical activities but also
         environmental studies.

Week 7   (21-25th February)

No Observation : Preliminary ordering, filing and analyses of Data.

Week 8 (28th February-4th March)		
Case Study Group : Group 5 2 girls 6 boys 13/14 year old Mixed comprehensive school Teachers : C E G L	As Week 6.	Paper and pencil note taking

Comments : Questionnaires were completed by 54 pupils.
         Pre-arranged interviews with the Case Study Pupils were tape
         recorded.

Who was Observed	What was Observed	Form of Observation

Week 9 (7-11th March)

Case Study Group : Group 6 5 girls 5 boys 14/15 years old Mixed comprehensive Teachers : B D L	As Week 6. Focused on female pupil, Glynis and her interactions with other pupils and the teachers	Paper and pencil note taking

Comments : Questionnaires were completed by 62 pupils.
Pre-arranged interviews with the Case Study Pupils were tape
recorded.

Week 10   (14-18th March)

Video recordings of Group 3 3 girls 4 boys 13/15 year old Mixed comprehensive.	Teacher A's interaction with Pupils. Timing of TE's interaction with pupils during one climbing lesson.	Video record. Paper and pencil note taking.

Comments : Questionnaires were completed by 57 pupils.
Pre-arranged interviews with the Case Study Pupils were tape
recorded.

*The periods of analyses were not as scheduled as this timetable may
suggest. They occurred as an ongoing process throughout the immersion in
the field.

** Teacher's Pseudonyms - their letter representation :

A - Alan, B - Bill, C - Chris, D - Doug, E - Eddy, F - Fred,
G - Greg, H - Howard, J - Justin, K - Ken, L - Len, M - Mo.

Teachers	Weeks Wk 1	Wk 2	Wk 4	Wk 5	Wk 6	Wk 8	Wk 9	Wk 10	Total no. of Lesson Observations of different teachers
A	(Orient)*	2	10 + Orient					5	17 + Orient
B		3		7			1 + Orient		11 + Orient
C		1		1		5			7
D	1						6	1	8
E	7+(Orient)*				3	3		2	15 + Orient
F		1		2	6				9
G	1	2				1		4	6
H		1							1
J		1	1	5					7
K	1								1
L	1	1			(1)	3	4		10
M					5				5 Studies
Activities	11	12	11	15	10	12	11	12	92
Orienteering	5	—	5	—	—	—	5 Orient	—	15
Environmental Studies	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	5

| No. of lesson observations of case study class group | Group 1 (15 L.) | (12 L.) | Group 6 (15 L.) | Group 1 (1 L.) Group 2 (2 L.) Group 4 (12 L.) | Group D (15 L.) | Group 5 (11 L.) Group 1 (1 L.) | Group 6 (16 L.) | Group 1 (2 L.) Group 3 (6 L.) Group 6 (4 L.) | Total no. of lessons observed — 112 Total time of lesson observations — 112 x $1\frac{1}{4}^{†}$ = 140 hrs |

Notes: *Orient — Orienteering. Orienteering covers a period of 5 lessons.
During week one, both Alan and Eddy were involved together teaching
orienteering.

† A single lesson period varied in its time span but was officially
1¼ hrs. Approximately 140 hrs of "classroom" observation was
therefore made during the field study.

The Case Study Pupils

Pseudonyms of the case study pupils are listed below, along with the week in which they attended Shotmoor, their class group number, the teachers who taught them and the pseudonyms of their schools teachers. The age of each pupil and the average age of each class are displayed in the left hand columns. The remaining columns from left to right indicate specific data about each pupil which were collected from the pupil questionnaire (appendix I). The socio-economic groups to which pupils were allocated were determined from details which they gave of their fathers' occupation. Pupils recorded in which school sports, if any, they had played. Pupils indicated in which classes: top, middle, bottom or mixed ability, they were grouped for various school subjects. The final column gives the pupils' forecast of which national examination they thought they would be taking in the future.

Week 4   Case Study Group 6 Teachers: Alan, (Justin)

Name	Age		Socio-economic group	Represented School Team	Self-rated academic ability	Projected GSE(G) CSE(C) None (N)
	yr	m				
Adrian	15	3	2	No	Low	N
Andrew	14	6	2	Soccer	Top	G
Joanne	14	8	*3N	No	Middle	C
Karen	15	3	3N	Athletics	Middle	C
Kevin	15	3	3M	Soccer +	Top	G
Lisa	14	8	3N	No	Middle	C/G
Mark	-		-	-	-	-
Mike	15	3	1	Soccer +	Top	G/C
Robert	14	8	2	Badminton	Middle	G/C
Sid	-		-	Soccer	Middle	G/C

Average age 14yrs 11m

School teachers Ms Clere, Mr Dancer.
*Mother's occupation.

Week 5 Case Study Group Teachers: Bill, Justin

Name	Age yr m	Socio-economic group	Represented in school team	Self rated academic ability	Projected GCE/CSE
Dave	13 4	4	Soccer	Top	C/G
Gayle	13 11	5	No	Middle	C
Graham	13 11	3M	Soccer	Top	C
Helen	13 11	1	No	Top	G
Howard	13 8	3M	Soccer	Top	G/C
Karen	14 5	3M	No	—	—
Polly	14 5	2	No	Top	G
Sarah	14 0	2	No	Top/Middle	NK
Steve	13 6	2	Soccer +	Middle	G
Tony	13 8	3N	Soccer	Middle	C/G

Average age 13yrs 10m

School teachers Ms Ellis, Mr. Harris.

Week 8 Case Study Group 5 Teachers: Chris, Len, Eddy

Name	Age yr m	Socio-economic group	Represented in school team	Self-rated academic ability	Projected GCE/CSE
Andy	14 10	3M	Soccer +	Middle/low	C
Bella	15 5	1	No	Middle	G/C
Carol	15 2	2	No	Top	G
Gary	15 3	4	Soccer +	Middle	C
Giles	14 10	3M	Soccer +	Middle	C/G
Ken	15 6	3N	No	Middle	C
Steve	14 11	2	No	Middle	C

Averagae age 15yr 2m

School teacher Mr Bullworker

Week 9   Case Study Group 6   Teachers: Bill, Doug, Justin

Name	Age		Socio-economic group	Represented in school team	Self-rated academic ability	Projected GCE/CSE
	yr	m				
Debbie	15	3	-	Athletics	Middle	C/G
Dick	15	5	3N	No	-	-
Glynis	15	4	3M	No	Top	G
Ian	15	5	2	No	Top	G/C
Jackie	15	0	3N	Netball +	Top/Middle	C/G
Keith	14	5	2	Soccer	Top	G
Nicky	15	4	3M	No	Middle	G/C
Shaun	15	4	3N	Rugby	Top/Middle	G/C
Tracey	14	8	3N	No	Middle	G/C
Trevor	15	1	3N	No	Top	G

Average age 15yr 1m

School teachers Ms Matthews, Mr Lewis.

Week 10   Case Study Group 1   Teacher: Eddy

Name	Age		Socio-economic group	Represented in school team	Self-rated academic ability	Projected GCE/CSE
	yr	m				
Clint	14	5	2	Soccer +	Middle/top	G/C
Emma	-	-	-	Netball +	-	-
Lyn	14	5	-	Netball +	-	-
Pat	13	7	3N	Netball +	Bottom	-
Paul	14	2		Soccer +	Top	G
Peter	14	11	4	No	Middle	-
Sam	15	0	5	No	Middle	C
Sue	14	5	4	-	-	-
Tony	14	4	3	Soccer +	Middle	-

Average age 14yr 3m

School teacher Mr Kipps.

Week 10   Case Study Group 3   Teacher: Alan, (Justin)

Name	Age		Socio-economic group	Represented in school team	Self-rated academic ability	Projected GCE/CSE
	yr	m				
Andrea	13	11	-	Netball	Bottom	C
Edna	14	3	1	Netball +	Middle	-
Guy	13	10	2	Soccer +	Middle/top	G/C
Melvin	14	4	1	Soccer +	Top	G
Nigel	14	2	3M	Soccer +	Top	-
Sandie	14	6	4	Netball +	Top	-
Simon	14	4	-	Basketball	Middle	G
Stanley	15	3	3N	No	Middle	-
Tania	14	3	3N	Netball	Middle	-

Average age 14 yr 5 m

School teacher Mr Quilley

Junior/Middle School Aged Pupils

Week 1
Case Study Group 1
Teachers: Alan, Eddy (Doug)
Name

Aaron
Darren
Dianne
Donna
Jason
John
Mandy
Richard
Serena
Tim

Average age(approx) 11 yrs.

School teachers:

Mr Payne,(Mr Andrews),Ms Jones

Week 6
Case Study Group C
Teachers: Fred, Eddy

Name	Age
Alex	10
Eric	9
Isobel	9
Ian	10
Jenny	10
Judy	9
Kerry	9
Phil	10
Stacey	9
Sue	9

Average age 9 yrs.

School teacher:Ms Dors
(Activities/environmental studies)

Extracts of 'impressionistic' observations of Classroom
events and utterance which occurred during Lesson 1 of the climbing
syllabus, at different time periods during the Research.

Extract A   (1.2/CL1/D(A)/C1)

11.1.83 Tuesday
Middle school group (social Priority school) 10-11 years, 6 boys, 4 girls.

9.20 Groups 1 and 2
TD   to group "Have you climbed before".
P(b) "Trees"   X X X X X X X X X X
                                 School +   X
                                    TA   X
                                           TD   X
TD   Explains what (it) is all about. Equipment. How to adjust etc.
     (Donna and Dianne went to bed at 9 pm, couldn't sleep)
TD   to group "Why do we wear a helmet".
P(b,g) (10 sec) 3 answers
TD   Explains why. Tying on. Demo of belt.
     (Ps listening intently as TD shows what to do).

9.24 (Ps put on helmets and belts)
     Group 1 yellow helmets.
TD to group ("Any one larger waist take yellow belt).

9.26 Ps trying on hats talking quietly to each other (obs helps Richard
     with belt). 6 Ps trying belts on : talking quietly to each other.

9.30   TA X
           X   X   X
           X   centre staff helping
             G X X   XG   with fitting belt.
       TD X XX   X   XB
            XXX   XG XB   XB
TA   "Well anyone not got a belt" (lively)
     (Lively comment to one of group TD help some lad)

9.32 *
      *
      *

9.50 TD (to) 4 girls. "come round back to an easier wall".
      (Obs. Am aware I am picking out details in which girls etc are made
      explicit)
                  opposite   corner wall
                   wall   X G
            B   B
          B X   X   G X X G   X   XB
          B X   X S/S   X G   X TD   X
                                                      B

TD with group of 4 girls.

