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Schooling and Pastoral Care in Hong Kong
(Volume 1)

By
Alice S.Y. Tsang

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Abstract

The theme of this thesis is to pin-point the problems that most Hong Kong school teachers have had to face since September, 1978 following the legislation to enforce 9 years of free and compulsory education, raising the school leaving age to 15.

The essential problems that most Hong Kong teachers have had to face recently are those resulting from the non-selective recruitment of pupils, both socially and academically. These are viewed in the context of "social class", which can be studied from two aspects : primary social class, according to the occupation of the pupil's father (i.e. middle and working classes) and, secondary social class defined by the pupil's academic performance in schools. (i.e. grammar and technical schools, upper and lower streams). As children of different social classes respond differently in the same situation, the social interaction in school can be explained by either the sub-culture or the adaptation model. This forms the theoretical foundation of this thesis.

The study of this thesis was based on two Hong Kong secondary schools of similar backgrounds. It was a research on the attitudes of the third year boys, their parents and teachers towards the existing pastoral care system in Hong Kong schools. The findings revealed that the pupils' views were more affected by their secondary social class backgrounds while their parents, their primary social class. However, teachers' viewpoints differed mainly because of their qualifications and work load. The message that the findings carry is that the teachers' conditions of service should be improved

and more parental involvement in the school process should be encouraged before innovations in the pastoral system can be implemented.

Summing up, the essence of this thesis is to highlight the importance of the teachers' role and their partnership with parents in the caring for school children.

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A race of real children; not too wise,
Too learned, or too good; but wanton, fresh,
And bandied up and down by love and hate;
Not unresentful where self-justified;
Fierce, moody, patient, venturous, modest, shy;
Mad at their sports like withered leaves in winds;
Though doing wrong and suffering, and full of
Bending beneath our life's mysterious weight
Of pain and doubt, and fear, yet yielding not
In happiness to the happiest upon earth.
Simplicity in habit, truth in speech,
Be these the daily strengtheners of their minds;
May books and Nature be their early joy!
And knowledge, rightly honoured with that name -
Knowledge not purchased by the loss of power!

Wordsworth
The Prelude V.ii. 411-25

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Introduction

The theme of this thesis is a response to the problems arising in schools as a result of the raising of the school leaving age up to 15 in Hong Kong with effect from September, 1978. One of the problems that teachers have to face because of the expansion of free and compulsory education is that of discipline in school as many youngsters are made to stay on against their own will. The argument of this thesis is that learning can take place only when a harmonious social rapport in the classroom has been developed. The thesis is therefore meant to study the caring role of the teacher, the ultimate goal of which is to motivate pupils' academic pursuit.

The development of this study is based mainly on two models : the sub-culture model and the adaptation model. The sub-culture model explains that pupils of different socio-economic backgrounds may think and behave differently. Clashes are also possible when pupils are placed in social class settings different from their own. In this study, two categories of social class are referred to : the primary social class and the secondary social class. The primary social class is defined according to the occupation of the pupil's father. This includes, basically, middle and working classes. The secondary social class refers to the social status of the pupils. This includes the types of school that they attend (i.e. grammar and technical schools in this study) and the kinds of stream that they are allocated to (i.e. the upper or the lower stream).

The adaptation model, on the other hand, shows how pupils would react or adapt to the social environment, when its norms and values

are different from their own. This model is applied to explain the teacher-pupil(s) and pupil(s)-pupil(s) interactions in school in this case.

The thesis is divided into five Parts:-

Part I is the theoretical background of the study, which begins with a discussion of the concept of social class and its effects on the classroom following the enforcement of free and compulsory education. This includes consideration of how the organisation of one's school can further amplify the effects of the social class background because of the "divided" nature of the school.

Part II is the study of the educational system and the pastoral care service in Hong Kong. References are made to the theoretical background discussed in Part I.

Part III is an account of the design of the research, which is based on the theoretical framework set within the context of the Hong Kong system. This Part discusses the strategies and tactics of collecting the fieldwork data and the approaches of analysing and interpreting them.

Part IV is the analysis of the fieldwork findings, which includes the historical development of the two schools, their ideologies and existing structures related to the process of schooling and the views of pupils, parents and teachers on the various aspects of the ordinary school life.

Part V is a concluding section, which recommends a practicable innovative model of pastoral care for Hong Kong schools based on the empirical findings in this study.

Throughout the thesis, local terms used in the Hong Kong system

are used to preserve the regional characteristics. Their equivalents in the British system are usually quoted in brackets for reference. For example, subject panels in Hong Kong are equivalent to heads of department in the British system. In addition, some terms are used inter-changeably as they are of similar meaning; for instance, students and pupils and headmasters and principals. Moreover, all the discussions about schools in this study refer to the schools in the public sector (i.e. the Government and aided schools). Schools in the private sector (unless stated) are excluded from this study.

Part I

The Theoretical Background

Chapter 1

Schools in Dilemma - Secondary Schools
in the Working Class Cultural Setting

Let us love our occupations,
Bless the squire and his relations,
Live upon our daily rations,
And always know our proper stations.

Charles Dickens
The Chimes, 2nd Quarter

The concept of social class in practice is not new. The Hindu caste system and the estates of medieval Europe are examples of some hierarchical social divisions in the early history of mankind; in Morrish's words (1972 p.117) :

Classless, non-hierarchical societies are largely the mental constructs of philosophers, the dreams of museum-bound political prophets and the visions of religious idealists or the promise of the demagogues.

Even within the Israeli classless kibbutzim, there are leaders, branch managers and important personalities who inevitably are involved with differential social status. And in socialist Russia today, there are still rulers who form an elite group. In short, "social class" is not just a feature of capitalist societies. It is common in all kinds of societies so long as there are different kinds of jobs requiring different kinds of people to accomplish them. One of the main differences between the modern concept of social class in operation and that of ancient times is rather like the difference, as Morrish points out, between "a trader de facto" and "a trader de jure" (ibid. p.123). The former shows how one works oneself into that position and the latter is an inherited state. Yet, as life in

modern times is getting more and more sophisticated, the distinctions between classes are not merely in terms of economics. A car mechanic, for instance, may earn as much as a teacher, but this does not mean that they belong to the same class. Social class at a secondary level, may therefore, also refer to standards and modes of behaviour, the way of life and the patterns of expenditure and consumption. As Morrish further argues (ibid. p.122) :

Class is certainly not just a question of economics, of wealth : it is a question of breeding, of mode of speech, of culture, of being able to say and do the right thing at the right time - in whatever stratum one is.

It was not, however, until the Industrial Revolution and the growth of universal education, (drawing in all children of appropriate age groups into schools), that critical attention was paid to these hierarchical social divisions. As children from the lower social groups were frequently judged by the criteria and norms of the upper social classes, so these became the adapted norms of the school, and it became the concern of educationists and researchers to examine the influence of social class background on pupils and also to ascertain what the effects of schools might be. This is also the concern of this thesis.

This Chapter is divided into three parts. Firstly, there is an account of the general context of social class, for it is when the general idea is considered carefully and more closely defined that its effects can be more accurately discerned. Secondly, there is an attempt to link social class and the process of schooling, particularly with regard to the way in which the effects that a philosophy of universal education has on schooling. Thirdly, there is an examination of the constraints and problems which schools have

to face, especially as they have to accommodate a broader social base.

A consideration of these general issues forms the basis of an analysis of the particular problems of schooling and pastoral care in Hong Kong.

The context of social class

The idea of social class developed here provides a background understanding to the operational concept as elaborated later in the study. The concept of social class can best be understood in terms of the ideologies developed by Marx, Durkheim and Weber.

To Marx, social class is a central concept in analysing society and, as he and Engels point out at the beginning of the Manifesto of the Communist Party, "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (1967 p.79). From a historical and economical point of view, Marx also argues that "modern bourgeois society..... has but established (two) new classes directly facing each other : Bourgeoisie and Proletariat" (ibid. p.80). He further prophesies that the proletariat (wage workers) would eventually overthrow the bourgeoisie (capitalists) to develop a classless society (ibid.). In the context of the Marxists, the outcome of social class differences is inequality between the different social divisions, which then lead to struggles and conflicts. And it is these struggles and conflicts that carry a society forward.

Durkheim did not specifically develop the concept of social class as central to his work, but his ideas of social class can be inferred from his writings. Thus he implicitly accepts social divisions for he states (1956 p.70) :

Society can survive only if there exists among its members a significant degree of homogeneity.But on the other hand, without a certain diversity, all co-operation would be impossible.

To Durkheim, therefore, diversity facilitates the "division of labour" but at the same time creates social groups each of which "has and could not fail to have its own morality which expresses its own make-up" (1961 p.148). Society is thus divided as well as united so that it can survive. However, the occurrence of these inequalities was not the question at issue but their regulation. In order to regulate these inequalities he propounds the importance of "collective life" (ibid.) and he points to the fact that "in societies so differentiated, there can hardly be any collective type other than the generic type of man" (ibid. p.123). It is only when this stage is reached that "conscience collective" or "group mind" (ibid. p.8) can be obtained.

Like Marx and Durkheim, Weber also defined people's social class in terms of their economic power but also made a distinction between different aspects of social stratification. In "Class, Status and Party", he wrote that "'Classes', 'Status Groups' and 'Parties' are phenomena of the distribution of power within a community" (1948 p.181). He further explained that "classes" are not "communities" but "frequent bases" for "communal action" (ibid.). In other words, people of the same class share the same "life chances" of job and educational opportunities, "economic interests" and "conditions of labour markets", for example.

As for "status", Weber sees it as "a specific 'style of life' that can be expected from all those who wish to belong to the circle" (ibid. p.187). They are therefore able to identify themselves as

well as to be identified by others. He then concludes (ibid. p.194) that :

The genuine place of 'classes' is within the economic order, the place of 'status groups' is within the social order. But 'parties' live in a house of power. (i.e. the legal order).

What can be seen from this is that Weber's picture of conflict, unlike that of Marx, does not originate solely from class conflict; conflict can also be among political power groupings. However, like Marx, Weber also sees social class as a unit of analysis and a generator of inequalities. As Wiley suggests (1983 p.48),

..... Weber's category of status is not rooted in honour or prestige (or estate) but in meaning, particularly in the meaning systems thathave hierarchical implications and imply stratification by way of one's position in the meaning system.

Weber also differs from Durkheim, as the latter maintains that the survival of society depends on the "collectiveness" of its members in the form of "division of labour" for the sake of economy.

In short, the concept of social class symbolises the allocation of power in one way or another. But power is materialised only when it is felt. By the same token, the conceptualised idea of social class is only a theory or belief until people involved become conscious of how to view the others and to be viewed by them. It is these social interactions that turn the myth of social class into reality; and it is the impact of these social interactions on schools that form the basic theme of this study. Thus, the *raison d'être* of discussing the theories of social class here is not only to establish the long existence of social stratification but also to focus attention on the fact that such divisions can be interpreted from at least two points of view. It can be considered either as a

conceptual device developed to harmonize all social inequalities, as in the case of Durkheim, or as a social indicator revealing these inequalities as in the case of Marx and Weber. These inequalities are primarily the results of one's role in society in economic and materialistic terms as Marx, Durkheim and Weber all appeared to agree. On the other hand, these inequalities, at a secondary level, are derived from the social or political power that one possesses as Weber further develops in his ideas of "status" and "party".

The implication of social class in the process of schooling can be visualised from the functions of the school. When discussing the school as a social system, Parsons sees its primary function in society as "an agency of socialisation and allocation" (1959a p.297). The function of socialisation is thus meant to regulate social inequalities and as Bourdieu argues, the school is a "conservative force perpetuating the existing social pattern" (1974 p.32); also, as he elaborates further (ibid. p.36) that :

Social advantages or disadvantages have gradually been transformed into educational advantages and disadvantages as a result of(educational) choices which directly link with social origin.

As the school bears the responsibility of assessing the academic achievement of its pupils, its major task becomes the allocation of the "college-qualified and non-qualified" (Cicourel and Kituse 1963 p.6). In effect, the future social class of the pupils in both its primary and secondary senses is already pre-determined before they step into the adult world.

When the concept of social class is applied to the school setting, it can be shown that at the individual level each pupil bears at least two types of social class. Primarily, he is attached

to the social class of his father, whose occupation is still used as the official indicator; this is the pupil's social class "de jure". On the other hand, the pupil's academic ability is more clearly defined by the type of school he attends (e.g. grammar or technical school) or the type of stream that he is allocated to (e.g. upper or lower stream). This is his social class "de facto" in Morrish's words. In the pre-mass education era, social class had limited relevance to the process of schooling because school education was monopolised by the elite minority and school was a monolithic institution. It was a society where one's status was ascribed by birth. However, once education becomes a universal right, school culture becomes pluralistic and classroom conflict may become common when the middle class oriented school norms are not in line with the norms of pupils from working class backgrounds. It is to the influences brought in by these working class pupils in the secondary schools that the next section will consider.

Working class culture in secondary schools

The infiltration of working class culture into secondary schools is by no means accidental, nor is it the result of a single pure dynamic. Rather it is the synthetic product of multiple forces and this section attempts to reveal the ideologies behind this infiltration and its implications in the classroom.

(1) The ideologies

The process of industrialisation creates in itself a need for technical change, which in turn promotes a restructuring of the labour market. The expansions which this change also necessitates can be viewed from two theoretical perspectives : the functional

(technical-function) and conflict theories.¹

Functionalists in the 'sixties emphasised the relationships between the level of economic prosperity and the extent of educational development. School was viewed not only as an agent to inculcate mores and social values but also as a provider of job skills. There was then an increase of societal and individual investment in the future labour market in the belief that more education meant improved skills and better job opportunities. Technical-function theory is thus a similar version of human capital theory. The theme of this theory is more in line with Marx and Durkheim in the sense that education is geared to answer societal needs for as Collins remarks: "it shares the premises that the occupational structure creates demands of particular kinds of performance, and that training is one way of filling these demands" (1977a p.120).

However, the functional theory was increasingly attacked in the 'seventies when it failed to explain 'Parkinson's Law' operating in the labour market.² In the expansion of education in America, moreover, it was found that education was to be developed primarily "to serve individuals, and to enable them to develop as far as their own motivations, abilities and financial resources will permit them to go on in school" (Folger and Nam 1964 p.20). This emphasis on individual aspirations is different from the situation found in many other countries, especially the developing ones, where the educational system is developed mainly for the servicing of the state or the ruling class. Functional theory, therefore, became unpopular in American society, where educational development could better be explained by the conflict theory, which is more in line with Weber's

ideology, as one's position in the social hierarchy cannot be expressed merely in economic terms. Conflict theory seemed, therefore, to provide a better explanation of the gap between school education and labour market demands as more and more skills were acquired "on the job" rather than in school. Education, it was argued by Arrow (1973), Dore (1976) and Wiles (1974), for example, was for trainable persons. It is the adaptability to work rather than the actual skill for work that is required. It is then that education becomes a necessity for one to compete for better jobs. It is also a defensive necessity in an individual to invest for educational credentials. Eventually, therefore, the pursuit of education is thus gradually replaced by the pursuit of certifications and the rise in credentialism. In effect, education is used as a "double filter" - a filter to the type of curriculum and a filter to the type of job (Arrow Op.Cit. p.195). Supporting the premise of Arrow, Wiles (1974) asserts that it is not the content of education that matters but what people are searching for through the content of curriculum. He lists five models in this aspect and argues that it is the "Status-Not-Content Hypothesis (SNC)" that is on top of all the others.³ The result is that "one might well expect a declining positive correlation between these countries' enrolments and growth rates - and even the appearance of negative correlations" (Dore 1976 p.86). This is because the pursuit of education has gradually become the pursuit of certification for more education may lead to higher social status. As a result, the expansion of education is made more on the increase of the number of school places to answer the demand rather than on the provision of the type of manpower for the labour market such as the number of engineers or architects needed for

economic growth. This exemplifies another critique of functional theory.

These two theories in the economic matrix can be viewed as two sides of the same coin. Functional theory, as Foster (1977b) saw it, stresses the operation of the market while conflict theory focuses on market imperfection. This dichotomy, in essence, is the difference between the emphasis on supply and demand. In short, the ultimate destination implied by both theories is a positive link between education and the economy, which accords with a Marxist's view on the "school's function as an integrative mechanism for society and of transmission of the culture of society its values, norms and their accepted modes of expression and renewal" (Lambert et al. 1970 p.11). This also echoes Durkheim's view that education is a collection of "social facts" in the sense that

Each occupation constitutes a milieu sui generis which requires particular aptitudes and specialised knowledge the child must be prepared for the function that he will be called upon to fulfill (Durkheim 1956 p.68).

This further endorses Parsons' view of the school's function as socialisation and allocation.

In a social sense, as Entwistle (1978 pp.28-29) points out :

However little schools may have contributed towards (a man's) income or social status, he did obviously leave school with some cognitive assets, (for) he is literate, numerate (and) has a personal culture.

The importance of these cognitive assets is further emphasized when more education is associated with a higher occupational level. In a study of white males aged 35 to 54 years old in America in 1961, it was found that professional and similar status workers - the top

occupational level people - had received the most education, with 91.3% of the group being high school graduates and 74.5% having been to college for one year or more. Farm labourers and foremen - the lowest level of the same hierarchy - had only 12.1% and 2.7% respectively (Folger and Nam 1967 p.170). This positive significance of education is further endorsed in the 1975 U.K. Household Survey which reveals that when the length of schooling is doubled the annual earning is tripled (Psacharopoulos 1980 p.80).

Politically, it is assumed that within a democratic society citizens ought not to be, and need not be, mere literate "sheep". They have to be educated and the responsibility then falls upon the school. In one way or another, therefore, education becomes a political instrument, for even in totalitarian countries, it can also be seen that knowledge is used as a means of control and to legitimate the ways of life which the Marxists usually dictate. Education, therefore, when used in the political sense as Salter and Tapper (1981 p.7) illustrate :

(does not only) control access to the scarce knowledge resources essential for an individual's occupational and social progress, it also performs an ideological function by persuading people that this process is legitimate.

In other words, education is seen as playing a dual role of both intellectual enlightenment and ideological control. As education is expanded along this line, it mirrors the Conflict Theory derived from Weber when one's status is determined by factors other than one's role in economic development.

The justification of more education for the masses in economic, social and political circumstances tends to coincide with the conventional wisdom that more education means a better life. The

result of this notion in developing countries is the increasing pressure for educational expansion and, in the developed world, the continuous raising of the school leaving age. Secondary schools are thus no longer a homogeneous cultural entity as before. The degree of cultural penetration is illustrated in Willis' research when the different cultural groups interact during every day life (1977 p.125). When working class children become the majority, especially in the non-academic streams or schools, the counter-school culture so developed may become a threat to the classroom learning if it is not handled with proper attention. The following section tries to show how the classroom may be altered because of the influence of the working class culture.

(2) Working class culture in the classroom

One of the outcomes of educational expansion is the enforcement of compulsory school attendance which may be gradually extended upwards to some point at secondary level. This may exacerbate classroom disturbance as many children are kept "behind the walls" against their own will. As a matter of fact, classroom conflict is not restricted solely to the non-selective comprehensive but is found in the selective grammar school as well. Jackson and Marsden discussed the "class wars" in the Marburton grammar schools, for instance, when "the middle class children had a fairly clear idea of where they were going, and of how to get there, the situation with working class children was much more mixed" (1962 p.136). However, as working class children are always the majority in the non-selective sector the problem becomes more class based.

Working class culture, like the cultures of the other social classes, is a sub-culture of the whole. A sub-culture mirrors

the valid way of life of the respective group. However, as Entwistle argues, it is always asserted that the school is a middle-class institution for reasons rarely made explicit. This means that education leads to a certain quality of life, a life style preferred by the middle class. It follows, as Entwistle further elaborates, that "other social classes will never succeed in schools unless they accept the middle-class life style as a valid objective of their own development" (1978 p.38). This is especially true when the ruling class in most democratic societies are middle class and when "upward mobility is widely accepted as a legitimate aspiration for the socially under-privileged, not least among many of the disadvantaged themselves" (ibid. p.40). Inevitably, schools are categorised as middle-class institutions because they are managed by the middle class. Children with their working class culture, will thus often find themselves in discord with their teachers, the classroom atmosphere and the school as a whole. The aetiology of this dissonance, therefore, is the socio-cultural mismatch. The most serious consequence of this is in confrontation between teacher and pupil when there is hardly any consensus between the two parties.

An example of this confrontation can be found in Webb's (1962) *Black School* where the teachers fear that "the playground chaos will spill over into the classroom". The relationship between pupils and teachers is more like that of a "sergeant and drill squad" than anything else. This philosophy is illustrated in some of the Welsh schools in a working class community studied by Reynolds and Sullivan (1979); the coercive schools so depicted are characterised by continual hostility as the teachers over-estimate the pupils' deprivation but under-estimate their ability. As the school can

promise no "carrot" of future occupational success, coercive control turns out to be the only instrument to nip any trouble in the bud.

As a consequence of this socio-cultural mismatch, working class pupils are encapsulated in an incomprehensible, difficult situation. They feel ambivalent about the middle class norms and they are bewildered by the dichotomy between the behavioural requirements of school and home, frequently finding it hard to understand the teachers' censures. Studies by both Willis (Op.Cit.) and Eggleston (1979) disclosed that pupils viewed teachers as representatives of a "bigger establishment" and that this made them feel inferior. These pupils do not find this situation appealing especially when they may be victims of labelling theory (Becker 1963, Sharp & Green 1975, Hargreaves 1976), which, in this context, sees teachers associating working class children with low achievement and disruptive behaviour. At the same time, such pupils are often uncertain about their future, especially when they have been allocated to the non-academic track. To these pupils, as Willis analysed in his study, all work is the same for they are all destined for manual work (Op.Cit. p.146). When enveloped in this alienated situation, one of the cardinal responses of many working class children is to display "deviant behaviour" in terms of school norms and when this happens, the label becomes self-fulfilling (Hargreaves 1976), and the negative concept of working class culture becomes self-perpetuating.

Studies by Reynolds et al. (1976), Power et al. (1967) and Farrington (1972) argue that the problem of school deviance is a social rather than an individual construct. However, an opposing trend is that of individualising the problem and thus deviance becomes an instance of individual pathology with little emphasis

being given to the role of the school. Researches which illustrate the ineffectiveness of schools include that of Coleman, who found that "facilities and the curriculum of schools account for relatively little variation" (Coleman 1966 p.21), and Jencks, who also argues that "equalizing the quality of high schools would reduce cognitive inequality by one per cent or less" (1973 P.1). A manifestation of this individualistic view is when teachers tend to blame the children, their families and even society for the children's misbehaviour or even poor academic performance in school. It is a case of blaming the victim. An alternative model would be to view the situation from an inter-actionist perspective, but failing this, the pathological model provokes working class children to develop modes of adaptation, which, when in counter-flow with the school authority, will worsen teacher-pupil relationships and deviance may become an institutionalised outcome.

(3) Working class culture in action

While the last section portrays the sub-culture model in the school setting, this part examines the adaptation model as seen in the social interaction in the classroom.⁴ When torn between cultural clashes, the working class child may try to secure reassurance against an inner threat to his identity. As a result of "status frustration", deviant behaviour becomes the antidote to his schooling. This usually takes the form of "'irrational', 'malicious' or 'unacceptable' hostility to the norms of the respectable middle class society" (the school in this case) (Cohen 1955 p.133). However, as Cohen expresses in the same study, "group standards" always form the "shared frame of references" (ibid. p.65), which illustrates the importance of the child's peer groups. It is in many

cases a choice between what Willis called differentiation and integration, i.e. whether to comply with the formal regulations or to join the informal group (Op.Cit. p.163).

Those that cause the least disciplinary problems in school are the conformists. They are Whyte's "college boys" and Willis' "ear'oles". They have internalised the middle class values and basically accepted the presentation of school and work as being on a continuum. To them, whatever the school says goes.

At the other end of the scale are the "rebels", the "lads" of the Hammertown boys. They are the classroom guerilla warriors, who will not stand a truce. To them, coming out as a "lad" is a personal accomplishment. At the extreme, delinquency is a manifestation of their militancy against the middle class values embodied in the school authority.

Standing mid-way between the two polarizations are the retreatists and the truce-makers. They include Whyte's "corner-boys", who could be minor delinquents but would not rupture the good relations with middle class values. There are also the dissociated, who run away from the situation by playing truant or by acquiring gratification outside school. Some in this group also tender sullen compliance to school regulations for fear of sanctions. By and large, this is not a disturbing group. At the same time, it is not a strong group, as there is no conspicuous bond or identification between members of the group, and movement to either of the two extremes is possible.

How working class children will react to the school authorities will change from one situation to another depending very much on the teaching skills of each individual teacher. One teacher's

"rebel" could be the other's "conformist". Like beauty, it is in the eyes of the beholders. However, as long as the teachers are so strongly influenced by the pathological model of delinquency and the taught besieged by resentment against authority and alien values, classroom confrontation is bound to emerge.

The problem of working class children in secondary schools outlined above can be seen as a consequence of educational expansion, but there is no institutional immunity to youth problems in any kind of school. Counter-school culture can also emerge in academic schools or stream. For instance, even in a one-class highly academic school like St. Lukes, Delamont reveals in her study of pupils' perception of their school that they find "the school is too tame that they want to disrupt it" (1973 p.333). Yet, confrontation of this kind is more related to the academic arena such as "unwilling conscripts" for subject choice (ibid. p.161) or "the bargaining" of points with teachers (ibid.). However, in non-academic schools or streams, the problem is more associated with discipline when "'messing' becomes a substitute for work; truancy is inconsequential; the need to copy justifies the use of threat or force and smoking in the school yard is a sign of status" (Hargreaves 1967 p.40).

In conclusion, not all working class children are of a disturbing nature and not every one of them will be a problem to the school. It all depends on their ways of adaptation to the environment, their own personalities, family background and past experience. In short, the interaction between teacher and pupils is based on a "give-and-take" relationship. As Delamont argues (1976 p.29) :

The changing patterns of classroom life are socially constructed over time, and are constantly subject to negotiation and re-negotiation,(which depend very much) on the physical, temporal, organisational and educational context in which classrooms are embedded.

In order to understand this interaction further, the following section looks into the constraints that the school has to face from both inside and outside for this affects the setting of the classroom, where the teacher-pupil interaction takes place.

Schools in constraints

The school, as an integral part of society, is also subject to constant change. The change within, as Salter and Tapper stress, is the result of "negotiation between the economic and the bureaucratic dynamics and ideological context" (1981 p.222). As part of this nexus, the school may be seen as a milieu of conflicts caused by changes from both without and within. Stresses emerge when the macro-goals are not in line with the micro-objectives or when there is a consensual lag amid the school members, who have such different social identities. The thesis of schooling is therefore a matter of choice and compromise.

Schools as part of the polity are responsive to societal needs. Their response to these needs, however, consists generally of only a notional adjustment while the basic system still remains unaltered. Changes become even more difficult, if not impossible, when the system has evolved over a long period of time and has reached the stage of stability and crystalization. This seems to explain, from a Marxist point of view (Rossanda et al. 1977 pp.687 - 688) :

why the delays, the backwardness, and the under-development imposed upon the working class by the church and the state have not yet disappeared.(though) memorable battles for compulsory education have marked the founding of every modern state.

Schools exist to a great extent, therefore, in a manipulative ethos the result of which is what Apple denounced as a "pattern of interactions that not only reflect but actually embody the interests in stratification" (1979 p.150). The school therefore becomes the mechanism for integrating society by means of socialisation (Lambert et al. 1970) as well as a mechanism of social differentiation in terms of allocation (Cicourel & Kituse 1963).

Curriculum design, as a political and moral process, on the other hand, involves "competing ideological, political and intensely personal conceptions of valuable educational activity" (ibid. p.111). The curriculum is thus the outcome of the interaction between what Wright Mills called "the personal troubles of milieu" and "the public issues of social structure" (1959 p.14). This means that teachers are usually torn between the large numbers of different ideologies recently galvanising schooling and the possibilities of putting their preferable theories into practice. As a result, as Dale (1979) points out, the "licensed autonomy" whereby teachers were allowed considerable freedom provided they did not affect the functions of the school is now giving way to a "regulated autonomy" when teachers are demanded to be "accountable" for their teaching activities. In short, changes in school are very much restricted.

The social spectrum of a school is likewise affected by outside pressures. Social class may be too much a summarizing variable to explain the inter-reaction within the school, but the cultural capital that students inherit from different family backgrounds does

have considerable social significance. Bernstein, for instance, first set out his thesis to deplore the notorious difference in educational achievement between working class and middle class by pointing out that working class children speak in a restricted code and middle class children use an elaborated code. He further argues that "elaborated codes orient their users towards universalistic meaning, whereas restricted codes orient, sensitize, their users to particularistic meanings" (1971 p.42). He also explains that "elaborated codes are less tied to a given or local structure and restricted codes are more tied to a local structure" (ibid.). This shows how pupils may behave differently because of their social backgrounds. The Newsons (1969) also contrast in their study the "arbitrary" socialisation techniques most commonly found among working class parents with the "problem-solving" approach which was more common among middle-class parents. The difference in family socialisation as a result of difference in social class background brings problems for the school's pastoral system, for there may be differences between parents and teachers in their value system. As Hargreaves' study revealed, the anger of a father, whose boy appeared in court, was not for the delinquent act *pe se* but rather the unintelligent commission (1967 p.132). The divergence between parents and teachers may be seen in practice in the attitudinal variation in the concept of value and even in the school process as a whole.

Another series of constraints which beset the school as a social unit are those concerned with school organisation. The Berlaks categorise sixteen dilemmas in the running of a school (1981 pp.22-23), the essence of which lies in the controversy between the

traditionalists and the progressivists. Pedagogy is likely to be the most observable aspect of this dispute for it reflects the school's managerial machinery on the one hand and affects the social relations in schooling on the other. Because of competing ideologies, educational goals are seldom expressed explicitly in order to avoid ideological conflicts and this then restricts the fulfilment of the school's educational role. The Plowden Report, for instance, was criticized for devoting just three and a half pages to a discussion of aims out of its total of five hundred and fifty-five pages (Dearden 1969 p.21) as the difficulty of setting up an educational aim for a school is admitted by the Report when it says (para. 497) that :

General statements of aims tend to be little more expressions of benevolent aspiration which may provide a rough guide to the general climate of a school, but which may have a rather tenuous relationship to the educational practices that actually go on there.

This explains to a great extent why most educational aims are either only general objectives or simply vague guidelines. On the other hand, the growing outcry of bringing the school into society is an assertion of the need to bring accord to the various educational aims. Illich, for example, propounds "the returns of the initiative and accountability for learning to the learner or his most immediate tutor" (1971 p.24). He further remarks that "if schools are the wrong places for learning a skill, they are even worse places for getting an education" (ibid.). This is the dilemma that the school has to face. On the one hand, the functional and conflict theorists have shown that schools do matter. On the other hand, there are studies such as those by Coleman and Jencks, and re-inforced by the deschoolers, that schooling is not as effective as it is assumed to

be. These conflicting expectations, as a result, do cast doubts on the effectiveness of schooling.

Because of the sundry pressures inter-woven in the teaching-learning setting, the school, as well as the teachers, have to encounter problems as they stand against the demanding needs of both institutional innovation and social development. The trend is that there is an increasing possibility of accomplishing the macro demands at the expense of the micro concession. Streaming, as a "sieve" for sorting out the right type of manpower for economic development at the expense of sparing the theoretical ideal of caring for the pupils' individual need, is an example of this. This means that the school, in its routine practice, has to harmonize conflicting interests and make compromising reifications.

The role of socialisation that the school is expected to bear may mean enhancing the social control of the students, shaping them more according to the legitimate norm. However, the other side of the story illustrates that this socialisation is geared to ameliorating the socio-cultural disparities in school so as to befit the clients into the social fabric both during and after schooling. In short, education, on the whole, is always constructed for enlightenment as well as for ideological control for it does bring about "higher intellectual and moral standards and an improved material condition" (Durkheim 1977 p.97).

In conclusion, there is no doubt that the kaleidoscopic demands and conflicts from both within and without school have laid a genuine challenge for schools today.

Conclusion

This Chapter has attempted to depict the theoretical background, which predicates the need for pastoral care in school, especially in places where there is a dramatic expansion of education leading to a rapid raising of the school leaving age as in the case of Hong Kong. The theoretical argument can be discussed from two different points of view. Firstly, empirical studies have asserted that children of different social class backgrounds may behave differently in the classroom and these behavioural differences can be explained by either the sub-culture or the adaptation model. These differences are further exacerbated when there is a need for educational expansion, bringing in more working class children into the school, which then becomes a pluralistic institution serving pupils of a much wider social base than schools in the pre-mass education era. The task of the school is therefore to harmonize these social class differences. Secondly, the school itself is entangled in a dilemma for the role of the school is very much at the heart of both functional and conflict theorists. That is, it bears the responsibilities of socialisation and allocation. However, the school is not entitled to "absolute autonomy" as it is assumed to have. Its innovation from within, for example, the caring for its pupils, is always constrained by the societal demand from without, such as the demand of manpower supply for economic development. Added to this is the ideological clashes among its staff members. For example, supporters of "progressivism", as Hargreaves (1979 p.24) discussed, may be enchanted by "the romantic emphasis on self development and growth". The result of this is the individualisation of youth deviance, and prejudice against the working class children.

What has been presented in this Chapter is the dilemma that schools have to face nowadays. On the one hand, it has been established that children do need schools. Yet, on the other hand, there are examples showing the impotence of the school as it is strait-jacketed by both social, economical and political constraints. However, as the effects of schooling are both gradual and long-term, Robinson does make an encouraging point, when he comments on the pessimism of Bowles and Gintis on the capitalist American education, that "it is optimistic for the power of the schools to so impose their regime that effects will persist throughout working life" (1981b p.39).

As the effect of the school is confirmed, it is therefore necessary to understand the organisation of the school.

Chapter 2

The School As An Organic Agent - Its Functions, Roles and Effects

A class, indeed, is a small society,
and it must not be conducted as if
it were only a simple agglomeration
of subjects independent of one another.

Emile Durkheim (1956)
Education and Sociology
The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois p.112

As discussed in the last chapter, the whole process of schooling is not a static entity. Firstly, school members bear at least two kinds of "social class " - the primary and the secondary social classes. Secondly, because of the various political and economic needs for societal development, schools become the agent not only for imparting knowledge but also for providing necessary skills. In the former case, the school plays the role of socialisation and in the latter "allocation", in Parsons' words; both processes, however, are undertaken within the structure of the school. It has also been argued in the last chapter that schools do affect their pupils in one way or another. Nevertheless, to understand the structure of a system or an institution is a pre-requisite to looking into its effects. This applies equally when studying the effects of schools, for the structure does not only influence, but also determines, the movement of the whole machinery when in operation. In order to understand the functions, roles and effects of the school on the pupils, this chapter firstly examines the structure of the school as an organisation. This is done in two ways. In the first place, a review

is made of the theories of organisations; secondly, the construct of the school is then studied in terms of the organisational elements. It is from the point of view that the school is an organisation that its functions, roles and effects are also discussed later in the chapter.

A review of the theories of organisations

Much has been written on the various aspects of an organisation, though it now seems axiomatic that within Social Science there is no consensual theory in this respect. However, these theories can basically be grouped into two schools of thought. On the one hand, organisations are seen as the determinants of their members' behaviours. Organisation in this aspect is seen as "a technology designed by men for human and social purposes" (Harrison 1976 p.3). On the other hand, there is the view that the organisation is seen phenomenologically as determined by the nature of the individual's behaviours in the organisation. The first school of thought puts emphasis on the systematic structure of the organisation following the "rational and systemic model" while the second one emphasizes more the individualistic interaction within the organisation following the "individualised model" (Robinson 1981a pp.133 - 143).

(1) The rational and systemic model

This model consists of the rational and systemic theories, which agree that it is possible to develop a universal theory in order to explain the outcome of an organisation. These two theories at the same time emphasize the fact that the organisation is an objective reality. The idea of a rational model is best epitomised by the works of Weber and Etzioni and that of systemic model by

Selznick and Parsons.

Weber's discussion of the three types of legitimate authorities (legal, traditional and charismatic) (1975 pp.109-117) and the concept of bureaucracy did open up a pioneering perspective in this area.¹ Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy is embodied in the legitimate or rational authorities. The advantage of a bureaucracy is efficiency and justice because duties are performed according to one's hierarchical role following the rules and procedures set. Etzioni elaborates this model by defining organisations as "social units (or human groupings) deliberately constructed and reconstructed to seek specific goals" (1964 p.3). Like Weber, Etzioni believes that the efficiency of an organisation can be maintained and improved only with hierarchical divisions of labour, power and responsibilities.²

The systemic model on the other hand is similar to the rational theory in the sense that it is also goal-oriented. However, the hallmark of this approach is its recognition of the importance of the whole while at the same time emphasizing the significance of the interlocking relationship between the parts and their inter-dependence. Selznick (1948), for instance, propounds that there are two distinct elements within the natural system of organisation : -

(1) The rational element (he called "economy") is the internal system defining the availability of resources for the manipulation of organisational efficiency,

and (2) The irrational element which he defined as the adaptative social structure of the organisation.

However, while the whole organisation is striving to achieve

its holistic goals and aims, the goals and interests of the individual members are also noted, though the two groups of goals need not be the same. As Gray exemplifies, boundaries can be classified as "psychological, temporal and physical" and membership of one does not necessarily include membership within others (1979 p.35). Selznick, therefore, argues that the important factor for the "maintenance of the system" is in system analysis.³ However, it is not the theme of this approach to highlight the interests of the individuals at the expense of the global ones. The relationship between system and sub-system is further adumbrated by Parsons' input-output model of the social system when he argues (1959b p.16) that :

The main analytical device is the repetition at each level of the same basic paradigm of system, structure and functioning on the assumption that the relations between higher and lower order system are those of system and sub-system in an order of differentiation and segmentation.

Parsons' concept of organisational goal is thus achieved by inputting functions to the system and sub-systems rather than by registering actions of the members of the system. His basic idea is to postulate functional relationship between the system parts.

Summing up, the rational and systemic model displays organisation as an entity separated from the people who work in it; it is a deliberate construct. The basic elements within this model are system, structure, function and process. However, members are expected to adapt to the needs, goals, functions and environment of the organisation. As the organisation is a planned unit, any malfunctioning of the organisation is therefore not the fallibility of the system but rather that of the members.

(2) The individualised (phenomenological) model

If the rational and systemic model signifies objective reality, the individualised model symbolises a social reality. Barr-Greenfield, in a phenomenological view, argues that "organisations are cultural artefacts which man shapes within limits given only by his perception and the boundaries of his life as a human animal" (1975 p.65). Organisation and its members are therefore inextricably entwined. As Barr-Greenfield further explains (ibid. p.67): -

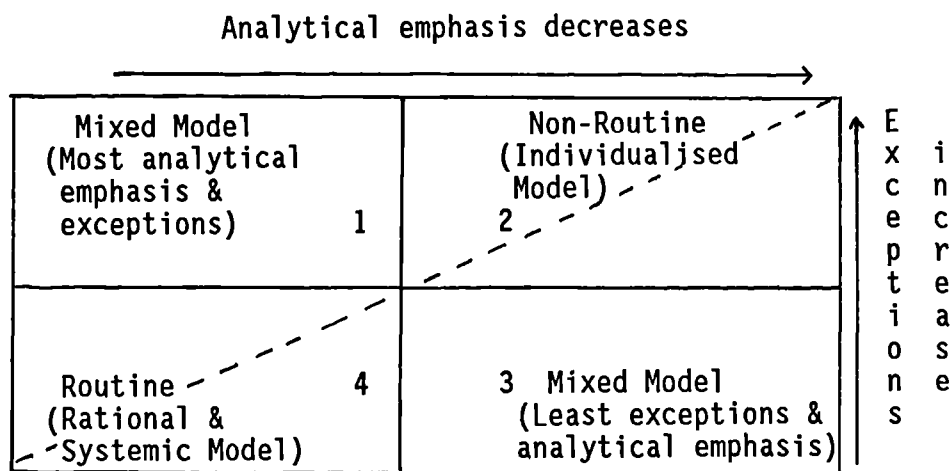
A world of reality does indeed exist but man can never perceive it directly; reality is always glossed over with human interpretation which themselves become the realities to which man responds. And man is always learning, always interpreting, always inventing the 'reality' which he sees about him.