<u>9.54</u> TD to group of boys "Havent you done it yet! What a bunch of
       walleys. where are you from".
P(b) ' ----------'
TD   "Well that explains it".

<u>9.56</u> TD with girls group (1 min) Donna to Dianne "next one up".
P(g) "Keep climbing straight up, keep climbing".

<u>9.58</u> TD to boys group
TD   to Donna "Use your toes like a ballet dancer".

<u>10.00</u> P(b) "He's shaking"
TD with boys group (Ps only went partway up)
TD   "Lets swop over"
            *
            *
            *

<u>Extract B</u>   (9.2/CL1/D/C6)
<u>8.3.83 Tuesday</u>

Comprehensive school; Average 15 years 1 month. 5 boys, 5 girls.

<u>9.15</u>   <u>X   X   X   X   X</u>   TD
          S/S G N Tra J D   X S

                                 X R   Ta C Q Equ.

                                 X I

                                 X Tre
<u>9.24</u>   Ps collect and try on equipment.

          T   a N   S a s/s Q
     J a T Q, T R   s/s a S   R
          T   a D   s/s a   boys
          T   a J

          T   a Tra   g _____
          T   a D   x   x   x
          D   a T (concerning last night   x
          being sick etc)   X   X
          N _a T "Do you like my soxs"   x
          T   a N "rather fetching"
          T   a girls, Pg giggle   x
          M   a g "shut up"
          T   a P(B) helmet on   x
          T   a P(G)
          T   a N (p.c.)   x
          Trev and I a T
          Trev and I a N (talk about last night)
          I   a s/s "I'll take you up first sir"

T   a   M (helps). "No wonder you were late".
9.32 *
     *
     *

9.49   T   a   C "No one leaves the ground until one of us has physically
       checked you".

9.51 Ps in pairs   9.51
                          T   a   7
              5   T   a   2
      7   XM   T   a   1 (3 mins)   s/s a 7
       XD   XS   En   s/s a 3
    XJ   2   T   a   7
                    XG   T   a   5/2   s/s a 5/2
         3   XR   T   a   1 (2 mins)
         I   T   a   7   s/s a I
         X   1
                    XN
      X   XTra
      Trev
      _____   9.57
9.57   Trev   a I   T   a   3 (En)   s/s a 5
        Trev   a I En   T   a   7   s/s a 7
        Tra   a N En   s/s a 1
10.00 *   10.00
      *
      *

Explanations of Abreviations used in the preceding lesson extracts:

TD   -   teacher D
P(b) -   boy
P(g) -   girl
Ps   -   pupils
Obs   -   observer
X   -   locates pupils' position
X   -   locates teachers' position
s/s   -   school staff
G, N, Tra, J, D, S, R, I, Tre, M   -   represent individual pupils
T   -   teacher
a   -   (interacts with)
C   -   class
Q   -   question
R   -   response
Equ   -   equipment
p.c. -   physical contact
En   -   encourages
1-7   -   indicate the seven climbing walls
s   -   indicates a belayed pupil.
*
*
*   -   indicates sections of the lessons which have been
           omitted from these extracts.

Shorthand notations and the categories of interaction which they represented

Shorthand notation	Interaction category
CI	Critical Incident
CO	Corrects (diagnostic - tells, shows, suggests ways of improvement)
Com.	Comment
En.	Encourages
Ex.	Explains
h.	helps
J.	Jokes
Mon.	Monitors
P.	Praise
P.c.	Physical contact
Q.	Questions from Pupil
R.	Response from teacher
Rout.	Routine Organisation

Ref No:

COMMUNICATION

Questions answered by child

...

recalling facts

offering ideas, solutions (closed)

offering ideas, solutions (open)

SUPERVISION

referring to task supervision

ROUTINE

referring to routine matter

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

FEEDBACK:

K

of facts

of ideas, problems

OF SUPERVISION

which tell the child what to do

which praise work or effort

which provide feedback on work or effort

...

which provide information, directions

which provide feedback

of minimal control

of small talk

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

SILENCE

Silent interaction

Gesturing

Showing

Marking

Writing

Story

Reading

Not observed

Not coded

No interaction

Adult interaction

Visiting pupil

Not interacting

Out of room

AUDIENCE

COMPOSITION

ACTIVITY

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L-											
T	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
NIT											
TAR											
ART											
SWT											
CHR											
BSR											
THER											
WK											
UT											
S											
G											
N											
AT											
UP											
SS											
ER											
her											

Target's code letter:

Identification:

Base: Alone : 2SS : 2OS : SSS : S

Name:

Notes:

	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
8 COOP TK								
COOP R								
DSTR								
DSTR OBS								
DSRP								
HPLY								
WAIT TCH								
CODS								
INT TCHR								
INT PUP								
WOR								
RIS								
NOT OBS								
NOT LIST								
9 P IN								
P OUT								
P MOB								
P OUT RM								
10 T PRES								
T ELSE								
T MNTR								
T HSKP								
T OUT RM								

	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
G										
D										
ES										
SS										
OS										
BS										
BS										

9   9½   10   10½   11   11½   12   12½   1   1½   2   2½   3   3½   4

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The Staffing Structure at Shotmoor at the time of the Study

Principal (acting)

Deputy Principal (acting)   Deputy Principal (acting)

| Head of Studies | Head of Sailing (acting) | Head of Canoeing (acting) | Head of Adventure Activities (acting) |

*Teacher in Studies   Teacher in Sailing   (Teacher in Canoeing) (vacant)   Teacher in Activities

Assistant Studies (temporary)

Assistant Teachers Activities (3) (temporary)
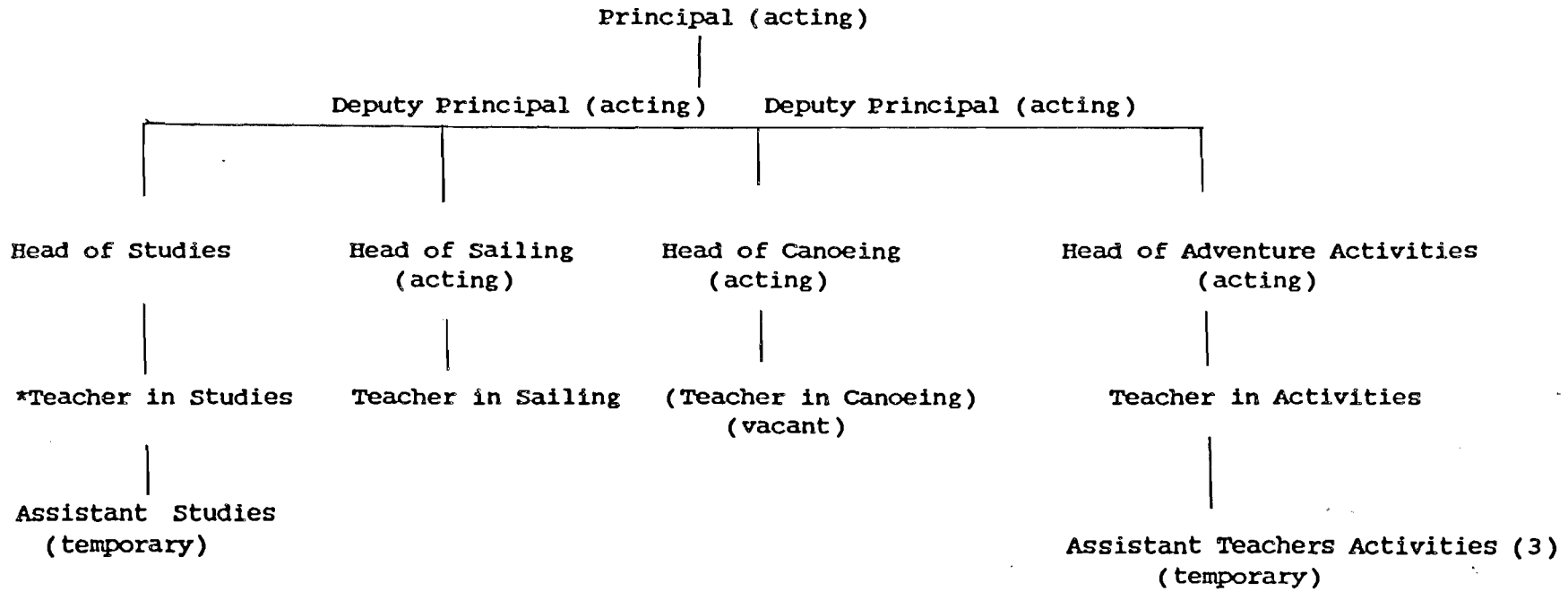
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*Short term teaching contract

Date ....

		0915–1030	1100–1215		1345–1500	1500–1615		1630–1745
MONDAY	1		Arrival		Shoot	T/Cycle		Ski
	2		and		Ski	Climb		Archery
	3		Introduction		Archery	Ski		Climb
TUESDAY	1	Climb	Ski		Archery	Ski		Shoot
	2	Shoot	T/Cycle		Ski	Initiative course		Climb
	3	Ski	Shoot		Climb	T/Cycle		Archery
WEDNESDAY	1	Climb	Initiative course		T/Cycle	Archery		Ski
	2	R/Cycle	Archery		Ski	Shoot		T/Cycle
	3	Ski	R/Cycle		Climb	Initiative course		Shoot
THURSDAY	1	Map and						Return
	2	Compass work –	F O R E S T	E X E R C I S E				Small Games
	3	Clubroom						Hangar
FRIDAY	1	R/Cycle	Climb		Competative	Tea and		
	2	Climb	Ski		Session	Depart		
	3	Ski	T/Cycle					

Transit x 2 Thursday

Packed lunches x .... Thursday

JUNIOR SCHOOL STUDIES / ACTIVITIES COURSE. FEB. 14th.-18th. 1983.

		0915	1100	1345	1500	1630
Mon.	A.	Pick up from School. Deliver to		Map and Compass work — Studies		
	B.	Introduction to course and activities.		"	"	"
	C.			Ski-ing	Skate	Climb
	D.			Climb	Skate	Ski-ing
Tue.	A.	Field Studies at		Fossil Foray		
	B.	"	"	"		
	C.	Shoot	I/Course	Archery	Climb	Ski-ing
	D.	Archery	Ski-ing	Climb	I/Course	Shoot
Wed.	A.	Ski-ing	Skate	Archery	Climb	Shoot
	B.	I/Course	Skate	Ski-ing	Shoot	Climb
	C.	Shoot	Bad/Cycle	Ski-ing	Archery	Climb
	D.	Bad/Cycle	Ski-ing	Shoot	Climb	Archery
Thu.	A.	Bad/Cycle	Ski-ing	Archery	Climb	Shoot
	B.	Shoot	Bad/Cycle	Ski-ing	Archery	Climb
	C.	Field Studies at		Fossil Foray		
	D.	"	"	"		
Fri.	A.	Ski-ing	I/Course	Competative p.m. Return to school		
	B.	Ski-ing	Archery			
	C.	Map and Compass work — studies				
	D.	"	"	"		

Studies Staff

+ Studies Staff

FEB 14-18ᵗʰ

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.   Climbing   Syllabus   (Three Sessions)

The following should be treated as a progression and the dividing point for each session as being arbitrary depending upon the speed of the group and the availability of resources.

Session 1

INTRODUCTION TO EQUIPMENT. Why we wear it, how we use it. Safety - wearing of helmets, use of ropes, screw-gate krabs, suggest group tie figure of eight kno. in slings.

CLIMBING TECHNIQUE. Climbing on traverse wall - attention to C-A-S-H-W-O-R-T-H

BELAY METHODS - Why and how - Classic and Sticht Plate. Discuss advantages disadvantages of both. With Sticht-Plate method stress three distinct stages whilst taking in i.e. i) taking in with ropes parallel.ii) lock with inactive end held back. iii) slide hand up the inactive end back to the Sticht-Plate. N.B. Sticht Plate must always stay close to belay krab. Belay to ring - krab to ring, sling to belt.

CLIMBING - With running top-ropes using sticht plate belay. Instructor to ensure each pair are belayed and belaying correctly before they are allowed to commence climbing. On second descent, belayer lowers climber in abseil position. During the course of this session the climbing calls may be introduced especially those used by the climber for rope control i.e. 'take-in' and 'slack'.

Session 2

ABSEIL TECHNIQUES - Demonstrate Classic/Half-Classic/Descendeur methods in the horizontal plane discussing advantages/disadvantages of each. Making use of a seat sling. Group to practise with descendeur on abseil ramp under instructor's guidance.

ABSEILING - Group to belay each other to the top of central tower, belaying themselves to the permanent slings at the top, and abseil down the west wall using seat-sling. Instructor whilst taking a central role in this operation should keep an eye on other climbers/belayers. It is the accepted practice for the instructor to belay each climber on the abseil.

Session 3

FREE ABSEIL - The group to free abseil. Each climber to be belayed from the top of the ski slope or from the corner tower. If they climb from the corner tower they should also attach themselves with a karabiner to the fixed hroizontal rope. Whilst the instructor and pupils are abseiling no climbing must take place unless there is another qualified instructor available in the floor area. (This occurs when two groups are programmed for session three together).

The aim of this course is for a group to work together as a team thereby ensuring that the weakest member will successfully complete the whole course. Instruction and advice should be at a minimum but at the same time the member of staff is most welcome to use his own initiative to step in and assist, for example with a smaller group, allowing them an extra piece of equipment or a box to gain a bit of height or with the more able groups giving them extra pieces of equipment to carry around such of buckets of water or 'The Biltong'. Otherwise how you run this course is entirely up to the member of staff concerned and the following is really how set it out.

THE WALL.

The whole team have to get over the wall using no equipment no boards, no ladders etc. whatsoever. Do not allow too many people to be on the top of the wal and do not allow them to stand up on the top.

THE TYRE TRAVERSE.

This is a traverse over a bottomless ravine. Do not allow more than 4 people to be on this traverse at any one time and they should be encouraged to help each other.

THE MUSHROOM FIELD.

The students start from the yellow strip on the South Side and have to reach the concrete platform on the north side with the entrance through the yellow slip only. They must not move the 'Mushrooms'. Their equipment is three planks. If either themselves or the planks touch the ground(which is full of snakes) then they loose same. Live or, planks may be regained by paying the appropriate penalty!

THE ACID BATH.

The Students have to get from one side of the acid bath in the yellow area to the other side. The equipment they have is two 45 gallon drums and 3 planks. The acid is 1 foot deep. They must not use the support wires.

THE ROPE SWING.

The pupils have to get from one side of the pit to the other. They are not
allowed to go into the pit which is full of crocodiles (Ngungu). Nor are
they allowed to touch the tyres or the wires which support the structure.
When swinging across they should not put their feet in any loop in the rope,
but they should hold the rope high up and as they swing perhaps bend the knees.

The Commando Bridge is on the two horizontal ropes which finish this part of
the course and is a crawl or a walk across.

THE ELECTRIC FENCE.

The equipment here is one plank and the team have to get from one side of the
electric fence (badminton net) to the other side without being electrocuted.

It is most important that after you have finished the course all the equipment
is put back at the start of each section so the next member of staff who comes
to the course find the equipment in the proper place. How you interprete the
above rules is entirely up to yourself dependant upon the children that you
have with you.

Any ideas, suggestions, improvements or additions are most welcome!

RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES DEPARTMENT.

(READ IN CONJUNCTION WITH SKI EXERCISES).

Lesson 1.

PROGRESSION
A. Running on the spot to warm up.
B. Walking and turning on the flat.
C. Falling and standing up. (Emphasize the correct method of falling keeping hands and sticks held away from mat.
D. Two stick grips for running and pushing backwards.
E. Side stepping.
F. Turn into the fall line.
G. Straight runnings.

EXERCISES
A. To include touching boots, moving, hopping, lifting and stepping skis.
B. Fun positions - racing egg, sitting and standing.

GAMES
Games without sticks to be preceeded by teaching of snow plough hold. (Glove catching, passing, holding hands).

SAFETY GUIDE
i. All done from on or below green line.
ii Sticks held correctly behind skier.

Lesson 2.

PROGRESSION
A. Linked snow plough turns.
B. Snow plough glide from snow plough slope hand.
C. Snow plough glide to snow plough turn.
D. Linked snow plough turns.

N.B. For weaker groups (more than 2 falls while attempting to turn).Each snow plough braking to give confidence.

EXERCISES FOR
A. Brusing heels out to wider snow plough.
B. Any snow plough exercises depending on the difficulties
C. Holding the boot of the turning ski-reaching down the hill over the turning ski.

GAMES.
Introduction to Mogul Technique.

SAFETY GUIDE.
1. Red line upper limit for exercises.
2. Free turning are preferable to a marked slalom course in early stages.

Lesson 3.

PROGRESSION
A. Linked snow plough turns.
B. Traverse.
C. Traverse to snow plough glide.
D. Traverse to snow plough glide to snow plough turn.
E. Snow plough linked turns from traverse start.

EXERCISES for:-   A. 1. Snow plough glide to snow plough turn - to snow
                    plough glide - run off.
                       2. As A. 1. but finish with a turn instead of run
                    off.
                    B. Any traversing exercises that get weight on lower
                    ski without hopping both skis or stepping up or down.
                    C. Down low to traverse - up to push out into snow
                    plough - shoulders down the fall line with the up
                    action to turn.
                    D. Revise from snow plough glide to snow plough turn.
                    Lesson 2c.
                    E. Revise 3c above.

SAFETY GUIDE   1. Snow plough glide/brake straight down from the top
                    at the end of the session. Skier should not reach the
                    curtains.
                        Set up gate with cones at left foot of slope for
                    skiers aim and turn at.
                    N.B. Turning from the top can be dangerous unless the
                    individual can (a) Brake before reaching the coconut
                    mats,   (b) Completely link his / her turns under
                    control around three cones from red line.

                    LESSON 4.
PROGRESSION.   A. Introduce side slip and demonstrate it's use in.
                       1. Plough Swing.
                       2. Basic Swing.
                       3. Parallel turn.

EXERCISES for :   A. 1. Shuffle skis backwards and forward to introduce
                    side skid.
                       2. Brush alternate skis down.
                       3. Side slip from hop in traverse.
                       4. Side slip from traverse.
                       5. Side slip down fall line.
                       6. Side slip turn to the hill at the end of a
                    traverse.

FOR ALL LESSONS.   Pattern for ALL turning - snow plough to parallel.
                    1. Sink to turn - weight on lower ski.
                    2. Come up, shoulders into the fall line weight
                    on both skis glide in fall line.
                    3. Sink onto the turning (down Hill) ski to turn.
                    4. Discourage hard edging, encourage flat skis.
                    5. Skis hip width apart!
                    6. Sticks held sloping backwards.
                    7. Bent knees, relaxed posture.

SKI EXERCISES

Preliminary

1. Explain bindings. Skiing position, holding sticks.
2. Walking on the flat. Stear turns. Clock turns, sidestepping.
3. Falling and how to get up.
4. Sidestepping and edging - sideslipping.
5. Slope-hang position.

Fall-Line

1. Straight schuss.
2. Sinking and rising, touching boots.
3. Push one ski in front of the other.
4. Flick both skis forward.
5. Lifting one heel at a time.
6. Hopping the heels.
7. Stepping sideways.
8. Throwing objects in the air, to one another, or picking them up.
9. Schuss holding hands. Snow plough hold plus games.

Snow Plough

1. Basic snow plough positions and run into straight schuss.
2. Snowplough glide, flat skis
3. Brushing snowplough - introduce braking.
4. Sticks under backside - brushing.
5. Snowplough with sticks pushing.
6. Brushing one foot at a time.
7. Snowplough turn from fall line.
8. Snowplough turn into fall line.
9. Linked snowplough turns.
10. Snowplough.
11. Chinese snowplough.
12. Snowplough glide with 2 sticks being at eye level.
13. Snowplough glide with alternate push of heel - 2 sticks being at eye level.
14. Snowplough hopping both heels.
15. Backward snowplough.
16. Hop from plough to schuss and then push out again to plough.

Traverse and Sideslip

1. Traverse position - pushing with sticks.
2. Traverse with step up of uphill ski to complete.
3. Traverse with stem of uphill or downhill ski.
4. Traverse with step up or down.
5. Traverse with jump up or down.
6. Sideslip commence with little shuffle.
7. Sideslip - feet apart. Sag method.
8. Traverse - sideslip - drift.
9. Traverse to sideslip to traverse. Move the position of the hips.
10. Traverse to sideslip step.
11. Traverse to turn to hill.
12. Sideslip on one ski only.
13. 2 skiers, pull - sideslip, pull - check.