In short, to the phenomenologists, organisation exists not because man creates it but because man perceives and interpretes it. However, as personal perception and interpretation vary, every organisation and its members are unique. To understand an organisation, it is necessary to understand the perception and interpretation of the members within. As every organisation develops according to its own needs, every organisation is different from the others. It is not possible to generalise the phenomena of any organisations as they are universal to all the others. Also different from the rationalists and systemists, the phenomenologists do not see the structure of an organisation as simply a hierarchy of authorities. To them, the organisation is not an instrument of order but a battlefield. "The problem is not whether order should be maintained but rather who maintains it, how and with what consequences" (ibid. p.72). In order to "win the battle" every

member will try to impose his or her interpretation on the others in order to gain control of the organisational resources. In effect, "the one who holds the flute plays the tune".

The organisational theories discussed above can be compared and contrasted as shown in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1 A Comparison of Organisational Theories
(Adapted from the idea of Perrow 1967 p.169)



Cell 2 in the diagram represents the "individualised model" in which there are many exceptions and a few techniques for analysing them. Cell 4 on the other hand shows the other extreme when there are few exceptional cases and there are analytical techniques for handling those that occur. This is the rational and systemic model. As Perrow argues, Cells 1 and 3 may represent viable cases but otherwise many organisations are expected to appear in Cells 2 and 4 along the dotted line (ibid.).

The following section discusses how school life can be explained by either or both of the above two models, for how the school is considered as an organisation affects the ways it plays its roles, performs its functions and, most important of all, how it exercises its effects on the pupils.

The school as an organisation

The school can be interpreted as similar to other organisations in general such as hospitals, factories or prisons in the sense that it is a well structured unit with authority running from the head downwards to the junior staff and pupils. Moreover, the school is an organisation because of its division of labour among the staff members into departments or faculties and houses or year groups doing different jobs. Accordingly, organisational theories in general can be applied to the analysis of the school process.

In the first place, the school can be seen as a "functional model" of organisations because of its function of "socialisation and allocation" (Parsons 1959a). That is why Parsons finds that the school is an example of "pattern-maintenance organisations" because of its "cultural, educational and expressive functions" (1956 p.29). Hoyle, on the other hand, finds that "society has two major dimensions : institutional and normative" and that "the role of education can range from initiation to adaptation on both the normative and institutional dimensions" (1971 p.377). He further adds that "any appreciation of the innovative potential of a school is dependent upon an understanding of its nature as a social system" (ibid. p.386). In other words, the function of the school, as the dissemination of accepted values and knowledge, is seen as an instrument to accomplish the institutional and normative goals. The message that Hoyle's words carry is that the structure and climate of the school have an impact upon the child which is relatively independent of the curriculum and influence of the individual teacher.

Like society, the school is also a natural system. As Jackson

(1964) sees it, the school is "a miniature of society". The school is made up of a number of subsystems such as streams, departments and houses or years. They are integrated into the whole to reflect and respond to the needs and particular goals of the school. Shipman likewise, when talking about the cultural goals of the school, sees it as determinant not only of the internal organisation but also its external relations. He further elaborates that "where there is a conflict of aims, the staff, instead of establishing links, try to insulate themselves and the pupils from the conflicting influence" (1968 pp.149-150). However, to view the school as an organisation merely through the goal-oriented rational and systemic model is to over-simplify the social interaction within the school. As Poggi (1965) argues, looking at the school as an organisation just from one single point of view is "a way of seeing as well as a way of not seeing". Poggi also illustrates that the "internal dimension" (or intra-unit) is "the framework for the interaction of units of a lower order" while the "external dimension" (or extra-unit) shows "the relation (the organisation) bears to other units of the same order" (ibid.). Both the "intra-" and "extra- units" are not mutually exclusive. In other words, both the system and the individuals within are performing functions concerted as well as divided. Woods on the other hand conceptualizes the school as a place of "divisions" (1979 p.256) :-

division of the 'self' and of 'consciousness' on the part of both pupils and teachers, division of public and private of spheres of life, between choice and direction, of laughter and conflict, pleasure and pain, as well as divisions between and within groups of pupils, teachers and parents owing to their different social locations both in regard to the school and to the school structure.

Woods's words do capture the complexities and "opacity" of social relations in school.

To say that the goal of the school is to educate the pupils, on the other hand, seems to beg chains of disputable questions. Unlike in the manufacturing industries, the goals of a school cannot be specifically set and it is even more difficult to assess how far the goals have been accomplished as school effects on pupils can be implicit on the one hand and long-term on the other. The problematic nature of goals in schools can be summed up as the result of :

wide variations of goals between schools, the difference between schools themselves, and the difficulty in obtaining any real consensus of what the goals of schools are and ought to be, let alone how such goals might be achieved (Bell 1980 p.185).

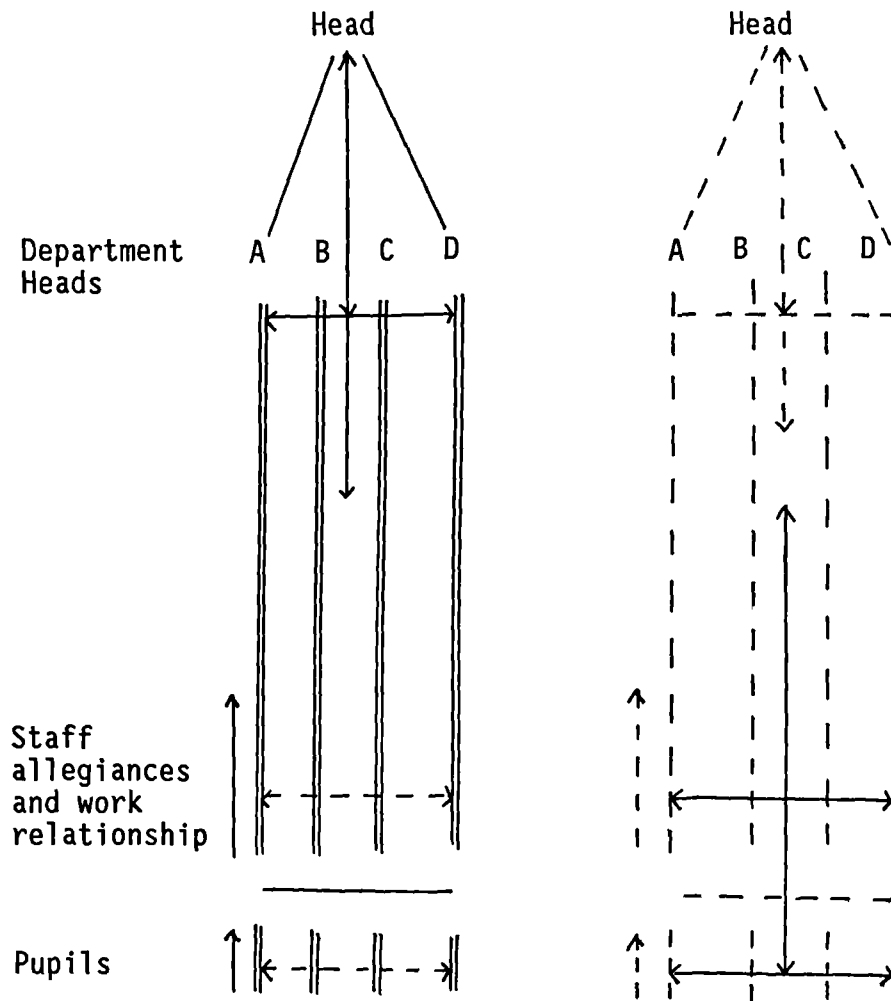
Looking at the school more from a phenomenological point of view, both Bell (1980) and Turner (1977) conceive school as an "anarchic organisation" within a "turbulent environment". It is anarchic firstly because it is made up of a group of "formless or unpredictable collection of individuals" (Bell Op.Cit. p.187). Secondly, the school cannot cut itself off from the outside world. It is subject to external demands and can survive only by depending on supplies of resources from outside. The ideologies of its members, their commitment in terms of their fluidity and the external demands aggregate the difficulty of defining the goals of the school. The school is in a "turbulent environment" because the autonomy that its members are supposed to possess is not as simple as that postulated in the ideal type of bureaucracy. With the increasing demand of running the school similar to a confederate system, a model borrowed from the commercial and industrial sectors, it is common to find schools consisting of committees for staff consultation and

participation in the making of school policies. For example, Perry (1974) puts forward six types of meeting and committee patterns, Poster (1976 pp.82-86) identifies four stages of school decision-making and Marland (1971 p.11-24) recommends the idea of complementary teams⁴. In consequence, every one is playing a composite role. Nobody can claim to be the superordinate without being a subordinate at some time. The reverse is also true. The outcome is what Bidwell calls "structural looseness" when a tension exists within the school between the autonomy of the teacher and the requirement to meet the universal needs of the students (1965 p.976).

Trying to make a break-through in the dualism of viewing the school as an organisation (i.e. objective reality versus social reality), Bernstein highlights the importance of educational knowledge, which he thinks is a "major regulator of the structure of experience" (1975 p.85). In other words, educational knowledge "structures" educational institutions through the form of its transmission. This means that the pupils are not affected by how the goals are set or how the members interact but how the knowledge is transmitted. He further points out that this "structure" is dynamic and changes within the context of time and space because of the "distribution of power and the principles of control" (ibid. p.86) and the weakening of the boundaries between given contents can lead a "closed" relationship in school towards a more "open" one (ibid. p.87). The degree of this "openness", according to Bernstein, depends very much on how the knowledge is structured, transmitted and evaluated. He later advocates two distinct types of curricula or knowledge "code" : the "collection code" and the "integrated code".

In the former case, the contents of curriculum are clearly bounded and insulated from each other while in the latter case, there are common or over-riding concepts in the curriculum. Social Studies, for instance, is an example of the latter type. As he illustrated diagrammatically (Figure 2.2), a "collection code" is characterised by oligarchic control with finely defined roles and functions of subject departments and their heads while the "integrated code" is the structure with a more communal spirit. Any move from the "collection code" to the "integrated code" is therefore a move towards "openness".

Figure 2.2 Ideal Typical Organisational Structures
According to Bernstein (1975 p.105)



Key : Continuous lines represent strong boundaries,
Continuous arrows represent direction of strong
relationship.
Dotted lines represent weak boundaries.
Dotted line arrows represent direction of weak
relationship.

Collection code type = Strong classification :
Strong frames.

Integrated code type = Weak classification :
Weak frames.

What is shown in the diagram is that under the "collection code", staff are socialised more into subject or departmental loyalty and with a clear subject or departmental identity. It also encourages inter-departmental competition for resources and for

subject or departmental improvement and expansion. When the vertical relationship between the senior and junior staff is strong, the horizontal relationship, especially that among the junior staff, is weak. The "integrated code" on the other hand is just the reverse, with a weak vertical relationship but a wider social relationship in relation to the organisation as whole. However, Bernstein's theory is criticised as "a presumed social reality" and in part "empirically false" (King 1982 p.15) mainly because his model is not derived from any empirical findings.

King's studies (1973, 1982), on the other hand, point to the fact that there is little evidence to support the idea that particular organisational forms and practices are associated with one another. The school as an organisation is interpreted by King more in a Weberian context but with an action approach as he remarks:

In social terms, pupils and teachers are not 'inside' the school; what they repetitively do is the structure of the school.Schools are not bureaucratic, but may be bureaucratised to varying extents and in varying ways. Time-tables, curricula and rules, in social terms(are) patterns of behaviours.These organisational artefacts are commonly reified and viewed as external to individuals (King 1982 pp.4-5).

What King has put forth seems to have bridged the gap (as he appears to intend to) between the rational and systemic approach and the phenomenological model but without creating two polarised situations as Bernstein. He sees the school as a structural entity and relationships between teachers as organised under the name "administration" (ibid. p.4). At the same time, he also signifies the importance of the members of the school, the educational ideologies of the head or teachers and the legitimation of the organisation of the pupils by wearing school uniforms and attending assemblies (ibid.

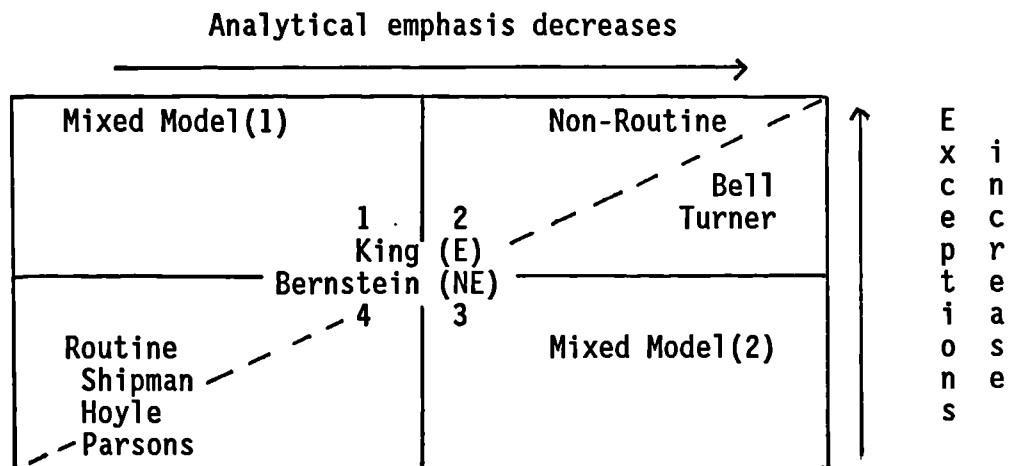
p.5). He eventually sees that "the maintenance of the organisation of a school" is "the maintenance of relationships" (ibid.). King's model is therefore not a passive one. Moreover, he appears to have brought school organisation closer to the social realities that take place within the school. His model, therefore, is more like a foot-note to the Weberian perspective.

The process of schooling is not simply an input-output development. Unlike factories, though both are creating something new, schools are not creating products which are subject to tight control. Schools as organisations, likewise, are not comparable to hospitals which serve clients who are sent there for the service which, in the majority of cases, implies a temporary stay. Students are compelled to attend school, in England and Wales, from five to sixteen and in Hong Kong from six to fifteen, and spend a considerable time (fifteen thousand hours, in Rutter's words) within the organisation where they are given positive directions for future development. Schlechty can claim to see eye to eye with King when he expresses that a student is a member of the school rather than a client, for a client is an outsider but a member is part of the community (1976 p.95). This is another example of looking at the school as an organisation in a phenomenological context highlighting the importance of the role played by an individual in school.

Neither of these two schools of thought - the rational and systemic and the phenomenological models - can uniquely explain what is actually happening in the school. The former maps out the mechanistic structure of the school while the latter the complex patterns of negotiation which creates, sustains and changes the organisation, enhancing the danger of reification. A long

established school needs, no less than a new school, a well-defined system to build up the limits of autonomy which its members can enjoy. The latter individual interaction is in fact conditioned by the former. When the balance between the two is reached, the schools will become, in King's terms, "transcendental organisations that attempt to create present purposes situations to have future consequences" (1973 p.40). But of course, the crux of the whole issue is to locate the balance. The theories of understanding the school as an organisation can be summed up in the context of the general organisational theories (Figure 2.1) as shown in Figure 2.3.

Figure 2.3 A Comparison of Theories on School As an Organisation in the Context of Organisational Theories in General



- Non-Routine = Individualised Model
- Routine = Rational and Systemic Model
- Mixed Model (1) = Lot of exceptions and analytical emphasis
- Mixed Model (2) = Least exceptions and analytical emphasis
- E = With empirical support
- NE = with no empirical support

The two models, i.e. the individualised model and the rational and systemic model, in fact, show the two different aspects of the school as an organisation : the mechanistic structure and the organic personal interaction. They are, therefore, complementary theories. The relationship between the individual and the organisational structure is very much like that between woods and trees. Woods may be nothing but trees in a certain relationship but woods exist and are real just as much as individual trees exist and are real.

The school at work - its roles and functions

For many people, the era when students are conceptualised as "tabula rasa" has long gone. They now come to school with what Bourdieu (1974 p.32) called "cultural capital" and "class ethos" the effects of which became more conspicuous following the spread of mass education making school culturally pluralistic. This then intensifies the school's role, which has both prescriptive as well as descriptive components. On the one hand, the school exists within a particular social structure, yet in reality the extent of an individual's performance goes well beyond the systemic bounds because of the sophistication of social interactions both inside and outside the school. The role of the school in this respect is active. Nevertheless, it is rather difficult to split this prescriptive and descriptive duality as they are seen in the teachers' day-to-day practice for they always occur simultaneously even within one single incident.

Durkheim's philosophy of reproduction enhances an orthodox concept of the prescriptive role of the schools :

to arouse and to develop in the child a certain number of physical, intellectual and moral states which are demanded of him by both the political society as a whole and the special milieu for which he is specially destined (Durkheim 1956 p.71).

Education then is a means of social control as well as a sieve for human resources. Parsons (1959a) further endorses this by viewing schools as geared for socialisation and allocation. The former is to inculcate a self-complacent class consciousness and the latter is to differentiate the college and non-college goers. In consequence, the two are complementary to each other.

The prescriptive functions show their objective realities of the school. They also explain the various sub-systems in school such as the prefectorial system, the house and year groupings, assemblies or even extra-curricular activities. These sub-systems are devices used for the socialisation of the pupils or, in other words, mediating the social class clashes which were discussed in the last chapter. Nevertheless, in order to allocate the "right" person to the "right" place, schools are typified according to the types of curriculum offered; as the Education Act, 1944 (Section 8) states, schools are expected "to afford for all pupils opportunities for education offering such variety of instruction and training as may be desirable in view of their different ages, abilities and aptitudes". As a result, in the 1950's the brightest ones went to the upper stream in a grammar school and the dull ones to the lowest stream in a technical or modern school. The by-product of achieving the objective of allocation is the creation of a "secondary social class" between and within schools. This is the current case in Hong Kong.

To advocate that schools determine the over-all developments of their pupils is to over-estimate the value of schools. In a more circumspect point of view, Schlechty bestows a more practical role to schools when he makes the point that "the aim of the school is to 'produce' learning that would not occur without schools" (Op.Cit. p.142). Hoyle shares the same idea by elucidating that schools serve as "the intermediate between the world of work and the world of non-work" (1969 p.241). This signifies that the school frontier is not confined to the four walls but extends to the outside world. The school carries the role of both mediation and liaison. Teachers are becoming more "cosmopolitan" than "local". The links between school and the outside world mirror the phenomenological scenario of the school.

Whether schools are playing a prescriptive role in Durkheim's and Parsons' contexts or a descriptive one as Schlechty and Hoyle illustrate is a conceptual issue. But the axiom is that school does bring changes to students psychologically and socially as well as academically. In order to fulfil this function, the role of the school at work is seen as channelled into two orders : the instrumental and expressive.⁵ The instrumental order is an objective reality and the expressive order is a social one. The school, on the one hand, has to impart skills and know-how for earning a living and at the same time to cultivate mores and precepts for social integration.

In a simple or static society, it is easier to define the role of a "teacher" for the instrumental order is monopolised in a few hands. It is the father who teaches the son and the mother the daughter, and social codes are handed over through oral transmission.

But in a complex or an industrialised society, a father's occupation is no longer an indicator of his son's. The forever changing economic structure necessitates the diversification of knowledge on the one hand and demands its specialisation on the other. Knowledge is then secularized. The school becomes the sole agent, established on a full-time basis, to organise the instruction of knowledge so required. However, with the prevalence of social mobility, which results from social and economic development, students do not only move from their fathers' jobs but also from their own first jobs after school. Added to this is the fact that many skills and knowledge are obtainable on the job. All this casts doubts on the significance of the knowledge that so many students have fought desperately to acquire at school. However, what cannot be denied is the paramount role that the school is playing in organising and constructing the teaching and learning process which enables itself to be more capable, as Chanan and Gilchrist (1974 P.4) argue, of finding "the best level of generalised knowledge, the kind of knowledge which is transferable to the largest number of different situations". The school has therefore taken over the family role as an instructor and allocator to develop skills and knowledge for the individual on the one hand as well as manpower for society on the other.

The complexity of society does not only demote the family's role in the transmission of knowledge but also dismantles its authority in social value. Social mores passed on from the family are becoming less acceptable to the new generation. Schools are now the social weaning agent in the expressive order and the teachers regarded as being in "loco parentis". On succeeding the role of socialisation,

the school has inherited the historical residues as enshrined in the Education Act, 1944 (Section 7), highlighting its mission "to contribute towards the spiritual, moral, mental and physical development of community". The school, in a passive sense, is expected to preserve and to inculcate certain social values. Of course, a dichotomy is still found between family and school socialisation. The former, which is socialisation at the primary stage, is in physical and biological terms according to the age and sex of the child but the latter, a type of secondary socialisation, is in terms of the achieved states. This shows that the family still shares the role of socialising the children though the role of the school has earned greater social and public support.

The dual function of schools seems contradictory to each other on superficial observation for cognitively it demarcates divisions and segregations when students are graded and selected according to their academic achievements but affectively it attempts to foster integration as well as unity. The two tasks are therefore complementary to each other as in the day-to-day school enterprise.

Recently, different emphases are needed to be put on the roles and functions of the school as a result of the variation in the socio-economic composition of the students. In short, it is not only the school that shapes the students but the students that shape the school and the school's managerial policies are in many cases oriented according to the socio-economic backgrounds of its in-takes. This explains why, in spite of the functionalists' efforts, the role of the school still cannot be purely prescriptive.

To sum up, if the role of the school is evaluated in terms of the functionalists' prescriptive views based on the rational and

systemic setting, the role of the school is passive and prescriptive. Everything is well-defined and set. However, when human elements are involved, the role will become active and diffuse. In reality, however, the discrimination may not be as noticeable as expected, and this may have caused scepticism about the effects of schools.

The effects of schools

The effectiveness of schooling is always problematic partly because the outcome is long term, which makes longitudinal measures difficult, if not impossible, to apply. One of the best way to ascertain the effectiveness of schools is to compare two similar age groups of people, one attending normal schooling and one not, in terms of their ways of life. But this will be extremely unfair to the control group if the positive effects of schools can be ascertained. The study of Acton and Davies (1979) on gipsy children does shed some light on this. The itinerant life style of the gypsies seems to have hampered the children's ability in writing, reading and using calculators, which are effects schools have on children attending regular schooling.

When short term measures are taken into account, it is even more difficult to single out the school effects from those that children possess as a result of their "cultural capital" affected by their "class ethos" or some other residual factors. Acland's research reports that only one-fifth of pupils' achievement can be accounted for by school difference. However, he still affirms that "the experience of schooling as opposed to no school at all has a substantial effect on how much pupils learn" (1973 pp.122-131). This is a supporting declaration to Acton and Davies' findings and a

confirmation of the influence of schools.

Schools do make a difference in pupils' mental as well as cognitive developments. But at the same time, different schools will further accelerate this difference. The H.M.I.'s report (D.E.S. 1977) on "Ten Good Schools", Reynold's study (1976) on delinquency rates in schools with similar ecological background and Rutter's work (1979) on school ethos, all share the same view. To compare differences between schools may cause a political row, but it carries a heartening message that schools can make a difference if we know how to run them.

In sum, the weakness of school effects, which jeopardizes people's confidence in schools is the lack of a teaching and learning theory showing the optimum functions of schools. In effect, the teacher-pupil relationship is always observed as the interaction between the teachers' attitudes towards the pupils' primary or secondary social class backgrounds as shown in studies by Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970) and the pupils' classroom behaviours, which as both Bourdieu (1974) and Bernstein (1975) argue, are the results of their family socialisation. As these interactions are founded merely on human factors, it is not easy to evaluate their influence on pupils.

Looking at the process of schooling as a whole, the outcome is the interaction of a great variety of factors correlating with each other. The information of one may not tell us much about the others. To divide these factors according to cognitive and non-cognitive areas is rather artificial and arbitrary for many of them are overlapping. In spite of all these ambiguities, what we still can be sure of is that pupils do learn in schools not only knowledge but

also behaviour. Of course, how much they learn varies. Rutter's work, though under heavy criticism in different aspects, does give hope to those working in schools by concluding that "school can do much to foster good behaviour and attainments and that even in a disadvantaged area, schools can be a force for the good" (Op.Cit. p.295).

In conclusion, as a reflection of what has been discussed in the last chapter, the effects of schools can be summed up in terms of intellectual enlightenment, ideological control and occupational allocation. Although it is rather difficult to differentiate how far the pupils' development in these various aspects are the results of schooling or other social forces, the importance of schools in these areas is already established.

Conclusion

What this chapter has attempted to do is to establish the importance of schools in educating the youngsters. However, to say that schools do matter is a fair statement but to say that only schools do matter is an over-statement for it under-estimates the effects of other social forces. Schooling, therefore, should be interpreted both in terms of the rational and systemic model as well as the phenomenological theory; it is an objective and a social unit. It is objective-oriented because it plays the role of socialisation, allocation and transmission of knowledge. It is socially constructed because the human factors both inside and outside school can affect the operation of the system. What this Chapter has tried to do is to outline the geography of the school, its basic structure as an organisation on which its roles and functions have solidified in the

interactions between the school members. Like other organisations, the school is a human construct. There is bound to be discord between the expected and the actual situations. When talking about innovation in schools, Taylor argues that "each person will still have his own organisation map - as an extreme example.(But) neither group is 'right' in any absolute sense" (1969 p.19). This is also true of the models and approaches applied to the study of schools as organisations. Both the rational and systemic model as well as the phenomenological theory represent the extremes of the galaxy of theories explaining the organisational nature of the school. Lying in between these extremes are the more compromising models such as those advocated by Bernstein and King. The expected situation, like the rational and systemic model, may tend to be more idealistic, while the actual situation, like the phenomenological theory, may look relatively anarchic though may be more true to life. As Bell (1980) and Turner (1977) argue, schools are "anarchic organisations" in "a turbulent environment". These two conflicting theories, at the same time, pinpoint the need for constant reviews of and innovation in the existing school practice. The rational and systemic model shows that the school should be run in a properly organised order while the phenomenological theory illustrates that such a regulated order should be revised from time to time because of changes from both within and without. This need for review is more strongly felt in a rapidly growing society like Hong Kong and the need for innovation is especially vital in the aspect of caring for pupils, as they have to be helped to face these vigorous changes after they have left school - this is the major role and function of the school.

Part II

The Hong Kong Context

Chapter 3

Educational Policies in a Changing Society

- The Development of the School System in Hong Kong

The final aim of any educational policy must always be to provide every child with the best education he or she is capable of absorbing, at a cost that the parent and the community can afford.

Education Department, Hong Kong (1965)
Education Policy (1965)
Hong Kong Government Printer, p.1

What is stated at the beginning of the White Paper on educational policy quoted above is quite a good summary of the philosophy behind the development of education in Hong Kong. It is the ability of the child, together with the financial capacity of both the parents and the society, that form the fundamental guidelines.

Hong Kong, as a tiny spot on the south-east coast of China, was thought of as a "barren rock" when it was first made a British colony in 1842. Throughout history, it has been identified as "a borrowed place living on borrowed time". However, Hong kong has now grown up to become "a shopping paradise" and "an economic nature reserve". The significance of this dramatic and rapid growth is that education has had to follow the tempo of this flow so that school is an integral rather than a detached unit of the society.

The geographical setting of Hong Kong

Hong Kong is considered one of the "economic miracles" in terms of the growth of its per capita income which has increased 13 times within less than three decades. It is now third in the entire Far East region after Japan and Singapore.¹ Hong Kong is probably the third city in the world after London and New York in terms of foreign banking and quasi-banking institutions. The basic reason which explains this is its well-situated geographical position which Hong Kong has been making full use of since the completion of its colonial status as a result of the cession of Hong Kong Island and Kowloon Peninsula in 1842 and 1860 respectively and the lease of the New Territories in 1898. Its nodal position enables it to be accessible from almost every part of the world. Its modern and well equipped airport is served by all international airlines 24 hours a day and its harbour competes with those of San Francisco and Rio de Janeiro as the most perfect natural harbours in the world; together with the container terminal in the New Territories, ranking third in the world, these are the arteries for imports and exports meeting the needs of industrial and commercial expansion. The existence of the City is therefore based on a well-developed communication network between Hong Kong and the rest of the world.

Though short and brief, the geographical significance of Hong Kong illustrates the essence of its economic growth.² Hong Kong was definitely a "barren rock" as Lord Palmerston, the then British Foreign Secretary, called it in the nineteenth century, when Hong Kong was first taken over from China. There was no food and insufficient water to feed the increasing number of inhabitants. There was also an absolute shortage of raw materials and natural

resources for industrialisation. At the beginning of the colonial period, Hong Kong, making use of its harbour, served as an entrepôt port of China. But this kind of trade ceased following the establishment of the Communist Government in 1949 and its participation in the Korean War in 1951 when a trade embargo was imposed by the United Nations. Industrialisation for survival became the only alternative. The changes in economic activities meant also changes in the demand from office staff to factory workers and technicians.

In short, the life of Hong Kong relies on its geographical blessings. But this well-being is guaranteed only if a harmonious relationship between Hong Kong and the rest of the world is maintained. This is especially true of the triangular connection between Hong Kong, China and Britain, which determined not only Hong Kong's past and present, but also its future. In consequence, the economic structure is dependent on the political outcomes of the rest of the world such as new regimes, trade protectionism and embargoes. In turn, the changes in the economic scene can also affect the school system, especially the secondary schools from which almost all types of manpower are drawn. The educational developments in Hong Kong are the consequences of political and economic factors within the City and it is these determinants which are to be analysed first before looking into the Government's changing policies on education.

The major determinants of educational development

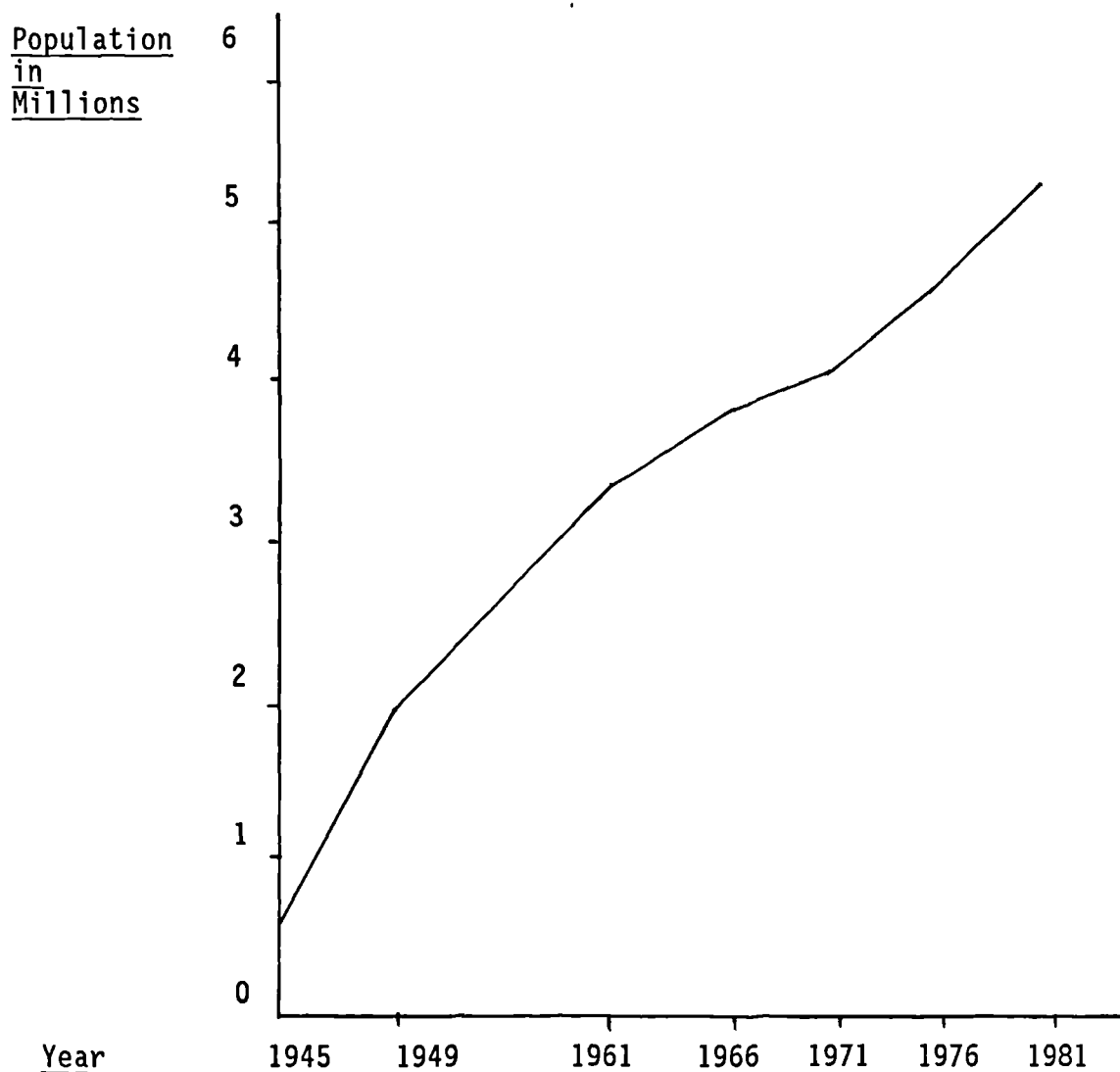
As pointed out earlier, educational development, especially in the secondary sector, is basically a political and economic issue. It is externally directed in the sense that politically the export and entrepôt trade of Hong Kong is affected by its political relationship with other countries in the form of trade restrictions and regulations, which in turn affect the types of economic activities in the Territory. Changes in overseas markets bring changes in the demands for manufactured goods. This means that the types of skills and manpower required for economic development differ and the school accordingly has to change from time to time in terms of curriculum and organisation so that what pupils learn in school can be of relevance to their jobs in the future. As a result, a long term plan for school development is not always possible because changes within the schools are always responses to the changes from outside. This economy-oriented nature of the society, which determines the philosophy of education, can best be explained within the technical-function paradigm when education is seen as a means of providing the 'Colony' with an adequate supply of trained manpower.

Moreover, the political turbulences in China brought in refugees from all parts of the country giving rise to cultural conflicts in Hong Kong in terms of customs and dialects. The confrontation was especially conspicuous in the 1950's, when the influx of these refugees reached its climax. Added to this is the contact with visitors from overseas mainly because of business. For one reason or another, schools become the mediator of these cultural diversities.

The demographic expansion on the other hand also had an impact on the educational development of Hong Kong and Figure 3.1 shows that

the population has grown more than eight times since the end of the Second World War. The significance of this is that education is also expected to expand at the same rate. Moreover, it is supposed to be the agent to inculcate the importance of citizenship and the respect for law and order so that people staying in Hong Kong can live together in harmony and contribute positively for the well-being of the City.

Figure 3.1 Demographic Changes (1945 - 1981)*



*Source of data (See Note 3 for details) :
1961 1971, 1981 Census
1966, 1976 By-Census
& 1945, 1949 Government Official Estimates

Summing up, the aims of education in Hong Kong, as Simpson pointed out in the 1960's, may be conveniently separated into cultural, disciplinarian and utilitarian, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive (1966 p.1). This is the result of the interaction between the precarious political situation outside and the constant social and economic transformation inside while underlying these

changes are parental and social aspirations, which gives high value to education as a means of bettering oneself. The changing policies of the Government on education, especially concerning the secondary school system, gives a good illustration of this.

The changing Government policies in the development of
the secondary school system

The idea that Hong Kong is "a borrowed place living on borrowed time" is applicable to the development of education in Hong Kong both before and after the War.⁴ The Government had shown no intention of offering any service to the "transient population" nor did the people coming to Hong Kong during the two wars (the Second World War and the Chinese Civil War) show any interest of staying permanently in the City. Education was then greatly neglected. However, two landmarks can be detected indicating the Government's changing attitude towards making education a service. These are the two White Papers :

(1) Education Policy (1965)

and (2) Secondary Education in Hong Kong over the
Next Decade (1974).

Accordingly, three eras can be defined following the Government's changing policies :

(1) Before the White Paper (1965),

(2) Between the two White Papers (1965 & 1974)

and (3) After the White Paper (1974).

(1) Before the White Paper (1965)

Before the War, education was under a laissez-faire policy. Schools were mainly sponsored by the missionaries for the poor or by some independent institutions for the minority elites. The same philosophy was still in operation after the War when the Government was fighting hard for rehabilitation and reconstruction. However, as the Communist Government in China was getting firmly established, the hope of "going back" became virtually impossible to most of the refugees. In addition to this was the trade embargo on China, which made the Government feel that education for the people was vital on social, economic and political grounds, i.e. for law and order, for manpower supply and for giving a sense of security to the parents of the school age children so that they would work more devotedly. The philosophy of the policy, however, carried the spirit of the classical colonialism as Altbach and Kelly (1978 p.2) point out that:

The colonial enterprise encompasses the political, social and economic life of the countries involved in the situation in which the colonizer rather than the colonized holds power for purpose the colonizers defines.Schools which emerge in colonies reflect the power and the educational needs of the colonizers.

As the schools so developed were "adapted schools" derived from the British system, a dualism was established in both school and society, especially in terms of the concepts of norms and values. It is a dualism caused by the difference between the indigenous (Chinese) and the imported (British) cultures. The significance of this is that schools (as well as teachers) are responsible for harmonizing this cultural dichotomy. However, in spite of the Government's "interest" in developing the educational

system in this period, no well-formulated official policies could yet be observed. Education seemed to be the product of emergent need. There were problems that the Government had to sort out immediately. Firstly, there was not enough school accommodation because of the bulge of the returning children. In 1947, there were 150,000 students enrolled to 500 schools (mainly primary), while 36% of these children were the "pre-war seniors" aged 11-16 who would have completed their primary education but for the outbreak of the War (Education Department 1947 p.6). The solution for this was bisessionalism when two schools shared the same premises, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. Besides, schools became a private enterprise.

Following the recommendations made by the Burney Report in 1935 and the Fisher Report in 1950,⁵ the Government was mainly concerned with the primary school system and secondary education was provided by private independent schools on a commercial basis; in 1949, 78% of the total secondary and post-primary schools were private.⁶ This was when the "sink schools" started and they still affect quite a large sector of the respective age cohort today.

Another outcome that affected the quality of education in this period was the high proportion of untrained teachers. Table 3.1 shows the changing scene between 1949 and 1965. As a matter of course, the private independent schools, because of their self-financial situation, giving no promising careers prospects for teachers, suffered most.

Table 3.1 Teachers Classified by Qualifications¹
(1949 & 1965) (Secondary Schools Only)

Year	Trained Teachers (G & NG)		Untrained Teachers (G & NG)		Total
1949	691	(41%)	986 ²	(59%)	1,677
1965	2,147	(37%)	3,632 ³	(63%)	5,779
Increase (Between Years)	211%		268%		245%
(In Relation To Total)	-4%		+4%		-

¹ Data based on statistics in the Annual Summary Reports of the respective years issued by the Education Department, Hong Kong.

² 85% of the untrained teachers were in private schools.

³ 81% of the untrained teachers were in private schools.

G = Graduate Teacher

NG = Non-Graduate Teacher

The implications of this situation are : (1) Teaching was not highly esteemed. Training was not considered a way of bettering teaching quality. (2) Most students were "educated" in the hands of unqualified teachers.

In order to cope with the increase of manpower needs of the City, the Government started to operate the bilateral educational system by introducing junior technical school (non-certificated). These schools were similar to the trade schools in the early days and as they were very much associated with apprenticeships, they earned extremely low social esteem. The falling enrolment in these schools and the increasing number of grammar schools shown in Table 3.2 reveal the societal response to

this system. In the end, the Government had to give way and the tripartite system began in the early 1960's. This included the modern schools (practical schools) offering three year post-primary course for vocational skills, technical secondary schools leading to school certificate level and the grammar secondary. However, there was still an extreme bias towards grammar schools. In 1960, more than 96% of the total secondary student population of 74,113 were in the grammar schools (Education Department 1961 p.16).