Basic Swing

1. Hop around across the slope hang position to finish with skid.
2. Traverse - push out into plough and down the fall line in snowplough glide.
3. Snowplough glide into plough turn out of the fall line.
4. As for 2. bringing uphill ski in on completion.
5. Traverse to plough glide in fall line - close uphill ski and turn to hill.
6. Full Grundschung. Emphasise shoulder position in turn.
7. Linked Grundschungs.
8. Schuss with 2 hops and a hop to turn to hill.
9. Traverse to small plough, press on big toe of upper ski to steer around.
10. Snowplough garlands.

Parallel

1. Basic turn with hopping of heels.
2. Cut down hops until 1 hop to fall line followed by a push.
3. Traverse with check and use of stick to hop up - series across slope.
4. Traverse, check with downhill ski and turn with little jump.
5. Traverse, open uphill ski, step up into steeper traverse and turn to hill.
   (Parallel garlands)
6. Use of 2 sticks to hop across fall line.
7. Use of 1 stick to hop across fall line.
8. Vary the rhythm of parallel turns.
9. Traverse.
10. Straight schuss, hopping heels into a Christie uphill.
11. Straight schuss with uphill parallel Christie - by down unweighting.
12. Parallel turns with hands outstretched, then held forwards and clasped down facing down the slope.
13. Traverse with skis apart. Close with sticks for parallel then apart again for the next traverse.
14. Hops into fall line, across and back again.
15. Above, holding sticks centrally and facing down fall line.
16. Jumps of heels across fall line with no sideslip and up into return jumps. Concentrate on rhythm and timing with sticks - short chops.
17. Traverse into sideslip, check and jump turn.
18. Parallel swings across Fall-line, no sticks, clapping for rhythm.
19. Serpent turn, check, plant pole, turn on to full line position then push skis.

Introduction to Track Cycling

The 6 session course outlined here is meant to act as a guide.

The safety of the child must be considered at all times and the safety .imits must not be exceeded.

Do you need lights switched on? - Check track obstructions.

.esson 1

ı) Introduction to track and equipment. - Allay fears - Start on green
Importance of obeying
Instructions.

i) Clothing - remove watches, combs, etc, and tuck trousers into socks or roll trousers up. - Can they ride cycle?
ii) History of track and the meaning of the coloured lines.
iii) Equipment - fixed wheel, toe clips.
iv) Selection of cycle. - sizing - checking cycle.
v) Issue of helmets.
vi) Lay cycles flat on concrete not on courts

ı) Demonstration by instructor - on green.
:) Talk how to ride bends - speed - leaning - steering - hold cycle correct angle on bends.
ı) First ride on the track working with partner who will assist at the start and finish of each ride. - How to hold cycle, check helmets and toe clips up to four at a time.

i) 2/3 laps on the flat - emphasise back pressure to slow down.
ii) Get them to speed up and slow down.
iii) Get them to ride the gutter

:) Instructor demonstration on how to ride the track properly. Emphasise going on white - coming off as you leave the bends. Ride between black and red - not above red line. Controlled speed same tempo all round. Ride black line.

') PUPILS - One person at a time. Rides onto white track. Importance of speed, leaning, no slowing down on bends. Make sure that you are audible, 2/3 laps.. Don't allow them to wander white to green, green to white. NOT ABOVE RED LINE.

) Further 2/3 laps practice - allow them above red to blue.

esson 2

) Further practice at riding the track. This can be done with four on the track, each rider keeping a quarter of the track behind the one in front. - OVERTAKING RULE. NOTE All overtaking must be done on the high side of the track, if overtaken rider is below blue line. Before any overtaking takes pla the rider who wishes to overtake must shout a warning to the rider in front.

b) As riders become more confident, overtaking can be introduced.
c) First timed lap.
   For a timed lap, the sequence of events is as follows:-

   i) First lap to get on track.
   ii) Second lap to gain speed - on the back stages of the second lap
       the bell rings.
   iii) Third lap is the timed lap.
   iv) Fourth lap to reduce speed and dismount.
   v) Record times.

d) Two man, three laps pursuit race.
   - by using the times achieved by the class, sort the class into pairs of
   even ability for the pursuit race.

   The sequence is as follows:-

   i) Each competitor must have a partner who supports him.
      Each competitor will start half way down the straight on either
      side of the track.
   ii) The teacher starts the race by a count down and at the start
       the supporter gives his rider a good push off but is only able
       to move three paces forward
   iii) While the race is in progress, the partner should shout to his
        rider each time he passes, how many laps there are to go.
   iv) Ring bell when one lap to go.
   v) After three laps, the winner is the one who has reduced the
      distance between him and his partner.

Lesson 3

) Revision - Warm up.
) Group riding in teams of 4 - wheel to wheel formation.
) Four man, 4 lap pursuit race - locate each rider on the straights
  and half way round the bends. - Partner puts up hand to indicate finish.
  INTERVAL WORK
) Formation riding i) On bell leader takes off and joins pack at rear.
                   ii) On bell rear man 'takes off' overtakes pack and
                       becomes leader.
                  iii) Olympic Team Training in threes
                       - Sequence of events is as follows:-

                       Good formation of riding.
                       On approach to bend ring bell, the leading rider moves
                       up to just below the blue line and the other two
                       ride through underneath, with the leading rider now
                       returning to the rear.
                       Continue changing each lap until the original
                       leader is back in front.

Lesson 3/4

   Warm up with free riding.
   If the class is good enough, attempt Devil Take the Hindmost. This should be
   done in groups of three/four. After each group of three laps, the last
   rider drops out. Continue until a winner emerges. No Devil must be
   undertaken until riders have ridden in formation.

METHOD - DEVIL RIDING 1/ Select riders - similar times.
                         2/ Slowest at front.
                         3/ Get them rolling on green.
                         4/ When together on back straight - GO!
                         5/ Must cross line in above order then they can go.
                         6/ Importance of tactics.

An Exceptional Case: A Girl's Resistance to a Male Teacher's Attention

Rarely did girls express anything other than satisfaction at the ways in which learning was made available and accessible to them. Most pupils, particularly girls, indicated a sense of achievement through their experiences at Shotmoor (see Chapter 10). However, on one occasion which occurred during week four of the field study, one case study pupil, Lisa, rejected the considerable amount of attention given to her by her teacher, Alan. Alan was attempting to encourage Lisa to abseil and the following observation and interview extracts show the way in which Alan encountered Lisa, his feelings about her and the situation, and Lisa's responses to and opinions of Alan. The following extract (4.3/CL3/A/C6) is from lesson three of the climbing syllabus.

> Lisa, although almost over the edge at the beginning of her abseil, pulls herself back onto the platform saying, 'I can't do it.' Alan says, 'Yes, you can.' Alan kneels next to Lisa continuing to reassure her and encourage her to go over. Once again Lisa pulls herself back onto the top.
>
> 2.54 Mr Dancer (her school teacher) shouts encouragement to her. Alan moves to a different wall in an attempt to get Lisa to abseil. Meantime, Andrew is wandering about apparently taking evasive action. Ms Clere walks over to the climbing wall with him and encourages him to go up.
>
> 2.56. Lisa, on a different wall, begins leaning out in her attempt to abseil but immediately pulls herself back onto the platform again. Alan decides not to pursue this activity with Lisa and secures her into the central post. He then abseils Sid, Mike and Rob in turn. Andrew does not climb up. Lisa climbs back down the wall having been unable to abseil. Alan had attended to Lisa for some 14 minutes.

During coffee Alan talks about his previous encounter with Lisa in the climbing lesson:

> I cannot handle Lisa, she was swearing and cussing about abseiling. She said, 'I'm not fucking going over the wall. I paid for this.' So in the end I said that I had no time for her, if she wasn't prepared to try.

Later that week Alan expresses his view of Lisa:

> I try to treat them (boys and girls) all the same. I tried to treat Lisa the same but she had nothing to offer. I just could not like her. They seemed to want to behave like boys by being a nuisance. I like girls who behave like ladies. I mean I like Tom girls, but that's different. Lisa dressed like a boy with her Docs. She was scruffy. She promised she would go from the abseil if she climbed up the walls. I tried for ages to encourage her but she wouldn't go. She didn't have any trust.   (Alan/wk4)

The following interview discussion with the three girls in Alan's class indicates vividly Lisa's interpretation of Alan's behaviour and the other girls' defence of him.

> Jackie: I don't exactly like Alan (laughter). Just something about him I suppose, his nose. He's all right in some ways, I just don't like him. He's a good teacher.
> *
> BH: Do you like it better being here than school?
> Lisa: Yeh, can't stand school.
> BH: Why?
> Lisa: Don't know, just hate it ... I just don't like being bossed about and that.
> BH: Do you reckon you get bossed about here?
> Lisa: A little bit.
> BH: Did you get on with Alan?
> Lisa: No, I hate him.
> BH: Why?
> Lisa: Because he's dirty minded.
> BH: Why?
> Lisa: He just is.
> BH: How to you mean?

Lisa: He does, he keep sort of winking at you and making
      sort of remarks and that. He's horrible he really is.
BH: Perhaps he's trying to be friendly.
Lisa: He just annoys you. He seems to only like people that
      are really good at things like.
BH: He helps Adrian?
Lisa: No not at all.
Kelly and Jackie: He does sometimes. He does, give him
      some benefit Lisa.
*

BH: What about if there had been a woman teacher?
Lisa: Quite good actually.
Jackie and Kelly: I'd prefer a bloke.
Lisa: Oh, I wouldn't mind really.   (Wk4/C6)

FREQUENCY MALE TO FEMALE PUPILS. CLASS GROUP CONSTRUCTION AND GROUPING PREFERENCE BY SEX

a)   Total number of secondary school pupils who attended Shotmoor
     during the field study = 392.
     Number of secondary aged pupils who completed the
     questionnaire = 385
     Number male pupils = 219
     Number female pupils = 165
     None indication of sex = 1

b)   Class group construction by sex

Table 13

Group construction	sex male	female	row total
all boys	49	0	49
even mix of boys and girls	138	141	279
uneven mix of boys and girls	32	24	56
column total	219	165	384

missing
observations (ms) =   1

c)   Grouping preference by sex

     Preference for co-education grouping = 355
         (192 boys, 162 girls, 1 unknown)

     3 girls would have preferred working in an all girls' group
     27 boys would have preferred working in an all boys' group.
     18 of these boys had worked in single sex classes whilst at
     Shotmoor

PUPIL SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS AND AGE BY SEX

    Tables 14a and 14b portray the socio-economic class profiles of secondary school aged boys and girls who attended Shotmoor during the field study.

Table 14a

Pupil socio-economic class by sex

*Socio-economic class	sex male	female	Row Total
0.0	2		2
	100.0		.6
0.0	1.1		
	16	12	28
I	57.1	42.9	9.0
	9.0	9.0	
	48	43	91
II	52.7	47.3	29.4
	27.1	32.3	
	32	19	51
IIIN	62.7	37.3	16.5
	18.1	14.3	
	10	13	23
IV	43.5	56.5	7.4
	5.6	9.8	
	4	2	6
V	66.7	33.3	1.9
	2.3	1.5	
	54	34	88
IIIM	61.4	38.6	28.4
	30.5	25.6	
	9	9	18
non commissioned officer	50.0	50.0	5.8
	5.1	6.8	
	2	1	3
commissioned officer	66.7	33.3	1.0
	1.1	.8	
COLUMN	177	133	310
TOTAL	57.1	42.9	100.0

Number of missing observations = 75

Table 14b Pupil socio-economic class by sex - bar graph representation

No. of pupils

socio-economic class
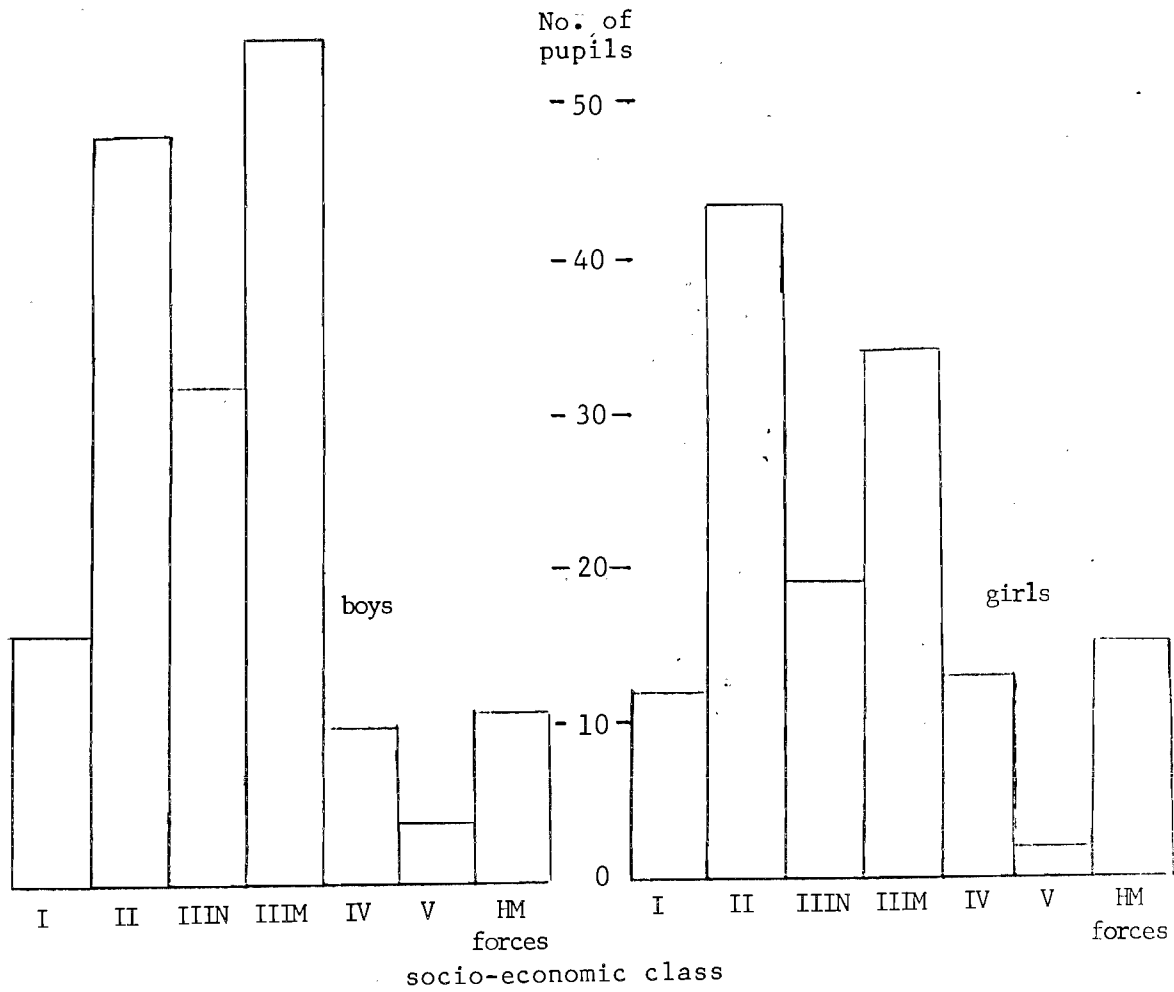
Table 15b Pupil age by sex - bar graph representation

No. of pupils

age range (years)

371
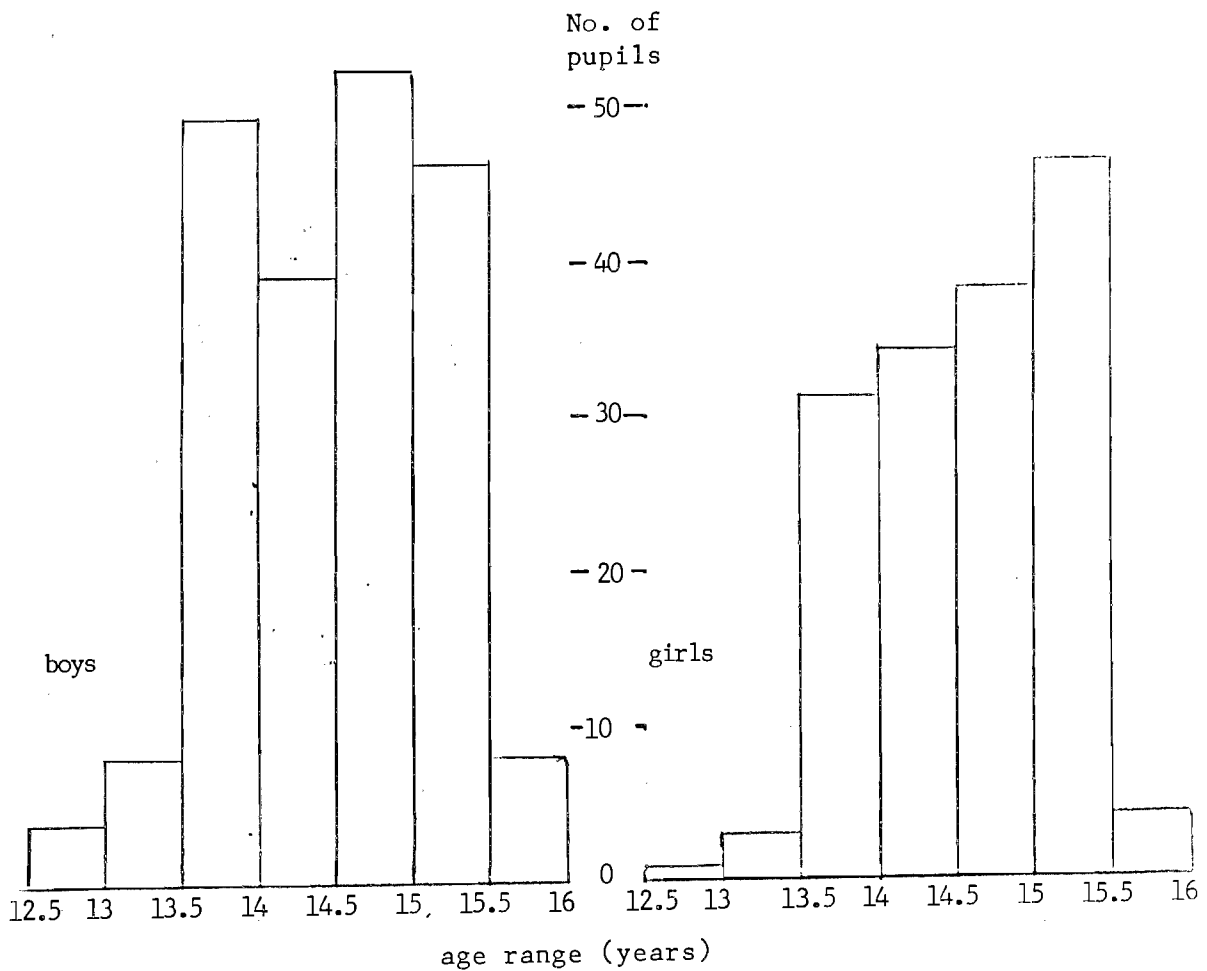
*Pupil socio-economic class was decided upon from the descriptions
which pupils gave of their father's occupation (see questions 5,6,7 in
the pupil questionnaire Appendix I). The Registrar General's
classification of occupations (1981) was used and pupils' description
of their father's occupation allocated to social class categories I,
II, IIIN (non manual), IIIM (manual), IV, V and HM (Her Majesty's
Forces (non commissioned and commissioned officers).

5 girls and nil boys indicated an unemployed father (ms = 71)
116 girls and 149 boys indicated mother was in full time or part time
waged employment (ms = 56)
27 girls and 37 boys indicated an unemployed mother (ms = 56)

Tables 15a and 15b portray the age profile of secondary aged
pupils who attended Shotmoor during the field study. There were two
weeks during the study in which younger pupils attended the centre.

Table 15a

Pupil age by sex

age in years	sex male	female	row total
12.5 - 13	4 80.0 1.9	1 20.0 .6	5 1.4
13 - 13.5	8 72.7 3.9	3 27.3 1.9	11 3.0
13.5 - 14	49 61.3 23.8	31 38.8 19.7	80 22.0
14 - 14.5	39 53.4 18.9	34 46.6 21.7	73 20.1
14.5 - 15	52 57.8 25.2	38 42.2 24.2	90 24.8
15 - 15.5	46 50.0 22.3	46 50.0 29.3	92 25.3
15.5 - 16.5	8 66.7 3.9	4 33.3 2.5	12 3.3
COLUMN TOTAL	206 56.7	157 43.3	363 100.0

Number of missing observations = 22

CONSTRUCTS OF SHOTMOOR ACTIVITIES TABULATED BY SEX

Table 16a shows the numbers of i) boys (x), ii) girls (o), iii) total (boys and girls) (t) who identified specific activities at Shotmoor in which they
a) found the most enjoyment, b) would have liked more, c) were most frightened, d) were most successful, e) wanted more help, f) hoped to continue post school, g) wanted less, h) felt themselves least successful (see question 22 in pupil questionnaire, Appendix 1).