Table 3.2 Student Enrolment and Number of
Grammar and Technical Schools
(1953 & 1960) (Data from Education
Department 1953 & 1961)

Year	Enrolment (Grammar)	Enrolment (Technical)	No. of Schools (Grammar)	No. Of Schools (Technical)
1953	38,380	5,207	241	48
1960	71,271	2,842	266	20
Increase (%)	+86	-45	+10	-58

Without doubt, economic need was the top priority in the educational development of this period. The Marsh and Sampson Report (1963) for educational reorganisation was to recommend the most economical and practical way of fulfilling this need. The major recommendation was to operate a two-year special course in secondary schools for primary school leavers not going further to any higher level so that they could reach the statutory minimum age for industrial employment i.e. 14 when leaving school.⁷ This special course was felt by many to be socially detrimental to the children and the low enrolment in this course, shown in Table 3.3, was evidence enough for this. The Government eventually had to abandon

it and a well-structured educational policy was found necessary and this led to one of the major water-sheds in the history of educational development of Hong Kong - the White Paper (1965).

Table 3.3 Form 1 Enrolment as at 31 March, 1965
(Data from Education Department 1965a pp.34-36)

Streams	Form 1 [*] (Special)	Form 1 (Modern)	Form 1 (Grammar)	Form 1 (Technical)	Total
No. of Pupils	1,099	2,232	39,837	1,198	44,366
% of Total	2.5	5.0	89.8	2.7	100

* There were 650 secondary schools including both certificate and non-certificate courses but only 40 schools were operating special Form 1 classes.

(2) Between the Two White Papers (1965 & 1974)

The basic theme of the White Paper (1965) was to develop educational policies for primary schools with consideration also for junior secondary and technical education. The major proposals were :

- (1) the return of the entrance age for primary schools from seven (recommended by Marsh-Sampson Report) to six,
 - (2) the discontinuation of Special Forms 1 & 2,
 - (3) more aided places for primary school leavers in aided secondary grammar and technical schools and assisted private schools (15-20%) and assisted places in private independent schools (50-60%),
 - (4) more types of vocational training or full-time pre-apprenticeships in the Technical College or the Adult Education Section of the Education Department,
- and (5) primary education was intended to be developed as an entity.

Because of the economic progress and social needs of Hong Kong, subsidised places for every child in the primary age group was made possible by September, 1971. The Morrison Hill Technical Institute opened in 1969 together with the Polytechnic College (former Technical College), set up in 1972, were the major milestones showing the Government's attention to the further education of the technical school leavers. However, there were still no specific Government policies on technical education until the Technical Education Inspectorate was set up in 1975.

The White Paper (1974) was the extension of the White Paper (1965) as it was stated at the beginning of the Paper :

By 1972, with universal primary education a reality, the Government concluded that the time had come for a full study of the future development of secondary education to be undertaken. (Education Department 1974 p.1)

The major policies outlined in the Paper included :

- (1) Nine years of general education for all, i.e. six years in a primary and three years in a secondary school.
- (2) All children to follow a common course of general education throughout the nine years. This to include 25-30% of practical and technical subjects.
- (3) The Secondary School Entrance Examination would be held for the last time in May, 1978. The transfer from Primary to Junior Secondary Schools would be monitored by the Secondary School Places Allocation System (SSPA) depending on the internal assessment of the school under the supervision of the Education Department by means of a scaling test including Chinese and Arithmetic only.
- (4) Most of the schools would be asymmetrical, i.e. if there are 30 classes in the school, 24 would be Forms 1-3 and 6 classes for Form 4 and above.
- (5) The already existing planned prevocational schools would remain; but in future, more emphasis would

be put on in-service training.

- (6) As for the allocation of secondary senior form places, it was intended that 40% of the 15-16 age group would be given aided places. 60% of this would be in Senior Grammar forms and 40% in Senior Secondary Technical Schools.
- (7) New aided schools would be built in new towns in the New Territories. The over-all ratio between grammar and technical secondary schools in the development programme would be 3:2.

The White Paper (1974) gave a very explicit picture of the Government's policy for the future development of secondary education and its attention to technical education. However, in spite of this, both Papers highlighted the unchanging academic bias in the educational development of Hong Kong. Secondary technical education was still in a second (or inferior) position as circumstantial evidence showed that it was the outcome of an ad hoc need - a need arising out of emergency. Added to this was the Chinese traditional attitude toward the word "technical", which made this new movement in education the least popular among parents and students.

Nevertheless, the increasing demand for diversification rather than specialisation in industrial development was also echoed in these Papers. Both of them stressed the concept of basic and general education through common core curriculum and practical and technical subjects. The crux of the issue was that education was for flexibility so that students could fit in to a constantly developing society. The emphasis on the flexibility in the school curriculum was an indication that the economic setting of Hong Kong was changing from a "wage competition" model to a "job competition" model. In the former case, people join the labour market with the skills already defined for the job and they are competing against each other on a

wage basis. In other words, people look for jobs according to the skills they possess. However, in the "job competition" model, there are jobs looking for "suitable" people. Skills for jobs are not set and people have to prove that they are capable of learning skills that fit the job. As a result, as Thurow (1977 p.326) concludes:

The function of education is not to confer skill and therefore increased productivity and higher wage on the worker; it is rather to certify his 'trainability' and to confer upon him a certain status by virtue of this certification.

In short, Hong Kong is becoming a much more "credential society" than it was in the entrepôt trade era when the required skills for the labour market could be more easily defined.

(3) After the White Paper (1974)

The White Paper (1974) indicated the Government's full intention of monitoring not only the school system but also the curriculum and medium of instruction. The introduction of common core curriculum, practical and technical subjects and the use of Chinese as the language of instruction for children aged 12-14 were some of the examples. However, the Government still maintained that it was up to the school to decide what was good for their respective students and the Government would only encourage and facilitate the necessary resources (Education Department 1977a p.3). It was, therefore, not surprising to find that of the 343 secondary schools in 1977, only 95 had included any of these subjects (Education Department 1977b p.3).

Notwithstanding the Chinese tradition, the late 1970's in Hong Kong witnessed a drastic expansion of technical education. This was partly due to the establishment of the Technical Education Inspectorate in 1975, which was responsible for giving guidance for

its development and information to the public. The changing scene in technical education was revealed in the size of enrolment and the number of schools as shown in Table 3.4. But most important of all was the demand in the labour market as a result of the growth of the manufacturing industry. In 1980, domestic exports had grown 67.5% as compared with the total amount in 1978 (Government Information Services Department 1981 p.260). This meant that more manpower would be needed. In addition, the new allocation system for places in aided senior secondary schools - the Junior Secondary Education Assessment (JSEA) - based on internal assessment scaled by centrally controlled aptitude tests also meant that courses for students not going to the senior secondary schools were required. The five technical institutes built between 1975-79 were meant to meet this need.

While the White Paper on secondary education in 1974 gave a comprehensive account of the development of secondary education in the following decade, the White Paper in 1978 was concentrated on technical education development in both secondary and tertiary sectors. The publication of the White Paper in 1981 on primary education and pre-primary services then completed the Government's marathon review on the over-all educational policies of Hong Kong.

Table 3.4 Enrolment and Number of
Technical (Certificate) and
Grammar Schools (1975 & 1979)
 (Data from Education Department 1975
 pp.28 & 40 and Education Department 1979b)

Year	Enrolment Grammar	Enrolment Technical	No. of Schools Grammar	No. of Schools Technical
1975	303,332	11,187	308	18
1979	399,817	15,915	393	23
Increase (%)	+32	+42	+28	+28

The last White Paper is significant in the sense of its newly introduced system of centralised allocation of Primary 1 (first year of primary school) places on a district basis giving more discretion to schools while at the same time completely eliminating tests and examinations for entrance.⁹

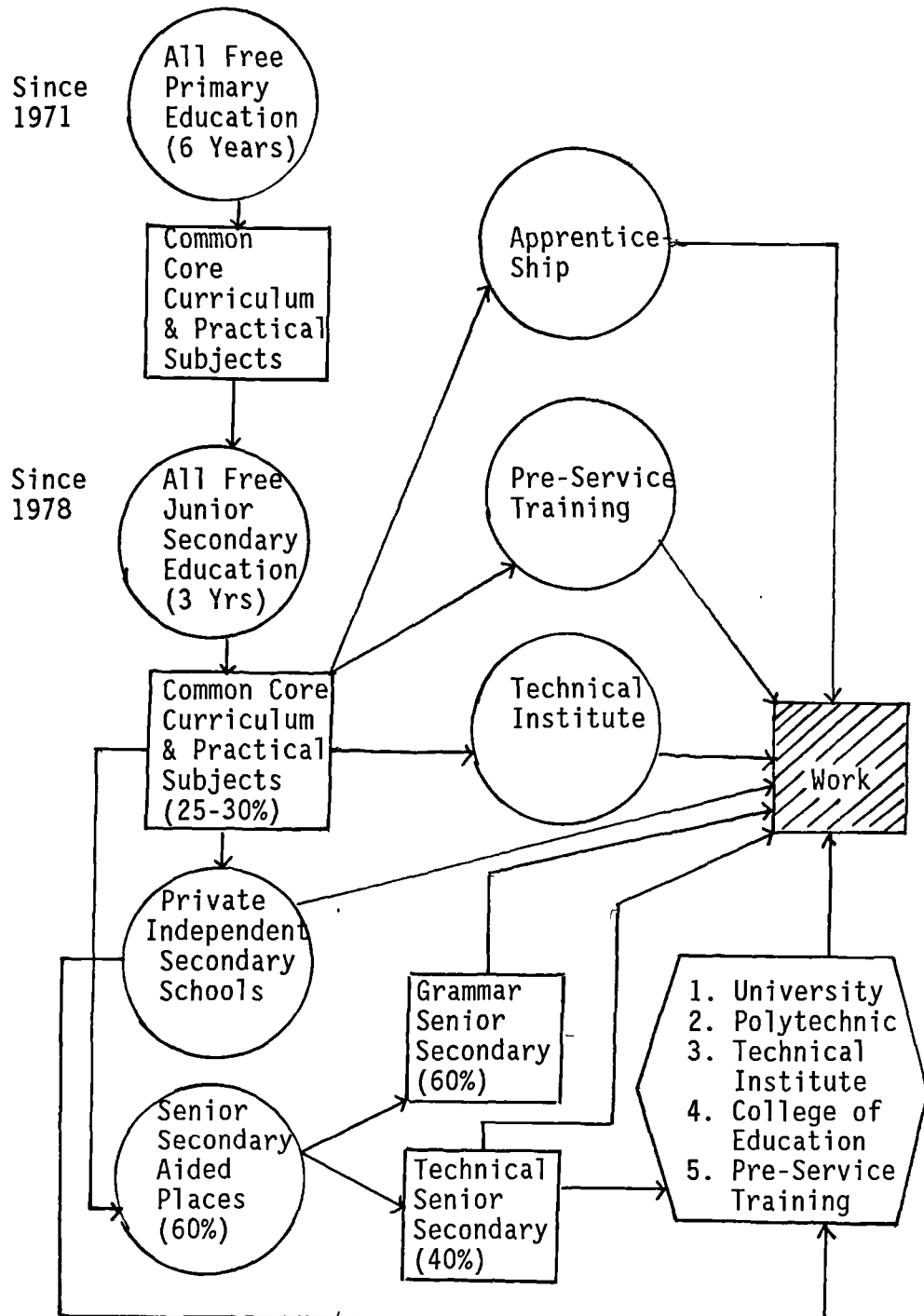
With the completion of the review on primary and pre-primary educational services, the well-established centralised school system was formed. The General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools (1981), issued almost immediately after the nine year free and compulsory education had been enforced, showed another shift of the Government's emphasis on education. Universal education has given rise to mixed classes in terms of ability as well as socio-economic backgrounds. Therefore, more personal attention to the pupils' moral as well as intellectual development is needed. However, this accentuation was rather a depressing response to the increase of juvenile delinquency after the policy of compulsory education had been put into operation. The number of juvenile defendants (under 16) convicted had an increase of 46.2% in 1980 since 1978 when free and compulsory education was first introduced

(Government Information Services Department 1981 p.288). The increase of juvenile delinquency had caused great public concern and the Government was then blamed for its failure to "Keep the Kids Happy and Off the Streets". However, in 1982, i.e. four years after the 9-year free and compulsory education had been put into practice, there was a decrease of 42.6% in the number of convicted juvenile defendants (under 16) as compared with that in 1978 (Government Information Services Department 1983 p.306). One of the many reasons to explain the difference in the juvenile crime rate between 1980 and 1982 was that the Government had put more emphasis on moral education by issuing the General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools in 1981. On the other hand, the Social Welfare Department also carried out a review of the Programme Plan on Personal Social Work Among Young People during 1981 and many of the recommendations so derived were put into force in the following year. Within the school also, as the Government reported in 1983 (ibid. p.131), "a school social work service provided by staff of the Social Welfare Department and voluntary agencies is now available to all secondary school students". Similar programmes for primary school pupils had already begun in 1979. This decrease of crime rate in the school age group and the Government's encouragement of school social work signify two implications :

- (1) School children do need pastoral care as the juvenile crime rate statistics proved.
- (2) There was an urgent need for curricular innovation in school to cater for pupils of different kinds of abilities.

In conclusion, the Government's policies on education can be seen as starting with basic education (the primary), progressing to technical and then on to the moral aspects in order to meet the changing social and economic needs of the society. However, while the Government's philosophy of planning is more with the technical-function paradigm, the public, especially the parents, are more in line with the conflict theory as education is seen as the means of upward social mobility. If the White Papers (1965 & 1974) structured the educational framework, the other papers are for the implementation of the framework, i.e. education for economic growth. The whole educational system in operation, as illustrated in Figure 3.2, shows that there is always something for those who want to go forward in spite of the competition that they may have to face. This seems to have pleased both the supplier (the Government) and the consumers (parents and pupils). On the other hand, with the increasing demand for adaptable manpower to suit the constantly changing labour market, there has been a shift from the "wage competition" model to the "job competition" model. As a result, school education has become a "qualification escalator". The impact of this competitive and changing nature of the actual world on the school is that pupils need proper guidance and counselling in order to understand their own capacities and potentialities and to know where they are and where they should be going. Because of this, a qualified teacher needs to be a qualified counsellor as well.

Figure 3.2 Educational Stages and Options
From Primary Education to Work



Conclusion

This is a Chapter on the development of education in Hong Kong. However, as educational development is always a response to the social as well as economic needs of a society, this Chapter also enhances the importance of caring for children in school for they will soon enter adult society and join the labour market.

As 40% of the labour force are employed in the manufacturing sector, technical education has become the top priority in the Government's policy for education. However, the general public and the parents have always been more in favour of grammar school education. As a result, there is always a strenuous conflict between the Government and the public in the development of grammar and technical schools. It illustrates the clash between the functional and conflict theorists.

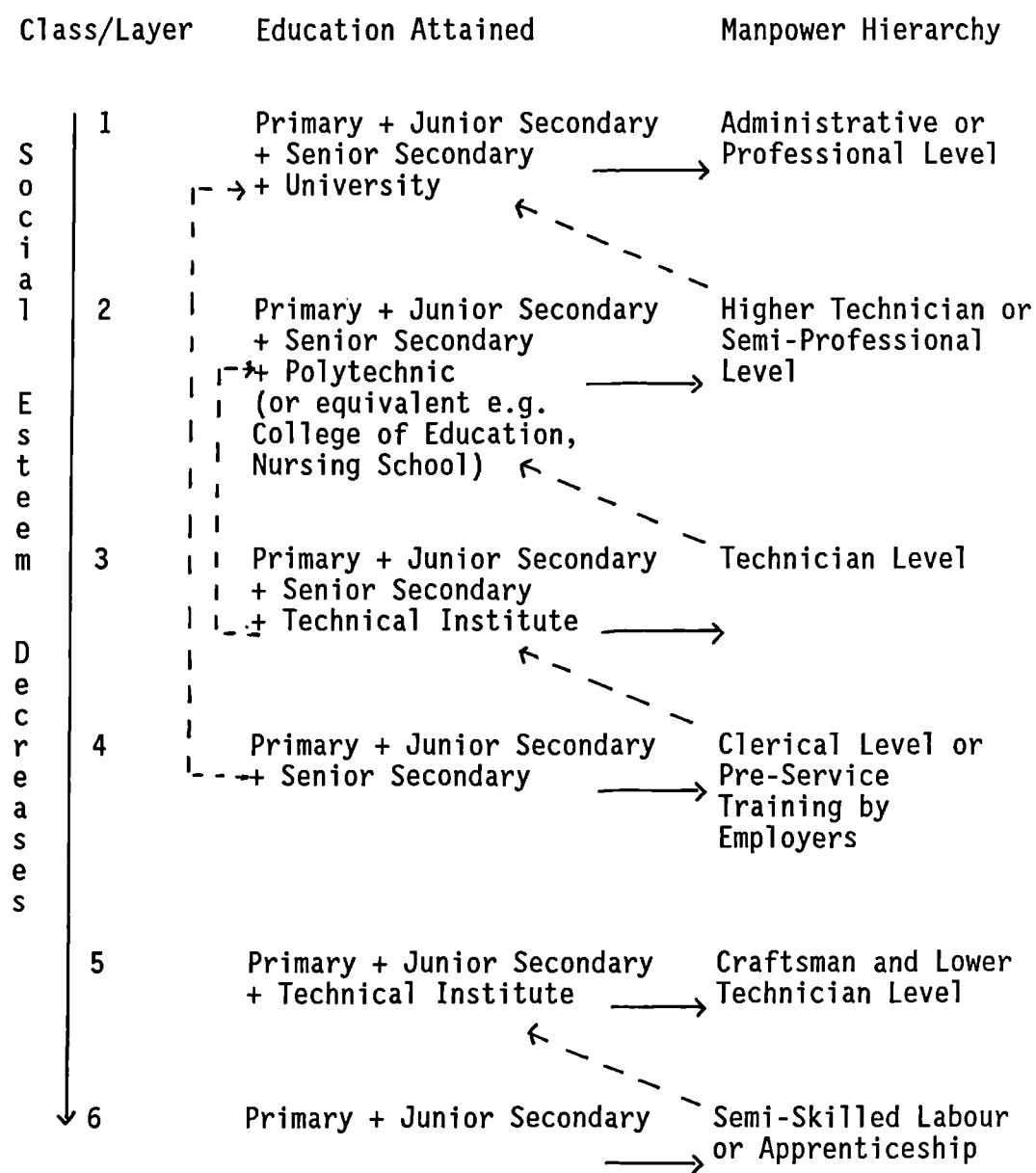
As the economy shifted from entrepôt trade to manufacturing industry, industrial towns became the "by-product" of industrialisation. According to the Housing Department, in addition to the existing 35,294 public rental and home ownership flats, 61,645 low cost housing public flats, to be completed in the mid-1980's, were already under construction in the new towns (Government Information Services Department 1981 pp.101-103). The growth of these new towns signifies the growing need for pastoral care for school children for their adaptation to the new environment if they have moved from the old urban area and for the problems that they have to face when choosing their future careers because of the sophisticated economic development of the City.

It is quite clear that the school system in Hong Kong is rigidly structured and highly selective. As shown in Figure 3.3,

failing to get senior secondary education can make a child remain in either social class 5 or 6 for the rest of his life. This further emphasizes the needs for pastoral care for the school children so that they can know their own abilities and capacities and the ways of developing their potential to the full.

Summing up, the geographical position of Hong Kong enables it to survive all the difficulties so far, but makes it a society in transition. This makes it well known for being a "laboratory for Social Science", including education, for the school system has had to be under constant review in order to meet the newly arising needs. It is this transitional status that has always been bringing to the revival the concept of "a borrowed place on borrowed time". It is also this transitional status that highlights the crucial role of the school in the caring for the children.

Figure 3.3 Education Attainment and Hierarchy Of Manpower Supply*



*For more detailed account of the school system in Hong Kong, refer to Hong Kong : The Facts - Education (1980) (Appendix 3.2).

Chapter 4

Pastoral Care in Hong Kong Secondary Schools

- A System in Search of a New Model

It is a waste of time to fuss about what we think the children should learn if we do not understand how to organise a system of pupil-teacher relationship which is productive of our intended learning.

Derek Morrell
The Times Educational Supplement
19 December, 1969

The practice of pastoral care is not new, but it has never been the prime focus of attention until the enforcement of universal and compulsory education when the school has to serve pupils from various socio-economic backgrounds. The problem is that, since pastoral care has always been considered as part of the teacher's responsibility in school, there is neither encouragement nor proper guidelines from the authority. This is the problem that the Hong Kong schools have had to face nowadays. In short, the pastoral care provision in Hong Kong schools is generally insufficient or inadequate. This can be observed from the Government's policies on education and the pupils' welfare network in schools.

Pastoral care in the Government context

As has been indicated, Government involvement in the educational development of Hong Kong was not manifest until 1965 when the first White Paper on Education Policy was published. In 1965, according to the White Paper, the final aim of the Government's educational policy

was "to provide every child with the best education he or she is capable of absorbing at a cost that the parent and the community can afford" (Education Department 1965b p.1). Hence, the essence of educational improvement is centred more on the content of the knowledge through the school in accordance with the economic settings.

Because of Hong Kong's dependence on the outside world, there is little doubt that its educational development is bound to be within the functional paradigm. The practical and technical content of the common curriculum for the junior secondary course introduced in the White Paper (1974) indicated that "the Government attaches considerable importance to a build-up of technical education at the secondary level in line with Hong Kong's future needs" (Education Department 1974 p.6). When talking about the quality of education, the same Paper also revealed that "the emphasis in this Paper is on the need to provide a sufficient number of places and on the ways by which these can be made available" (ibid. p.9). Such a utilitarian philosophy was still sustained when the Government's policy on Senior Secondary and Tertiary Education was published in 1978. It was still the official viewpoint that :

The content and quality of education should be such as would promote greater adaptability, proficiency in a wide range of technical skills, broad perspectives and the capacity to think logically and to communicate effectively (Education Department 1978 p.5).

The Government has so far shown no significant concern for the caring side of the pupils' development in the planning of education. Even in the last White Paper on Primary Education and Pre-Primary Service, when the Government recognised that "investment in the young is valuable not only for its own sake but for the continued well

being of Hong Kong" (Education Department 1981b p.5), the provision of education for the young is still "predominantly a highly utilitarian means to economic and vocational ends" as reported by the Visiting Panel in 1982 (The Visiting Panel 1982 p.12).

The land mark that exhibits the Government's genuine care about the pupils' welfare in schools was the Student Guidance Scheme for primary school children launched in September, 1978. The Guidance Officers are former trained primary school teachers having undertaken a training course organised by the Education Department of the Government before taking up the job. One guidance officer is expected to take care of about 3,000 pupils in urban schools or 2,000 in the rural areas. Services of a similar nature, provided by professional social workers from the Social Welfare Department and voluntary agencies, were extended to secondary schools in the following school year on a ratio of one school social worker for about 4,000 pupils. In 1981, the Government issued the General Guidelines on Moral Education in schools with a view to moral education being promoted in schools. However, the Government's intervention in this aspect, as usual, was rather of an ad hoc or a post hoc nature as evidenced by the very beginning of the Guidelines which states :

With the recent increase in juvenile delinquency,¹ more attention has been focused on the need for the general school curriculum to reflect great awareness of the importance of moral education (Education Department 1981c p.1).

The need seemed to be felt, therefore, only when "the increase in juvenile delinquency is causing serious concern" (Government Information Services Department 1981 p.125).

As a consequence of the emphasis on moral education, since

September, 1983, secondary schools in the aided sector can employ one more graduate teacher who will be responsible for the remedial work of subjects other than English and Chinese in the junior forms, for student counselling and for organising extra-curricular activities.² Of course, as pastoral care is such a comprehensive task, adding one or two more teachers is far from solving the problem. However, additional staff do improve the teacher-pupil ratio, which of course is a real positive encouragement to teachers as well as youth workers such as the school social workers.

In brief, the pastoral care system shown in the Government policies is played at an extremely low key. Like Government intervention in other socio-economic sectors, the development of any system in schools is often due either to laissez-faire or crisis-intervention policies. This point can be further elaborated in the introduction of the Student Guidance Scheme when the Government revealed that :

The Education Department (of the Government) believes that the ordinary teacher in the classroom is able by nature of his work and his close relationship with the pupils in his care to provide informal guidance on a wide range of matters (and what the Government is doing is) to maximise the opportunities for its development (Government Secretariat 1981 p.21).

This shows that, as far as the caring for pupils in school is concerned, the Government is playing mainly an advisory role.

The low priority of pastoral care in the Government's planning and development of education will eventually affect the status and morale of people involved in the caring system in schools, which in turn will affect the effectiveness of the whole caring machinery. However, it is true that the success of all school activities, both academic and non-academic, depends on a good teacher-pupil

relationship and innovation in this field, however necessary, cannot be implemented without an understanding of the existing system. The next section is therefore concerned with the caring facilities which exist today in most Hong Kong secondary schools.

The pupil welfare network in schools

As revealed in the last section, the caring for pupils in schools is seen only as a supplementary activity to the whole process of schooling. Firstly, there is no school in the Territory purposely built for a caring system of any kind;³ schools in the Government and aided sectors are purpose-built for teaching activities only. For example, a school designed to accommodate 24 classes when in full operation will be provided with 36 teaching areas i.e. 24 classrooms and 12 special rooms together with one school hall, one uncovered playground and offices for teachers and general staff. However, with the increasing demand on school places, many purpose-built schools are operating floating classes; that is, there are more classes than the classrooms can accommodate. Some classes therefore have to move from one room to another to attend lessons. As a result, this affects both teaching and non-teaching activities in schools. Besides the drawbacks of the physical settings in schools, people working in the school are not properly encouraged or guided to take note of the welfare of pupils.⁴ The functions of the Principal (Head) of a secondary school, as the Education Ordinance assigns, is the responsibility for "the teaching and discipline of the school" (Hong Kong Government 1971 Para.58). In other words, school process is an operation of social control. Discipline may be a necessary part of the whole caring network when it is essential to maintain order in

schools but it should never be the dominant part.

When caring is over-shadowed by discipline in schools, it is rather difficult for those who are taking up the caring jobs to be given high esteem by the public in general and the school in particular. For example, the Careers Masters' and Mistresses' Association founded in 1962 recruited only 320 school members out of the 402 total (less than 80%) in 1980, after almost two decades of its establishment (Education Department 1981a p.21). The posts of Careers Master/Mistress and Discipline Master/Mistress did not become responsibility posts for promotion until the late seventies, that is, almost two decades after those for subject panels (heads of departments). Besides, a teacher responsible for careers guidance has to take care of the equivalent number of classes as an ordinary teacher in most secondary schools while his/her counter-part in charge of discipline is allowed more free periods for handling disciplinary problems. Subject panels also have fewer classes than an ordinary teacher. In addition to this, a Discipline Master/Mistress in most cases can have one or more assistant teachers to help but this is rare for a Careers Master/Mistress.

Another group of people who play a very significant role, but earn the least appreciation in terms of rewards, are the form teachers. They are usually teachers who have the most contact with their own respective classes. They are, in most cases, the first people to be referred to for any problems both academic and non-academic relating to their own classes. However, form teachers are not responsibility posts and they are not given extra pay for the job. They sometimes cannot even obtain any extra free periods to deal with the additional duties arising from their own classes. In

most cases, they are carrying out the same teaching duties as those of an ordinary teacher.

Another kind of caring activity found in most of the Hong Kong secondary schools is the organisation of extra-curricular activities. However, teachers' involvement in extra-curricular activities, in most cases, is by nature of their job, for example, an English teacher will virtually become one of the advisers of an English club.

Almost all secondary schools in the public sector group their pupils into houses. The number of houses varies according to the size of enrolment but it is usually between four and six. However, the head of house or the house master/mistress has never been considered as a responsibility post for promotion. The general argument is that the house system has never carried out its functions satisfactorily. At best, it is only a means of grouping pupils for sports activities and at worst, as some cynics may say, it is merely a show-piece to complete the whole caring network. However, what is true, as Marland points out, is that :

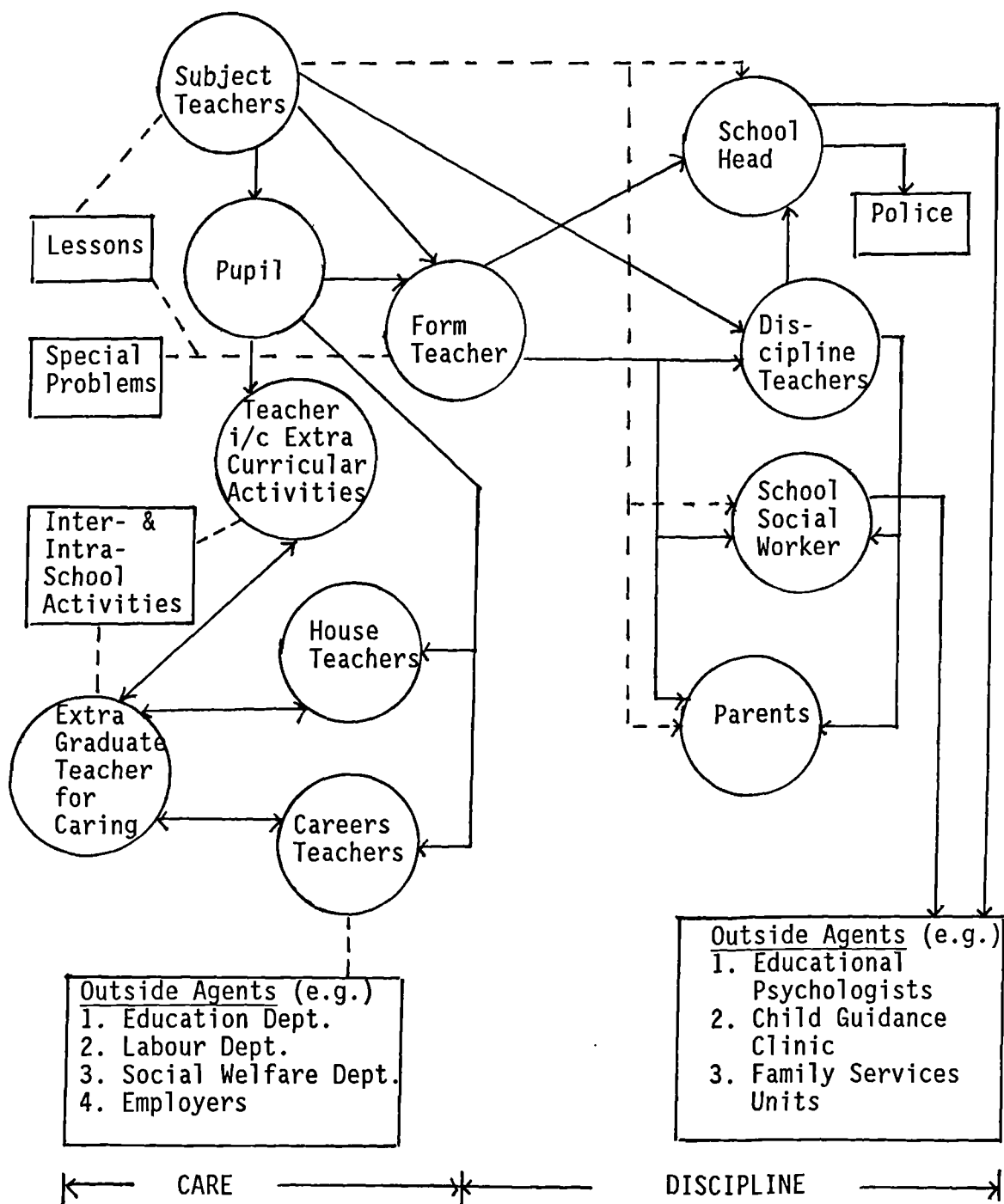
A school creates good tutors by the degree they are taken into its confidence, and the degree of responsibility they are given. It is these two factors that lead to concern and from concern comes ability (Marland 1974 p.76).

This argument deserves our attention when structuring the caring system in schools.

The introduction of the school social worker and the appointment of an additional graduate teacher for the caring of pupils are symbols of strengthening the welfare network in schools. Of course, there is still room for improvement. First, the disappointingly low ratio between the school social worker and pupils has confined the social work to referral cases only. As a result, school social work

will soon become a subsidiary element within the disciplinary sector. Besides, it is still too early to assess the effects of the appointment of this graduate teacher on the affective side of school life as it is not yet clear whether there will be in-service courses for this teacher or the kinds of pre-requisites (e.g. experience, qualifications) for people who are to take up the job. The welfare network practised in most Hong Kong secondary schools is summed up in Figure 4.1.

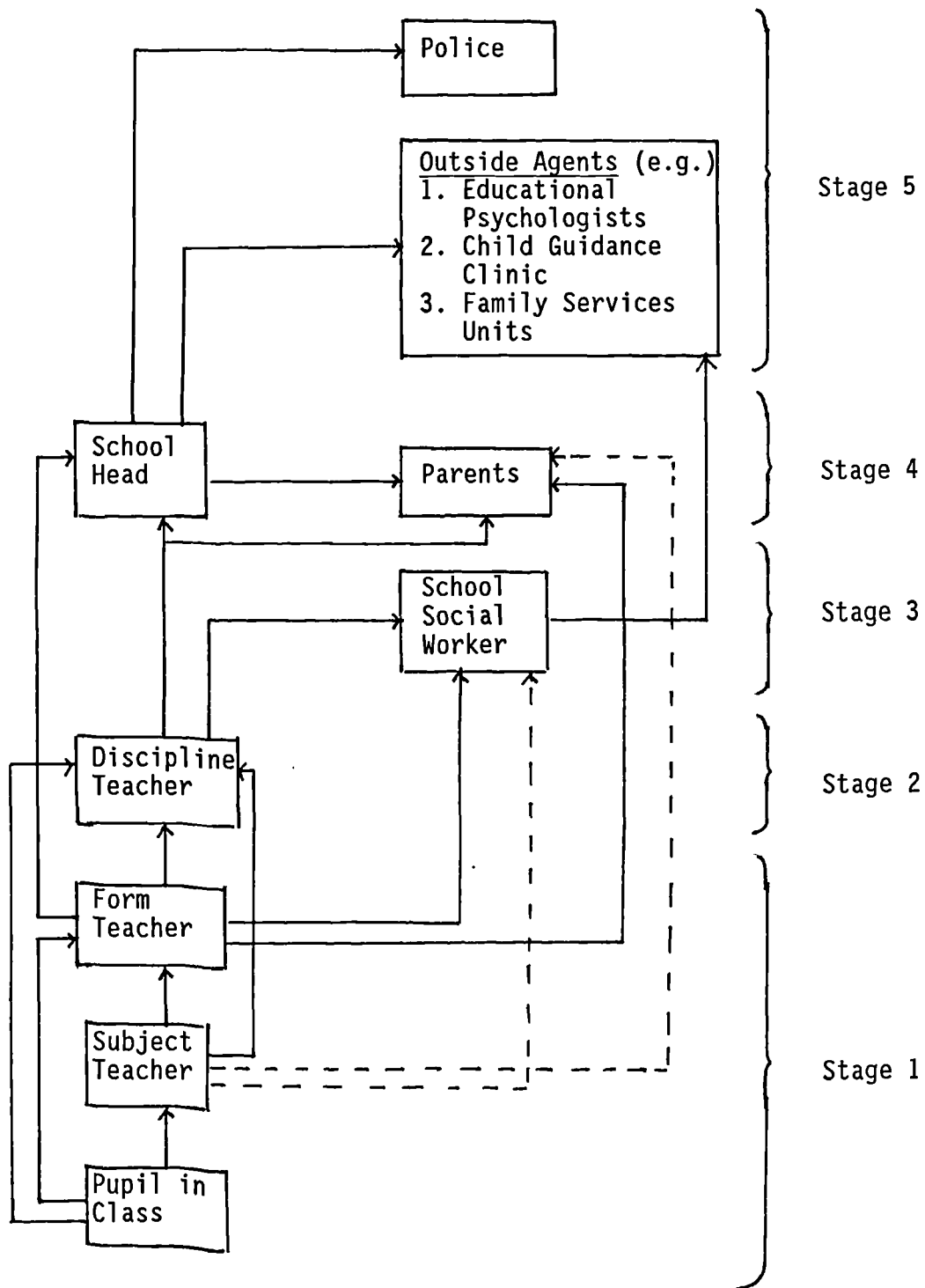
Figure 4.1 The Welfare Network in Hong Kong Secondary Schools



As featured in Figure 4.1, there is an obvious split between the academic and non-academic aspects of ordinary school life. The subject panels, according to their official role, play no part in the welfare development of the pupils. Within the non-academic arena, as shown in the network, there is also a clear demarcation between the caring and disciplining functions. The only link between the two ends lies with the form teachers, who seem to play a dual role undertaking both the caring and disciplining of the pupils. On the other hand, there is no hierarchical structure in the caring units except in the house system in which the head of a house is always assisted by two or more house teachers, depending on the size of the house. The advantage of a non-hierarchical formation is that the teacher in charge of a certain area can have a free hand to programme all the related activities in whatever way he feels most appropriate. However, the drawback is that there can be little or no co-ordination among the teachers. Co-ordination may even be considered as unnecessary. The result is that there may be over-lapping functions wasting both money and time and lowering the efficiency of the caring task as a whole.

On the disciplinary side, however, a well-structured hierarchy can be observed. A pupil problem is usually handled by different people at different stages according to the nature and development of the issue. The disciplinary actions for a pupil problem can be summed up as shown in Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 Disciplinary Actions on Pupil Problems in Stages



A problem is usually detected by either subject or form teachers during lessons and in most cases the teachers will deal with the problem themselves (Stage 1). However, if no solution can be reached, the problem will be referred to the form teacher (by the subject teacher) or to the discipline teacher, who may also spot and handle problem pupils outside the classroom (Stage 2). When the situation persists, the case will be directed to the school social worker, who will (if found necessary) contact the experts such as educational psychologists, child guidance consultants or family services officers according to the nature of the case. On some occasions, parents will be involved at this stage. They will be contacted and/or interviewed by either the discipline or the form teachers (Stage 3). If the problem still persists, the school head will be notified either by the discipline or the form teacher (Stage 4). At this stage, the school head will either interview the parents or consult relevant professionals or report to the police if the case is connected with criminal offences. If there is no improvement after all these efforts and warnings, the pupil in question will then be "advised" to change school. The Education Department of the Government will be requested to assist in making the transfer possible (Stage 5).

Two additional points are necessary to help understand the disciplinary actions taken by the school. Firstly, the stages are divided according to the role of the key person involved in the action. Secondly, skipping stages are possible. For example, a form teacher can go straight to the school head thus jumping from Stage 1 to Stage 4 at his own discretion.

Looking at the welfare network in secondary schools as a whole,

it can be seen that the parents are in a completely passive position. On the one hand, they are excluded from the caring activities and on the other, they are kept informed only when there is a problem, which may have already become serious by the time they learn about it. This demonstrates poorly developed communications between home and school, which are used only when crises arise. Moreover, the school head is much more concerned with discipline problems and plays almost no part at all on the caring side except, maybe, in functions such as prize-giving or weekly assemblies, which are not always within the school's daily routine business. In addition, the school social worker, whose original function is for the caring of the individuals in school, is found more likely to be an appendix to the disciplinary actions taken on the problem pupils.⁵

In conclusion, the welfare network in most Hong Kong secondary schools presents a picture of two polarised situations. On the one hand, there is a tightly controlled disciplining structure while on the other, a lax organisation on the caring side. This, in effect, places the teachers in a dilemma when the same teacher has to behave differently when dealing with discipline and caring problems. This may eventually confuse pupils in thinking that a teacher has double standards. This could also foster unhealthy misconceptions of the caring task of the teacher for caring looks only like strict discipline.