Table 16a

Shotmoor activity construct ratings

Constructs   Activities

		CY	A	SK	MC	SH	IN	CL	RS	ms
a.found the most	x	87	5	60	18	7	4	8	18	12
enjoyable	o	29	7	46	12	7	17	14	17	16
	t	116	12	106	30	14	21	22	35	28
b.would like to	x	71	7	52	14	25	8	12	15	15
have more of	o	37	7	30	19	13	13	10	17	19
	t	108	14	82	33	38	21	22	32	34
c.found the most	x	35	2	2	2	1	0	157	7	13
frightening	o	41	0	4	2	1	0	100	1	16
	t	76	2	6	4	2	0	257	8	29
d.were most	x	49	20	41	17	39	2	18	14	19
successful at	o	24	12	27	14	31	4	12	21	20
	t	73	32	68	31	70	6	30	35	39
e.would have liked	x	12	31	22	27	17	19	18	29	44
more help with	o	10	15	32	21	10	13	16	13	35
	t	22	46	54	48	27	32	34	42	79
f.would like to	x	54	9	70	4	26	1	14	9	32
carry on when you	o	26	9	59	4	10	0	10	6	41
leave school	t	80	18	129	8	36	1	24	15	73
g.would like to	x	3	24	10	34	17	19	41	32	39
have less of	o	18	20	13	12	22	4	31	15	30
	t	21	44	23	47	39	23	72	47	69
h.were least	x	7	39	16	29	31	17	18	42	20
successful at	o	25	41	14	22	21	5	13	8	16
	t	32	80	30	51	52	22	31	50	36

Abbreviations are as follows: x - boy, o - girl, t - total (boy + girl), CY - cycle, A - arch, SK - ski, MC - map and compass (orienteering), SH - shoot, IN - initiative course, CL - climb, RS - rollerskate, ms - missing observations.

The highest recorded count for boys for each construct is highlighted.
The highest recorded count for girls for each construct is
highlighted.
The highest recorded count for pupils (boys and girls) for each
construct is highlighted.
Boys and girls held the highest recorded counts for the same activity
as follows:
CY - would have liked more
CL - most frightening
SK - might carry on post school
CL - would have liked less
A - least successful at
Boys and girls held the highest recorded counts for different
activities as follows:
The most enjoyable: CY - boys
                        SK - girls
Their most successful: CY- boys
                        SH - girls
Required more help: A - boys
                        SK - girls

Table 16b shows the percentage of highest recorded counts for
activity and construct by sex (missing observations are taken into
account).

Table 16b

construct	boy%	activity	girl%	activity
a	34	CY	18	SK
b	16	CY	11	CY
c	77	CL	66	CL
d	14	CY	7	SH
e		ms too	great	
f	17	SK	11	SK
g		ms too	great	
h	9	A	15	A

Table 16b shows that, with the exception of climb, which recorded a
high polarisation as the most frightening activity for boys and girls,
there was some dispersion in both boys' and girls' rating of the
activities on the provided constructs a,b,d-h.

OSGOOD'S SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

　　　　Osgood's semantic differential technique (cf Osgood et al. 1975;
Thomas K.C.1978) is used here to profile the differences between (i)
girls', (ii) boys', (iii) pupils' ratings on concepts physical
activity, me and teachers, in condition 1 (school) and condition 2
(Shotmoor) (see questions 15, 16, 17, 24, 25, 26 in the pupil
questionnaire, Appendix 1). Further, variations in the profiles
between the sexes are examined for (a) condition 1 (school), (b)
condition 2 (Shotmoor).

　　　　The data were analysed using the SPSSX (statistical package for
the social sciences) programme and T-tested for statistical
significance. It should be clearly understood that no attempt is made
here to measure or interpret meaning or 'attitude' through this
technique. There are considerable problems associated with the
interpretation of subjective data obtained and analysed in this way
and the findings should be taken cautiously. However, this method can
be utilized, with care, to illustrate patterns and to complement the
qualitative data.

　　　　Figures 3, 4 and 5, which portray (for girls, boys and pupils
(girls and boys) respectively) the degree of similarity between the
group rating profiles of the three concepts in condition 1 (school)
and condition 2 (Shotmoor), illustrate high degree of dissimilarity
between the two conditions. For all but six of the bipolar adjectives
subjected to the T-test, $P = 0.000$. The exceptions were the bipolar
adjectives

　　　　　　　(i) Hard - soft for concept teachers, which for girls, boys
　　　　　　　　　　and all pupils $P = 0.02, 0.792, 0.024$ respectively

　　　　　　(ii) Unfriendly - friendly for concept me which for girls, boys
　　　　　　　　　　$P = 0.017, 0.003$ respectively

　　　　　(iii) Helpful - unhelpful for concept me which for girls
　　　　　　　　　　$P = 0.005$.

For all the bipolar adjective $P < 0.05$ except hard-soft for concept
teachers which rated by boys gave $P = 0.792$.

　　　　Figures 3, 4 and 5 portray different profiles for the three
concepts in condition 1 (school) compared with those concepts in
condition 2 (Shotmoor). The three concepts were rated more towards
the 'positive' end (as interpreted by the researcher) of each scale
for all but one of the bipolar adjectives for condition 2 (Shotmoor)
compared with condition 1 (school). This makes the assumption that
the adjectives held similar 'positive' and 'negative' meanings for the
pupils. Interestingly, highlighted through this method is the way in
which the hard-soft rating for concept teacher presents an anomaly.
For boys, 'soft' is frequently seen as negative, particularly in
relation to 'masculinity' (see Chapter 10). We do not know
whether these profiles would converge if pupils remained at Shotmoor
for longer periods of time. Nevertheless, this pattern lends support
to the qualitative data which evidenced that concepts of teachers and,
in a sense, concepts of physical activities and of self were perceived

differently for the two conditions.

Figures 6 and 7 portray a degree of similarity between boys' and girls' profiles rating the concepts physical activities, me and teachers in both the conditions 1 (school) and 2 (Shotmoor). Divergence is evident, however, between girls and boys in their rating of Shotmoor teachers along the hard-soft scale.

Comparison of girls' rating profiles of concepts Physical Activities,
me and teachers in condition 1 (school) and condition 2 (Shotmoor)

_____school profile
--------Shotmoor profile

The Physical Education activities and sports are:

		T value	2-Tail prob.
Exciting	Dull	11.57	0.000
Easy	Strenuous	-7.98	0.000
Useless	Useful	-3.96	0.000
Enjoyable	Boring	9.15	0.000
Unrewarding	Rewarding	-4.61	0.000
Fun	Depressing	8.10	0.000
Difficult	Simple	10.02	0.000
Worthless	Worthwhile	-4.04	0.000

I Am:

Hardworking	Lazy	2.09	0.000
Badly behaved	Well behaved	-4.15	0.000
Interested	Bored	9.21	0.000
Unfriendly	Friendly	-2.41	0.017
Helpful	Unhelpful	2.85	0.005

Teachers are:

Rigid	Flexible	-6.70	0.000
Lenient	Strict	10.99	0.000
Friendly	Unfriendly	7.98	0.000
Boring	Interesting	-9.49	0.000
Fair	Unfair	11.29	0.000
Patient	Impatient	9.02	0.000
Hassled	Calm	-9.85	0.000
Amusing	Dull	10.42	0.000
Hard	Soft	-3.23	0.002
Enthusiastic	Unenthusiastic	7.77	0.000
Helpful	Unhelpful	9.33	0.000
Not Understanding	Understanding	-3.91	0.000

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Figure 3

Comparison of boys' rating profiles of concepts Physical Activities, me and teachers in condition 1 (school) and condition 2 (Shotmoor)

————— school profile
--------- Shotmoor profile

The Physical Education activities and sports are:

		T value	2-Tail prob.
Exciting	Dull	12.23	0.000
Easy	Strenuous	-6.07	0.000
Useless	Useful	-6.98	0.000
Enjoyable	Boring	8.72	0.000
Unrewarding	Rewarding	-5.19	0.000
Fun	Depressing	9.15	0.000
Difficult	Simple	7.33	0.000
Worthless	Worthwhile	-6.25	0.000

I Am:

Hardworking	Lazy	6.32	0.000
Badly behaved	Well behaved	-6.03	0.000
Interested	Bored	12.32	0.000
Unfriendly	*Friendly	-3.07	0.003
Helpful	Unhelpful	4.89	0.000

Teachers are:

Rigid	Flexible	-5.92	0.000
Lenient	Strict	8.17	0.000
Friendly	Unfriendly	9.60	0.000
Boring	Interesting	-10.07	0.000
Fair	Unfair	10.23	0.000
Patient	Impatient	5.92	0.000
Hassled	Calm	-4.84	0.000
Amusing	Dull	7.04	0.000
Hard	*Soft	-0.26	0.792
Enthusiastic	Unenthusiastic	9.88	0.000
Helpful	Unhelpful	7.61	0.000
Not Understanding	Understanding	-5.78	0.000

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Figure 4.