The welfare network found in most Hong Kong secondary schools as discussed in this chapter, moreover, can be considered as a good example to illustrate the theories of viewing the school as an organisation discussed in Chapter 2. The discipline aspect of the network reflects a bureaucratic approach in Weber's and Etzioni's

terms and exemplifies a systemic model according to the theories of Selznick and Parsons. It is finely hierarchical. The higher level the case is referred to, the more serious the nature may become. Besides, the discipline function of the school can be seen as a well-defined "objective reality", the aim of which can easily be made known to the people who carry out the job, that is, to make sure that all school regulations are complied with. However, the caring aspect of the network is also associated with the phenomenological model. Firstly, there is no central theme set up for all the related activities such as extra-curricular activities, the house system and careers guidance. The organisation and development of all these activities depend mainly on the teacher in charge. Co-ordination is rather rare. It is more like what Bell and Turner called an "anarchic organisation" in a "turbulent environment".

On the whole, as the caring function of a teacher is always over-shadowed by his disciplinary action, it is easy to lead pupils to associate a teacher more with a disciplinary agent and this discourages them from taking part in school activities organised by the teacher. The caring mission of the teacher, as a result, cannot be accomplished as expected because of this over emphasis put on the discipline aspect of the school process. The implication of this situation is that a new model is needed to balance the emphases exerted on both caring and discipline sectors of the school life so that the care for pupils is not only a pathological or therapeutic issue but a developmental one as well.

Pastoral care for a new generation - an innovative model pending

The spread of student movements all over the world in the late sixties did have an impact on a place like Hong Kong, which is always so sensitive to outside movements. The riot in 1966, which was started by a group of young people who held a protest demonstration against a ferry fare increase, did lead to a political riot inland and a military conflict on the border between Hong Kong and China costing a number of lives.⁶ There was no riot of this kind in the seventies. However, the sit-ins of the students of Precious Blood Golden Jubilee School did leave a black mark in the history of Hong Kong.⁷ Both these cases serve well as warnings to those involved in youth work that innovations are urgently needed in the communication network between youth and adults.

The disturbances caused by the thousands of young people aged between 14 and 25 in the Central District - the commercial centre of the Island, on Christmas Eve of 1981 and New Year's Eve of 1982 could be considered as the ultimate call from the younger generation, a call for changes, for care as well as for attention.⁸ What was noted in the Government's review in 1981 is quite an appropriate summary of the youth problem in the Territory today. It was said that:

No longer was education a question of the three R's, no longer children proverbial parrots, no longer teachers wedded to chalk and talk. There were calls for more quality, more self-questioning, more challenging, more depth and more precise definition. Students were no longer to be taken for granted and the traditional docility and diligence of school children no longer the hallmarks of the rising generation.

(Government Information Services Department 1981 p.7)

With almost half of the population being under 25 (Census and Statistics Department 1981 p.10), the threat of the youth problem is no less than that of a hidden time bomb. The fact that all the

disturbances from the sixties to the eighties were initiated by young people is an endorsement for this. However, it is still inappropriate at this stage to propose any suggestions for innovation without any empirical support. Yet, the theme of this section is to outline the problems and pinpoint the causes both covert and overt. It is groundless to say that the school or the educational system is the major cause of all these disturbances. But schools could have some part to play as the generator of dissatisfaction. The highly selective educational system in Hong Kong (Figure 3.2) and its effects on one's social status (Figure 3.3) coupled with the tightly controlled social setting in school (Figures 4.1 and 4.2) appear to show that the only place where the youngsters can find a vent to their dissatisfaction, bewilderment or even anger is a public place where territorial attention can be sought. The explosion of the "social bomb" is also made more likely as the City is plunged into uncertainty because of inevitable social, economical and political changes. The crux of the matter is, therefore, not only to change the caring system of school or other community associations, or even the whole educational system, it is rather a concerted innovation which is needed to re-establish the confidence that local residents used to have in their City. This is especially vital to the younger generation for their whole future lies in the future of the City, though this study will be restricted to what the school can do in this aspect.

Conclusion

It is crystal clear that there is a general awareness of the youth problem in the Government, the school and the public as a whole. However, awareness itself is not a solution to the problem. A study on the caring provision in schools shows the disorganised nature of the whole welfare system in which discipline is the dominating issue. This points to the need for innovation. Yet, what is required before suggestions can be made is a thorough understanding of the problem through a comprehensive study of the issue as a whole. It is not fair to say that little or no educational research has been done in the Territory. The Educational Research Establishment (ERE) of the Education Department is doing research work all the year round in connection with all types of educational innovations in the City. But their findings are unknown to almost every one outside the unit. From time to time, there is research work undertaken by the academics at the Universities or Colleges of Education or by other interested groups. However, such studies are mainly done for personal interests and purposes and the results are therefore not widely circulated. In short, there is a wide gap between the theorists - those who research - and the operators - the teachers. The scene can best be demonstrated by the Visting Panel (1982 p.24) when they mentioned that:

We saw little evidence of research and development in education. Those who work in schools are simply too extended to turn their minds to such matters, even if they were trained to do so.

As a result, the process of schooling still operates very much within a "black box model" and innovation becomes more and more difficult, if not impossible, to achieve.

When discussing research in education, Robinson pleaded "to bring research back to the researched" (1974 p.263). This plea carries the essence of studying the youngsters in school. However, the kind of adults that today's children will become depends very much on the kinds of influence to which they are exposed when they are young. The influences from parents and teachers are, in most cases, especially effective. The study of this thesis is, therefore, founded basically on the study of the school children, who formed the centre of discussion while information obtained from their parents and teachers were considered as supplementary resources reflecting the other aspects of the pupils' school life. The theme of the study is to uphold the spirit that without a thorough understanding of youth, the researched, it is very easy for one to put youth culture in the adults' context. The result is that we try to create a child that we would like him to be rather than showing a respect for the child as he is. This is the initial framework for the methodological approach of this study.

Part III

Design of the Study

Chapter 5

Structuring the Fieldwork Strategies - the Methodological Approach

Quantitative measurements are quantitatively accurate; qualitative evaluations are always subject to the errors of human judgement. Yet it would seem far more worthwhile to make a shrewd guess regarding that which is essential than to accurately measure that which is likely to prove quite irrelevant.

Lapierre (1934)
Attitudes Vs Actions
Social Forces 13(2) p.237

The strategies applied in any piece of research work are vital because they affect the kinds of data collected and the sort of results obtained. However, as Whyte propounded more than forty years ago when studying the "Street Corner Society", "the methods used should depend upon the nature of the field situation and the research problem" (1943 p.356). Yet, as Shipman envisages almost thirty years later, "the conventional approach tends to reinforce the false impression that research consists of standardised techniques applied at predetermined stages" (1972 p.ix). He later warns that "generalisation from one may be misleading.The motto is therefore caveat emptor, let the buyer beware" (ibid. p.xi). In short, the field worker needs to design his fieldwork strategies in accordance with the problems that he has to face. In order to acquire the knowledge of one aspect, he may have to leave the information of the other areas less attended. This means that every research project is a trade-off between real life and the ability to

make precise statements, between accuracies and relevancies. To reduce the "irrelevancies" and "bias" down to the minimum, an effective strategy is therefore needed. It is a strategy which should include elements such as ideas, methods and data from more than one approach because "the more methods that one uses, the more checks there are on the reliability of results" (Shipman Op.Cit. p.107). This points to the importance of triangulation - the use of multiple methods. However, as multiple or checking methods are always time-consuming and demand a great deal of human resources and effort, it means that a research design needs to be eclectic in the sense that methods are selected in order to achieve the objectives of the study.

In a small scale study like the one of this thesis, the problems encountered could be very complicated because of the insufficiency of time and manpower and most important of all, the lack of an official sponsor, which made accessibility to schools difficult. The essence of the whole design was therefore to obtain the optimal representativeness of the sample within the shortest period of time while at the same time supplementary methods were also used to acquire additional information. The methodological approach of the fieldwork is therefore divided into two major areas : the nature and spirit of the research refers to the theme of the study and the environmental setting; the strategies for the field work refer to the techniques used in the collection of the data.

The nature and spirit of the research

As pointed out by the Visiting Panel, not enough research work has been undertaken in Hong Kong schools. In many cases, the crux of the problem is the difficulty of getting into schools. For some teachers, as Hargreaves claimed, "teaching is like sexual activity : it is a highly intimate act, best conducted in private, and to be watched by intruders is to inhibit one's performance" (1982 p.206). Researchers are therefore not welcome. However, when a researcher is let in for one reason or another, he has to encounter the problems of role conflict. For example, Hargreaves, when working in Lumley, found his role more than that of the Inspector as he had to face "the conflicts between the teacher's self-image, the expectations of the pupils and the expectations of an observer" (1967 p.196). As an accompaniment to his study in Lowfield, Woods also found himself playing five types of role (1979 pp.261-263):

- (1) as a 'relief agency', or counsellor, by both pupils and some staff,
- (2) as a 'secret agent' of the teachers by the pupils,
- (3) as a 'factor to be used, or appealed to, in power struggles',
- (4) as a 'substitute member of staff' and
- (5) as a 'fellow-human' sharing the company of both teachers and pupils.

In short, many of these roles are not necessarily related to the theme of the study. Yet they are channels leading to the completion of the study for it is through playing this myriad of roles that the researcher can create a harmonious social rapport through which the research can be proceeded.

In addition to the problem of role is the issue of the spirit of sociological studies, which can be summed up in Shipman's words (Op.Cit. p.21) :

Sociology is concerned with the interaction between social groups. The basic concepts, culture, social structure and role, are properties of groups. The methods used by sociologists are designed therefore to preserve group structure and normal operating.

The fundamental principle of the methodology was, therefore, to maintain the every-day situation of the schools and the research was expected to be an example showing that research work inside a school did not necessarily mean disturbance. In analysing the problems of pastoral care, it was intended to maintain the natural setting of school life. The research was thus a descriptive as well as an interpretative study.

In order to reveal the "real" situation, there were three basic features that formed the foundation of the whole framework of research : naturalism, holism and multiple perspectives. Naturalism is the investigation of the natural setting, holism is the study of the social phenomenon in the total social context of the situation and multiple perspectives refer to the need for making the researcher's role flexible when working in the natural setting of the school. With a view to promoting this spirit, a good social climate was essential. To obtain this, voluntarism was the key word. This meant that the researcher would keep in a low profile : participation in school activities occurred only with permission or by invitation; interviews were held only when the interviewees were found to be free and willing to do so. It was upon this foundation that the strategies for the study were built.

Strategies for fieldwork operation

The theme of this study is to evaluate the existing pastoral care system in schools in Hong Kong. The reasoning behind this is to evaluate the need for a new innovatory model because of the recent raising of the school leaving age, the result of which is that Hong Kong schools are now serving pupils of a much wider socio-economic spectrum than they were before. Research on the existing caring system, therefore, meant the study of the caring effects on, and needs of, the most affected pupils, i.e. pupils in the last year of compulsory education. The selection of both sample and techniques for the study was, consequently, meant to provide empirical evidence to support the theoretical argument discussed earlier that children belonging to different social class backgrounds, in both primary and secondary senses, may require different caring needs. This section attempts to illustrate how the sample and techniques were selected in order to achieve the objective of the study.

(1) Selection of sample

There were two kinds of sample selected in this study: the selection of the schools and the selection of the respondents.

(a) The sample schools

Two schools were so selected that they shared similar characteristics of developmental backgrounds except the elements to be measured i.e. the variation and effectiveness of the caring system caused by the difference in both primary and secondary social classes. Two aided secondary boys' schools run by the Roman Catholic Church were chosen for study. It was the belief of this study that the sponsoring organisation of the schools should be the same for this would affect the philosophy as well as policy of running the

school. The choice of the Roman Catholic Church was merely a personal option based on the understanding that there were more secondary schools operated by the Roman Catholic Church than by other religious denominations or voluntary organisations. This meant that the possibilities of getting into these schools were better. Boys' schools were chosen because it is psychologically and sociologically believed that boys and girls require different kinds of caring in schools. Accordingly, boys', girls' and co-educational schools would have different ways of tackling the caring for their children. It was, therefore, decided to choose one type of school to enable more systematic comparisons to be made and the choice of boys' schools rather than the other two types was merely a matter of convenience.

One grammar and one technical school were selected. The selection of two schools from two different curricular divisions facilitated the issue to be studied at two levels : within schools and between schools. Comparisons could be made between the upper and lower streams within the school. On the other hand, because of the social esteem that they can earn from the public, grammar and technical schools represent two kinds of secondary social class in the school system.

Invitations to participate in the study were sent to six "representative" schools (3 grammar and 3 technical) and only one from each group replied and expressed interest in the project. It was from these two responding schools that the respondents of the research project were drawn.

(b) The selection of respondents

There were three groups of respondents in this study : the sample pupils, the sample parents and all the teachers of the two sample schools.

As discussed earlier, the sample pupils needed to be the group most affected by the new policy of compulsory education so that a full evaluation of the existing system could be made. This appeared to be the third year of secondary school and this group was chosen because it is the final year of compulsory education in Hong Kong. For the staying-ons, it is the year prior to choosing subjects for public examination. For the leavers, this is the year that they have to face the problem of choosing a career. It is this group of pupils who are standing at the junction of changes that need caring and counselling most. Added to this is the fact that the extension of compulsory education is only a newly introduced Government policy and both the school and the teachers might not be ready to respond to the needs that the third year pupils require. Examination of the views of the third year pupils could therefore reveal what else needed to be done in order to develop an efficient caring network in schools.

As parents are partners in the socialisation of the pupils, how they view the school could affect the success (or failure) to the pastoral job of the school. The parents of the third year, moreover, appear to have two roles to play. At the particular and immediate level, they are the group affected most by the anxiety caused by the transfer in this year. At a more general level, they may be said also to represent parents in general and to a great extent, they also stand for what is expected of the school by the

public at large. In addition, study on the views of the parents of the third year could also reflect how much influence they might impose on their children (the third year pupils) for they are the major source of the "cultural capital" of their children. The parents of the third year boys in the two schools, therefore, formed the second group for investigation.

While parents can express what is expected of the school, the teachers can show what the school is actually doing. They are the executives of the process of schooling. Yet, as discussed in Chapter 2, teachers are always caught in the dilemma between theory and practice. They are always constrained by external pressures such as the Government and school policies. That is why Marland (1975) and Woods (1977) suggest that teachers need to possess some survival techniques in order to cope with the classroom activities. The opinions of the teachers are important because they express not only what the school is doing but also why and how the school is doing it. In addition, their views represent "the link between the organisation of society and the organisation of learning" (Shipman Op.Cit. pp.118-119). In this study, all teachers of the two schools were invited to take part in the project in order to obtain the views of all teachers carrying out different types of work within the school.

Summing up, there were three types of responding group in this study - the pupils (of the third year), the parents (of the third year pupils) and all teachers of the two schools. A comparison between the views of these three groups of respondents could illuminate the problem in three perspectives : the parents being more on the public side would voice what they expected of the role of the

school to be, the teachers being the practitioners could reveal problems existing in the actual situation and the pupils, being the beneficiaries (or victims) of the system, could show the pitfalls of the system and the gaps which were needed to be filled.

(2) Selection of techniques

Because of the shortage of time, (the researcher had stayed for four weeks (twenty school days) in each of the schools),¹ a cross-sectional questionnaire survey (for pupils, parents and teachers) was used. This was supplemented by interviews (of the three responding groups) and also some classroom observations of the pupils in the upper and lower streams.

(a) The questionnaire survey

This was carried out with three sets of questionnaires of a similar structure given to each of the three responding groups. A four point scale was used for measuring the responses. Pupils completed their questionnaires (Appendix 5.1a) in the class when the researcher was substituting for their teachers. The presence of the researcher provided an opportunity to clarify any possible ambiguities in the questionnaires and the absence of teachers provided an atmosphere of freedom for discussion after their completion. Parents got their questionnaires (Appendix 5.1b) via their sons and teachers obtained theirs (Appendix 5.1c) direct from the researcher. Returns from these two groups were on a voluntary basis.

These three sets of questionnaires were designed to reveal the views of these three responding groups on the existing pastoral care system in school. To do this, two groups of variables were used : the personal variables and the attitudinal variables.

The personal variables were variables showing the biographical details of the respondents, e.g. the school, stream and father's occupation of the pupils. However, not all the personal variables were used as indicators to explain the respondents' attitudinal variations. The variables were so chosen that it was possible to group the respondents into social divisions. The selection of personal variables as indicators will be discussed in the next Chapter on the analytical approaches of the study. (See Appendix 5.2a for details of the personal variables.)

The attitudinal variables were the views of the responding groups on the subject under study. These were grouped into three major areas : their views on the role of the school, on the school curriculum and on the affective aspect of school life. Whenever possible, questions of a similar nature were set for the three responding groups so that comparisons could be made later. (See Appendix 5.2b for details of the attitudinal variables).

In addition, some identical questions were sent to the three responding groups for comparisons. These were their views on :

- (1) the tasks of the school (Questions 9, 8 and 5 in the Questionnaires to Pupils, Parents and teachers respectively),
- (2) the important types of extra-curricular activities (Questions 15, 23 and 14 in the Questionnaires to pupils, parents and teachers respectively), and
- (3) the importance of some daily issues for young school leavers (Questions 23, 20 and 19 in the Questionnaires to pupils, parents and teachers respectively).

There were some other questions designed for comparison between the responding groups. They were :

- (1) one question for comparing views between pupils and teachers on the importance of subjects for moral education (Questions 13b and 10 in the Questionnaires to pupils and teachers respectively),
- (2) one question for comparing views between pupils and parents on the importance of school subjects (Questions 11 and 11 in the Questionnaires to pupils and parents respectively), and
- (3) two questions for comparing views between parents and teachers, one on methods of parent-teacher contact (Questions 17 and 21 in the Questionnaires to parents and teachers respectively) and one on the most suitable people for teaching moral education (Questions 13 and 11 in the Questionnaires to parents and teachers respectively).

These comparisons were meant to reveal any differences between the views of pupils, parents and teachers in the various aspects of school life so that appropriate changes could be recommended to help improve the effectiveness of caring for the pupils.

All questions in these three sets of questionnaires were of the closed type with answers pre-coded for the respondents to choose. However, in order to give the respondents a chance to express their own opinion, the open type item "Other (please specify)" was attached to every question. For the easy comprehension of the respondents, questionnaires to both pupils and parents were

translated into Chinese while those to the teachers were in English.

In order to further understand the effects of both primary and secondary social classes on the pupils, a sociometric test was attached to the questionnaire to the pupils (Questions 25 - 27). The object of this test was to study how much pupils' social groupings could be affected by their social status i.e. social class background, school and stream. Three occasions were suggested to the pupils : revision for final examination, school picnic and a birthday party at home. Pupils were asked to name two of his school/class mates with whom he would like to form a group. The first occasion was very much school value oriented as it led to academic achievement. The second occasion could also be school value oriented but was not connected with academic performance. The third occasion was totally detached from the school norms. The aim of using these three different occasions was to find out how much pupils' social groupings in and out of school could be affected by school-oriented values.

In short, the questionnaire survey was meant to cover the largest representative sample within the shortest time. At the same time, questions of a similar nature were set for the three responding groups so that comparisons could be made later.

(2) The interviews

The objective of interviewing people in this study was two-fold. Firstly, it was meant to clarify the views that the respondents expressed in the questionnaires. Secondly, these interviews were geared to collect additional information not included in the questionnaire survey but related to the theme of this study. In order to achieve this, four types of interviews were held during

the research : the follow-up interviews, the classroom interviews, the invitational interviews and some additional informal interviews not included in any of the above three types.

The follow-up interviews were interviews open to all respondents in the questionnaire survey. This included all the third year boys, their parents and all teachers of the two schools. They were given a return slip in the questionnaire, which they could complete if they wished to attend the interview. The aim of these interviews was to seek information that respondents might like to express but were not able to do so because of the structure of the questionnaires. Besides, it was also the aim of these interviews to collect views of the interviewees on some related subjects of the ordinary school life. Interviewing sheets (Appendixes 5.3a-c) were used so that the required information could be obtained.

Classroom interviews were interviews held with pupils in the classroom after the completion of their questionnaires. Guided questions similar to those in the interviewing sheets (for pupils) were used. As the follow-up interviews might attract only the extremely interested group of pupils, the classroom interviews were meetings open to both the interested and the less interested ones. However, information obtained during these interviews were noted after the meetings to avoid unnecessary suspicion.

The invitational interviews were meetings with staff members who were holding responsibility posts. There were two groups of people specifically invited to attend interviews of this kind. The first group included the school supervisors (equivalent to the school governors in the English system), the school heads and the school social workers. The second group of invited interviewees were

classroom teachers holding special duties. They were the discipline masters, the deputy heads, the subject panels (heads of department in the English system) and the careers masters/mistress. Interviewing sheets (Appendixes 5.3d & e) were used for interviewing the school heads and the school social workers. No interviewing sheets were used for the supervisors as the interviews were meant to be courtesy visits on the one hand and as general social discussions on the school's policy and philosophy on the other. Besides, no invitational interviews were held with teachers who held special duties but had attended the follow-up interviews. Questions 1 - 7 in the interviewing sheets for teachers (Appendix 5.3c) were also put to these teachers in addition to the questions relating to their special duties. Moreover, no pupils and parents were specifically invited to attend any interviews to avoid the suspicious question of "why me?" or "why not me?"

In order to talk to as many school members as possible, additional informal interviews not included in any of the above were also held from time to time whenever possible, especially during breaks and lunch hour or after school. The interviewees were mainly teachers as pupils had already had their classroom interviews covering members of the whole sample. Questions raised were similar to those used in the interviewing sheets (Questions 1 - 7 only) for their colleagues who came for the follow-up interviews. However, notes were taken in retrospect immediately after the meeting.

All the interviews were designed with guided questions to lead the discussion so that the information could be obtained in a systematic way. Like the questionnaire survey, questions from the various interviewees were made as similar as possible so that

comparisons between their views could be made possible. However, unlike the questionnaire survey, the questions in the interviews were of a more general nature and no options were provided for the respondents to choose. The questions for the various groups of interviewees were as follows :-

(1) For pupils (Appendix 5.3a) -

They were asked to name their criteria for a good school, a good teacher, a good job, a good subject, a good friend, a good family, a good society and a good Government. They were also asked to use a 5-point scale to assess their school, their teachers, their ideal job, their most favourite subject, they themselves as friends, their family, society and Government. The meaning of this assessment was to see whether they felt satisfied with the provision in their schools as well as at home

(2) For parents (Appendix 5.3b) -

They were requested to give their criteria for a good school, a good teacher, a good youth, a good job, a good parent, a good society and a good Government. They were asked to use a 5-point scale to evaluate, according to their own criteria, their sons' school, their sons' teachers, their sons as good youths, the job they expected for their sons, they themselves as parents, their society and Government. This kind of evaluation was meant to ascertain the expectations of the parents and this could shed light on what more the school needed to do when contacting the parents as part of the caring for the pupils.

(3) For teachers (Appendix 5.3c) -

They were asked to consider the essential elements for a good school, a good teacher, a good job, a good pupil, a good

class, a good society and a good Government. They were also asked to judge according to their own criteria, on a 5-point scale, their school, they themselves as teachers, their job, their pupils, classes, society and Government. The teachers' views on these various aspects could show their satisfaction with their current job and situation. The degree of this satisfaction was important for it would affect their caring role.

(4) For school heads (Appendix 5.3d) -

They were asked to give their criteria for a good school, a good teacher and a good pupil.

(5) For school social workers (Appendix 5.3e) -

They were asked to give their criteria for a good school, a good teacher, and a good pupil.

A 5-point scale was also used by the school heads and school social workers to assess, according to their criteria, their own schools, teachers and pupils. The assessment given by the school heads and school social workers were considered in line with the teachers'. However, different interviewing sheets were given to these three groups in order to enable them to provide information relevant to their own job. Because of the executive role of the teachers, school heads and school social workers, they were also asked some additional questions relating to the youth problems today. These questions were :-

- (a) causes of Triad Infiltration, and Juvenile Delinquency, and
- (b) the effectiveness of corporal punishment, moral education, careers guidance and student counselling in halting the increasing juvenile crime rate.

They were also asked to assess, on a 5-point scale, the role of family, the school and the Government in the various aspects of the youth problem.

The school social workers, moreover, were asked to provide information about the cases that they had handled during that school year and the ways they used to contact parents (Appendix 5.3e Questions 4 & 5). The aim of seeking information of this kind was to see how school social work was operated in practice.

All interviewees were asked to add in under the heading of "remarks" any further suggestions not included in the sheet. They were also requested to bring up ideas for discussion for which notes would be taken by the researcher to be implemented together with all the other responses in the transcription of fieldwork notes. All interviews were conducted in the local dialect for easy discussion. However, all the interview sheets to the interviewees were in English with the exception of those to pupils and parents, which were translated into Chinese.

(3) Classroom observation

This was the third approach in the study. There were two types of observations : the general and classroom observations. In the general observation, the researcher, as a research student, a formally introduced role, had tried to be involved in the school life as much as possible by touring round the school during breaks, talking to pupils, teachers and general staff, attending staff meetings and school functions such as outings and extra-curricular activities. The aim of this approach was two fold. On the one hand, this helped to creat a better rapport between the researcher and the researched, which in turn could facilitate the management of the

other two research methods. On the other hand, the crux of the matter was to capture the general ethos of the school. This, in the long run, could assist in the interpretation and understanding of the findings obtained from the other research methods.

The classroom observation was conducted on the assumption that one's social class background, streaming position and school curriculum (grammar/technical) carry influence. Pupils' behaviours could then be explained in these terms. The observations accordingly were so structured that comparisons could be made between the respective types of social class in both primary and secondary senses. In the first place, the lessons observed were the three major subjects in the core curriculum in both grammar and technical schools i.e. Chinese, English and Mathematics. The upper and lower streams of the third year in each school were chosen in order to see the effect of streaming. Three lessons for each subject were observed in each class. A total of nine periods for each class was then made. As pupils sit in rows facing the blackboard, the teacher, who conventionally stands in the middle of the first front row will, according to Bealing (1973 pp.77-79), tend to interact most with pupils sitting in the "V" covering most of the front row and narrowing to a point at the back of the room. Based on this "gravity" theory, each classroom in the study was divided into three areas :-

- (1) the action zone - the "V-zone" nearest to the teacher,
- (2) the sub-action zone - the area next to that of the teacher's most attention, and
- (3) the peripheral zone - the least attended area.

The boundaries of these zones, of course, were rather arbitrary and might vary from one teacher to the other. In the

observation of this study, the central "V" was located in the middle of the classroom making the subzones on both sides of equal stretch. During the observation, the observer usually sat at the back of the peripheral zone to minimize disturbance to the class.

In this traditional classroom setting, Flanders' technique of recording observation, the FIAC system, is suitable when "talk is used as a transmission coding, as part of a communication system" and when "one person transmits a message while others receive" (Walker and Adelman 1975b p.74). However, instead of analysing teacher/pupil talk as in Flanders' case, it was pupils' behaviours that formed the focus of this observation. The behaviours studied were those selected on both academic and discipline bases. These were : -

- (i) Chatting with others during lessons,²
- (ii) Raising hand to ask questions,
- (iii) Shouting or calling out,
- (iv) Raising hand to answer questions
- (v) Deviant behaviours that cause disruption of lessons³, and
- (vi) the attentiveness of the pupils assessed on a 5-point scale.

The behaviours for observation were so chosen that they could be divided into two main categories : those showing conformity (Items 2 & 4) and those showing deviance (Items 1,3 & 5). On the assumption that streaming and social class do make pupils react differently in the class, comparisons could be made between the target pupils based on the criteria of middle and working classes and upper and lower streams. As long as the assumption stands, the high

score of one group is the low score of the other. The hypothesis also presumes that pupils in the upper stream or from a middle class background could be found to be more attentive. The attentiveness of the pupils was merely a personal judgement of the observer on the grounds that no distractive behaviours such as those of Items 1, 3 and 5 were seen. In order not to disturb the normal classroom setting, both teachers and pupils were not informed who the target pupils were. But the teachers concerned were consulted when the whole observation was completed. Record sheets (Appendix 5.4) were used during all classroom observations. In addition to the records of the target pupils' behaviours observed, notes were made (under the heading "remarks" or additional sheets if necessary) on the general situation of the classroom such as the content of the lesson, the teaching techniques used or the type of deviant behaviours seen were recorded. All these would be used as supplementary information when analysing the classroom observation data.

(4) Additional techniques

(a) In addition to the methods used as mentioned above, some school documents were referred to for information. These documents included the school regulations and pupil handbook, school magazines and newsletters, lists of extra-curricular activities and their participants, class registers and time-tables of the third year, and some letters to parents. The information so obtained was considered as an index to explain the philosophy and policy of the schools.

(b) In order to secure its practicability, it was necessary to pilot the research design, for, as Shipman indicates, "without any pilot stage, the actual research is likely to address

unsuitable questions to bewildered people" (Op.Cit. p.79). The research plan was piloted twice : once at Keele and again in Hong Kong. In the first pilot study, there were three teacher-cum-parent Hong Kong students doing post-graduate courses at Keele, one of whom was a secondary school head; seven undergraduates from Hong Kong at Keele (all male) played the part of the pupils. In view of the age gap between them and the actual pupil respondents, the pilot pupil respondents were advised to try the questionnaire as best as they could either by putting themselves in the position of the 15-year-olds nowadays or by thinking back to the time when they were still 15 years old. In the Hong Kong pilot study, the participants included one school head, two teachers, three boys in the third year and their parents (two mothers and one father). The pilot projects were planned to achieve two objectives. Firstly, the pilot studies helped to ensure that the questions set were comprehensible, meaningful and relevant to the respondents. Secondly, they were expected to estimate the approximate time that respondents might require to complete a questionnaire. To fulfil these two objectives, all the respondents in both pilot projects were asked to finish one questionnaire and their completions were timed. After the questionnaire was completed, a discussion was held with every respondent. As the respondents attended the interview only one at a time, every item could be elaborated at his or her own speed without interference from other members as in a group interview.

On average, most of the respondents (of the three groups of pupils, parents and teachers) finished their own questionnaires within twenty minutes. Giving allowance for local conditions, it was expected that respondents of the actual

respondents would finish the questionnaire in thirty or forty minutes, which would be about one period of school time.

Suggestions made by the pilot respondents, moreover, were incorporated into the actual questionnaire when the reasons were found appropriate. Two questions from the pilot questionnaire for parents were cancelled as it was thought by the pilot parents that relevant information would not be obtainable. Both of these questions concerned parental care for their children. One was on the kind of birthday present that parents would give to their children. It was reported that it was not very applicable to the Hong Kong situation. As one parent pointed out, it was not yet a fashion, especially among the working class people, to exchange presents between parents and children. The commonest way of celebrating a birthday was to have a fancy meal at a restaurant. Another parents' question which was cancelled was on the television programme that the whole family would like to watch together. The aim of this question was to assess the cohesiveness of the family members. However, it was considered by most of the parents impossible to say. Many youngsters nowadays would prefer to stay with their own peers rather than with parents and attend social activities outside their home, mostly at youth centres. Besides, it is not unusual for parents to work over-time or night-shifts in Hong Kong. This ruled out the possibilities of watching television with their children. But this did not mean that they did not care about their children.

Three questions originally set for all three groups of respondents were conglomerated into one. The aim of these questions was to look into the respondents' knowledge on the caring aspect of the school by seeking their views on Health Education, Sex

Education and Moral Education. Nevertheless, most of the respondents of the three pilot groups explained that the concepts of these three subjects were either confused or ambiguous to most people they knew, including themselves. These three questions were, therefore, put all together under one umbrella termed Moral Education.

On the other hand, both the two school heads in the pilot studies suggested that the invitation to parents for interview would not be accepted. According to their own experience, most parents in Hong Kong schools were either unresponsive to, or uninterested in, school activities. Some were scared because visits to their children's schools always signified that a problem had emerged and visits to their homes by a "stranger" from school might embarrass or surprise them. Yet, it was the researcher's idea that it was better to include a possible unresponded item rather than deprive any potentially interested parents of a chance to talk with the researcher. The invitation to parents therefore remained.

It was with the above suggestions and discussions that the pilot questionnaires were improved and modified. As for the interviewing sheets, almost all members of the pilot groups agreed that they were acceptable. No changes were made.

Conclusion

The study was undertaken with a variety of methodological approaches, which consisted of a questionnaire survey supplemented by some guided interviews and structured classroom observations. It was a descriptive and an interpretive study. The research design was meant to fulfil the following aims :-

- (1) The questionnaire survey, including all the third year

pupils and their parents and all the teachers of the two schools, was meant to obtain information from the maximum number of people.

(2) The interviews could supplement the questionnaire survey and gave the respondents an opportunity of supplying additional information not covered by the questionnaires.

(3) The classroom observations enabled the researcher to witness the social interactions between the teachers and pupils in the natural classroom setting. Information from this method could be used either as an reinforcer or cross-reference for findings obtained from the other two methods.

To supplement these approaches, school documents were referred to and the project design was piloted twice before putting it into operation.

However, there were two weak points in this design. Firstly, the whole plan was made at a great distance from the actual fieldwork setting. There might be current changes which had not been included in the study. Secondly, the first group of pilot respondents were not really equivalent to the sample respondents selected for the project. This was especially true of the pilot pupil sample, who were much older than the actual sample. Therefore, a second pilot project was held, to minimize these adverse effects.

Chapter 6

Structuring the Interpretation of the Fieldwork Data - the Analytical Framework

Hypotheses are meaningful only in relation to the theoretical framework from which they are derived and to which evidence collected to examine them is referred.

Shipman, M.D. (1972)
The Limitations of Social Research
Longman London p.133

The approaches used to interpret and analyse the field work data were meant to establish links between the data gathered from various sources with reference to the two schools in general and the three responding groups in particular. In order to fulfil this objective, the approaches were divided into two major parts : the selection of personal variables used as indicators and the selection of methods for analysing and presenting the fieldwork data.

The selection of personal variables used as indicators

As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, social interaction in schools can be explained by either the sub-culture or the adaptation model. Both Marxist and Durkheimian perspectives assert the sub-culture model and the Weberian perspective the adaptation one. The reason for adopting these three perspectives and the two models was to map out, from the data available, the goals and functions of the two schools as well as their effects (or influences) and those of the parents on the pupils.

The concept of social class, as mentioned in the previous chapters, forms the corner stone of the conceptual development of this thesis. It is conceptualised in two ways : firstly according to one's occupation (or the pupils' fathers' in the case of pupils). This is the primary social class. The divisions are made as shown below¹ :-

Non-Manual (Middle) Class	{	<u>Social Class 1</u>
		Upper Middle Class (R.G. Social Class I & II) - Professional, managerial and technical staff e.g. doctors, solicitors, managers, teachers, owners of small business.
		<u>Social Class 2</u>
		Lower Middle Class (R.G. Social Class III (Non-Manual)) - Clerical and minor supervisory staff e.g. clerk, policeman, shop assistants.
Manual (Working) Class	{	<u>Social Class 3</u>
		All skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers (R.G. Social Class III (Manual), IV & V) - e.g. carpenter, hairdresser, tailor (Skilled); bus conductor, postman, waiter (semi-skilled); messenger, porter, cleaner (Unskilled).

Secondly, the concept of social class is defined in terms of schools and streams, which were also used as indicators to show the variation of the responding groups' responses. This is the secondary social class. As the two schools were using two different streaming systems, two sets of streaming patterns were used when analysing the data. On

the one hand, all streams of both schools were grouped into upper and lower streams and examined together. On the other hand, streams were grouped into upper and lower streams according to the individual school. The reason for such groupings was to compare the differences caused by streaming in general as well as the effects of the different types of streaming. In short, school, stream and social class were the three major personal variables used as indicators to explain the pupils' and the parents' views on the various aspects of school life. These three variables were selected because they could illustrate the concept of primary and secondary social classes applied to elaborate the effects of both the sub-culture and the adaptation models in the process of schooling.

Because of the significant role of the teachers, more personal variables were used as indicators to obtain a better picture of their views. However, as teachers are already middle class people, the concept of primary social class is not applicable. The personal variables selected as indicators to explain their views on the issue were divided into two main groups : hierarchical social divisions (secondary social class) and non-hierarchical social divisions (some other aspects of their biographical backgrounds). These variables are categorised as follows : -

(1) Sex	}	Non-hierarchical Social Divisions
(2) Marital Status		
(3) Area of Residence		
(4) School	}	Secondary Social Class
(5) Teaching Experience		
(6) Additional Duties		
(7) Subjects Taught		
(8) Number of Periods per week/cycle		
(9) Qualifications		

The following personal variables of the teachers were not used as indicators as they could be replaced by other personal variables of a similar nature. It was, therefore, not necessary to repeat a similar type of analysis. These variables are indicated as below :-

- (1) Subjects studied (major and minor) by subjects taught,
- (2) Length of service in their respective schools by total teaching experience, and
- (3) Age by total teaching experience.

The analytical approaches

As various research methods were used so there were different methods for the data analysis.

(1) The questionnaire data

The questionnaire survey data were analysed by using a Chi-Square (X^2) test to detect any significant association between the variables. Two levels of significance of 0.01 and 0.05 were chosen for the test. The choice of these two levels of significance

is customary. Two levels of significance were used to give a more comprehensive analysis showing when or how a hypothesis could be accepted. All missing values in the returned questionnaires were excluded from the analysis. When priorities or ranks of importance were required, frequencies were counted. In order to improve the statistical consistency of the study, the four-point scale in the questionnaire was adjusted by excluding the "Don't knows" and by combining the first two points into one so that the respondents' views could be studied in two perspectives : positively (as they strongly agreed/agreed) and negatively (as they disagreed). As a result, a two-point scale was used throughout the study. For example, in Question 9 of the Pupils' Questionnaire (Appendix 5.1a), on the question of whether pupils would strongly agree, agree or disagree that the school should "help them to do as well as possible in examinations", all "Don't knows" were excluded from analysis. The responses of "strongly agree" and "agree" were combined under one heading "strongly agree/agree" with "disagree" as another group of response. The same combination was applied to all four-point scales in all three groups of questionnaires. Moreover, the number of respondents to every question in the Chi-Square (X^2) test referred to the number of respondents replying to that specific question only and not to that of the whole responding group tested.

When analysing the data, only those that showed significant variation within the variables would be studied and presented. All insignificant or marginal associations were not further analysed unless it was found relevant to the hypothesis under examination. The additional remarks given in response to the item "Other (please specify)" were also analysed but on a more qualitative way. This

meant that these remarks were studied according to the nature of the suggestions or views and were incorporated into the findings revealed by any of the methods when it was found appropriate.

(2) The socio-metric data

The socio-metric data were analysed basically in two ways. Firstly, a Chi-Square (X^2) test was applied to look into the significant variation between the pupils' school and stream as well as their social class background and social groupings. As in the case of analysing the questionnaire survey data, only significant variations were studied. Secondly, attempts were made to calculate the Index of In-Group Preference (I.P.) and the Index of Group Expansiveness.

The Index of In-Group Preference is a ratio of attraction between the total number of choices directed to members of an in-group to members of the same in-group and the total number of choices directed by members of an in-group to members of an out-group. The Index of Group Expansiveness is the ratio between the total number of choices made by the group and the total number of members in the group. The aim of finding the Index of In-Group Preference and the Index of Group Expansiveness is to detect any variation in the pupils' grouping because of the nature of the functions. The formula for the calculation of I.P. is as follows :-

$$I.P. = Ca-a (b) / Ca-b (a-1)$$

Where a = number of persons in in-group

b = number of persons in out-group

Ca-a = total number of choices directed by members of an in-group to members of the same in-group

Ca-b = total number of choices directed by members of an in-group to members of an out-group

If In-Group Preference = Out-Group Preference,
Unity between the 2 groups

If In-Group Preference \geq 1
In-Group Preference at infinity.

If In-Group Preference = 0
Total Out-Group Preference

(Proctor, C.H. & Loomis, C.P. "Analysis of Sociometric Data" in Jahoda, M. et al. (eds) (1951) Research Methods in Social Relations Part II N.Y. Dryden (not available for reference), quoted in Ford (1969) pp. 102-108).