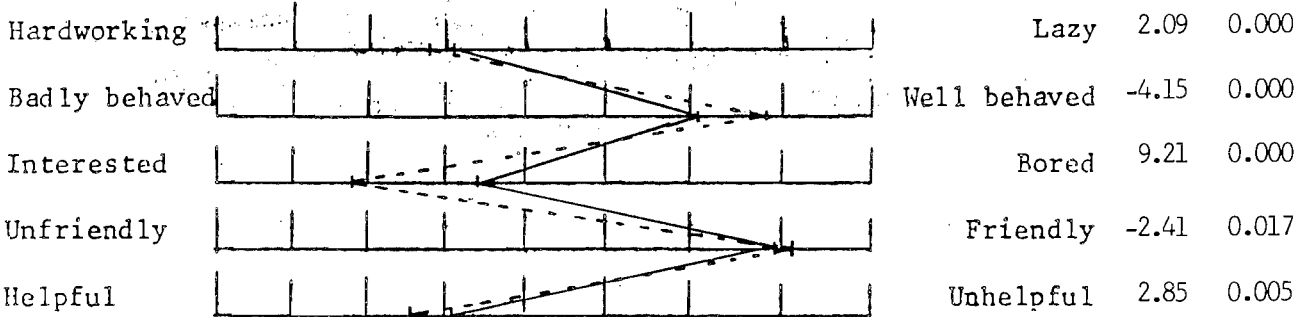Comparison of pupils' (boys and girls) rating profiles of concepts
Physical Activities, me and teachers in condition 1 (school) and
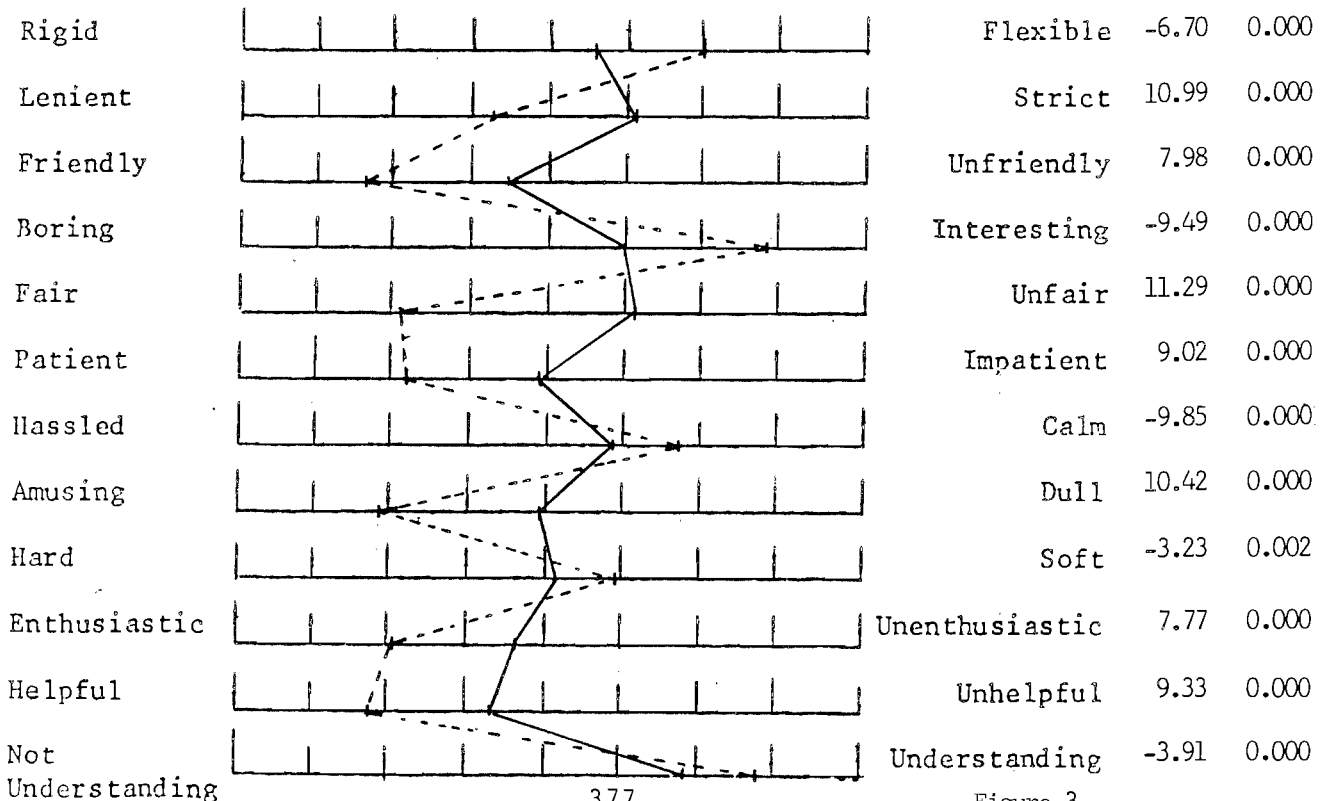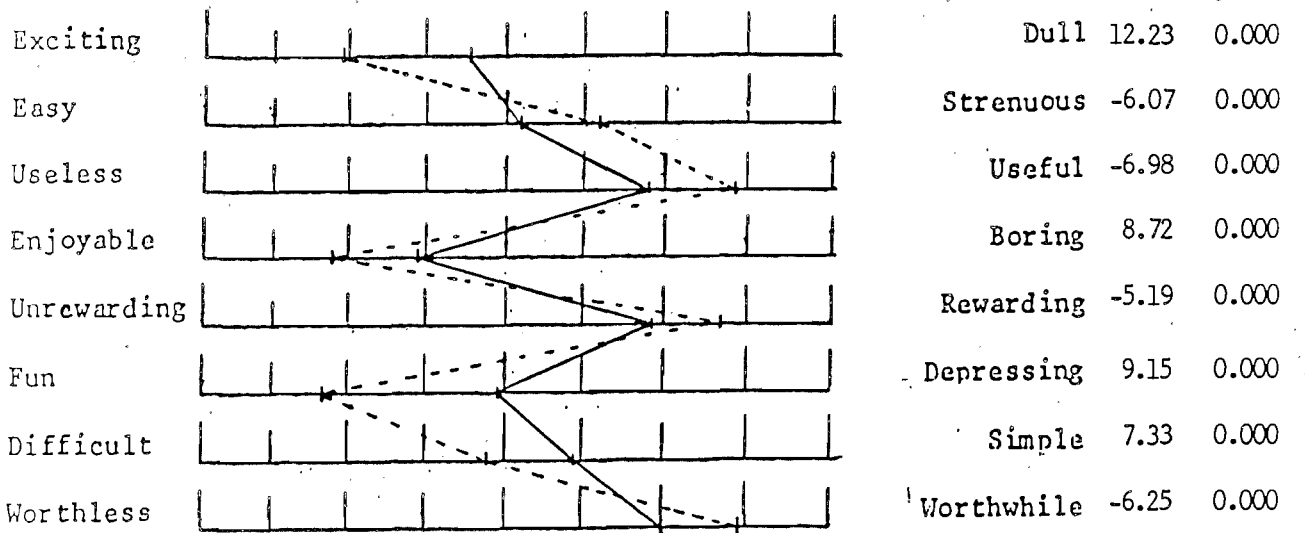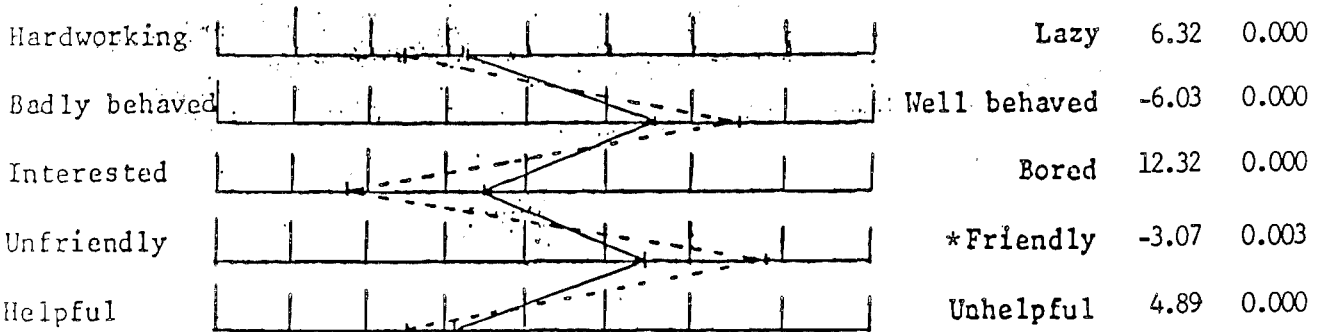condition 2 (Shotmoor) ————————school profile ‑‑‑‑‑‑‑Shotmoor profile
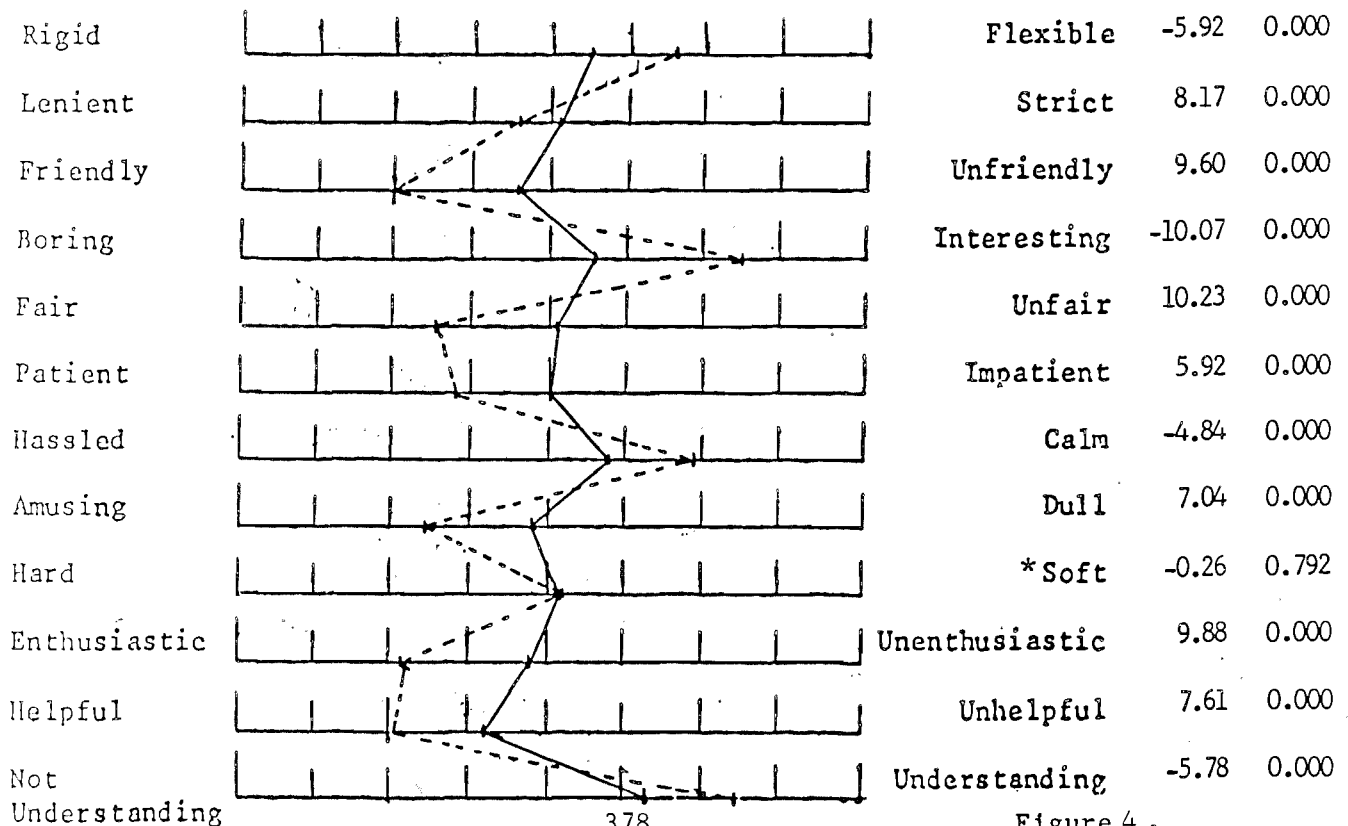
The Physical Education activities and sports are:

			T value	2-Tail prob.
Exciting		Dull	16.85	0.000
Easy		Strenuous	-9.69	0.000
Useless		Useful	-7.91	0.000
Enjoyable		Boring	12.57	0.000
Unrewarding		Rewarding	-6.96	0.000
Fun		Depressing	12.22	0.000
Difficult		Simple	12.01	0.000
Worthless		Worthwhile	-7.38	0.000

I Am:

Hardworking		Lazy	6.23	0.000
Badly behaved		Well behaved	-7.27	0.000
Interested		Bored	15.32	0.000
Unfriendly		Friendly	-3.90	0.000
Helpful		Unhelpful	5.56	0.000

Teachers are:

Rigid		Flexible	-8.69	0.000
Lenient		Strict	12.91	0.000
Friendly		Unfriendly	12.50	0.000
Boring		Interesting	-13.82	0.000
Fair		Unfair	15.09	0.000
Patient		Impatient	10.12	0.000
Hassled		Calm	-9.38	0.000
Amusing		Dull	11.79	0.000
Hard		Soft	-2.27	0.024
Enthusiastic		Unenthusiastic	12.56	0.000
Helpful		Unhelpful	11.71	0.000
Not Understanding		Understanding	-6.95	0.000

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Figure 5.