The Index of Group Expansiveness is worked out according to the formula below :-

$$E = \frac{(\text{Total No. of Choices made by the Group})}{(\text{Total No. of Members in the Group})}$$

(Evans, K.M. (1962) pp.35-36)

When E = 1, the full Group Expansiveness is reached

In the calculation of the Index of Group Expansiveness of this study, choices made on pupils in other classes were not included and the total number of choices made within the same stream was halved so that the index was obtained based on the actual number of pupils in the respective stream.

In addition, frequencies were also counted in order to show the distribution of the different kinds of groupings.

(3) The interview data

The interview data were of a qualitative nature. They were treated in two ways. Firstly, they were used as supplementary materials for findings from other sources. For example, pupils' views on the school curriculum discussed during the classroom interviews could be used to support the findings of their assessment on the importance of school subjects in the questionnaire survey. Secondly,

the criteria that the respondents provided for the various subjects were analysed according to the nature of the criteria and the mean score that they gave in the assessment. This was used to measure whether they were satisfied with their present situation in relation to the various subjects for discussion. For example, from the pupils' follow-up interview, the criteria that pupils gave for a good school were grouped into facilities, examination results and qualities of teachers. Pupils' preference for any of these criteria revealed their ideal type of school. On the other hand, the mean score obtained from their assessment on their own school indicated whether they liked their own school. For example, in Appendix 11.4, the total score that "Yuen" gave to his own school according to the three criteria that he gave was 10 and that by "Luke" was 7, by "Kin" was 4 and so on. The six boys altogether had named 18 items with a total score of 46. The mean score for every item was therefore 2.6. On the 5-point scale with Point 1 as the highest and Point 5, the lowest, the mean score of 2.6 showed that the interviewed pupils were just moderately satisfied with their own school. Notes taken during (or after) the interviews were transcribed into dialogue form. As the interviews were meant to be structured in order to seek the required information, communication developed to build up a harmonious social rapport was not included in the transcription. Besides, information obtained through the interviewing sheets were presented in categorised form, when similar items were grouped together to form one category.

(4) The classroom observation data

When analysing the classroom observation data, the mean behavioural frequencies of the respective groups were calculated to see, for example, whether middle class children showed higher scores of behavioural conformity or pupils of lower streams higher deviant behavioural frequencies. This was studied by using a two-tailed t-test in order to make between group comparisons in the means of the behavioural scores. Two significant levels of 0.01 and 0.05 were used. When making the between group comparisons, the observed behaviours were group into two categories :-

(1) Conforming Behaviours - These were the observed behaviours Items 2 (raising hand to ask questions) and Item 4 (raising hand to answer questions), and

(2) Deviant Behaviours - These were the observed behaviours Item 1 (chatting with others), Item 3 (shouting or calling out) and Item 5 (Distractive behaviours). Notes taken during the observation were not transcribed but kept as reference to explain the observed results. For example, whether more chattings were observed in the upper stream because it was a revision period. The teachers' comments on the target pupils were analysed according to their nature i.e. whether they were favourable or adverse remarks. The aim of this analysis was to find out whether the nature of the teachers' remarks would be different because of pupils' streaming status, social class background or classroom zones.

Conclusion

Summing up, the methods used to analyse the field work data were divided into two main groups. Quantitatively, a Chi-Square (χ^2) test was used to detect the significant relationship between the questionnaire variables as well as in the socio-metric survey. That is, between the respective personal variables and the attitudinal variables in the questionnaire survey of the three responding groups and the effects of the "social class" divisions on the pupils' informal groupings as shown in the socio-metric test. Indexes of In-Group Preference and Group Expansiveness were also calculated to study the group effects on pupils' friendship pattern. A t-test was applied to reveal the between group variation in the classroom observation. In addition, frequencies were calculated in the questionnaire survey and mean scores were worked out for the behavioural variations found in the classroom observations. Qualitatively, information from interviews, teachers' remarks on the target pupils and additional remarks from the questionnaire were analysed according to their nature and interpreted in line with the other findings.

Part IV

The Fieldwork Findings

Chapter 7

The Schools - Their Ecological Setting, Development, Routine Process and Ideology

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I -
I took the one less travelled by,
And that has made all the difference.

Robert Frost
The Road Not Taken

The two schools selected for study were matched in the basic requirements necessary to fulfil the objectives of the study. In the first place, both schools were sponsored by the Roman Catholic Church. This meant that both schools shared a basically similar philosophy of education. Secondly, both were boys' schools. Comparison between two boys' schools would ensure a higher validity than the comparison between a boys' school and a co-educational one because their ways of handling the caring business of the pupils were similar. Besides, both schools were established (as shown later) due to circumstantial needs : the technical school in the sixties (after the Education White Paper 1965) and the grammar school in the seventies (after the Education White Paper 1974). But with the enforcement of the 9-year free and compulsory education put into practice in 1978, both schools had to undergo changes to cope with the new needs. This meant that both schools had to encounter the problems of adaptation and reorganisation both inside and outside the school. The conspicuous problem that called for immediate attention was caring for the pupils especially the reluctant staying-ons. In short, the schools were similar to each other in the sense that they

served similar types of clients (all boys),¹ they shared a similar philosophy in running a school (the Roman Catholic doctrine) and they experienced similar historical events (adaptation and reorganisation).

The study of these schools includes a history of their development, which explains how the present structure has come into being and the process of schooling showing how the current day-to-day school business is run. The development of the schools and the structure of the schooling process served as good indicators of the philosophy and ideology of the schools, which fundamentally determined their goals and functions. This, in turn, would influence the effectiveness of the education that pupils received in the two schools. For research convenience, the two schools were named Cloudview Grammar and Brookside Technical.

The development

Cloudview Grammar was located in between two big residential areas : a low cost public housing estate built in the seventies and a private residential estate for the middle and the upper middle classes built almost at the same time. The school was founded eight years ago when the Government, after making universal primary education a reality, concluded that "the time had come for a full study of the future development of secondary education to be taken" (Education Department 1974 p.1).² The school was "purpose-built to cater for 24 classes (i.e. 24 classrooms) with the necessary facilities leading to pre-university level. However, the spirit of the 9-year universal education was "equality of educational opportunity for all". As a result, pupils who used to be segregated

in special schools because of physical or mental handicaps were officially expected to join their counter-parts in the ordinary schools unless they were severely handicapped. In order to do this, all secondary schools in the public sector were requested to run special classes in their junior sections. The school, therefore, was running three special classes for slow learners, one in each of the junior forms.³ There were, during the period of research, 27 classes with a total pupil population of 909, 43 of whom were in special classes. As three ordinary classes had to be floating, the pupils concerned had to move from one classroom to the other for lessons rather like Hargreaves' (1982 p.89) "Paddington Station Effect" when every 35 minutes pupils had to move outside a classroom for the ending of the lesson of another class. This effect would be further accelerated into the "Luton Airport Effect" (ibid.) when pupils had a "big load" to carry as not all pupils were provided with lockers. (See Appendix 7.1a for class organisation of the school).

This school, comparatively speaking, was still a very young school. This meant that the chances of promotion for the teachers were still high and eleven of the posts of responsibility were still unfilled. (See Appendix 7.1b for staff organisation of the school). However, this "good prospect" did cause intensive competition amongst the teachers. At worst, it could even lead to the generation of the "pro-ruling" and "anti-ruling" classes among the teachers. As a result, the school head, who was the key figure in making the recommendations for promotion, would be in an extremely difficult position. What a young teacher in his second year of probation said during an interview summed up the situation as he said, "If we could have more posts of S.G.M. (Senior Graduate Master/Mistress), we could

have more friends."

Brookside Technical was located in an old low-cost public housing estate built in the fifties. The school was founded 17 years ago when the Government could provide aided secondary places for only about 15% of all pupils who had completed primary education. But the aim of the Government's educational policy then was "to provide every child with the best education he or she is capable of absorbing, at a cost that the parent and the community can afford" (Education Department 1965b p.1). The school was one of those practical schools (modern schools) providing a 3-year prevocational training course to those who failed to get a Government aided place in the 5-year certificate secondary schools but who were still under the statutory minimum age of 14 for employment. When the 9-year free and compulsory education was enforced in 1978, the Government provided an aided secondary place for 65% of the pupils who had completed the junior secondary education. This meant that more senior secondary places were needed. Brookside was then converted into a 5-year course secondary technical school leading to the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE). Two problems immediately arose and still remained unsolved because of this conversion :-

(1) The school was purpose-built but for the 3-year prevocational course only. With the previously designed facilities, the school had to cope with the needs of a school running for the 5-year certificate course. First, the playground was too small. Even if the number of classes operated was the same, senior secondary pupils need more space than their junior fellows as they were more grown-up. Second, with only 20 classrooms, the school was running 26

classes with a total pupil population of 965 (681 boys and 284 girls). (See Appendix 7.2a for class organisation of the school). This meant that six classes had to move from one classroom to another for lessons. As a result, the floating classes caused heavy congestion during the change of periods. The pupils concerned suffered from the same "Paddington Station" and "Luton Airport" effects as their counter-parts in Cloudview.

The school hall was, of course, too small for the whole school to have assembly together for the development of a sense of belonging to the school. Instead, this was done in the playground and pupils had to stand. Even if assembly could take place in the hall, there was still the problem of using the special rooms, the laboratories and other facilities such as lavatories.⁴ This shortage of facilities brought detrimental effects to the caring system of the school as a whole. It might hamper the effectiveness of caring for pupils. For example, there was no interviewing room for pupils' guidance and counselling. Besides, the congested conditions during breaks meant that order had to be up-held and, as a result, disciplining became tantamount to caring.

(2) The other adverse effect of the conversion was on the careers prospects of the teachers. When the school was still a three year prevocational school, most of the teachers were non-graduate certificate teachers. But as the school had been converted into a 5-year technical school, more graduate teachers had to be appointed for the senior classes and there were more posts of responsibility for promotion for the graduate teachers. However, many of these had not been filled as the school had more non-graduate teachers than it should, according to the Code of Aid. It was when the excessive

number of non-graduate teachers had been reduced to the approved quota that promotion could be recommended. The non-graduate teachers, on the other hand, did not seem to have very good promotion prospects because during the seventeen years of the school development, all the senior posts for non-graduate teachers had been filled. (See Appendix 7.2b for staff organisation of the school). The school, therefore, could not offer very good careers encouragement to the teachers. This, in turn, affected the morale of the teachers and, as a result, their service to the pupils.

Cloudview, comparatively, had faced less drastic internal changes than Brookside mainly because of its shorter history of development. The serving head was the first head of the school. He did a post-graduate degree in France but had never obtained any paper qualifications for teaching though he had been a teacher for 17 years (including headship experience). Before taking up his headship in this school, he was a school master of a well-established Catholic boys' school. Unlike the head of Brookside, he had obtained the total delegated authority from the Supervisor to run the school at his own will. The school applied a federal approach in its day-to-day management. The headmaster was assisted by two deputy heads chairing separately the Academic Board and the Student Affairs Board. The former was composed of subject panels, library and A-V aids services. The latter was made up of seven committees related to the welfare of the pupils. (See Appendix 7.3a for the managerial structure of the school). On the other hand, the School Council, which the Government advised setting up in aided secondary schools in the late seventies to bridge the gap between the school authorities and the teachers, was said to be running both regular and ad hoc

meetings to discuss the differences between the authorities and the staff and for the settlement of disagreements between the two groups. There were two teacher representatives elected for this purpose. The advantage of this federal organisation was that more teachers would be involved in the decision-making and there would be a higher degree of consultation with, and participation from, the staff. The drawback was that as discussion and negotiation could be extremely time-consuming, the efficiency of the operation might be lower because of the "red-tape" resulting from the bureaucratic procedures.

In addition to the historical changes from outside, Brookside had survived more changes internally when compared with Cloudview. The serving head was the fourth one within 17 years. He was a graduate of a local university and a qualified teacher. He was a teacher at Brookside at the beginning of the school. He later left to take up the headship in another secondary school and he came back as the new head of the school five years ago when the school was transformed to a 5-year technical secondary school. However, the changes of heads did not seem to have affected the school very much as the school was managed rather in a centralised and linear pattern in its day-to-day operation. The Supervisor was rather seen as co-managing the school with the head. But the head was responsible to the Supervisor. (See Appendix 7.3b for the managerial structure of the school). The Management Committee, which played the supervisory role in running the school was chaired by the Supervisor. The School Council was not popular as it was reported that teachers did not find it effective. Besides, not many teachers were willing to spend the extra time as teacher representatives to attend meetings of this kind. In short, this was a very closed and restricted type of

management.

The organisation of the schools as seen from their development might give rise to problems affecting the reliability and validity of the study. Firstly, there was on the whole a shortage of facilities in both schools, especially facilities for pastoral activities. In Cloudview, there was a multi-purpose room used for school social work, careers guidance and club meetings. In Brookside, however, even such a minimal provision was not found. In other words, there was little encouragement, in terms of facilities, to the pastoral job of teachers. This might explain the teachers' low enthusiasm for attending interviews. Secondly, the unsatisfactory careers prospects of the teachers in both schools might also lead the teachers to ask the question of "how could we be able to care if we were not properly cared for?" This kind of attitude might, as a result, cast doubt on the reliability of their responses to the researched questions. To minimize these two kinds of weakness, it was necessary for the researcher to widen the observational aspect by talking to as many school members as possible. This included not only those involved in the research (i.e. school heads, school social workers, teachers and pupils) but also the clerical and general staff. The theme of this extensive contact was to capture the over-all ethos of the school as a whole.

The process of schooling

Both schools were operating a 6-day cycle for their time-tabling so that no lessons would be missed even if there was a holiday during the week. In spite of the closed managerial system of Brookside, rigid streaming was not in practice. There were six divisions in the

the third year, but only one top stream was selected. All the others were of mixed abilities. All classes were offered the same subjects. On the other hand, Cloudview was operating a more rigid streaming system. Horizontally, there were two major option groups : one with Design Technology and the other without. Classes not doing Design Technology were offered three periods of Art every cycle instead. Design Technology was taught in the top and the third stream. In order of merit, the second top stream was the second best class not doing Design Technology and the bottom stream was the worst class not doing Design Technology. (See Appendixes 7.4a and 7.4b for the time-tables of the two schools).

The time allocation of subjects for the third year shown in Appendix 7.4b revealed that Brookside was a more instrumental school with a heavy weighting in the technical subjects, taking almost one-quarter of the total time spent on lessons. As a result, subjects like Music and Art had to be sacrificed. On the other hand, Cloudview (Appendix 7.4a) seemed to have shifted the emphasis on to social subjects, taking eleven periods out of the forty-eight in the cycle. This was possibly because the school ran a social service scheme called Religious and Social Training (RST), which integrated social consciousness and Christianity together. Every pupil was required to do at least two hours of voluntary work every week. Their performance was assessed according to the report of their "employers" and the assessment was entered into the report under the headings of "Social Concern", and "Religious and Ethical Responses". Four periods in every cycle were spent on the organisation and discussion of these social service activities. However, both schools put equal emphasis on both Chinese and English, the two very

instrumental subjects especially for pupils' future career.

The sample report cards (Appendixes 7.5a and 7.5b) also showed another different aspect between the two schools. In Brookside, there was a very strong emphasis on the cognitive area while in Cloudview a more balanced assessment was visible between the cognitive and affective aspects. Besides, pupils in Cloudview also seemed to be able to get a more complete assessment as every subject teacher could comment on the performance of the individual.

The dichotomy of the instrumental and expressive emphases between the two schools could also be seen in the types of extra-curricular activities offered to the pupils.⁵ The activities were divided into seven main groups :-

- | | |
|---------------------------|--|
| (1) Games | e.g. football, basketball |
| (2) Athletics | e.g. swimming, field and track events |
| (3) Physical Exercises | e.g. gymnastics, martial art |
| (4) Cultural Appreciation | e.g. music, reading |
| (5) Social Services | e.g. Red Cross, Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme (DEA), Scouting |
| (6) Creative Activities | e.g. painting, photography |
| (7) Academic Clubs | e.g. English Club, Chinese Club |

Table 7.1 is a comparison between the types of extra-curricular activities organised in both schools. It revealed that Cloudview offered more varieties of activities, especially those that demanded space, while in Brookside it was more the quiet types of activities e.g. academic clubs, which were in evidence. This showed another effect of the conversion of the school mentioned earlier making

space-demanding activities difficult. Added to this of course was the ideology of the schools, which will be discussed in the following section.

Table 7.1 Extra-Curricular Activities
Offered in the Two Schools

	<u>Types of Activities</u>							Total
	Games	Athle.	Phy.Ex.	Cul.App.	So.Ser.	Cre.Act.	Ac.Club.	
<u>School</u>								
Cloudview	7	1	3	2	6	7	5	31
Brookside	4	1	0	3	5	6	7	26
<u>Difference</u>								
Cloudview	+3	-	+3	-	+1	+1	-	+8
Brookside	-	-	-	+1	-	-	+2	+3

Key : Athle. = Athletics
 Phy.Ex. = Physical Exercises
 Cul.App. = Cultural Appreciation
 So.Ser. = Social Services
 Cre.Act. = Creative Activities
 Ac.Club = Academic Clubs

The ideology

As both schools were denominational schools, it was not difficult to sense the evangelical spirit in the whole school process. On the whole, there was a strong emphasis in both schools on the development of the Protestant Work Ethic, which give high esteem to individual success and hardwork. As a result, both schools imposed a tight control on discipline, punctuality, respect for others, which are conventionally believed to be the basic initiation leading to diligence. However, because of their different historical development, differences were found between the ideology of the two

schools.

In Cloudview, the spirit of meritocracy prevailed with its rigid streaming in operation. This carries the message of tripartism; as Ball suggests that "what one is taught may be of importance to one's future but what one is taught depends on who one is" (1981 p.153). Maybe, this was the kind of education that the Education Act 1944 was meant to offer - education according to one's age, ability and aptitude. The school motto "to Every One His Due" seemed to have carried the message. The spirit of the school motto could be reflected in the school head's article in the school magazine (Vol. 7) when he said that :

It is unrealistic to expect every Primary Six leaver (last year of primary school), disregarding his or her ability, to follow a curriculum that was designed many years ago for some 40% selected ones.

However, in spite of the attention that the school was attempting to pay to individual pupils, the emphasis on academic achievements was still evident as one teacher expressed during an interview :

One of the most stupid things to do in school is to see the school head the day after the public examination results were out. He could never be satisfied with any of these results for, to him, they should have been better.

Yet, on the other hand, as discussed in the previous sections, an open school ethos was observed in the school. The same kind of democratic rapport was also witnessed during a staff meeting on the subject of the mid-term examination time-table. There were two versions of this time-table : the Head's and the Deputy Head's (Academic). The Head's version was to have examinations every day but in the morning only. The Deputy Head's version was to have examinations in both mornings and afternoons and a few days off for

both teachers (for the marking) and pupils. The discussion was extremely heated. The researcher then asked the teacher sitting next how the head would feel in a situation like this. The reply was, "we don't take him so seriously". The conclusion of the issue was that pupils have their examinations in the mornings while teachers came to school for invigilation only on alternate days.

On the whole, the ideology of schooling in Cloudview was very much a mixture of the objective as well as social oriented philosophy. It, therefore, belonged more to the "bridging the gap" type as suggested by both Bernstein and King.

In Brookside, the egalitarian ideology was also prevalent as most of the pupils were in the mixed ability streams. Only one top stream at every level was selected. This shared the spirit of comprehensivization, as Ford remarks, that education is "to accord individuals the same opportunities only in the sense that they are all entitled to be treated alike until relevant grounds are established for treating them differently" (1969 p.1). Besides, there was also an ameliorative element in this egalitarianism trying to inspire the pupils' self-esteem and upgrade the status of the school because of its early history of being a three-year prevocational school. The major result of this was the belief in the hegemony of the grammar school style and the importance of cognitive-intellectual studies and examination success.

The school's enthusiasm for making itself compatible to grammar schools could be envisaged during the interview with the school supervisor when he said :

Our pupils are in no way worse than those in the other schools. (He was implying the grammar schools.) We also had pupils going both to the universities and polytechnics. What they need is just the proper push. (He seemed to want to say that the teachers had not done enough.)

His eagerness on academic achievement was further elaborated when he revealed that he had to review the teaching methods of the school subjects, especially English, from time to time in order to improve the academic standard of the pupils. He also pointed out that there was close contact between the school and the curriculum advisers of the Education Department (of the Government) so that the school could be well-informed of any curricular innovations.

Conclusion

Looking at the development, managerial structure and ideology of the two schools, it is necessary to recall the various theories on studying schools as organisations, as discussed in Chapter 2. Though the two schools were run by the the same sponsoring body, their organisation and philosophies differed. This points to the fact that every school is a unique entity.

Though both schools stressed the importance of academic success, Cloudview did it in a more democratic way while Brookside preferred to put it under a tightly centralised control most properly because of its "inferior status" of being a technical school.

On the other hand, teachers of both schools were subject to constraints. They had to be responsible to the school, especially for the academic performance of the pupils, which did not seem to have any limits of satisfaction. They were, at the same time, restricted by the insufficient provision of facilities, especially in terms of space. This meant that they had to handle disciplinary problems

which might not have arisen if adequate facilities had been available; an example of such problem was the lateness of pupils caused by the floating classes.

In conclusion, it was this difference in organisation and management of these schools that caused the variation of ethos between them. More important is that it was this difference in ethos that would affect the pupils of the two schools in different ways. This signifies that the pastoral role of the teachers is not only to help pupils cope with the demands of the school but also those of the world they are going to step into.

Chapter 8

The Pupils (1) - Their Attitudes towards the Cognitive Aspect of the School

The children attend school with consciousness
that it will help them out in late life.
It is important for its future promise.

Tenenbaum, S. (1940)
Uncontrolled expression of children's
attitudes towards school
Elementary School Journal 40 May 1940 p.675

This is one of the four Chapters on the findings of the pupils in the study. The general backgrounds of the sample of pupils are, therefore, also relevant to the next three chapters on the pupils. This chapter studies the pupils' attitudes towards the cognitive aspect of their school life while the following three chapters discuss respectively their views on the social organisation of the school, their friendship patterns as revealed in the sociometric survey and their social interactions as observed in and out of the classroom.

The pupils in this study were comparable to those in the other schools in Hong Kong. They had gone through the same stages of selection and allocation and would face the same options in future as shown in Figure 3.2 in Chapter 3. They were all caught in the dilemma of living in a time and place of uncertainty, but most important of all, they were affected by the Government's policy of enforcing the 9-year free and compulsory education. That was why they were interesting to research. The findings in this study, therefore, could be considered as representative of the views of their peers in

the other schools and could provide an evaluation of the Government's policy on universal education.

There were 369 boys in the sample, 143 from Cloudview Grammar and 226 from Brookside Technical. Most of the boys were in their third year of secondary education. The rates of both repeaters (pupils who had repeated one or two years in the school) and new comers (pupils who were admitted in the second or third year) were low as shown in Table 8.1. No repeaters or new comers were found in the upper streams.

Table 8.1 Repeater and New Comers of
the Third Year

School	No. of Repeaters	No. of New Comers	Total Enrolment
Cloudview	18 (13%)	4 (3%)	143 (100%)
Brookside	19 (8%)	0 (0%)	226 (100%)

The age structure of this group of pupils was also similar to the age structure as shown in the official records. However, as these two schools were in the public sector, the educational history of the pupils was simpler than that of their counter-parts in the private independent schools, who might, for one reason or another, have started school later than the normal age. This meant that more pupils of the normal age group (14) were found in these schools as shown in Table 8.2 as compared with the official data.

Table 8.2 Age Structure of the Third Year

No. of Pupils	Under Age	Normal Age	Over Age	Total Enrolment
Sample Group (as at 1.9.82)	32 (9%)	160 (43%)	177 (48%)	369 (100%)
Official Data* (as at 1.9.80)	7,427 (7.8%)	37,802 (39.7%)	49,989 (52.5%)	95,218 (100%)

*Source of Data : Government Secretariat 1981 p.15

As both schools were the product of the universal education ideology, which highlights the importance of equal opportunity for education, there were more pupils from the lower social class than any other. Although more than half of the pupils in the sample (65%) were from a working class background, it was also found that more pupils in Cloudview Grammar were from a non-manual socio-economic family background (Social Classes 1 & 2) when compared with their counter-parts in Brookside Technical as shown in Table 8.3 below :-

Table 8.3 The Socio-Economic Background of the Third Year According to School

No. of Pupils	1	Social Class 2	3	Total No. of Pupils Responding
School				
Cloudview	41 (29%)	31 (22%)	69 (49%)	141 (100%)
Brookside	27 (12%)	27 (12%)	167 (76%)	221 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 27.5, D.f. = 2, p < 0.01)

Based on the socio-economic background of the third year (as that of the whole school was not available), Cloudview could be regarded as a "mixed school", where "the proportion of pupils from white collar and manual working class backgrounds were approximately

equal" and Brookside, a "working class school" where "the majority of the pupils' fathers were in manual employment" (Grace 1974 p.217). The significance of this socio-economic difference between the two schools is that, the two different kinds of school curriculum (as King has pointed out) signify "a divided system of secondary schooling (which) ascribes gross ability-identities : grammar school, able; modern (technical) school, less able" (1973 p.180).

On the other hand, more pupils in the sample were found to be from larger families when compared with the official data as shown in Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Family Size of the Third Year

No. of Pupils	Number of Children in Family			Total No. of Households
	2-	3	4+	
Sample Group (as at 1.9.82)	59 (16%)	111 (30%)	199 (54%)	369 (100%)
Official Data ¹ (as at 1.4.81)	569,480 (46%)	210,460 (17%)	309,500 (25%)	1,238,000 ² (100%)

¹ Source of Data : Census & Statistics Department 1981
pp. 13 & 26

² 148,560 (12%) of the households had no children.

The data also revealed at the same time that there were more boys in Brookside coming from larger families i.e. families with four or more children as compared with the boys in Cloudview as shown in Table 8.5.

Table 8.5 Family Size of the Third Year
According to School

<u>No. of Pupils School</u>	<u>Number of Children in Family</u>			<u>Total No. of Pupils Responding</u>
	<u>2-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4+</u>	
Cloudview	32 (22%)	49 (34%)	62 (44%)	143 (100%)
Brookside	27 (12%)	62 (27%)	137 (61%)	226 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 12.16, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 2)

In addition, it was also found that more large families were found in the lower social class (Appendix 8.1). This is in agreement with Banks' argument that lower social class people tend to have larger families (1968 p.103). However, there was no indication showing any connection between the distribution of family size and the various kinds of streaming in the study (Appendix 8.2). Unlike the results revealed in some previous studies, such as those by Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970) and Rutter et al. (1979), which showed working class children were the majority in lower streams, children from lower social class backgrounds in this sample were not found mainly in lower streams (Appendix 8.3).

As the Government was trying to regionalise the allocation of school places, most pupils were from the catchment area within half a mile radius of their schools. An analysis on the pupils' area of residence shows that almost half (46%) of the pupils in Cloudview Grammar were from the old residential areas built before the 1950's (Table 8.6). These were private housing estates mainly for the lower middle class. However, about two-thirds of the pupils in Brookside Technical were from the new public housing estates, residential areas for the working class.

Table 8.6 Pupils' Areas of Residence According to School

No. of Pupils	1	Areas	of	Residence			Total No. of Pupils
		2	3	4	5	6	
School							
Cloudview	66	2	2	35	6	32	143
(%)	(46)	(1)	(1)	(25)	(4)	(23)	(100)
Brookside	36	40	4	71	71	4	226
(%)	(16)	(18)	(2)	(31)	(31)	(2)	(100)

The Areas of Residence are as follows :-

- 1 = Residential Areas built before the 1950's
- 2 = Residential Areas built in the 1950's
- 3 = Residential Areas built in the 1960's
- 4 = Residential Areas built since 1970's
- 5 = Industrial Towns
- 6 = Commercial Centres

On the whole, this sample group of pupils were a group of ordinary third year children in two Government aided secondary schools. There was a small majority of them coming from working class homes and large families, especially in Brookside, while there were more pupils of Cloudview lived in the old private residential areas for the lower middle class, there was a great majority of the pupils of Brookside living in the public residential areas for the working class.

The pupils' views on the cognitive aspect of the school to be discussed in this chapter was based on the information derived from Questions 8 - 13 in the Questionnaire to the Pupils (Appendix 5.1a).

Pupils' views on the functions of the school

This section was designed to reveal how the pupils in this study thought of the school in general and their own school in particular. The issue was examined in terms of how they considered the functions of the school, which, in turn, would affect their views on the school

curriculum.

Whether a pupil likes school depends very much on whether he likes his own school. And whether one likes his own school may depend on whether that is the school that he chooses for himself. The data from Question 8 revealed that there was a higher percentage of pupils in Brookside who opted for that school as one of the first three schools during the application for secondary school places. On the other hand, more pupils in the lower streams responded that their present school was one of the first three schools that they applied for in the allocation of Form 1 places. The analysis is shown in Table 8.7.

Table 8.7 Pupils' Choice of their own Schools
According to School and Stream

(a) According to School

No. of Pupils School	Opting for the Present School	Not Opting for the Present School	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	84 (59%)	59 (41%)	143 (100%)
Brookside	181 (82%)	41 (18%)	222 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 21.58, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)

(b) According to Stream (General)

No. of Pupils Stream	Opting for the Present School	Not Opting for the Present School	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	47 (63%)	28 (37%)	75 (100%)
Lower	218 (75%)	72 (25%)	290 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 4.08, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)

The data revealed that most of the pupils in Brookside (82%) opted for the present school as one of the first three schools when applying for allocation of secondary school places three years ago. One of the reasons which explains this was that there were not enough technical secondary schools for pupils to choose from. In the school year 1978/79, i.e. at the time when the allocation of this group was made, of all the 199 secondary schools in the public sector, only 22 were technical secondary (Education Department 1979a pp.43 & 51). When regionalisation was applied, Brookside Technical would then very likely be one of the first three preferences if technical education was to be sought. However, Cloudview, though a grammar school, might be considered only as a "second-class" grammar school because of its short history of development and, therefore, it might not yet have achieved its popularity amongst pupils and parents. On the other hand, both Cloudview and Brookside might be said as sharing similar low status in the whole school system; Cloudview because of its short history and Brookside, its technical curriculum. This might explain why more children of lower streams reported that their present school was one of the first three schools that they applied for because it was rather unlikely that they would have opted for the very popular schools, the admission of which was subject to severe competition.

One of the many indications showing how pupils value schooling is their willingness to stay on. Of course, by law, they cannot leave school until their fifteenth birthday, but in Question 10, pupils were asked when they would like to leave if they could have a free choice. Of the 369 boys under study, 334 of them (91%) responded that they would stay on at least until 17 (or after the completion of secondary education). The result reveals two

significant phenomena :-

(1) The tradition in Chinese culture does give a very high esteem to school education in the belief that more education means better jobs and a better future.

(2) That the Government's reason for not extending the 9-year free and compulsory education to 11 years is not justified. To the Government, it is because beyond that stage, "some selection is necessary as most of the courses available assume some level of previous attainment and are pitched at a standard which not all students can meet" (Education Department 1978 p.1). It is because of this "necessary selection" that more than one-third of the pupils in the age group have to be deprived of the chances of senior secondary education.

However, the pupils' views differed further when school and stream were taken into consideration as shown in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8 Pupils' Staying-On Preference
According to School and Stream

(a) According to School

No. of Pupils School	Leaving 15-	Age 17	Preferred 18+	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	8	59	75	142
(%)	(6)	(41)	(53)	(100)
Brookside	18	126	74	218
(%)	(8)	(58)	(34)	(100)

(Chi-Square = 13.98, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 2)

(b) According to Stream

No. of Pupils Stream	Leaving 15-	Age 17	Preferred 18+	Total No. of Pupils Responding
General (Upper) (%)	5 (7)	25 (33)	45 (60)	75 (100)
General (Lower) (%)	22 (8)	160 (56)	104 (36)	286 (100)

(Chi-Square = 15.20, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 2)

Cloudview (Upper) (%)	3 (9)	12 (35)	19 (56)	34 (100)
Cloudview (Lower) (%)	5 (5)	47 (43)	56 (52)	108 (100)

(Chi-Square = 1.31, $p =$ Not Significant, D.f. = 2)

Brookside (Upper) (%)	1 (2)	13 (33)	26 (65)	40 (100)
Brookside (Lower) (%)	15 (9)	113 (64)	48 (27)	176 (100)

(Chi-Square = 23.16, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 2)

What is revealed in Table 8.8 is that pupils are very much affected by the school organisation and the streaming status that they are in. As Cloudview operated classes up to pre-university level, there were more pupils (53%) who preferred to stay on until after the completion of secondary education while only about one-third of the boys in Brookside would like to do so, possibly because the latter operated only up to Form 5 level.

When pupils' preference for staying-on was considered according to streams (Table 8.8b), it was found that more pupils in the Upper Streams (60%) would prefer to stay on in school even after the completion of the Hong Kong Certificate of Education Examination (HKCEE). The streaming effect was even much more noticeable in

Brookside than in Cloudview when there was a difference of 38% of staying on in school (after the HKCEE) between the upper and lower streams. However, no significant correlation between staying-on rate and streaming in Cloudview was found. The implication of this is that a higher staying-on rate is expected from those pupils who are either in a grammar school or in an upper stream. Moreover, no variation was found in pupils' staying-on preference according to their social class background (Appendix 8.4) signifying the importance of school effects on pupils' cognitive attitudes.

Though most of the pupils preferred to stay on until at least 17, their aims of staying on may be different. It may be under the instrumental order, which is within the technical-function context when school education (or certification) is considered a passport to good jobs. There may be others, who attend school with the expressive attitudes, who hold to the idea that education is more than a means for personal and character development. Question 9 was meant to find out what pupils expected to be the role of the school. Three of the items (Items 1,2,6) are of the instrumental order and the other four items (Items 3,4,5,7) are of the expressive one.

Generally speaking, most pupils agreed that "teaching pupils what is right and wrong" (Item 4) and "helping pupils to develop their personality and character" (Item 5) were the most important tasks of the schools. The seven items in order of importance as viewed by the pupils in the sample are shown below :-

Table 8.9 Tasks of the School

Tasks	Order of Importance	Number of Pupils Ranking it as the Most Important/ Important	Nature of Tasks
Teaching pupils what is right and wrong	1	352 (95%)	Expressive
Helping pupils to develop their personality and character	2	345 (93%)	Expressive
Teaching pupils plenty of things so that they can be interested in a lot of things	3	325 (88%)	Expressive
Helping pupils to do as well as possible in exams	4	323 (87%)	Instrumental
Teaching pupils things of direct use in their jobs	5	319 (86%)	Instrumental
Helping pupils to know what is going on in the world	6	260 (70%)	Expressive
Helping pupils to get as good as a job or career as possible	7	230 (62%)	Instrumental

Total number of pupils = 369

On the whole, it seemed that more pupils were more in favour of the importance of the expressive role of the school. The pupils' inclination to the expressive role of the school received further support because 286 (78%) of the whole responding sample of 369 agreed that Moral Education should be a school subject by itself (Question 13a) while only 73 of them (20%) did not and 10 (2%) abstained. A higher percentage was even found in the lower stream as shown in Table 8.10.

Table 8.10 Pupils' View on Moral Education
As a School Subject According to
Streams in General

Stream	No. of pupils For	No. of Pupils Against	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	50 (68.5%)	23 (31.5%)	73 (100%)
Lower	236 (82.5%)	50 (17.5%)	286 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.22, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)

Boys in the lower streams, being less successful in academic competition may have to find a way of overcoming this disadvantage; as Woods (1979 p.75) has pointed out, by developing

a secondary adjustment formula (of colonisation) by defining new goals stressing social objectives and talking in terms of 'education for life' and 'education for citizenship' as opposed to the examination streams' instrumental or academic objectives.

This philosophy of the adaptation model is further illustrated by the views of the boys in the lower streams of Brookside on the same subject, as shown in Table 8.11.

Table 8.11 Pupils' Views on Moral Education as
A School Subject According to
Streams in Brookside

Stream	No. of Pupils For	No. of Pupils Against	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	22 (56%)	17 (44%)	39 (100%)
Lower	155 (87%)	23 (13%)	178 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 18.20, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)

Boys in the lower streams of Brookside, having the lowest status in the whole school system, must have to carry what Hargreaves describes as the burden of "double failure" in schooling because of

"their lack of ability or motivation to obtain entry to a grammar school and a high stream in the modern (technical) school" (1967 p.169). The adjustment technique that Woods highlights was therefore also applicable in this case.

On the whole, pupils' views on the role of the school, as discussed above, could be grouped into two categories : instrumental and expressive. Variation was found according to the "social class" background of the pupils. This also explained why they wanted to attend school and stay on.

Pupils' views on the school curriculum

Basically, the instrumental and expressive aims are the two extremes of pupils' attitudes towards schooling. While the school is expected to be the agent for socialisation, selection and allocation, the school process first starts with "differentiation" and completed with "polarization" (Lacey 1970 p.49). As a result, the higher the pupils on the social ladder e.g. grammar school and upper stream, the more instrumental they may become. This utilitarian philosophy can be further elaborated by studying the pupils' views on the curriculum of the school (Question 11). Table 8.12 shows how pupils ranked the school subjects in order of importance.

Table 8.12 School Subjects in Order of Importance

Subject	Order of Importance	No. of Pupils Ranking It as Most Important/ Important
English	1	365 (99%)
Mathematics	2	353 (96%)
Chinese	3	346 (94%)
Technical Subjects	4	309 (84%)
Science Subjects	5	308 (83%)
Social Science Subjects	6	278 (75%)
Physical Education	7	242 (66%)
Music, Art & Craft	8	108 (29%)

Total number of pupils in the group = 369

The pupils' views on the importance of these subjects reflected their utility in finding a job or in getting on to further studies. The importance of English, for instance, has been deep-rooted since 1878, when the then Governor Sir John Hennessey said in a speech that it was a "valuable asset" in a place like Hong Kong (Education Department 1950 p.3). Mathematics was also highly ranked because it is a pre-requisite for almost everything relating to pupils' future career development including qualifications for university entrance examination, admission to college of education, the polytechnics, school of nursing and some other jobs.

A further analysis on pupils' views on these school subjects revealed that their attitudes towards the school curriculum were also affected by the kind of curriculum which they were offered. As shown in Chapter 7, the major difference between the curriculum of the two schools under study was the strong emphasis on technical subjects in

Brookside and its relatively little attention paid to subjects such as Music, Art and Craft, which are subjects valued more by middle class parents. Tables 8.13 and 8.14 show how pupils' views differed in the importance of these two groups of subjects.

Table 8.13 Pupils' Views on the Importance of Technical Subjects According to School

School	No. of Pupils Ranking the Subject As V.Impt./Impt.		As Not Impt.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	99	(74%)	34 (26%)	133 (100%)
Brookside	210	(96%)	9 (4%)	219 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 33.55, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important
Impt. = Important

Table 8.14 Pupils' Views on the Importance of Music, Art and Craft According to School

School	No. of Pupils Ranking the Subject As V.Impt./Impt.		As Not Impt.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	55	(41%)	78 (59%)	133 (100%)
Brookside	53	(27%)	147 (73%)	200 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 7.37, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important
Impt. = Important

Table 8.12 shows that there was almost a unanimous agreement among the Brookside boys that technical subjects were important as compared with about three-quarters of the sample group in Cloudview. The situation was self-explanatory when more than one-fifth (21%) of the whole time-table for the third year in Brookside was allocated to technical subjects (Appendix 7.4b) as compared with only about 6% for just half of the pupil sample in Cloudview (Appendix 7.4a).

There was no evident emphasis on subjects such as Music, Art and Craft in Cloudview but a balanced provision of Music to all streams with three additional Art lessons for half of the sample group (Appendix 7.4a). However, no Music or Art lessons were taught in Brookside (Appendix 7.4b). This might explain why almost three-quarters of the Brookside boys did not find these subjects important (Table 8.14).

In addition to the effects of school on the pupils' views on the importance of technical subjects, it was also found that social class caused difference in pupils' esteem given to these subjects (Table 8.15).

Table 8.15 Pupils' Views on the Importance of Technical Subjects According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Pupils Ranking the Subject As V.Impt./Impt.	As Not Impt.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
1	51 (80%)	13 (20%)	64 (100%)
2	48 (83%)	10 (17%)	58 (100%)
3	205 (92%)	18 (8%)	223 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 9.03, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)
V.Impt. = Very Important
Impt. = Important

As shown in Table 8.15, the lower the social class the pupils belonged to the more they proclaimed that technical subjects were important. The practical attitude of the working class children, moreover, could be visualised, as quite a great majority of them supported technical subjects the most important because these were the subjects from which they could acquire skills for their jobs in future.

Social Science subjects, which are usually considered as "soft options", were found, however, as important subjects by more boys of the lower than upper streams in general as shown in Table 8.16.

Table 8.16 Pupils' Views on Social Science Subjects as the Very Important/Important School Subjects According to Streams (General)

Stream (General)	No. of Pupils Ranking the Subject As V.Imp./Impt.	As Not Impt.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	49 (72%)	19 (28%)	68 (100%)
Lower	229 (84%)	45 (16%)	274 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 4.02, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important
Impt. = Important

The higher percentage of pupils' preference for Social Science Subjects in the lower streams was supportive of the pupils' preference for Moral Education as a school subject (Table 8.10). A rhetoric objective became a "secondary adjustment" for the less academically competitive pupils.

For streaming in Cloudview, the variation of pupils' views on school subjects was also found in Social Science Subjects as shown in Table 8.17.

Table 8.17 Pupils' Views on Social Science Subjects as the Very Important/Important School Subjects according to Streams in Cloudview

Stream (Cloudview)	No. of Pupils Ranking the Subject As V.Impt./Impt.	As Not Impt.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	22 (69%)	10 (31%)	32 (100%)
Lower	95 (90%)	11 (10%)	106 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.76, $p < 0.01$, D.f. =1)
V.Impt. = Very Important
Impt. = Important

The findings revealed in Table 8.17 could be explained as the result of a combination of the school's organisation and its ideology. Firstly, the school's Religious and Social Training Project might have enhanced the status of Social Science Subjects. Secondly, the school motto "to Every One His Due", on the other hand, might have led the boys in the lower stream to be more in favour of "soft subjects", which were highly regarded by the school.

On the whole, pupils of both schools shared the same views on the importance of school subjects. English was unanimously agreed as the most important subject. That was mainly a response to the socio-economic setting of Hong Kong society. Yet, pupils' views were found affected by the school, social class and stream that they were in. While more Brookside than Cloudview boys found technical subjects important, more Cloudview than Brookside pupils gave more weight to Music, Art and Craft as important subjects, reflecting the difference in the curricular organisation of the two schools. The practical attitude of the working class children, moreover, was illustrated in their majority support given to the importance of technical subjects - subjects demanding skills. On the other hand,

the pupils' views on the importance of Social Science Subjects according to streaming in general and in Cloudview exemplified the "secondary adjustment" of the less academically able by turning their attention to subjects related more to personality development than to academic achievement.

In short, pupils' views on the importance of school subjects could be grouped according to the instrumental and expressive objectives of the subjects. This dichotomy can further be elaborated by the pupils' assessment on the possibility of acquiring moral education from the school subjects (Question 13b) if moral education was not taught as a time-tabled subject. The aim of this question was to see how pupils would link moral education with the contents of the other school subjects. For example, it is easier for a teacher to link Social Science Subjects with moral education than in the case of Mathematics. The data (Table 8.18) revealed that the first three subjects on the list, which the pupils thought were subjects from which they could acquire moral education were subjects usually taught in a relaxing atmosphere. Chinese, when taught in the local dialect, could give pupils more chances of expressing themselves more freely, for instance. Social Science Subjects, on the other hand, usually involve in discussion on the pupils' ordinary daily life. Physical Education, moreover, is a subject that highlights the importance of pupils' social contact in their games lessons. This seemed to imply that according to the pupils' views, moral education could better be taught in a free and open setting rather than in tightly controlled way.

Table 8.18 Pupils' Views on the Possibilities of
Acquiring Moral Education in School Subjects

Subject	Order of Importance	No. of Pupils Strongly Agreed/Agreed that it offered Moral Education
Chinese	1	272 (74%)
Social Science Subjects	2	225 (61%)
Physical Education	3	160 (43%)
Music, Art & Craft	4	130 (35%)
English	5	129 (35%)
Science Subjects	6	101 (27%)
Technical Subjects	7	72 (20%)
Mathematics	8	52 (14%)

Total number of pupils = 369

However, the children's views differed in the subjects of Science, Social Science and Music, Art & Craft according to school as shown in Table 8.19.

Table 8.19 Pupils' Views on the Moral
Education Value of 3 School Subjects
According to School

(a) Science Subjects

School	No. of Pupils Strongly Agreed/Agreed	No. of Pupils Disagreed	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	19 (21%)	72 (79%)	91 (100%)
Brookside	82 (40%)	121 (60%)	203 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 9.67, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)

(b) Social Science Subjects

School	No. of Pupils Strongly Agreed/Agreed	No. of Pupils Disagreed	Total No. of pupils Responding
Cloudview	66 (65%)	35 (35%)	101 (100%)
Brookside	159 (79%)	43 (21%)	202 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.61, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)

(c) Music, Art & Craft

School	No. of Pupils Strongly Agreed/Agreed	No. of Pupils Disagreed	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	57 (56%)	45 (44%)	102 (100%)
Brookside	73 (37%)	123 (63%)	196 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 8.73, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)

Because of the more strict disciplinary setting in Brookside as mentioned in Chapter 7, it was possible that, either explicitly or implicitly, teachers in general would put more emphasis on moral education during lessons. In turn, pupils would become more conscious of the moral education value of the school subjects. Science Subjects, one of the areas that demand pupils to be extremely self-disciplined, especially when laboratory work is involved, is an example of this for it was very likely that the teachers would remind the pupils consistently of the importance of classroom discipline in order to avoid danger. This, as a result, could lead pupils to feel more strongly about the moral education value of the subjects (Table 8.19a). Social Science Subjects, being subjects more related to personal and character development would accordingly also be used more emphatically by teachers in Brookside. This explains the higher percentage of moral education value given by the boys (Table 8.19b).

However, Music, Art & Craft are more middle class oriented subjects and their moral education value was therefore more appreciated by the boys in Cloudview (Table 8.19c).

Streaming, in terms of its significance to the pupils' views on the moral education value of school subjects, was associated in Brookside with difference in the value of Physical Education in teaching moral education as shown in Table 8.20.

Table 8.20 Pupils' Views on the Moral Education Value of Physical Education According to Streaming in Brookside

Stream	No. of Pupils Strongly Agreed/Agreed	No. of Pupils Disagreed	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	27 (75%)	9 (25%)	36 (100%)
Lower	85 (53%)	77 (47%)	162 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.20, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)

A likely reason to explain the Brookside boys' consciousness of the moral education value in Physical Education was that the teacher of the subject was also the Assistant Discipline Master of the school. Inevitably, he might have linked the two areas together. When the sub-culture model is applied, it is understandable that the upper stream would conform more to the "moral education" that they could acquire during P.E. lessons. A higher percentage could therefore be derived.

As shown above, the pupils' views on whether they could obtain moral education from school subjects depends very much on the school organisation. A strictly disciplined school environment tends to lead to pupils feeling more sensitive about the moral education that they could get during lessons. A tight disciplinary school setting, a more

middle class school social climate or a teacher bearing disciplinary responsibility would all have effects on pupils' views on the moral education value of the school subjects.

Whether pupils supported the teaching of Moral Education as a school subject did not carry very much significance in their evaluation on the importance of these subjects in moral education except in Chinese. Of the 254 pupils who agreed that Moral Education should be a school subject, 215 of them (85%) strongly agreed/agreed that Chinese could offer the teaching of moral education as well. However, the same view was shared by only 50 of the 70 boys (71%) who were not in favour of having Moral Education as a taught subject (Chi-Square = 8.41, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1). This revealed a cultural conformity as Chinese culture is generally associated with a strong emphasis on moral education. As a result, pupils who were in favour of moral education as a subject would also tend to find Chinese a subject that could offer moral education as well.

It is generally agreed that "good organisation in the classroom avoids confrontation and allows the teacher to establish the warm relationship with most of his pupils he wants" (Marland 1975 p.3). In order to understand pupils' views on the classroom social climate resulting from the classroom organisation (which mainly consists of the methods of teaching), pupils were asked the type of teaching method they preferred (Question 12). Pupils of this study appeared to favour learning situations located outside the classroom, providing chances of meeting people other than their own classmates and activities offering more lively approaches. The list of teaching methods in order of preference is shown in Table 8.21.

Table 8.21 Pupils' Views on Teaching Methods
in Order of Preference

Teaching Method	Order of Preference	No. of Pupils Ranking it as Most Interesting/Interesting
Visits to places related to studies	1	342 (93%)
Inter-school exhibitions	2	280 (76%)
Group projects	3	273 (74%)
Classroom teaching	4	238 (64%)
Talks given by outside	5	204 (55%)

Total number of pupils in the group = 369

A study on the relationship between pupils' social class backgrounds and their views on the various teaching methods revealed a difference in the method of "classroom teaching" (Table 8.22).

Table 8.22 Pupils' Views on "Classroom Teaching"
According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Pupils Ranking As Most Int./Int.	the Method As Not Int.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
1	44 (73%)	16 (27%)	60 (100%)
2	30 (55%)	25 (45%)	55 (100%)
3	161 (74%)	58 (26%)	219 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 7.90, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)
Int. = Interesting

If classroom teaching could be used as a symbol to signify pupils' conformity to teacher authority, as it is a method that demands pupils' self-discipline, boys in both Social Class 1 and 3 shared the same degree of conformity in this case. However, whether the conformity of boys in Social Class 1 was a gesture of pro-school

culture or that of boys in Social Class 3, a type of adjustment in form of sullen compliance for fear of sanction, as discussed in Chapter 1, is hard to tell from the available data.

Conclusion

Summing up, the findings above show that the sample of pupils were more affected by their secondary social class status than by their primary social class background. Pupils in Cloudview and in the upper streams in general, for instance, showed that they preferred to stay on in school longer than their counter-parts at the lower levels of the same social ladder. As Cloudview seemed to offer more middle class education, boys of the school showed greater interest in Music, Art and Craft. The school effect was seen in their greater interests in Social Science Subjects reflecting the school's emphasis on this area. If the education in Cloudview was more in line with a "gentleman's education", that in Brookside was quite similar to a "craftsman's education". As a result, boys in Brookside were found more interested in practical subjects such as Technical Subjects. Another piece of evidence which showed the effects of the school on pupils was the strict disciplinary control in Brookside, which had inspired pupils to give higher esteem to the moral education value of subjects such as Science Subjects and Social Sciences. And the disciplinary responsibility of the P.E. teacher in Brookside also made boys in the upper stream of the school think more highly of the moral education value of Physical Education asserting a pro-school culture of the upper stream.

As far as the school curriculum was concerned, the instrumental objectives of this group of pupils were conspicuously shown. Boys in

the lower streams were more under the expressive order. For example, the boys in lower streams found Moral Education and Social Sciences more important than boys in upper streams. However, pupils in lower streams were instrumental in the practical sense, i.e. future-job-oriented. That was why working class children and boys in Brookside were more in favour of Technical Subjects.

The implication of these findings is that as far as the academic aspect was concerned, the pupils are very much affected by the school and its organisation. It is a message signifying the responsibility of the school in helping the pupils to understand themselves and to guide them in working towards their own goals. This highlights the importance of the teachers' pastoral role. However, as Hong Kong is economically moving from a "wage competition" model to a "job competition" model as discussed in Chapter 3, it is not difficult to envisage that the boys in the sample had to adjust the "hidden curriculum" of the school, so that they could reach their academic aims. As a result, the effects of their "cultural capital" could not be obviously seen in the classroom and the theory of the adaptation model could not be well established. In order to further understand the sub-cultural effects on pupils in relation to their adaptations, it is necessary to look into the social aspect of the school life in which the pupils are subject to less authoritarian demands.

Chapter 9

The Pupils (2) - Their Attitudes towards the Social Organisation of the School

The question is not whether school is a form of social engineering or not, but whether or not teachers are going to be aware of, and take part in shaping those features of schooling which represent social engineering.

Hargreaves, D.H. (1982)
The Challenge for the Comprehensive School
Routledge & Kegan Paul London p.90

The theme of this chapter is the social aspect of the pupil-school relationship (Questions 14-27 as revealed in the Questionnaire to the pupils (Appendix 5.1a)). It was examined in two ways :- Positively, it was meant to map out the pupils' school life, which required caring; this included their participation in extra-curricular activities (Questions 14 & 15) and their attitudes towards school uniform (Question 21). Their views on the social aspect of school life were further extended to include their out-of-school life such as their preferable consultants for non-academic problems (Question 18) and the things they found important on leaving school (Question 23) as well as the job they would like to take up in future (Question 24). On the negative side, this section was designed to ascertain aspects of the pupils' school life which might demand disciplinary actions. This included how they thought of truancy (Questions 16 & 17), of challenging the teacher's authority (Question 19), and their views on punishment (Question 20) and graffiti (Question 22).

As shown in Chapter 7, both schools had developed

well-structured caring and disciplinary networks. System-wise, in both schools, there were discipline masters to deal with discipline problems and careers teachers and school social workers to handle the related caring business. The form teachers, on the other hand, played a composite role consisting of both disciplining and caring. To assist the teachers in disciplinary business were the prefects and monitors, selected mainly by teachers. The Heads and Deputy Heads generally remained in the background ready for the more difficult cases. Both schools applied detention and demerit systems as methods of punishment for the "deviants". Pupils were expected to follow the guidelines mentioned in the notes/regulations issued to them at the beginning of the school year (Appendix 9.1). A copy was pinned up on the notice board in every classroom. There were regular checks on pupils' attendance, punctuality, clothes and school behaviour in general. On the whole, as observed during the period of research, which included interviews and classroom observation, the pupils were quite sensibly behaved and would give due respect to adults, including teachers and visitors.

Though the records of detention were not available for reference, the rate of absence (September, 1982 - January, 1983), as revealed in the registers, was very low in both schools. Yet, a comparatively higher rate was found in Brookside Technical and in the lower streams of both schools as shown in Table 9.1.

Table 9.1 Rate of Absence in the 2 Schools
(September, 1982 - January, 1983)

School	Stream	Total No. of Days of Absence	No. of Pupils	No. of Days By School	per Pupil By Stream
Cloudview	Upper	12	35	0.65	0.34
	Lower	81	108		0.75
Brookside	Upper	15	40	0.82	0.38
	Lower	170	186		0.91

Generally speaking, the social organisation of the two schools had included both developmental and disciplinary measures. In order to understand how effective these measures were, this chapter, therefore, tries to examine the pupils' views of them.

Pupils' views of the developmental measures of their schools' social organisation

On the non-academic side, both schools offered quite a large variety of extra-curricular activities to the pupils (Appendix 7.6). There were 31 types in Cloudview and 26 in Brookside. Generally speaking, pupils were advised to take part in the activities, but not to become involved in too many. The number of extra-curricular activities in which pupils in the sample had taken part is as follows:

Table 9.2 Pupils' Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities

Number of Activities	Number of Pupils Involved
0	132 (36%)
1 - 2	176 (48%)
3 - 4	49 (13%)
5 - 6	4 (1%)
6+	7 (2%)

Total number of pupils = 369

Mean score = 1.85

i.e. Not more than 2 types per pupil.

Standard deviation = 0.83

Of the 369 boys in the sample, 236 of them (64%) were involved in at least one of the extra-curricular activities while 176 of them (i.e. about half of the group) had taken part in one or two.

However, variation was found between schools and streams as shown in

Table 9.3.

Table 9.3 Pupils' Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities According to School and Stream

(a) According to School

No. of Pupils School	0	No. of Activity 1 - 4	5+	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	29	109	5	143
(%)	(20)	(76)	(4)	(100)
Brookside	103	116	6	225
(%)	(46)	(51)	(3)	(100)

(Chi-Square = 24.75, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)

(b) According to Stream (General)

No. of Pupils Stream (General)	No. of Activity			Total No. of Pupils Responding
	0	1 - 4	5+	
Upper	15	55	5	75
(%)	(20)	(73)	(7)	(100)
Lower	117	170	6	293
(%)	(40)	(58)	(2)	(100)

(Chi-Square = 13.2, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 2)

(c) According to Stream (Cloudview)

No. of Pupils Stream (Cloudview)	No. of Activity			Total No. of Pupils Responding
	0	1 - 4	5+	
Upper	9	25	1	35
(%)	(26)	(71)	(3)	(100)
Lower	20	84	4	108
(%)	(19)	(78)	(3)	(100)

(Chi-Square = 0.87, $p = \text{Not Significant}$, D.f. = 2)

(d) According to Stream (Brookside)

No. of Pupils Stream (Brookside)	No. of Activity			Total No. of Pupils Responding
	0	1 - 4	5+	
Upper	6	30	4	40
(%)	(15)	(75)	(10)	(100)
Lower	97	86	2	185
(%)	(52)	(47)	(1)	(100)

(Chi-Square = 25.1, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 2)

There are a number of implications that can be detected from Tables 9.2 and 9.3.

Firstly, most pupils were quite involved in extra-curricular activities organised by the school. However, pupils in Brookside were less active than their counter-parts in Cloudview (Table 9.3a). Almost half of them (46%) had not participated in any of the

activities at all. As revealed in the analysis of school organisation in Chapter 7, Brookside was in a traditional setting in which discipline seemed to have over-shadowed other school activities. However, Cloudview seemed to have a more open atmosphere, and pupils were therefore more involved in activities of this kind. This suggests that the general managerial style of the school can also affect pupils' participation in extra-curricular activities.

When the pupils' involvement in extra-curricular activities was considered according to stream (general) (Table 9.3b), it was found that, on the whole, pupils in the upper streams in the sample were more involved. 60 of the 75 pupils (80%) were found taking part in at least one of these activities while 176 of the 293 pupils in the lower streams (i.e. 60%) had done so. However, when pupils in the different streams were considered separately according to their own school, the picture became different. The less restricted school setting in Cloudview seemed to have encouraged pupils to be more involved in extra-curricular activities and therefore little difference was found between the upper and lower streams, as shown in Table 9.3c.

Streaming, nevertheless, was quite a strong indicator in Brookside concerning pupils' participation in extra-curricular activities. More than half of the 185 boys in the lower stream (52%) had not taken part in any extra-curricular activities at all. This situation could be explained by both the sub-culture and adaptation models. For the former, the boys in the lower streams suffered from what Hargreaves calls "double failure" (1967 p.169); they had failed to get a place in a grammar school and failed to get even a place in

the upper stream in a "second class school". In short, they were in the bottom "social class" of the school society. Their lack of interest in school activities, on the other hand, echoed what King suggested, that "middle class pupils are more often members of school teams than working class pupils" (1973 p.82). This may also be the result of what Corrigan revealed in his study, that it is because "they (the working class children) would not like to be seen colluding with the school authority" (1979 p.100). In the lower streams, there might even be a complete rejection of school activities as Derek, a good swimmer of 4D in Lumley Secondary Modern, said, "I wouldn't swim for this bloody school" (Hargreaves 1967 p.188).

In addition to the social climate fostered by extra-curricular activities, the nature of these activities is also important. Of the 26 extra-curricular activities in Brookside, 7 were academic clubs related to the academic subjects. Of the 40 boys in the upper stream, 9 of them reported academic clubs as the first of the two most interesting activities while 10 of them as the second. What is revealed in this analysis is the question of whom the extra-curricular activities nowadays are really for. If the aim of organising extra-curricular activities is merely to increase the prestige of the school and the teachers, then "playing football for school is not their (the pupils') game" (Corrigan 1979 p.101).

The extra-curricular activities held in the two schools were grouped according to their nature into seven types as follows :-

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) Games | e.g. football, basketball |
| (2) Athletics | e.g. swimming, field and track events |

- (3) Physical Exercises e.g. gymnastics, martial art
- (4) Cultural Appreciation e.g. Music, reading
- (5) Social Services e.g. Red Cross, Duke of
Edinburgh Award Scheme
(D.E.A.), Scouting
- (6) Creative Activities e.g. painting, photography
- (7) Academic Clubs e.g. English club, Chinese club

In order to understand the types of activities that were more appealing to the pupils, they were asked to name two extra-curricular activities which they found most interesting (Question 15) and the lists of their choices are as follows :-

Table 9.4 Rank Order of Extra-Curricular
Activities According to Pupils'
Preference

(a) As the First Activity

Rank Order	Activity	No. of Pupils
1	Games	198 (54%)
2	Creative activities	90 (24%)
3	Athletics	36 (10%)
4	Academic clubs	16 (4.3%)
5	Cultural appreciation	14 (3.7%)
6	Physical exercises	12 (3%)
7	Social services	3 (1%)
Total		369 (100%)

(b) As the Second Activity

Rank Order	Activity	No. of Pupils
1	Games	196 (53%)
2	Creative activities	78 (21%)
3	Athletics	43 (12%)
4	Academic clubs	32 (9%)
5	Cultural appreciation	9 (2.4%)
6	Social services	6 (1.6%)
7	Physical exercises	5 (1%)
Total		369 (100%)

On the whole, most of the boys in the sample group (more than half) named games as both the first (54% of the group) and the second (53% of the group) most interesting extra-curricular activities. That can be seen as a reflection of the strong masculine connotation as expressed by "the lads" of the Hammertown boys (Willis 1977 pp.45-47). And the rank orders of the activities both as the first and the second most interesting activities were almost the same. A significant correlation was found between opting for the first activity and that for the second ($r = 0.29$, significant at 0.01 level). However, differences were found between the boys of the two schools in their preference for the first and second most interesting activities (Appendix 9.2). There was a higher preference for games in Brookside. As Brookside was a converted modern school, facilities, especially those for sports, were rather inadequate. Games were, therefore, always held outside school in the public gymnasium or playground. To the students, this was time out. In addition, as games like this could be more easily organised, they had over-shadowed the students' interests in athletics, for the organisation of the latter required more time and greater skills in planning. On the other hand, there was a lower percentage of preference in Brookside for activities such as physical exercises (e.g. gymnastics, martial art) and cultural appreciation (e.g. music, reading). This provides another example which shows how students can be "shaped" by the school. In the former case, it was very likely due to the fact that no extra-curricular activity of this kind was offered in Brookside. In the latter case, the more practical attitude of the students in Brookside seemed to have dissuaded them from taking part in activities which were merely for leisure rather than

for practical use in daily life.

In both schools, a very low preference was found for social service activities. As social service was compulsory in Cloudview, there seemed to be no reason why students would take part in any additional activities of a similar nature. As in Brookside, it seemed that their practical philosophy again played a part as social service does not seem to be substantially rewarding, especially from a materialistic point of view.

Study on the pupils' choice of the first and second most interesting activities also showed that pupils of the upper and lower streams had different preferences (Appendix 9.3). In general, pupils in the lower streams had a greater preference for physical activities e.g. games (Type 1), while pupils in the upper streams of both schools showed a much higher tendency to take creative activities as the second most interesting activity groups (Type 6) - activities which demand more use of mental skills - a more middle class activity. In Brookside, moreover, there was a greater preference for games as almost half of the pupils in the lower streams had named games as the first and second most interesting activities. Boys in the upper streams, on the other hand, were more inclined to middle class activities as more than half of them (53%) named creative activities as the first most interesting activity and more than one-third the second. The situation, however, was different in Cloudview. As the school was in a more open setting, no significant association was found between pupils' preference for extra-curricular activities and streaming. At the same time, no significant link could be found between pupils' preference for the second most interesting activity and streaming in general.

Pupils' option for extra-curricular activities carries two significant implications. Firstly, it points to the fact that extra-curricular activities can be a very good means of directing pupils to a healthy school life. In a more pragmatic sense, energies that might be used for vandalism or damage can be diverted to more constructive channels in terms of the welfare of the pupils. Secondly, pupils are strongly influenced by how the school is organised, which even includes their participation in activities of a non-academic nature. This further underlines the theme of this thesis that schools do affect not only the pupils' academic life but also their social activities in school.

One of the indicators that can signify pupils' links to their school is their school uniform for "the wearing of uniform is an expressive activity, it is a school approved mode of behaviour" (King 1973 p.49). And "the observance of the school uniform (is regarded) as a constant test of the individual pupil's allegiance to the school" (ibid. p.61). Of the 369 boys in the sample, 212 of them (58%) said that they found it better to go to school in uniform while 156 of them (42%) preferred not (Question 21). Yet, differences were found between pupils of the two schools as shown below.

Table 9.5 Pupils' Preference for School Uniform According to School

School	No. of Pupils Pref. Uniform	No. of Pupils Not Pref. Uniform	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	67 (47%)	76 (53%)	143 (100%)
Brookside	145 (64%)	80 (36%)	225 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 10.37, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
Pref. = Preferring

The effect of streaming status, however, was not found to influence pupils' views on wearing school uniform (Appendix 9.4). This is different from Hargreaves' finding that school uniform was more appealing to the A stream, where ties and uniforms were "the symbols of A stream academicism" (1967 p.32).

What is shown in Table 9.5 is that how pupils think of their school uniform can be seen to be in line with the school's policy on it. As Cloudview did not impose a rigid school uniform pattern (Appendix 9.1a), more pupils tended to prefer not to wear it as compared with boys in Brookside where school uniform was one of the major items on the check-list of the disciplining routine (Appendix 9.1b). This suggests that pupils' educational experience is very much affected by the school norms. If school uniform signifies one's devotion to school, a link may be found between one's preference for school uniform and whether or not the school is his own choice. Of the 264 boys in the sample who reported that the present school was one of the first three which they applied for, 161 of them (61%) preferred wearing school uniform as compared with 48 of the 100 boys (48%) who did not opt for the present school. (Chi-Square = 4.48, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1). The rank orders of the reasons for "wearing" and "not wearing" school uniform are as follows :-

Table 9.6

(a) Reasons for Wearing School Uniform (N = 212)

Reason	Rank Order	No. of Pupils Ranking it as Very Important/ Important
Showing pupils' identity	1	193 (91%)
Making the whole class look neat and tidy	2	182 (86%)
Showing students' loyalty to the school	3	133 (63%)
No need of thinking what to wear everyday	4	118 (56%)
School uniforms are less expensive than other clothes	5	99 (47%)

(b) Reasons Against Wearing School Uniform (N = 156)

Reason	Rank Order	No. of Pupils Ranking it as Very Important/ Important
Students feel more at home	1	130 (83%)
More convenient for students who may need to work or attend social meetings after school	2	125 (80%)
Shorter social distance between teachers and students	3	110 (71%)
No extra money needed for school uniform	4	90 (58%)
Training students to be reasonable and independent	5	83 (53%)

A comparison between Tables 9.6 a & b shows that pupils who preferred to wear school uniform were more school-oriented. They claimed, for example, that identity with the school and the

appearance of the whole class were the important reasons for wearing uniform. Pupils who were against wearing uniform were more self-oriented. They indicated, for instance, that students felt more at home and their involvement in after school activities as reasons for not wearing uniform. School, stream and social class, however, were not statistically significant variables causing differences in pupils' views on school uniform except on the following items :-

- (a) "Making the whole class look neat and tidy" according to school for the "Yes" group,
- (b) "A way of training students to be reasonable and independent" according to school for the "No" group
- and (c) "Uniform being less expensive than other clothes" according to stream (general).

The findings of the above situations are shown in Table 9.7.

Table 9.7

(a) Pupils' Views on Wearing School Uniform for "Making the Whole Class Look Neat and Tidy" According to School

School	No. of Pupils Ranking it		Total No. of Pupils Responding
	As V.Impt./Impt.	As Not Impt.	
Cloudview	53 (84%)	10 (16%)	63 (100%)
Brookside	129 (95%)	7 (5%)	136 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.04, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important Impt. = Important

(b) Pupils' Views on Not Wearing School Uniform "as a Way of Training Pupils to be Reasonable and Independent" According to school

School	No. of Pupils Ranking it		Total No. of Pupils Responding
	As V.Impt./Impt.	As Not Impt.	
Cloudview	49 (71%)	20 (29%)	69 (100%)
Brookside	34 (49%)	36 (51%)	70 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.37, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important Impt. = Important

(C) Pupils' Views on Wearing School Uniform because it was "Less Expensive than Other Clothes" According to Stream (General)

Stream	No. of Pupils Ranking it		Total No. of Pupils Responding
	As V.Impt./Impt.	As Not Impt.	
Upper	13 (35%)	24 (65%)	37 (100%)
Lower	86 (55%)	71 (45%)	157 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 3.87, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important Impt. = Important

The implication derived from Tables 9.7a & b is that as school uniform in Brookside was rigidly controlled, pupils tended to care more about neatness and tidiness of the class, which could be most easily obtained if pupils wore uniform. On the other hand, the "care-free school uniform style" in Cloudview had made pupils more conscious of being reasonable and sensible when considering what to wear for a school day. The significance of this result is that it again shows that there is a close relationship between pupils' views on school process and school organisation. Moreover, the slightly higher number of pupils in the lower streams (general) for the issue as shown in Table 9.7c seemed to reveal the practical attitude of this group of pupils when wearing school uniform was considered

solely on economic grounds though the difference was not very great. Yet, the comparatively greater majority of the upper stream (general) boys (65%) refuting it as a cause for wearing school uniform could be considered as an example of this group's pro-school culture.

Pastoral care in schools can become effective only if people doing the caring job, such as teachers and school social workers, can earn the trust and confidence of pupils. In order to understand the situation in this aspect, pupils were asked to whom they would go for problems other than those connected with their studies (Question 18). The proposed consultants were basically composed of two groups of people : people of the family and people of the school. The rank order of preference for consulting these people is shown in Table 9.8.

Table 9.8 Pupils' Preference for the Proposed Consultants

People	Rank Order	No. of Pupils Ranking them as Very Likely/ Likely Consultants
Friends	1	339 (92%)
Father	2	251 (68%)
Mother	3	248 (67%)
Form Teacher	4	220 (60%)
Brother(s)	5	218 (59%)
Subject Teacher(s)	6	194 (53%)
Sister(s)	7	180 (49%)
School Social Worker	8	149 (40%)

Total No. of Pupils = 369

The findings in Table 9.8 can be summed up into three major points :-

(1) Pupils can be very much affected by their peers. As Cohen points out, "group standards" always form the "frame of reference", which in turn causes the emergence of a "new sub-culture" (1955 p.65). This demonstrates the significance of the pupils' "group culture" in school. In order to understand the needs of a certain pupil, the teacher, when acting in "loco parentis", needs to understand the "group culture" of his "associates".

(2) Pupils on the whole put family authority before school authority as revealed in the difference (though not extremely great) between their confidence in parents and teachers. The crux of the matter is that a closer link between the school and the home is vitally necessary for the well-being of the pupils, for what and how their parents think matters.

(3) In spite of the Government's effort in publicizing and financing the school social work scheme, pupils still did not find the school social worker to be the person to go to for their problems. There are possibly two reasons for this. Firstly, as school social work is still a comparatively new scheme, pupils might not yet know what it was about. Secondly, pupils might still be holding the traditional pathological point of view that a school social worker is needed only when there is a problem - a serious problem. The consequences of this are less serious if the cause is the former for what would be needed in that case is further publicity for the scheme. However, if the cause is the latter, then a more radical solution is required such as large social education programmes to bring to the public attention what the role of a school

social worker is supposed to be.

Variation in pupils' preference for proposed consultants was also found according to school, family size, streaming in Cloudview and the number of brothers and sisters that pupils had (Appendix 9.5 - 9.8). Family size, the number of brothers and sisters were included as indicators because they could map out the extent of the pupils' peer circle, which in turn could indicate the types of possible consultants that the sample pupils could have for their non-academic problems.

In the study of pupils' preference for the proposed consultants, pupils in Cloudview were found more likely to consult their parents than the Brookside boys (Appendix 9.5). This points to the fact that the gap between pupils in a grammar school and their parents who are more likely to be middle class may be narrower than that between pupils in a technical school and their parents who are more likely to be working class. It was also found that pupils from larger families were more likely to share their problems with their brothers and sisters, who, due to circumstantial needs, might share the responsibilities for taking care of their brothers and sister with their parents (Appendix 9.6). In addition, pupils who had more brothers were found more likely to consult their brothers than those who had fewer (Appendix 9.7); and pupils who had more sisters were found more likely to consult their sisters than those who had fewer (Appendix 9.8).

The analysis of pupils' choice of people for consulting about their non-academic problems, as discussed above, does throw light on the caring task of the school. Firstly, more effort should be made to bring the school and the parents together, partly for seeking the

parents' help and partly for making them understand what is going on in school. This, in turn, would narrow the gap between the three groups - the school (and the teachers), the parents and the pupils, and as a result, the pupils would be better cared for. Secondly, a better understanding of the family structure of the pupils, such as the family size and the number of brothers and sisters they have, could help to improve the effectiveness of the teacher's caring job.

One of the many things that teachers need to do to understand the youngsters is to know what they want from school. To ask what they think are the major tasks of the school is one of the ways of collecting information of this kind (as in Question 9). Yet another way of getting more practical and direct information in this aspect is to structure the order of priority of some daily issues of their ordinary life. If teachers can more fully understand what the pupils want, they can then build on the pupils' interests. In Question 23, pupils were asked what they thought were the important things if they were to leave school that Summer. The rank order of the proposed things, as viewed by the third year boys in the study, is shown in Table 9.9.

Table 9.9 Rank Order of Some Daily Issues
As Viewed by the Third Year Boys

Item	Rank Order	No. of Pupils Ranking it As Very Important/Important
Getting a job they like	1	360 (98%)
Earning money	2	321 (87%)
Their families	3	303 (82%)
Having a girl friend	4	220 (60%)
Having a good time while young	5	197 (53%)
Being treated as a grown-up	6	172 (47%)

Total No. of Pupils in the Group = 369

What is shown in Table 9.9 is the practical attitude of the pupils even at the age of 14 or 15. Most of them put job and money before everything. This is a reflection of the general philosophy in a society like Hong Kong as illustrated in Chapter 3. However, further variation in pupils' attitudes could still be detected from the following subjects :-

(1) "Having a girl friend " as the very important/
important thing according to school, and

(2) "Being treated as a grown-up" as the very important/
important thing according to streaming in Brookside.

These variations are shown in Tables 9.10 and 9.11. respectively.

Table 9.10 Pupils' Views on "Having a girl friend" According to School

School	No. of Pupils Ranking it As V.Impt./Impt. As Not Impt.		Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	99 (74%)	35 (26%)	134 (100%)
Brookside	121 (61%)	76 (39%)	197 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.01, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important Impt. = Important

Table 9.11 Pupils' Views on "Being treated as a grown-up" According to Stream (Brookside)

Stream	No. of Pupils Ranking it As V.Impt./Impt. As Not Impt.		Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	11 (31%)	24 (69%)	35 (100%)
Lower	91 (54%)	78 (46%)	169 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.00, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important Impt. = Important

The difference in "having a girl friend" between boys of the two schools (Table 9.10) appeared to be more of an ecological issue. Cloudview was situated next to a private independent co-educational school and there was a Girls' Section in Brookside (Chapter 7). The difference between boys of the two schools in this issue could further be elaborated by the following two pieces of notes jotted during the classroom interviews with the pupils. Both were from the lowest streams of the two schools.

When asked what else they would expect the school to do for them, one of the boys in the lowest stream of Cloudview asked, "Why can't we have joint school activities with the girls next door?" Yet, to the same topic, a boy in the lowest stream of Brookside (as labelled by the school) asked, "Why can't we have joint activities

with the Girls' Section?" As shown in Table 9.10, there was a majority of boys in both schools finding "having a girl friend" as important to a 15-year-old school leaver. Yet, the comparatively smaller majority in Brookside could most properly be explained by the fact that, in broad terms, Brookside was rather like a co-educational school. "To meet those girls is not really that difficult" as one of the other boys in Brookside responded to his classmate mentioned above.

The findings that more than half of the boys in the lower streams of Brookside as compared with less than one-third of their counter-parts in the upper stream found "being treated as a grown-up" as important (Table 9.11) could be considered as a reflection of what the lower stream boys thought of their streaming status. Being in the lower stream of a technical school is the lowest status in the school system which would explain why more boys in the lower streams reported that being treated as "equals" was important.

A powerful indicator of pupils' social aspiration is their occupational aspiration - the type of jobs they would like to do in future (Question 24). This would show the types of social class which they aspired to. Of the 369 boys in the sample, only 70 of them (19%) would like to do the same kind of jobs as their fathers while 294 of them (80%) would not.

The jobs, according to social class, that pupils would like to do after their schooling are shown in Table 9.12. In this case, the R.G. Social Class category was used as it forms a more comprehensive picture as to where the pupils would like to be in the future work market.

Table 9.12 Social Class (R.G. Category)
of the Jobs that Pupils Opted for

Social Class (R.G. Category)	No. of Pupils Opting for the Group
1	37 (10%)
2	82 (22%)
3	117 (32%)
4	64 (17%)
5	1 (1%)
(Nil Returns)	68 (18%)
Total	369 (100%)

Note : 1 = R.G. Social Class I
2 = R.G. Social Class II
3 = R.G. Social Class III (Non-Manual)
4 = R.G. Social Class III (Manual)
5 = R.G. Social Class IV & V

What is shown here is that more pupils preferred to take up jobs belonging to R.G. Social Class II and III (Non-Manual).

A study on the pupils' option for their job illustrates another aspect in their practical attitude. Generally speaking, the pupils of this sample were not of outstanding ability as they were pupils of a "second class" grammar and a technical school. This might explain why there was a relatively low preference for jobs belonging to Social Class I. The possible reasons why less than one-quarter of them chose jobs from Social Class II and about one-third from Social Class III (Non-Manual) could properly be summed up by Luke, one of the Cloudview pupils who attended the follow-up interview and wanted to be a clerk. When asked why he wanted to be a clerk, he replied :

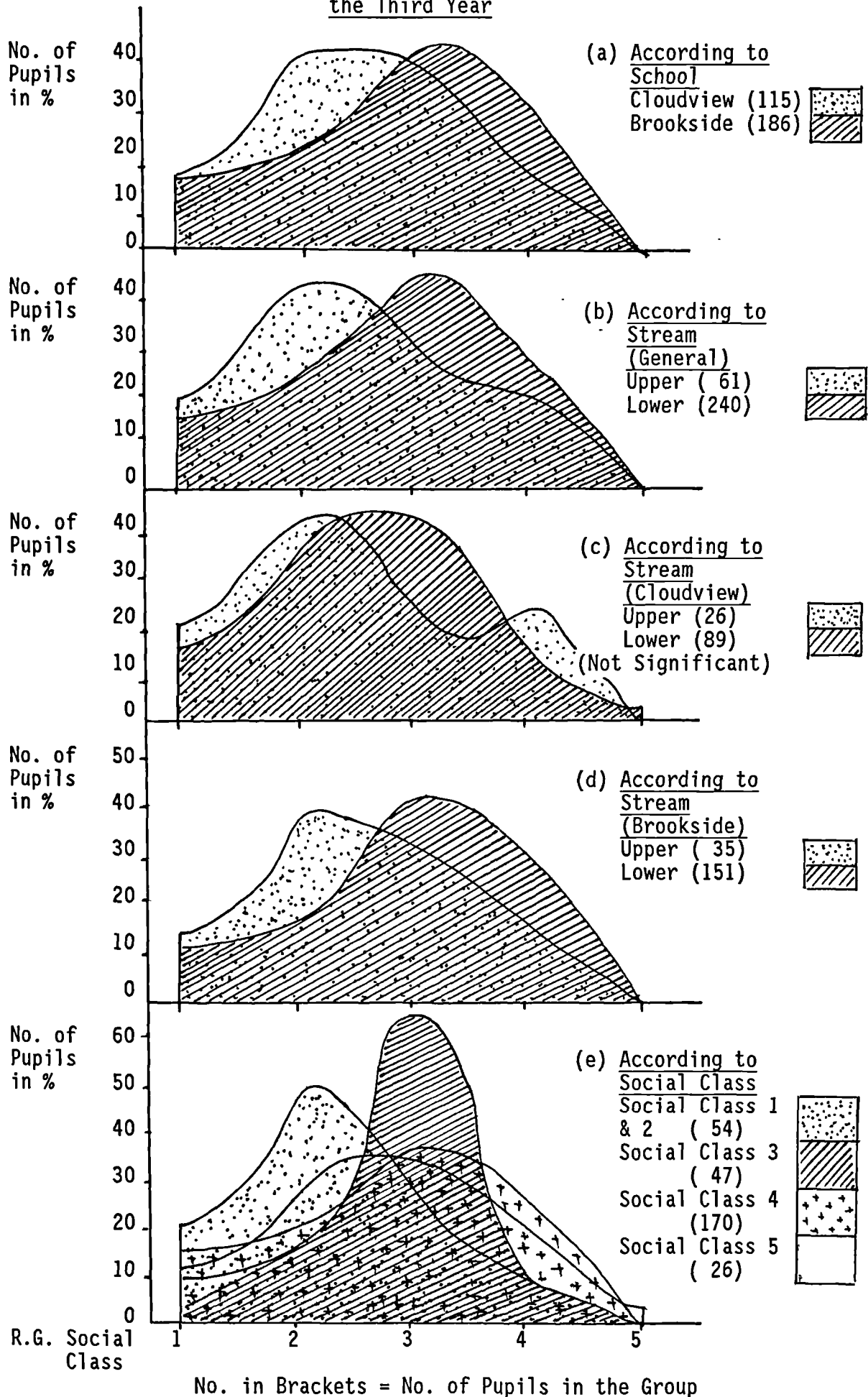
First of all, I don't think I belong to the academic type. Besides, I want an easy life. Why bother to go through all those fights and struggles. And, after all, the life of a clerk is easy and simple. My father is able to support all of us by being a clerk. But we are a happy family. (There were 9 children in his family.)