Comparisons of boys' rating profiles with that of girls' for concepts Physical Activity, me and teachers in condition 1 (school)

x---boy profile
o—girl profile

The Physical Education activities and sports are:

Left			T value	2-Tail prob.
Exciting		Dull	-2.06	0.041
Easy		Strenuous	0.51	.609
Useless		Useful	-1.25	0.211
Enjoyable		Boring	-1.18	0.239
Unrewarding		Rewarding	0.51	0.612
Fun		Depressing	0.21	0.832
Difficult		Simple	-1.26	0.209
Worthless		Worthwhile	-0.04	0.966

I Am:

Left			T value	2-Tail prob.
Hardworking		Lazy	1.17	0.243
Badly behaved		+Well behaved	-2.86	0.005
Interested		Bored	0.18	0.858
Unfriendly		+Friendly	-2.62	0.009
Helpful		Unhelpful	0.25	0.802

Teachers are:

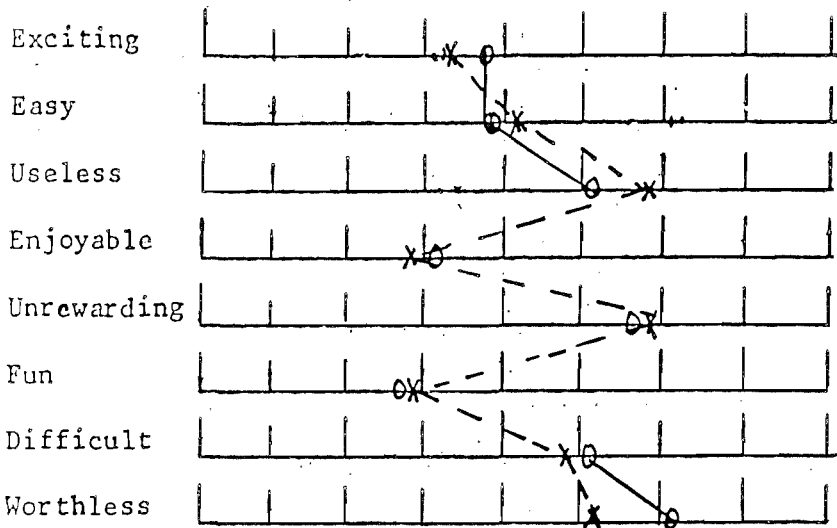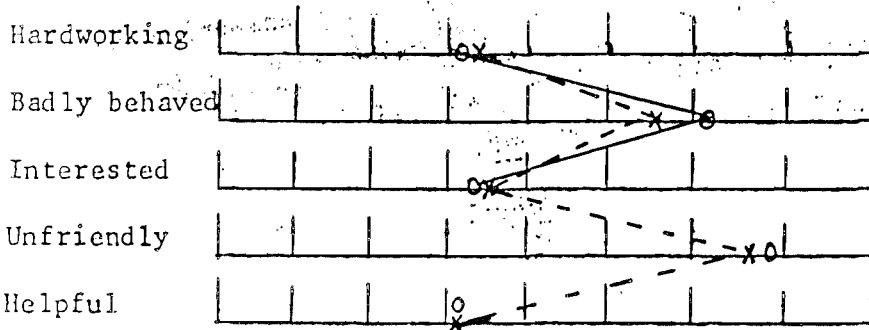| Left			T value	2-Tail prob.
Rigid		Flexible	-0.35	0.727
Lenient		Strict	0.12	0.905
Friendly		Unfriendly	0.99	0.322
Boring		Interesting	-1.98	0.049
Fair		Unfair	-0.13	0.895
Patient		Impatient	0.26	0.798
Hassled		Calm	0.07	0.943
Amusing		Dull	-0.36	0.718
Hard		Soft	0.03	0.977
Enthusiastic		Unenthusiastic	0.84	0.403
Helpful		Unhelpful	0.11	0.910
Not Understanding		+Understanding	-2.50	0.013

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Figure 6.

Comparison of boys' rating profiles with that of girls' for concepts
Physical Activity, me and teachers in condition 2 (Shotmoor)

x------boy profile
o------girl profile

The Physical Education activities and sports are:
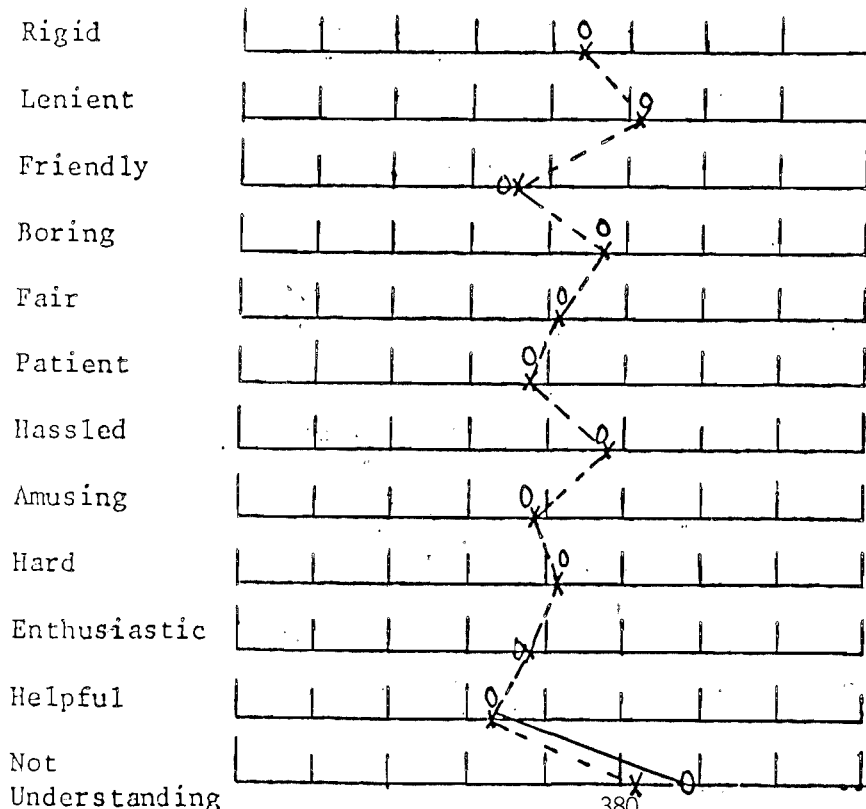
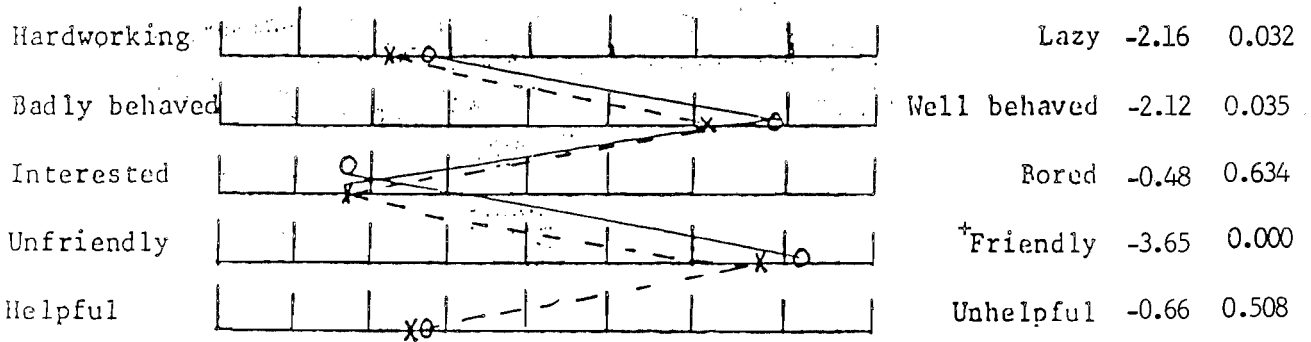|		T value	2-Tail prob.
Exciting	Dull	0.535	0.539
Easy	Strenuous	-0.73	0.465
Useless	Useful	0.89	0.377
Enjoyable	Boring	-0.76	0.450
Unrewarding	Rewarding	-0.39	0.699
Fun	Depressing	-0.30	0.762
Difficult	+Simple	2.72	0.007
Worthless	Worthwhile	0.50	0.617

I Am:

		T value	2-Tail prob.
Hardworking	Lazy	-2.16	0.032
Badly behaved	Well behaved	-2.12	0.035
Interested	Bored	-0.48	0.634
Unfriendly	+Friendly	-3.65	0.000
Helpful	Unhelpful	-0.66	0.508

Teachers are:

		T value	2-Tail prob.
Rigid	Flexible	-1.91	0.057
Lenient	Strict	2.14	0.033
Friendly	Unfriendly	1.63	0.105
Boring	Interesting	-2.52	0.012
Fair	Unfair	2.45	0.015
Patient	Impatient	2.31	0.022
Hassled	+Calm	-4.28	0.000
Amusing	Dull	3.04	0.003
Hard	+Soft	-3.08	0.002
Enthusiastic	Unenthusiastic	0.66	0.508
Helpful	Unhelpful	2.18	0.030
Not Understanding	Understanding	-1.37	0.70

Figure 7