Reflecting on Luke's reply, the pupils' less ambitious option for jobs could be explained by one or more of the following reasons :-

- (1) They might understand that their own abilities were too limited for highly paid professional jobs,
- (2) Some might just have wanted a simple and easy life so they just chose simple and easy jobs (but not a manual one),
- and (3) They might have wanted just a "decent" job to support a "decent" or happy life.

The pupils' preferred jobs according to school, stream and social class are presented diagrammatically in Figure 9.1. Their job expectation profile was constructed based on the findings revealed in Appendix 9.9. As there was only one pupil from R.G. Social Class 1 in the responding group, it was not enough to compare with the other social divisions. R.G. Social Class 1 and 2 were therefore combined together to form one group.

Figure 9.1 Job Expectation Profiles of the Third Year



On the whole, as revealed in Figure 9.1, pupils in Cloudview, in the upper streams and in Social Class 1 and 2 had higher job aspirations. The lower the social ladder of the pupils, in both primary and secondary senses, the more the peaks of occupational aspiration would be at the lower end of the respective social hierarchy. The fact that the peaks of occupational expectation of the pupils coming from Social Class 4 and 5 did not correspond to their own social status can be seen as a "natural phenomenon" for it is not unreasonable to expect this group of children to have higher job aspirations than their fathers'. The situation in Cloudview, on the other hand, indicates the fact that boys in a grammar school possess higher careers expectation. Only 13 of the 143 boys (9%) opted for manual jobs.

The analysis of pupils' expectation on jobs in future showed that their occupational aspiration belonged either to the inner-directed or the residual categories as shown in Corrigan's study (1979 p.73).¹ Because of the under-developed careers guidance service in most Hong Kong schools, including the two under study, their choice was not very likely to be other-directed. At the same time, because few pupils opted for their fathers' jobs, their choice was less likely to be tradition-directed. The possibly inner-directed and residual nature of the pupils' option for job signifies the importance of careers guidance in school. When jobs are chosen on an inner-directed or a residual basis, it means that the choice is made with no proper reference. The result of this, maybe, pupils may have chosen jobs which they later find out are not suitable for them and thus may feel disappointed or frustrated because of this. The study on the pupils' views on jobs reveals that they did not seem to have

any "phantasies for jobs" nor did the "lure of the white collar job" attract them. However, the differences found in their job expectation according to school, streams and social class seem to re-inforce Wilson's conclusion that "the segregation of children into different types of secondary schools (and also streams in this study) will have a profound effect on their attitudes to vocation" (1953 p.112). As Wilson sums up in her study, the pupils had shown "a healthy desire to climb to the top of the tree, but little yearning to move into another part of the forest, where there are taller trees" (ibid.). The pupils' practical attitude on jobs echoed their practical attitude on opting for schools that demanded less competition as discussed in the last chapter.

What has been discussed above are the pupils' views on the ways in which the schools care for the well-being of the children. These approaches take many different forms, such as the organisation of extra-curricular activities, the development of the pupils' sense of belonging to their schools through school uniforms, helping pupils to handle ordinary non-academic problems including issues arising from daily life and guiding pupils to make appropriate careers choice. Such a positive approach is vital in order to promote social integration within a school and to develop self-understanding and social awareness of the pupils. However, agreement is not always possible between teachers and pupils because of the cultural conflicts which may occur due to differences in social class backgrounds in both primary and secondary senses. Consequently, some sanctions are needed. This brings us to the disciplining action of teachers.

Pupils' views on the disciplining actions of their school

As discussed earlier, the disciplining actions of teachers are sometimes found to be necessary. However, the effects of such actions depend very much on how pupils view them. In order to understand how pupils thought of the preventive (or controlling) aspect of the social life in school, they were asked questions on the following subjects :-

- (1) Truancy (Questions 16 & 17),
 - (2) Reaction to misunderstanding between teachers
and pupils (Question 19),
 - (3) Effectiveness of punishment (Question 20)
- and (4) Graffiti (Question 22).

Of the 369 boys in the group, 28 of them (8%) admitted that they had played truant during that school year while 338 of them (92%) reported that they had not. The data can be confirmed genuine by the rate of absence shown in Table 9.1. When pupils were asked what possible reasons would cause them to play truant, the following rank order was formulated :-

Table 9.13 Rank Order of Possible Causes
For Truancy

Cause	Rank Order	No. of Pupils Ranking it as Most Likely/Likely
Avoiding a teacher's punishment	1	143 (39%)
Avoiding a boring lesson	2	135 (37%)
Avoiding a test	3	122 (33%)
Avoiding a threatening school mate	4	111 (30%)
Accompanying a best friend	5	105 (28%)

Total No. of Pupils in the group = 369

The low percentage of the pupils' ranking the proposed causes as the most likely/likely reason for truancy could best be explained by the low reported rate of truancy because all these causes might not be possible reasons to them as they had seldom played truant. The rank order of the possible causes for truancy, however, shows that the teacher's authority could sometimes be the reason behind a case of truancy. It was the teacher's authority to punish, to manage a lesson and to assess pupils' academic work that formed the three main reasons of truancy, as viewed by the pupils.

An analysis of the pupils' views on the various possible reasons for truancy, according to their school and stream, revealed differences in the following subjects :-

- (1) Avoiding a test, according to school,
- (2) Avoiding a boring lesson, according to
streaming in Cloudview,
- (3) Avoiding a threatening school mate,
according to school
- and (4) Accompanying a best friend, according to

streaming in general.

The variation of pupils' views on the above subjects is shown in Table 9.14.

Table 9.14 Pupils' Different Views on Causes For Truancy According to School, and Stream

(a) "Avoiding a Test" According to School

School	No. of Pupils As M.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	62 (45%)	76 (55%)	138 (100%)
Brookside	60 (27%)	162 (73%)	222 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 11.39, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
M.L. = Most Likely L = Likely

(b) "Avoiding a Threatening School Mate" According to School

School	No. of Pupils As M.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	26 (19%)	108 (81%)	134 (100%)
Brookside	85 (40%)	128 (60%)	213 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 14.97, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
M.L. = Most Likely L = Likely

(c) "Avoiding a Boring Lesson" According to Stream (Cloudview)

Stream	No. of Pupils As M.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	7 (20%)	28 (80%)	35 (100%)
Lower	44 (44%)	56 (56%)	100 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.37, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
M.L. = Most Likely L = Likely

(d) "Accompanying a Best Friend"
According to Stream (General)

Stream (General)	No. of Pupils Ranking it		Total No. of Pupils Responding
	As M.L./L.	As Not L.	
Upper	14 (19%)	59 (81%)	73 (100%)
Lower	91 (33%)	186 (67%)	277 (100%)

(Chi-Square ≈ 4.51 , $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
M.L. = Most Likely L. = Likely

The analysis shown in Tables 9.14a-d can be summed up as follows :-

(a) Boys in Cloudview were more likely to play truant for academic reasons e.g. to avoid a test (Table 9.14a).

(b) Boys in Brookside were more likely to play truant for non-academic reasons e.g. to avoid a threatening school mate (Table 9.14b).

(c) Pupils in the lower streams (general), similar to boys in Brookside, were also more likely to stay away from school on non-academic grounds, e.g. to run away from the boredom of lessons (Table 9.14c) or to accompany a best friend (Table 9.14d).

The implications, derived from the findings on truancy on the positive side of caring, are that teachers have an obligation to lessen the academic tension on pupils in the academic streams and to promote the positive attitudes of pupils in the non-academic streams. This could be achieved by making teacher-pupil and pupil-pupil relationships in the classroom more "informal". As in the case of truancy, to understand the reason is as important as it is to punish the "culprit".

In order to understand the pupils' views on the significance of

the teacher's authority, they were asked how they would react to a teacher's wrong accusation of cheating in a test (Question 19). The rank order of the possible reactions is shown in Table 9.15.

Table 9.15 Rank Order of Possible Reactions to Teacher's Wrong Accusation of Cheating in a Test

Reaction	Rank Order	No. of Pupils Ranking it as Most Likely
Talk to him after the test	1	315 (85%)
Swear at him secretly	2	286 (78%)
Send a letter of complaint to the Director of Education	3	183 (50%)
Swear at him openly	4	159 (43%)
Try to take revenge on him	5	122 (33%)

Total No. of pupils in the Group = 369

The rank order of the possible reactions shows that boys generally preferred consultation to confrontation; open conflict was the last resort. Yet, there were issues that the boys viewed differently according to school and stream as shown in Table 9.16.

Table 9.16 Difference in Pupils' Views on the Proposed Reactions to Teacher's Wrong Accusation

(a) "Try to take revenge on him"
According to School

School	No. of Pupils Ranking it As V.L./L.	As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	59 (45%)	71 (56%)	130 (100%)
Brookside	63 (29%)	152 (71%)	215 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 8.48, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
V.L. = Very Likely L = likely

(b) "Send a letter of complaint to the Director of Education"
According to School

School	No. of Pupils As V.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	58 (44%)	73 (56%)	131 (100%)
Brookside	125 (59%)	88 (41%)	213 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.20, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.L. = Very Likely L = likely

(c) "Swearing at him openly"
According to Stream (General)

Stream (General)	No. of Pupils As V.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	19 (27%)	51 (73%)	70 (100%)
Lower	140 (49%)	147 (51%)	287 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 9.80, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
V.L. = Very Likely L = Likely

(d) "Swearing at him openly" According to Stream (Brookside)

Stream (Brookside)	No. of Pupils As V.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	11 (28%)	28 (72%)	39 (100%)
Lower	92 (51%)	90 (49%)	182 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.58, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.L. = Very Likely L = Likely

There were two noteworthy points revealed in Tables 9.16a-d :

Firstly, the comparatively more open school ethos in Cloudview seemed to have divided the pupils almost equally for and against the issues of "taking revenge on the teacher" and

"complaining to the Director of Education". However, in the case of Brookside, the relatively more tight disciplinary control seemed to have "prevented" pupils from "taking revenge on the teacher". On the other hand, the comparatively greater majority of Brookside boys for "complaining to the Director of Education" could possibly be explained by the adaptation model when searching for help from outside seemed to be the only way out for these children.

Secondly, the extremely low percentage for "swearing at him openly" in both the upper stream in general and in Brookside were examples showing the conforming nature of the upper streams as discussed in studies by Hargreaves (1967) and Lacey (1970). The almost equally divided "for" and "against" groups in the lower streams of the respective groups, moreover, could most likely be explained by the low stream status, which might have generated a sense of inferiority, making quite a number of them (about half) feel indifferent to any kind of open reaction to the teacher. The lack of significance found in the Cloudview streaming system on "swearing at the teacher openly" (Appendix 9.10) might most possibly be due to the comparatively more open setting of the school making pupils think differently from the conventional belief that the upper streams were "for" and the lower streams were "against" the teachers' authority.

The significance of all the above findings to the teachers' caring job in the school is that the teacher needs to allow more opportunities for the pupils to express themselves before making hasty judgements. At the same time, it also indicates that a teacher needs to be compassionate, sympathetic and understanding. However, he needs to be firm for it will not be of benefit to the pupils if he is "soft". This is especially true when decisions have to be made on

disciplining business. Punishment, though the last resort and opposed by the progressive educationists, is needed in the interests of an individual pupil, the class and school. In order to make punishment effective (as it is meant to be), it is necessary to understand how the pupils think of punishment per se. In Question 20, pupils in the group were asked about their views on some common types of punishment for the rule breakers in school and the rank order of their effectiveness as viewed by the pupils is shown in Table 9.17.

Table 9.17 Pupils' Views on the Effectiveness of the Proposed Punishments

Punishment	Rank Order	No. of Pupils Ranking it as Very Effective/Effective
Sending for his parents	1	250 (68%)
Sending him to see the Head	2	225 (61%)
Detention	3	89 (24%)
Corporal punishment	4	54 (15%)
Writing line	5	53 (14%)

Total No. of Pupils in the Group = 369

Moreover, significant relationships were revealed on the effectiveness of "seeing parents", "detention" and "corporal punishment" as ways of punishment according to streaming in Cloudview and streaming in Brookside as shown in Table 9.18.

Table 9.18 Variation of Pupils' Views on Means of Punishment

(a) "Seeing Parents" as a Punishment According to Streaming (Cloudview)

Stream (Cloudview)	No. of Pupils Ranking it		Total No. of Pupils Responding
	As V.Eff./Eff.	As Not Eff.	
Upper	17 (50%)	17 (50%)	34 (100%)
Lower	80 (76%)	25 (24%)	105 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 7.16, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
V.Eff. = Very Effective Eff. = Effective

(b) "Writing Lines" as a Punishment According to Streaming (Brookside)

Stream (Brookside)	No. of Pupils Ranking it		Total No. of Pupils Responding
	As V.Eff./Eff.	As Not Eff.	
Upper	11 (28%)	28 (72%)	39 (100%)
Lower	21 (12%)	158 (88%)	179 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.69, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Eff. = Very Effective Eff. = Effective

(c) "Corporal Punishment" as an Effective Punishment according to Streaming in Brookside

Stream (Brookside)	No. of Pupils Ranking it		Total No. of Pupils Responding
	As V. Eff./Eff.	As Not Eff.	
Upper	10 (26%)	28 (74%)	38 (100%)
Lower	20 (11%)	155 (89%)	175 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 4.55, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Eff. = Very Effective Eff. = Effective

The high esteem given to "seeing parents" and "the school head" as the two most effective punishment (though with slight percentage differences) is a good indicator of the importance of the partnership

between parents and school for the education of the children. Boys in the lower streams of Cloudview were, on the other hand, more likely to feel parents as the "deterrent" for rule-breaking. However, boys in the upper stream in Brookside found "writing lines", a very common practice in the school, more effective. The situation revealed in Table 9.18a & b can best be explained by the sub-culture model. As the cultural gap between the homes of the pupils in Cloudview and the school was less wide, pupils were still more home oriented. Pupils in the lower streams might find themselves failing to have fulfilled their parents' aspiration of going to the upper stream and, therefore, felt more strongly about the parents' authority. On the other hand, as shown in the last chapter on pupils' attitudes towards the cognitive aspect of school life, boys in the upper stream of Brookside were more pro-school. As "writing lines" was a common practice in that school, boys who were pro-school were, therefore, more likely to find that way of punishment more effective. Moreover, the tight disciplinary control in Brookside seemed to initiate a pro-school culture in the upper stream supporting the use of corporal punishment (Table 9.18c). These findings point to the fact that in order to make punishment effective, individual differences of the pupils have to be taken into consideration.

One of the many deviant behaviours in school is graffiti. The understanding of pupils' views on graffiti can inject new ideas to the teacher's caring job. Question 22 was meant for this purpose.

Of the 369 boys in the group, 188 of them (51%) reported that they had drawn graffiti on part of the school building (including desks and chairs in the classroom), while 172 of them (47%) admitted that they had not. The rank order of the possible places that they

would choose for the graffiti is shown in Table 9.19.

Table 9.19 Rank Order of Possible Places
For Graffiti

Place	Rank Order	No. of Pupils Ranking it as Very Likely/Likely
On the desks and chairs in the classroom	1	303 (82%)
On the notice board	2	161 (44%)
On the walls in the lavatory	3	155 (42%)
On the walls near the playground	4	105 (28.4%)
On the walls just outside the school	5	102 (27.6%)
Total No. of Pupils in the group = 369		

What is indicated in Table 9.19 is that the preferable places starts from the places nearest to the pupils i.e. desks and chairs to the furthest i.e. walls outside the school. The significance of this is that if classroom management can be maintained, the "bud" of graffiti can be "nipped" before it "spills over" into the playground, to borrow Webb's words (1962 pp.264 & 267). Yet, variation was found in "graffiti on walls in the lavatory" according to school and stream both in general and in Cloudview as shown in Table 9.20.

Table 9.20 Variation in "Walls in the Lavatory"
As a place for Graffiti

(a) According to School

School	No. of Pupils As V.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Cloudview	80 (58%)	58 (42%)	138 (100%)
Brookside	75 (36%)	136 (64%)	211 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 16.10, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
V.L. = Very Likely L. = Likely

(b) According to Stream (General)

Stream (General)	No. of Pupils As V.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	22 (31%)	48 (69%)	70 (100%)
Lower	133 (48%)	146 (52%)	279 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.34, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.L. = Very Likely L. = Likely

(c) According to Stream (Cloudview)

Stream (Cloudview)	No. of Pupils As V.L./L.	Ranking it As Not L.	Total No. of Pupils Responding
Upper	13 (39%)	20 (61%)	33 (100%)
Lower	67 (64%)	38 (36%)	105 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.18, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.L. = Very Likely L. = Likely

The analysis in Table 9.20a reveals that boys in Cloudview showed a higher percentage preferring to put graffiti on walls in the lavatory. This can be made much clearer when it is shown that more boys in the lower streams of the school preferred to draw graffiti in the lavatory (Table 9.20c). This is an example showing how the

"under-privileged" pupils in the grammar school may have got rid of their anger or frustration. In general, as shown in Table 9.20b, pupils in the lower streams were more likely to put graffiti on walls in the lavatory. If graffiti is considered a way of expressing one's anger or frustration, then graffiti in a hidden place - walls in the lavatory - may be considered an example showing how the pupils may express their anger and frustration in secret for fear of sanctions. This anger and frustration may still be within the limit of tolerance. However, this kind of deviant behaviour could also be the calm before storm i.e. destructive behaviour might be forthcoming once the limit of tolerance was reached. The teacher, as a caring agent, therefore, needs to understand not only how pupils behave but also how they feel.

Conclusion

On the whole, the boys in the group were well-behaved. There was a low rate of absence with an average of 0.74 day per pupil in 5 months. The truancy rate was also very low. The self-reported rate was only 8% of the whole sample group. However, there was a comparatively high rate of graffiti with 51% of the 369 boys reporting that they had done so in that school year. This shows that the need for innovating a caring system is not merely just for the strengthening of the disciplinary net-work of the school but also for the establishment of the pupils' fundamental ideas of right and wrong in the issues which they encounter.

As a matter of fact, these low rates of absence and truancy are good evidence showing how pupils can be socialised (or controlled) by their schools. The importance of school effects can be further

established in this chapter when the pupils' participation in extra-curricular activities, the preference for wearing school uniform and their views on the effectiveness of the various kinds of punishment were found very much in concert with their schools' policies on these different issues. This highlights the significance of the style of management and organisation within the school. In addition, the ecological surrounding of the school may also exert influence on how pupils think of the social aspect of their school life, such as their views on "having a girl friend" in this study. These findings echo the message that Chapter 2 carries that "schools can make a difference if we know how to run them".

However, streaming, the divided system within the school, seems to create counter-effects on the caring role of the school. It is the streaming system that may develop, within the pupils of the lower streams, the sense of frustration as well as inferiority. Their low participation in extra-curricular activities and high tendency of drawing graffiti, especially on walls in the lavatory, as revealed in this study, can be considered signs of showing their rejection to the total involvement in school life. This rejection is further endorsed, when in conflict with their teachers, as more lower than upper stream boys would tend to ask for outside help by "complaining to the Director of Education". This points to the importance of destreaming.

Social class, in its primary sense, is not a statistically significant indicator causing any difference in pupils' views on the social aspect of their school life except on their job expectation, when the social class backgrounds of the pupils together with their school and streaming status made them tend to have lower job

aspiration when they were in the lower "social class" divisions. Yet, the pupils' choice of the proposed consultants for their non-academic problems were found different because of their family size and the number of brothers and sisters they had. This signifies the importance of the pupils' family background, the understanding of which should form one of the major parts of the caring job of the teacher.

Summing up, the study on the pupils' attitudes towards the various social aspects of school life ascertains the fact that pupils are affected more by their secondary than primary social class. This carries the message that schools do matter. Yet, as pupils were still found respecting both their parents and teachers almost on equal terms, the significance of this message is that, in order to maximize the effectiveness of schooling, the optimal co-operation between parents and teachers must be reached.

Chapter 10

The Pupils (3) - their Friendship Patterns

Within the School

It is through the clique differences among members of the same form, that the norm differences will be classified.

Hargreaves (1967)
Social Relations in a Secondary School
Routledge & Kegan Paul London p.9

The friendship patterns of the pupils of the sample were studied through a sociometric survey.¹ This survey, though attached to the questionnaire to the pupils (Appendix 5.1a), belongs more to the open-ended type of research as pupils' choices of friends were made freely. In this survey, pupils were asked to select two friends for each of the three suggested occasions (Appendix 5.1a Questions 25-27): for Final Examination revision, for a school picnic and for a birthday party held at home. The first occasion is purely instrumental while the other two are more expressive. However, the school picnic, though a less formal function in school (similar to an extra-curricular activity) is still an activity under the auspices of the school while a birthday party at home is totally a non-school function. The aim of making a sociometric survey on these three different occasions was to ascertain whether pupils would prefer different partners and friends for different activities and each pupil was asked to name two friends for each function.

To analyse the sociometric data, three sets of factors were used : social class, stream and school.

When social class was used as a discriminator in this analysis, only two categories were used (i.e. middle and working classes) in order to compare the basic socio-economic effects on pupils' social groupings. Social Classes 1 and 2 (as used in this study) were thus combined into one as middle class. When streaming was used as an indicator, on the other hand, two types of analyses were used. Firstly, when "stream" was considered as "status" (Secondary Social Class), the same category used in the last two Chapters was applied i.e. upper and lower streams in general. However, when "stream" was meant as "a group", the original streaming systems of the two schools were used i.e. 4 streams in Cloudview and 6 streams in Brookside because in the sense of grouping "the group should have been in existence for some time, so that their members know one another and the capacities and limitations" (Evans 1962 p.13). It is only when the original streaming patterns of the two schools were used that an "understanding" between the group members could be revealed. Based on the above two sets of indicators, the socio-metric data were analysed at two levels. At the intra-school level, pupils' social group structures were compared in terms of social class and streams (as status) while at the inter-school level, comparison was made to show whether differences in group preference in terms of social class and streams could be detected between the two schools. Two types of friendship patterns were studied : friendship groupings based on social class background as a criterion and friendship groupings based on stream (as a group) as a criterion.

Friendship patterns according to social class as a criterion

When choices of friends were made according to social class, three types of selection were designed. These included choices made only from the middle class group, those only from the working class group and also those from both middle and working classes. The number of choices made for the three suggested occasions are shown in Table 10.1.

Table 10.1 Choices of Group Members
According to Social Class
of Group Members Chosen

<u>No. of Pupils</u> <u>Choosing</u> <u>Social Class</u> <u>of Group Members</u> <u>Chosen</u>		Examination Revision	School Picnic	Birthday Party
Only Middle Class		55	55	51
	(%)	(15)	(15)	(14)
Only Working Class		177	183	184
	(%)	(48)	(50)	(50)
Mixed Classes		115	110	91
	(%)	(31)	(30)	(25)
Missing Values		22	21	43
	(%)	(6)	(5)	(11)
Total		369	369	369
	(%)	(100)	(100)	(100)

Note : The social class backgrounds shown in this Table are of the chosen group members only and the number of pupils are the number of pupils making the choice. For example, for examination revision, there were 55 pupils who had chosen only middle class pupils to form a group.

What is shown in Table 10.1 is that most of the pupils (about half) in the sample preferred to select pupils from working class homes as group members for the three occasions. As working class children were slightly more represented in the sample in a ratio

of 2: 1 when compared with pupils of middle class background (Table 8.3), it could be argued that the chances of working class children being selected were greater than that of the middle class. In order to verify this, it was therefore necessary to look into the index of the in-group preference of children from the two different social class backgrounds. The in-group and out-group choices of the two schools (separately) and the sample as a whole are shown in Appendix 10.1. When calculating the index of in-group preference, all missing values (nil returns) and neutral choices (choices made up of both middle and working classes) were excluded. The in-group preference of pupils from the two socio-economic groups is shown in Table 10.2.

Table 10.2 In-Group Preference According to Social Class

I.P. Function	Cloudview		Brookside		Sample	
	Middle Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Working Class	Middle Class	Working Class
Examination Revision	0.78	1.60	0.32	4.90	0.81	3.23
School Picnic	0.83	1.40	0.48	30.37	0.91	3.99
Birthday Party	0.87	1.19	0.12	9.38	0.66	3.38

(I.P. = Index of In-Group Preference)

The index of In-Group Preference is calculated according to the formula as shown in Chapter 6 (p.126).

As the Indexes of the In-Group Preference of all the working class groups (in Cloudview, Brookside and of the sample), i.e. working class children choosing working class children, are great than 1, it shows that the In-Group Preference of this group of pupils is high, reflecting the great cohesiveness of the group members. As no zero I.P. is revealed, it shows the low out-group preference of either the working or the middle class children.

What is revealed in Table 10.2 is that in general a much higher index of in-group preference (greater than 1) from the working class children was found both in the two schools (separately) and in the sample as a whole. This seems to be in line with the nature of working class culture which shows a high degree of cohesiveness because of its tradition of preferring extended families, their sense of ecological belonging (either to a street or a community) and local economy (Hargreaves 1982 pp.30-31). There was an extremely high I.P. (30.37) from the working class children in Brookside when group members were selected for a school picnic. As the school picnic is always a compulsory activity in most schools as well as in Brookside, working class children who might not have attended if there was a choice would tend to choose each other giving a higher index of in-group preference (though apparently not deliberately).

However, differences in pupils' choice of group members based on social class were also detected according to school, social class and stream.

When social class was used as a criterion for social groupings according to school (Appendix 10.2), it was found that there were higher percentages of boys in Brookside who chose pupils from working class families for forming groups for the three occasions. The percentages for examination revision, school picnic and birthday party were 64% (of 219), 69% (of 218) and 72% (of 206) respectively. (The number of pupils was the number of respondents only). This preference for working class peers as group members in Brookside seemed to reflect the working class nature of the school with 76% of the in-take of the third year being of a working class background (Table 8.3). However, in Cloudview, the preference for the three

types of social class groupings (middle class only, working class only and both middle and working classes) were almost equally divided showing the mixed social in-take of this group of pupils as discussed in Chapter 7. (See 'Appendix 10.2 for details of the analysis.)

On the other hand, when the socio-economic backgrounds of the group members chosen were analysed according to the social class backgrounds of the pupils who made the choice (Appendix 10.3), it was found that, on the whole, for the three occasions, the percentages for working class children chosen by both middle and working class children were moderately different (Table 10.3).

Table 10.3 Comparison (in %) between the Working and Middle Class Children's Preference for Choosing Working Class Children As Group Members

<u>No. of Pupils (%)</u> <u>Social Class of</u> <u>Chooser</u>	Function		
	Exam Revision	School Picnic	Birthday Party
Middle Class	43 (107)	43 (106)	49 (100)
Working Class	54 (240)	57 (241)	60 (135)

Note : The number in brackets is the number of pupils responding to the question.

As shown in Table 10.3, slightly more than half of the working class children had chosen working class children as group members for all three occasions while almost half of the middle class children had done so. The results therefore show very slight influence of pupils' choice of friends according to their social class backgrounds.

When streaming (general) was analysed as a secondary social status (Appendix 10.4ai, bi, ci), it was revealed that for all three occasions, there was a higher percentage of boys in the upper streams

who chose boys from middle class families as compared with their counter-parts in the lower stream who chose middle class peers to be group members (Table 10.4).

Table 10.4 Comparison (in %) between the Upper and Lower Stream (General) Boys' Preference for Choosing Middle Class Children as Group Members

<u>No. of Pupils (%)</u> Stream (General)	Function		
	Exam Revision	School Picnic	Birthday Party
Upper	26 (72)	28 (72)	25 (68)
Lower	13 (275)	13 (275)	13 (258)

Note : The number in brackets is the number of pupils responding to the question.

In both the upper and lower streams (general), the percentages of choosing middle class children as group members could be said as extremely low though the percentages in the upper stream on the whole almost doubled those in the lower streams for the three occasions symbolising the middle class oriented norms in the upper streams. Yet, there was a much higher percentage of children of the lower streams (general) who chose working class peers as compared with their counter-parts in the upper stream who chose working class group members as shown in Table 10.5

Table 10.5 Comparison (in %) between the Upper and Lower Stream (General) Boys' Preference for Choosing Working Class Children as Group Members

No. of Pupils (%) Stream (General)	Function		
	Exam Revision	School Picnic	Birthday Party
Upper	38 (72)	33 (72)	38 (68)
Lower	55 (275)	57 (276)	61 (258)

Note : The number in brackets is the number of pupils responding to the question.

This meant that more middle class children were chosen by boys in upper streams (general) than by boys in lower streams (general) and more working class pupils were chosen by boys in lower stream (general) than by boys in upper streams (general). As there is no significant relationship found between social class and streaming in this study (Appendix 8.3), the variation could not be caused by the higher representation of middle class and working class children in the upper and lower streams respectively. A possible reason is likely to be the middle class oriented values of the upper stream as opposed to the working class oriented values of the lower streams that drew the two groups together i.e. upper stream for middle class and lower stream for working class.

When the streaming system was considered separately according to the individual school, it was revealed that generally, there were more boys in the upper stream in Cloudview who chose middle class classmates for examination revision and school picnic (59% of the 32 respondents for both occasions) (Appendix 10.4 (aii), (bii)). However, the variation of preference in the lower streams was not very great showing higher possibilities of inter-class grouping amongst the lower stream boys most probably because of the "inferior

status", which had made them less social class conscious. When it comes to the choices for the birthday party, no significant relationship was found between the social class background of the pupils and their social grouping for the function (Appendix 10.4 (cii)). It seemed that the middle class nature of the grammar school affected merely the social groupings in the upper stream and for school oriented functions only. The effects of streaming (as status) in Brookside was found less significant. The streaming effects was seen only in the case of school picnic when working class children were found to be more cohesive with 73% of the 179 boys choosing working class group members while preference in the upper stream was almost equally divided between boys preferring working class boys and mixed social class groupings (Appendix 10.4 b(iii)). The relationship between streaming in Brookside and pupils' social groupings according to social class was not significant for both examination revision and birthday party. As in the case of Cloudview, activity outside school (birthday party) was free from the effect of streaming (Appendix 10.4 c(iii)). The semi-streaming system in Brookside seemed to have made its upper stream pupils less class-oriented when choosing friends for examination revision (Appendix 10.4 a(iii)), though the higher percentage of working class children to be chosen in the lower stream still seemed to reflect the working class nature of the group as found in the case of streaming in general.

Summing up, therefore, the effects of school can also be observed in the pupils' friendship patterns. Firstly, the more middle class oriented nature of Cloudview seemed to have made more of its pupils prefer more groupings with middle class peers than boys in

Brookside, though, on the whole, the Cloudview boys' friendship patterns were quite mixed reflecting the mixed social in-take of the school. While in Brookside, because of its working class nature, there was a greater preference for working class group members than for middle class ones. Secondly, when streaming is considered as a secondary social status, the upper stream is similar to the middle class and lower stream to the working class in the primary social class category. This was also detected from this socio-metric test when more boys in the upper stream (general) favoured their middle class friends than their working class ones and more boys in the lower streams preferred to form groups with working class children. Thirdly, the streaming effect in Cloudview was found merely in the upper stream and for school organised functions when more boys in the upper streams were found to prefer to form groups with middle class children for examination revision and school picnic. In short, this section shows a close link between the pupils' social class backgrounds (of both the choosers and the choosees) and their social groupings. Yet, this has to be considered together with the social class oriented values and norms reflected in the different types of schools and their streaming systems. For example, the technical school and lower streams are more working class oriented and the grammar school and the upper streams are more middle class oriented; as a result, more working class children were chosen in the technical school and in the lower streams and more middle class children were chosen in the grammar school and the upper streams. Without taking this relationship into account, (i.e. the links between streaming, school and social class), the effect of social class, (as shown in Table 10.3) is rather marginal.

Friendship patterns according to stream (as a group) as a criterion

As the sociometric survey in this study was meant to analyse the "group situation" between the pupils rather than their "togetherness" as passengers in a bus, the context of "social class" used above was only a pseudo-group. It was a group only on the condition of agreement on the sub-culture model and that pupils of similar socio-economic background share the same set of values and norms. The analysis of the "group situation" of the sample according to the original streaming pattern of each school can therefore give a better picture as every stream is a "true group" according to Evans' definition quoted earlier (1962 p.13). The in-group preference of the pupils for the three occasions is shown in Table 10.6.

Table 10.6 Pupils' Selection of Group Members
According to Stream (as a group)
of Group Members Chosen

<u>No. of Pupils Making the Choice Occasion</u>	<u>Types of Choice</u>			<u>Missing Values</u>	<u>Total</u>
	<u>Same Stream</u>	<u>Other Stream</u>	<u>Mixed Stream</u>		
Examination Revision (%)	153 (42)	65 (18)	130 (35)	21 (5)	369 (100)
School Picnic (%)	166 (45)	83 (22)	102 (28)	18 (5)	369 (100)
Birthday Party (%)	143 (39)	71 (19)	120 (33)	35 (9)	369 (100)

What is shown in Table 10.6 is that for all three occasions, more boys in the sample preferred to select partners of the same stream. However, variations were also found according to school and streams (as status). The only exception was streaming (as status) in Cloudview, which showed no association between the friendship patterns of the upper and lower streams when stream (as a group) was

used as a criterion for the grouping as shown in Appendix 10.5 (2aii, 2bii and 2cii).

The comparison between pupils' friendship groupings based on stream (as a group) as a criterion shows that on average over half of the Cloudview boys preferred to choose group members from their own streams for all the three occasions while it was almost one third of them preferred to have group members of mixed streams (i.e. one from their own stream and one from the other streams) for examination revision and birthday party and almost one-fifth for school picnic. However, in the case of Brookside, the pupils preferring members from the same stream and mixed streams were almost of similar proportion. The finding can most probably be explained by the different types of streaming in both schools. *The rigid streaming of Cloudview seemed to have reduced the possibility of inter-stream social grouping while the semi-streaming pattern in Brookside might have facilitated inter-stream groupings.* The percentages of pupils who chose both group members from other streams for the three occasions were comparatively low in both schools signifying pupils' adherence to their own streams. (See Appendix 10.5 (1) for details of analysis.)

The analysis of pupils' choice of group members based on stream (as a group) of the group members chosen, and according to stream (as status) of the pupils who made the choice shows that two major patterns could be categorised. Firstly, no significant relationships were found between pupils' streaming status in Cloudview and their preference for group member according to their streaming nature as a group for all three occasions (Appendix 10.5 (2aii), (2bii) and (2cii)). The fine streaming system of the school might have made pupils stick more to their own class as more than half of the pupils

of both upper and lower stream of the school reported that they chose their own class mates for the three occasions. Secondly, when the analysis was made according to streaming in general (Appendix 10.5 (2ai), (2bi) and (2ci)) and streaming in Brookside (Appendix 10.5 (2aiii), (2biii) and (2ciii)), it was revealed that in both streaming patterns and for all the three occasions, over 60% of the children in the upper streams of both streaming patterns chose group members from their own stream exemplifying the status consciousness of the upper stream boys. For the lower streams, on the other hand, almost similar proposition of preference for same stream and mixed stream members were found.

When the choice of friends based on streams (as a group) of group members chosen was studied according to the social background of the pupils who made the choice (Appendix 10.5 (3a-c)), no significant association was found between pupils' choice and their social class background illustrating the minimal effects of pupils' primary social class on their social groupings.

Summing up, when stream (as a group) was used as an indicator to show pupils' friendship groupings, it was found that, on the whole, pupils preferred to form groups with children from their own stream. The finding was especially obvious in the upper streams (with the exception of Cloudview). The fine streaming of Cloudview seemed to make its pupils, irrespective of their streaming status, stick more to their own streams. This shows that when pupils are divided into school and streams for academic reasons, they are also divided in their social world. The implication of this finding to the pastoral job of the school is that though streaming may be found necessary for one reason or another, more inter-class activities should be

organised to break down the streaming divisions. The insignificant effect of social class on pupils' choice of friends based on stream (as a group) further demonstrated the vital role of the school in caring for its pupils especially in the social aspect of their school life.

In order to compare the "same stream" preference of this group of pupils, the Index of Group Expansiveness of the stream (as a group) of the two schools were studied. This is the ratio between the total number of choices made by the members of the group towards each other and the total number of members in the group. The Index of Group Expansiveness rather than the Index of In-Group Preference was calculated here because every stream is a "true group". The Index of Group Expansiveness can give a better understanding of the cohesiveness of the group because if the Index of Group Expansiveness is 1, the full cohesiveness of the group is reached. The Index of Group Expansiveness of every stream (as a group) is shown in Table 10.7

Table 10.7 Index of Group Expansiveness
of the Third Year

Index of Group Expansiveness		Function		
		Examination Revision	School Picnic	Birthday Party
<u>Stream</u>				
Cloudview	1	0.66	0.67	0.57
	2	0.69	0.66	0.61
	3	0.46	0.60	0.69
	4	0.57	0.58	0.57
Brookside	1	0.80	0.84	0.81
	2	0.58	0.54	0.41
	3	0.55	0.42	0.33
	4	0.58	0.57	0.62
	5	0.46	0.50	0.49
	6	0.42	0.49	0.38

The Index of Group Expansiveness is calculated according to the formula as shown in Chapter 6 (p.126).

When E = 1, the full group expansiveness is reached.

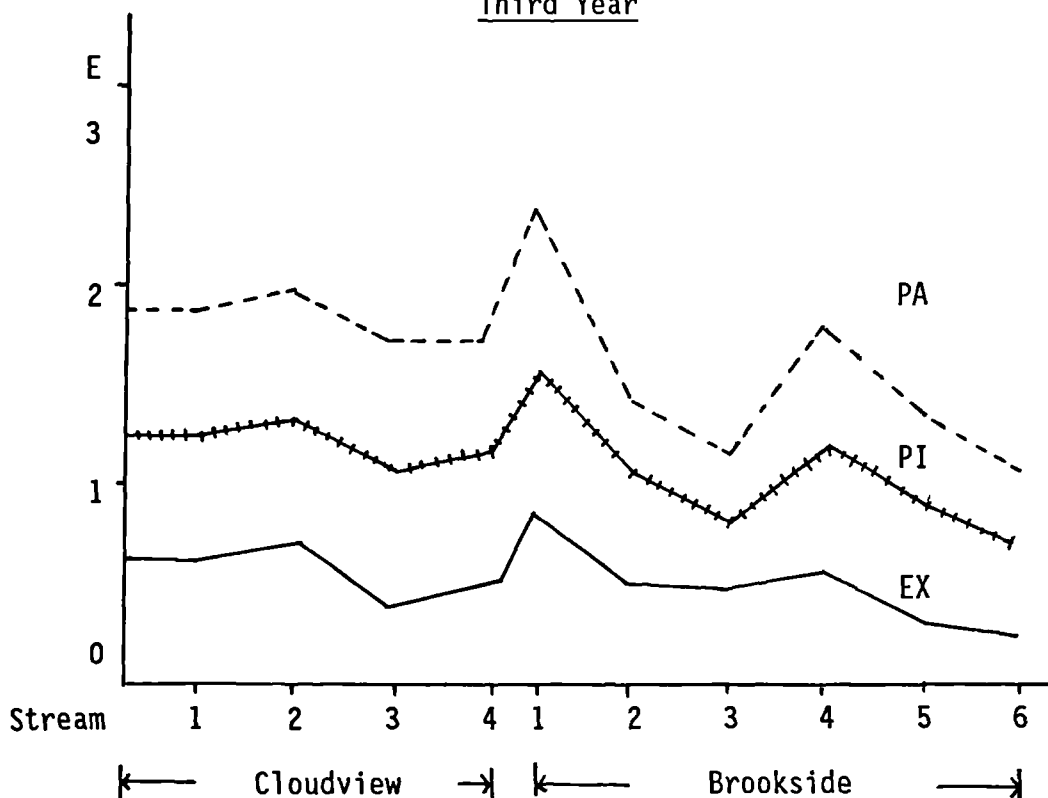
(The Indexes were worked out according to data in Appendix 10.7.)

Table 10.7 shows that the top stream in Brookside had the highest index of group expansiveness for all the three occasions. This was very probably due to the semi-streaming system which had made the class feel aloof from the great majority and the members of the group would therefore stick closer together. In a survey on the results of Form 3 First Internal Assessment Examination 82/83 held by the school authorities early in the first term of the school year, it was found that the fourth stream had the worst results on almost all of the subjects (Appendix 10.6). This "assigned" lowest status seemed to have put the group members closer together, resulting, on the whole, comparatively higher Indexes of Group Expansiveness among all lower streams for all three occasions. As in the case of Cloudview, the indexes of the first and second streams were very close to each other as they were the first and second best and

mobility between them was more likely. The pupils in these streams would therefore tend to prefer more to each other. However, the third stream seemed to be in a less favourable situation as they might be recognised more as the second worst rather than the third best. It was quite probable that they would try to look for friends other than from their own class for examination revision, the only means to improve their streaming status in school. However, when it came to the non-academic occasions, children of this stream were found still choosing each other as group members. This was another example showing how the academically oriented nature of the grammar school could affect the pupils' social groupings relating to their academic pursuit.

A diagrammatical comparison of the Indexes of Group Expansiveness made between streams at both inter and intra school levels (Figure 10.1) reveals the general trend of the children's social groupings for the three occasions. On the whole, for all the three suggested occasions, the highest indexes were found in the top streams in both schools. The indexes of the lower streams were generally not noticeably different except a comparatively much lower index in the second bottom stream in Cloudview for examination revision and generally higher indexes of the "labelled" lower stream in Brookside for all three occasions. The difference in the Indexes of Group Expansiveness, in short, exemplifies the detrimental effects of streaming on the social aspect of the children's school life.

Figure 10.1 Group Expansiveness of the Third Year



Notes :- E = Index of Group Expansiveness
EX = Examination Revision
PI = School Picnic
PA = Birthday Party

Pupils' friendship patterns in the teachers' context

In order to understand how free were the pupils' social groupings from the set norms and values of the school, form teachers were asked to give their comments and assessments on the selected "stars". These "stars" were children who received the greatest number of votes in the survey. The "stars" were selected on the total number of votes that they could get from all pupils of the same year for all three occasions together. The minimum number of votes for a pupil to become a "star" was 14. The figure was rather arbitrary. The only justification for the choice was that the number of pupils obtaining

14 votes was about 4% of the whole sample group. This seemed to be an appropriate level to demarcate an elite group of "stars".

The form teachers were requested to assess the "stars", on a five point scale, their performance in the following areas :-

(a) Academic Achievement

(b) Diligence

(c) Intelligence

(d) Discipline

and (e) Courtesy

Form teachers were asked because they were the teachers who met the "stars" of their own class more than any other subject teachers. They were therefore expected to know (or influence) their pupils more. The assessment and remarks of the form teachers are shown in Appendix 10.8.

What is revealed from the teachers' comments and assessments on the "stars" is that in Cloudview and the top stream of Brookside, all "stars" got high scores from the teachers' assessment. The mean score of the Cloudview "stars" was 19.5 and that of those in the Brookside upper was 22.7. All the remarks were found to be complimentary. However, for the "stars" in the lower streams of Brookside, the mean score of every "star" obtained from the teachers' assessment was 12.0 and all the remarks from the teachers were adverse with only one exception (Stream 5 No.6). The significance of this finding is that as "grammar school" is always considered the "middle class" of the educational system and "upper stream", the "middle class" of the school and teachers, the "executives" of the middle class norms, people belonging to all these three groups (i.e. pupils in grammar schools and upper stream and teachers) seem to

share the same concepts and values. By the same token, the lower streams in a technical school will then become the lower "working class" of the whole school system. That is why the pupils' "heroes" in these streams become the teachers' "deviants". In this respect, the social relationships of pupils in school are not completely free from school-oriented norms and values.

Conclusion

The results obtained from this sociometric survey provide supportive evidence for the findings discussed in the two previous Chapters. On the whole, the friendship patterns for the three suggested occasions were very similar suggesting that pupils do not choose different kinds of friends for different occasions though it was found that working class children seemed to prefer to each other more than middle class children reflecting the cohesiveness of this group. It was revealed that most pupils preferred to form groups with their own classmates.

At the inter-school level, the social nature of the in-takes of school seemed to have effects on the social groupings of the pupils as Brookside boys chose more working class group members and Cloudview pupils with mixed social class children. The same effect appeared to be obvious when many children in the upper stream chose middle class friends and many children in the lower stream preferred to have working class group members. On the other hand, pupils' friendship groupings were found to be also affected by the norm of the social value reflected in their secondary social class background, i.e. school and stream. For example, more children in the upper stream than in the lower stream chose middle class children

and more pupils in lower stream than in upper stream (general) chose working class children. The effect of the social value set in the divided school system could further be established when the teachers' remarks were found more favourable in the grammar school and upper streams showing the "middle class" link between these three categories (i.e. teacher, grammar school and upper stream).

The effects of streaming were ascertained when the highest indexes of group expansiveness were found in the upper stream of the two schools, especially in Brookside, showing how this "elite" class of the year could be separated from the rest of the other classes. On the other hand, it is important to note that the effects of streaming became insignificant in both schools for activities outside school - birthday party, showing the separation of pupils' social activities within and without the school. The underlying meaning of this finding seems to show that the influence of the teachers stops at the school gate. This endorses the significant partnership between teachers and parents for it is when the co-operation between these two parties is maintained that teachers can care for "the total welfare" of the pupils.

As a conclusion, it can be seen that the divided school system has generated a hidden norm for social groupings with which the pupils have been led to comply. All these findings point to the fact that, when an alternative for streaming is still pending, more inter-streaming activities should be organised if social integration of the school is to be obtained. However, the ultimate strategy to improve social integration in school should be a common type of school for all pupils and destreaming should be in practice within school.

Chapter 11

The Pupils (4) - their Social Interactions in and out of the classroom

The behaviour of even the most representative boys is conditioned by the situation of the moment.

Lacey, C. (1970)
High Town Grammar
Manchester University Press Britain p.86

The interactions studied in this Chapter are divided into two types : the interaction outside the classroom and the interaction inside the classroom. Data of the former were obtained through interviews with pupils and the later through classroom observation.

Pupils' interaction outside the classroom - the interviews

The interviews organised in this study were meant to capture some snapshots of the whole sample which could be used to illuminate the information obtained from other sources such as the questionnaire survey and classroom observation. Two types of interview were held during the study : the classroom interviews and the follow-up interviews. No tape-recorders were used during any of the interviews to avoid the unnecessary nervousness of the pupils, which could affect the reliability of the information acquired. Chinese was used as the medium of conversation.

The classroom interviews were the simple chats with the pupils in their classrooms after the completion of their questionnaires. Usually, these lasted for about fifteen to twenty minutes for every

class. The subjects for discussion were generally about the school life in general or referred to the topics in the questionnaire. The relevant material discussed was selected, organised and presented in the Interviewing Script (1) (Appendix 11.1). The Script was structured according to the notes written in retrospect immediately after the interviews. Reference was also made to the additional remarks that pupils tendered in the questionnaire for these were also sources of valuable information.

The follow-up interviews were held with pupils who voluntarily responded to attend the follow-up discussion of the questionnaire survey. Like the interviews in the classrooms, no tape-recorder was used in order to maintain the natural social climate of the discussion and the local dialect was used as the medium of conversation. However, notes were taken during the interview. In addition, pupils' remarks and assessments made on the interviewing sheet (Appendix 5.3a) were also analysed.

There were six pupils who came for the follow-up interview. All of them were from Cloudview, 1 from Stream 1, 4 from Stream 2 and 1 from Stream 3. They all agreed to have a group interview together. A simple introduction of the six boys is shown in Appendix 11.2. The interview lasted for about two and half hours held one afternoon after school in the school social worker's office (in his absence). The discussed areas included mainly the pupils' views on their school, family and society. Every boy was given the interviewing sheet for reference. They were asked to write down anything if they wished and assessed the various subjects accordingly. All of them completed and returned the sheet. The process of the discussion is presented in the Interviewing Script (2) (Appendix 11.3). The zero

attendance of boys from Brookside is another example showing how pupils can be affected by the managerial style of the school they attend. In Cloudview, the researcher shared the office with the school social worker, who came only once a week. The researcher was therefore more on the non-teaching side and less related to the school authorities. However, in Brookside, the researcher worked together with the teachers in the staff room. In that case, the researcher was more associated with the teachers and the school authorities. This might be one of the reasons why the Brookside boys did not feel free to come forward. However, no attempt was made to "invite" or persuade boys of either school to come along in order to maintain the spirit of naturalism of the whole study as discussed in Chapter 5.

The interviews also illustrate the technical problem of doing studies of this kind - the problem of role conflict. As Hargreaves has pointed out, "any adult (who is not dressed as a workman) appearing in the school must in their (pupils') eyes have some strong connection with the teaching profession" (1967 p.201). Because of this, as Corrigan experienced, "it was impossible to get the information about the boys if you were seen talking to teachers too often" (1979 p.12). This might explain the low turn-up rate of interviewees in the study.

The notes taken during or after the interviews (both classroom and follow-up ones) were edited, as shown in Appendixes 11.1 and 11.3, so that the social rapport and the major issues discussed during the interviews could be presented in the transcripts. However, some notes taken after these interviews were not included in the transcription mainly because they were not coherent with the major

theme of the over-all discussion. Yet, the notes taken were kept for later reference.

Data obtained from interviews were analysed in four perspectives : their interaction with school (including teachers), their self evaluation, their interaction with family (including parents) and interaction with society (including the Government). Pupils' views expressed during the classroom and follow-up interviews together with their additional remarks in the questionnaires were analysed together.

(1) Pupils' social interactions in school

This section attempts to capture how pupils behaved in school - how they thought the school was helping them and how they would interact with their teachers in various incidents.

What was obtained during the classroom interviews with the pupils was a feeling among the pupils that they did not think that the school knew what they wanted. For example, boys in stream 3 of Cloudview revealed that their school was not keen on "tapping their potential" nor did they think that their school was well-equipped to advise them on studying abroad.

The gap between what the school was doing and what the pupils expected their schools should do for them was found when there was an over-whelming need from the pupils for innovation in the school curriculum. During the classroom interviews, for instance, with the exception of Stream 4 of Brookside, (the labelled bottom stream), Computer Studies was suggested as a subject that should be taught in school. When analysing the additional remarks in the questionnaire, there were also 13 suggestions for Computer Studies, 5 for technical subjects and 13 for additional humanities subjects.

The discussion with the follow-up interviewing group showed a new youth culture today. It seemed, from the views of the pupils, that there was no agreed standard or norm of being right or wrong among the youngsters nowadays. For example, there was no stereo-type of a good or bad teacher. Mr. King's method of appreciating a poem by "walking in the rain" was not supported by all pupils even in the same class¹ - Yuen found it good only if in the last lesson for he could leave earlier; Hung found it unnecessary. This signifies the importance of the give-and-take negotiation relationship between the teacher and the taught discussed in Chapter 1. However, to Mr. King, the meaning of that walk was "to share the experience of the poet" as Kin reported.

This group of pupils, also showed the kind of "decline of deference" as suggested by Musgrave (1973). This could be seen from their views on the stolen Flag Day Money, in which more than thirty pupils of the year were involved. At the same time, like the views of the angry father whose son appeared in court as shown in Hargreaves' study (1967 p.132), the regret of the boys involved in the theft was not on the moral aspect of the issue but rather the technical "mishap". As Sing said, "I should not have told my neighbour" or as Yuen expressed, "I was too latto join the army". The fact that their "interest" in the stealing of the money was not for the sake of the value re-inforced Cohen's study on his adolescent group when "action" was only for "fun" (1955 p.25). This also reflected Cohen's study on the delinquent sub-culture that the motive of their act was rather "non-utilitarian, malicious and negativistic" (ibid.). In short, it is in conflict with the norms of the "respectable" adult society as Cohen further comments (ibid. p.28).

Yet, in spite of their "rebellious nature" of "challenging the school authorities", the "gentle side" of their character still could be observed. For instance, Sing felt sorry for the teacher in charge of the money and Lun also expressed his worry about the teacher's finding a new job if so needed. This ambivalence of the group highlights the importance of the caring task of the teachers, whose mission is to "neutralise" the "rebellious attitudes" by developing their "gentle character".

When discussing the criteria for their ideal school (Interview Question 1), all pupils in the follow-up interviewing group agreed that adequate provision of facilities was the most important. This was followed by the qualities of the teachers (suggested by three of them) and the organisation of the school (supported by three). What Yuen added latter in the interview could sum up the effects of the three criteria mentioned by the pupils. Yuen, a witty pupil, looking for a job with high pay and long vacation suggested that the most important thing of a school was its ethos by which he meant :

What we can learn in school, what we can do or cannot do -
I meant the types of restriction and regulations, and
whether we can have fun with our teachers, sometimes,
at least.

This signifies the vital role of the teacher in schooling. During the follow-up interview, it could be found that pupils of the sample had shown due respect (or fear) for their teachers. For example, Yuen was quite hesitant to bring up the case of Mr. King's teaching a poem by "walking in the rain". During the classroom interview, twice in Brookside (in two different classes), questions were raised whether their teachers would be informed of the results of this study. Besides, as revealed in the questionnaire survey, when asked about

the effective means of punishment, pupils of the sample gave equal "respect" for both school and home authorities (Table 9.17). This shows that there is quite a lot that the school and teachers can do to make education a better service for the pupils for after all they are the "managers" of the school process.

On the subject of their ideal type of teacher (Interview Question 2), it seemed all six pupils agreed on two criteria - the teachers' academic expertise and their personality. When asked which one was more important if a priority was to be made, all of them agreed that it was the teacher's personality. Their reasons could be summed up by Luke (a boy of a large family of 9 children expecting to be a clerk):

A teacher with good personality is a caring teacher, a good listener, a person to whom we can go for our problems (both academic and non-academic). Of course, he should have the basic academic qualifications to teach.

What Luke said does not only reveal the pupils' expectation of a teacher but also the importance of the pastoral role of a teacher - to be a good listener and a person ready to help.

(2) Pupils' self-evaluation

In order to understand the pupils in greater depth, the interviewed group was asked about their criteria for a good student, a good job, a good subject and a good friend (Interview Questions 3-6).

Similar to the finding in the questionnaire survey, the interviewed group of pupils also showed that they were rather practical youngsters. This was especially seen when they talked about their expected jobs. Though Sing, Kin and Hung all hoped to join the professionals, they were also ready to encounter the related

difficulties for they (and all pupils in the group) agreed that "all good things must pay". Their practical views could further be endorsed by Luke's expectation of being a clerk. His choice seemed to reflect the pragmatic attitudes which Wilson (1953) had shown in her studies that their job expectation would not be too far away from their own abilities.

In both the follow-up and classroom interviews, there was a strong desire for going on to higher education. This reflected the high staying on rate shown from the findings of the questionnaire survey. Their need for having further education also showed the need for a curricular innovation. The suggestion on Computer Science might show only a small portion of the whole issue.²

On the other hand, the pupils' views on the different subjects brought up during the interviews e.g. the Flag Day money and Mr. King's teaching method do shed light on the caring task of the school. It highlights the need for reviewing the traditional understanding of youth culture, which, like the school curriculum, should be revised from time to time. In a sophisticated society like Hong Kong, young people's concepts and values are shaped by a multiple of factors. The orthodox kind of school socialisation of teaching the "do's" and "don't's" can no longer be relevant.

On discussing the fundamental elements that they would use to define a good student (Interview Question 3), of all the 18 suggestions made by the group, 13 of them were related to the character and personality of the student, such as good behaviour, sense of responsibility and respect for the others while 5 of these suggestions were related to the academic performance such as attention in class and good examination results. This reflected

their high priority given to the expressive role of the school (Table 8.9). The practical attitude of the pupils of this sample as revealed throughout the questionnaire survey, such as their high esteem given to a good job out of a list of ordinary daily issues (Table 9.9) was also expressed by the follow-up interviewing group. When they talked about their ideal job (Interview Question 4), of the 17 criteria suggested, 15 of them were associated with immediate returns such as high salary, good working hours and satisfactory fringe benefits. Only one was about future prospect and one on the job being a service to the public. Their practical attitude was further endorsed on the issue of the subject they liked (Interview Question 5). Of the 18 elements that they gave to define a good subject, 10 of them pointed to the fact that they should be of practical use, while 6 indicated that the content should be interesting and only two related to the teaching methods used. Another aspect that pictured part of modern youth culture was on the subject of the pupils' views on a good friend (Interview Question 6). All the 16 suggestions put forward can be summed up in a phrase - "to share both victory and defeat". It was most probably because of this "sharing" that the school found it hard to detect all the "culprits" who had stolen the Flag Day money and it was also because of this "sharing" idea that made Sing (one of the "thieves") so angry when he found out that his neighbour had betrayed him.

(3) Interaction with parents

Because of the limitation of time, this issue was not brought up in the classroom interviews but to the follow-up interviewing group (Interview Question 7). The criteria set for a good family by the group could be categorised into two major items : social elements and materialistic comforts. Of the 17 suggestions made, 10 were related to the social elements in the family such as good relationships between parents and children and relationships between brothers and sisters. 7 of these criteria were associated with materialistic comforts such as big houses and brand new cars and luxurious living style. However, the cynical statement given by Sing, son of a garment factory owner, on the subject of the generation gap did throw some lights on the caring job of the teacher as he said :

It is not big cars and large houses that we want. My parents have business dinners almost every evening. The 26" colour television set is the only friend in the house. I do not know what the gap really means because I do not have enough talks with my parents.

This seems to be a reminder to teachers that it is not only children of the working class families that need care but the middle class ones too though the needs may not be the same.

(4) Interaction with society and the Government

Discussion on the pupils' views on their society and Government was meant to study what they would expect from Society and Government for this would affect how they would serve their society and Government in future. Of the 17 suggestions for a good society 10 were related to prosperity and 7 to law and order. On the whole, most of them expressed moderate satisfaction with the present development of law and order and prosperity of the City. As for the

subject of a good Government, all of them agreed that the welfare of the whole society should be the major responsibility of the Government. Yet, they did not find that the Government had done enough.

In conclusion, this group had presented themselves as quite a sensible group of teenagers on the whole though their opinion may not be totally accepted in the adult world. They had hopes for their future and they were quite content with their school and families. However, most of them found that the Government was not doing enough to maintain a prosperous and peaceful society. A study of the scores that this group gave on the various criteria they themselves suggested in the *interviewing sheet for the evaluation of their* school, their families, themselves and their society (Appendix 11.4), shows that they had the highest scores for their ideal job followed by their families and themselves (as friends). The lowest grade was given to society and the Government. Their high hopes for the future emphasize the importance of careers counselling and guidance offered by both the family and the school with the Government taking the lead.

The mean scores that the interviewed group gave to the nine subjects for discussion in terms of their satisfaction given according to their criteria ranged from 1.4 for their ideal job (when 1 was the highest score) to 3.3 for their society (when 5 was the lowest). Their lowest mean scores given to society and Government (3.3 and 3.1 respectively) highlight the fact that there is quite a lot that society and the Government need to do in the context of reviewing the concept of youth culture and innovating the various

types of youth services including school education.

Generally speaking, the findings from interviewing the boys serve to support what has been revealed from the data obtained through the questionnaires. Because of the small sample in the interviews, difference between streams and social class cannot be detected. Yet, the difference in their ways of responding to the interviews did show a certain aspect of the school effects. These interviews, moreover, did supply additional information which were not available in the questionnaire survey. This was the new frontier of youth culture nowadays - their concept of being right and wrong as expressed in the theft of the Flag Day money, and their interpretation of "loyalty" to friends.

Interactions inside the classroom - the classroom observation

The classroom observation in this study was meant to provide a profile of the classroom interactions of the selected classes and pupils in the sample. The techniques used during the observation, as already discussed in Chapter 6, are summed up in Table 11.1. As pupils belonging to the three social classes (used in the questionnaire survey data analysis) were not evenly distributed in the classroom, two types of social class (i.e. middle and working classes) were used in order to obtain more systematic observations.

Table 11.1 A Summary of Techniques for
Classroom Observation

Basic theories	: (1) Sub-culture Model (2) Adaptation Model (3) Gravity Model
Target Pupils	: Total 24 - distributed as follows :- 12 in each school (Grammar & Technical) 6 in each stream (Upper & Lower) 3 in each social class (Middle & Working Classes) 2 in each classroom zone (Action Zone, Sub-Action Zone and Peripheral Zone)
Subjects Observed	: Chinese, English and Mathematics
No. of Periods Observed	: 9 periods for each subject in each school
Behaviours Observed	: (1) Chatting with others (2) Raising hand to ask questions (3) Raising hand to answer questions (4) Shouting or calling out (5) Distractive behaviours (6) Attention in class on a 5-point scale
Techniques of Recording	: (1) One minute time sampling for each target pupil (2) Consecutive observation for all six target pupils in each class starting from the sixth minute of the lesson (3) Five recordings for every target pupil (4) Record sheet (Appendix 5.4) was used
Techniques of Analysis	: T-Test (two-tailed)
Additional Information	: Teachers' comments and assessment on the target pupils

In order to illustrate the sub-culture model, the five observed behaviours were grouped into two categories : deviant behaviours (i.e. chatting, shouting and distractive behaviour) and conforming behaviours (i.e. raising hand to ask and answer teachers' questions).

When the sub-culture model stands, more deviant behaviours would be expected from the lower "social class" and more conforming behaviours from the upper "social class" in both primary and secondary senses. A two-tailed t-test was applied to compare the differences between these two groups in their observed behaviours. Comparisons between the mean scores were made on a sample basis as well as on a school basis. The data used were the mean behavioural frequencies of the target pupils' behaviours in the classroom by the minute (Appendix 11.5).

Pupils' classroom interaction on a sample basis

This section studies the difference between the conforming and deviant behaviours of the pupils according to their school, streaming in general and social class.

When the pupils' classroom behaviours were compared according to their school, it was found that no significant difference was revealed in their deviant behaviour (Appendix 11.6) nor in their conforming behaviours (Appendix 11.7). As pupils of the two schools were under quite tight disciplinary control, differences of their behaviours in the classroom might be so slight as to be unobservable. However, pupils in Brookside were found comparatively more attentive in the class (Table 11.2) signifying the tighter classroom control of the school.

**Table 11.2 Pupils' Attention in Lessons
According to School (N = 24)
(Data in mean score per minute)**

	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-Value	D.f.
<u>School</u> Cloudview	2.1	0.1	-9.2	22
Brookside	3.4	0.5		

Note : (1) The T-Value is significant at 0.05 level
(2) On the 5-point scale for recording the
pupils' attention, Point 1 is the lowest
and Point 5, the highest.

At the same time, when the pupils' behaviours were compared according to their social class background, no significant difference could be detected from their deviant behaviours (Appendix 11.8) and conforming behaviours (Appendix 11.9). This finding serves as an endorsement for one of the findings in the questionnaire survey that pupils' behaviours in school were not very much affected by their home backgrounds.

However, as complementary to the findings in the questionnaire survey, pupils' behaviours were found different according to their streaming status in general. Pupils of the upper stream (general) were found to be more responsive to answering and asking teachers' questions (conforming behaviours) as shown in Table 11.3. (See Appendix 11.10 for details of classroom observation data and teachers' assessments on the target pupils).

Table 11.3 Pupils' Behaviours of Responding to the Teacher (in mean score per minute) According to Stream (General) (N = 24)

Stream (General)	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-Value	D.f.
Upper	2.3	1.6	2.1	22
Lower	1.2	0.7		

(T-Value significant at 0.05 level)

The higher mean score of the upper stream boys' conforming behaviours mirrors one of the findings in the questionnaire survey : the utilitarian and pro-school attitudes of the upper stream. This kind of attitudes might make them more responsive to the teachers. However, no difference was found in the deviant behaviours between the upper and lower stream (Table 11.4). This finding reflects the conclusions made by Delamont (1973) and Jackson and Marsden (1962), as discussed in Chapter 1, that deviant behaviours might also be found among pupils in academic streams, such as in the grammar schools in their studies. However, the questionnaire survey of this thesis has shown the pro-school culture of the upper stream. It seems, therefore, that the deviant behaviours of the academically oriented pupils can be detected only on a small group basis or in some in-depth analyses, such as interviews or classroom observations, as in the two studies quoted above.

Table 11.4 Pupils' Deviant Behaviour (in mean score per minute) According to Stream (General) (N = 24)

Stream (General)	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-Value	D.f.
Upper	5.8	3.8	-0.55	22
Lower	6.6	3.9		

(T-Value insignificant at 0.05 level)

The pro-school (or pro-teacher) attitudes of the upper stream boys could be further confirmed by studying the teachers' score of assessment on the pupils' academic achievement, diligence, intelligence, discipline and courtesy (Table 11.5).

Table 11.5 Teachers' Scores of Assessment on Pupils According to Stream (General) (N=24)

Stream (General)	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-Value	D.f.
Upper	17.2	3.0	3.8	22
Lower	12.0	3.5		

Note : (1) The T-Value is highly significant at 0.01 level.
(2) The maximum mean score is 25.

Broadly speaking, as shown in Table 11.5, teachers on the whole gave higher assessment to the upper streams. However, when the teachers' comments on the individual pupils were studied (Appendix 11.10B), it was found that it did not mean all upper stream children could get favourable comments from the teachers nor did all the low stream pupils get adverse remarks. Of the 24 target pupils, all of them except one (Target Pupil 9) received at least one adverse remark from the teachers. This shows, as discussed earlier in Chapter 1, that there is no "absolute deviant" nor "absolute

conformist". Pupils' behaviours change in accordance with the situation. One teacher's deviant may be another teacher's conformist. This points to the importance of team work, especially among teachers, in the caring for school children. The utilitarian attitude of the upper stream boys, moreover, could also be observed when they were found more responsive to their English teacher (Table 11.6).

Table 11.6 Pupils' Responsive Behaviours to their English Teachers (in mean score per minute) According to Stream (General) (N = 24)

Stream (General)	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-Value	D.f.
Upper	4.8	4.7	2.5	22
Lower	1.3	1.4		

(T-Value significant at 0.05 level)

As English was considered "a valuable asset" for their future careers, the upper stream boys' responses to their English teacher seemed to have explained themselves.

The "gravity" model, on the other hand, was not found very effective in accounting for pupils' behaviour in the classroom (Appendix 11.11). The only significant difference was found in the pupils' deviant behaviours between pupils in Zone 1 (Action Zone) and Zone 2 (Sub-Action Zone) as shown in Table 11.7.

Table 11.7 Pupils' Deviant Behaviours (in mean score per minute) According to the "Gravity" Model (Zones 1 & 2 only) (N = 24)

Classroom Zone	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-Value	D.f.
1	4.1	3.6	2.4	14
2	8.5	3.6		

(T-Value significant at 0.05 level)

According to the "gravity" model, teachers usually pay more attention to pupils in the action zone. This might be the reason for the higher mean score of the deviant behaviours of pupils in the sub-action zone. However, as no significant difference was found between the sub-action zone and the peripheral zone and between the action zone and peripheral zone, making a comparison of all the three zones not possible, this finding was not further analysed. Yet, the insignificant difference found between pupils sitting in the three zones shows that in actual practice in the classroom, it is very unlikely that the teacher will stand all the time at the centre of the platform facing the pupils. As observed during the lessons, the teachers were found, from time to time, moving from one spot to the other according to the needs of the pupils. This may explain the ineffectiveness of the "gravity" model.

In general, when classroom behaviours were studied according to the pupils as a whole, no difference was found between the children of middle and working class backgrounds. Besides, the "gravity" model also proved not significant in affecting pupils' classroom behaviours as shown in this study. However, significant differences were found between pupils' conforming behaviours according to stream (general) symbolising the utilitarian and pro-school attitudes of the

upper streams. This points to the possibility of the need for destreaming. Yet, the non-significant difference in deviant behaviours found between the boys of the upper and lower streams (general) shows that the labelling of the lower streams as deviant groups may provoke unnecessary deviant behaviours making the label self-fulfilling.

Pupils' classroom interactions on a school basis

As pupils' behaviours would be affected by the school (or classroom) situation, this section studies the target pupils' classroom interactions according to the situational context of their own school. Comparisons between the pupils' behaviour in Cloudview according to stream, social class and classroom zones (Appendix 11.12) showed that no differences were found. This mirrors the findings in the questionnaire survey when 53% of the 142 boys in Cloudview preferred to stay on until or after 18 as compared with 34% of the 218 Brookside pupils (Table 8.8a). This shows that the difference in pupils' classroom behaviours according to their "social class backgrounds" (both primary and secondary) would become minimal if they have a common objective to work on, such as staying on for higher education in this case. This finding signifies the importance of the teachers' role of developing their pupils' interests in their academic pursuit. In addition, as discussed earlier, the innovation of the existing school curriculum, making it of interest to the pupils, is one of the pre-requisites to minimize the deviant behaviour in school, for example, pupils in the lower streams might become more responsive to the teachers.

On the other hand, a much higher mean score of pupils'

conforming behaviour was found in the upper stream in Brookside (Table 11.8) asserting the pro-school (pro-teacher) culture of this group as detected in the questionnaire survey.

Table 11.8 Pupils' Conforming Behaviour (in mean score per minute) According to Stream (Brookside) (N = 12)

Stream (Brookside)	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-Value	D.f.
Upper	3.0	1.8	2.5	10
Lower	1.0	0.8		

(T-Value is significant at 0.05 level)

Yet, as in the case of studying the classroom behaviours of the sample, no difference was observed in the other types of classroom behaviours according to streaming, social class and classroom zones (Appendix 11.13). The effect of streaming on pupils' conforming behaviours was further demonstrated when an extremely great difference was found between pupils in the English lessons according to stream (Brookside) (Table 11.9).

Table 11.9 Pupils' Conforming Behaviour (in mean score per minute) in English Lessons According to Stream (Brookside) (N = 12)

Stream (Brookside)	Mean	Standard Deviation	T-Value	D.f.
Upper	7.9	4.9	3.6	10
Lower	0.7	0.7		

(T-Value is highly significant at 0.01 level)

The significant difference between the mean scores of the upper and lower stream boys in English lessons can be considered as a good

example showing the adverse effect of streaming. As discussed in the findings of the questionnaire survey, English appeared to be more associated with the upper stream children than with the lower stream pupils. This explains why upper stream boys were more responsive to their English teacher. Yet, English is a necessity for highly paid professional jobs. The result of this is that lower stream boys would most probably join the comparatively low paid manual jobs when they leave school if they could not show themselves competent in English.

Conclusion

The study on pupils' interactions both inside and outside their classroom as shown in this chapter serves two purposes. Firstly, it confirms and supplements many of the findings revealed in the questionnaire survey on streaming. Secondly, it also leads to horizons not included in the questionnaire survey. The findings can be summed up into two major categories - the understanding of the youths themselves and the understanding of the factors affecting them. Information obtained from the interviewed pupils leads us to a new frontier of the youth culture today. This is especially seen in their concepts of being right and wrong. More important than this was their urge for curriculum innovation and their greater expectations of the school, society and the Government. Their emphasis on the expressive role of both their parents and school could be considered as an indication showing their need for improved pastoral care and guidance. All these highlight the significance of the caring task of all youth workers, including teachers. It points to the need for reviewing the existing welfare services for the

youngsters including those in school, if those disturbances started by youngsters discussed in Chapter 4 are to be avoided. In the case of the school service, this need was further confirmed when the target pupils for observation were found more affected by their secondary social class such as streaming than by their primary social class. The effects of school can be enhanced when no significant differences of both deviant and conforming behaviours were found in Cloudview according to streams because of the higher expectation of staying on for further education. The effects of school do bring an urgent message to teachers - there is still a lot that teachers can do to care for the young especially when due respect for teachers is still prevalent amongst the younger generation.

In short, the findings from both interviews and classroom observation endorse findings revealed in the questionnaire survey. It shows the need for revising the existing welfare services for the young people on the one hand and signifies the leading role of the school (including teachers) in the task of caring for the young on the other.

Chapter 12

The Parents - their views on the Academic and Caring Roles of the School

There is reason to believe that, among the learned elements of personality in certain respects the stablest and most enduring are the major value-oriented patterns and there is much evidence that these are 'laid down' in childhood and are not on a large scale subject to drastic alteration during adult life.

Parsons, T. (1951)
The Social System
Routledge & Kegan Paul London p.208

This chapter is meant to be complementary to the findings on the pupils discussed in the last four chapters. An understanding of the views of parents can be a great help in understanding the views of the pupils, for after all it is the parents who are responsible for the pre-school socialisation of the pupils and, in most cases, the shaping of the pupils' character and personality even after they have started schooling. To know the parents therefore does not only help us to know the pupils better but also sheds light on the caring tasks of the teachers in school.

Data concerning the parents' views on the caring system in schools were planned to be collected by two means : a questionnaire (Appendix 5.1b) to be brought to them by the pupils, and by informal interviews attended voluntarily by parents, using the interviewing sheet (Appendix 5.3d). However, no parents volunteered to come forward. This seems to be understandable, as suggested by the two school heads in the pilot study, because parents are used to coming

to school only if "invited" and when there is "something" to be talked about. In order to let parents express themselves more freely, they were requested not to name their sons in the questionnaires and no parents were "invited" to attend any interviews. Instead, the additional remarks which they had made in their questionnaires were analysed.

The study of the parents was looked at in three perspectives :-

(1) The responding parents :- This is to show the socio-economic characteristics of the parents who had returned the questionnaire. It includes their social backgrounds (Questions 1 - 6, Question 25), their financial situation (Question 24) and their educational particulars (Questions 27 - 28).

(2) The parental views on the academic role of the school :- This part is meant to show how parents in the sample thought of the school as an agent of imparting knowledge (Question 7 - 13). As the most conspicuous role of the school is on the academic side, how parents think of the academic role of the school can affect how they would support the school, including its caring function.

(3) The parental attitudes on the caring task of the school :- This is the study of the parental views on the non-academic role of the school and the related problems (Questions 14 - 23). As the process of schooling is an enterprise that demands concerted efforts with the school and parents playing two of the major roles, how parents think of the caring (including disciplinary) role of the school can be considered an indication of the efficiency of the existing caring system.

The responding parents

To describe the socio-economic background of the parents in the sample according to the data collected seems to be just replaying the same picture of the home background of the pupils given in Chapter 8 except for the financial situation, age, educational background and relationship with the pupils (Questions 24 - 28 and 6), which were not available from the pupils' data. However, in order to make this chapter more relevant to the study, the data collected in this section are compared with the data collected in the chapters on "The Pupils".

There were altogether 294 returns from parents of the two schools. The return rate was 80% of the total of 369 parents. Of all these parental returns, 110 were from Cloudview and 184 from Brookside. In other words, the return rate was 77% (of the total 143 parents) in Cloudview and 81% (of the total of 226 parents) in Brookside. Of these 294 parents in the sample, 209 of them (71%) were fathers of the boys, 62 (21%) were mothers and 9 (3%) were relations and relatives.

On the whole, there were more parents of the upper stream boys responding than those in the lower stream ones as shown in Table 12.1

Table 12.1 Parental Return According to Stream

Stream		Number of Parental Returns	Total No. of Parents	% of Total
General	(Upper)	67	75	89
	(Lower)	227	294	77
Cloudview	(Upper)	28	35	80
	(Lower)	82	108	76
Brookside	(Upper)	39	40	98
	(Lower)	145	186	78

Note : The total No. of parents was counted according to the total No. of pupils.

On the other hand, parents of the different social class backgrounds were found almost equally represented (Table 12.2). When analysing the views of the parents, their social class background was divided into three categories : Social Class 1 (R.G. Social Class I & II), Social Class 2 (R.G. Social Class III (Non-Manual)) and Social Class 3 (R.G. Social Class III (Manual), IV & V).

Table 12.2 Parental Returns According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Parental Returns	Total No. of Parents	% of Total
1	53	68	78
2	41	58	71
3	169	236	72
(Nil Returns)	(106)	(7)	-

Note : The total No. of parents was counted according to the total No. of pupils.

With regard to the distribution of these responding parents, no evidence was found that there was a significant majority of them from any of the residential regions though there were generally more of

them from three of these areas i.e. Residential areas built before 1950's, Residential areas built in and after 1970's and Industrial towns (Table 12.3).

Table 12.3 Residential Areas of the Parents

Residential Areas	No. of Parents	% of Total
Residential areas built before 1950's	76	26
Residential areas built in 1950's	33	11
Residential areas built in the 1960's	4	1
Residential areas built in and after 1970's	70	24
Industrial towns	73	25
Commercial centres	22	8

Total No. of Parents = 294

On the more personal side, most of the parents belong to the family income group earning less than H.K.\$ 5,000 per month as shown in Table 12.4.

Table 12.4 Family Income per month of the Parents

Income per Month (H.K.\$)	No. of Parents	% of Total
< 2,000	43	15
2,001 - 5,000	162	55
5,001 - 8,000	46	16
8,001 -10,000	15	5
>10,000	14	4.5
(Nil Returns)	(14)	(4.5)

Note :-

The total number of parents in the sample = 294
The exchange rate between Stirling and H.K. Dollars at the time of the study was about £1 = H.K.\$ 10.

On the academic side, just under half of the parents finished their full-time education before 16 and had received mainly primary education. About one-third of them had full-time education completed between 17 and 20 and had received secondary education only. The percentage of receiving full-time education after 20 and going further to the post-secondary sector was very low. The educational background of the parental group is shown in Table 12.5.

Table 12.5 The Parents' Educational Background

(a) Age Completing Full-Time Education

Age	No. of Parents	% of Total
16 or before	135	46
17 - 20	107	36
21 and over	38	13
(Nil Returns)	(14)	(5)

The total number of parents = 294

(b) Educational Level Reached

Educational Level	No. of Parents	% of Total
Primary	130	44
Secondary	106	36
Post-Secondary	27	9
(Nil Returns)	(31)	(11)

The total number of parents = 294.

A significant association was found between the parents' social class background and their family income and educational background as shown in Appendixes 12.1, 12.2 and 12.3. However, family income and educational background of the parents were not used as indicators to explain the findings because they were closely related to the parents' social class background in its primary sense. It was therefore not necessary to repeat the analysis. When the age cohort of the parents was referred to (Table 12.6), it was found that most of the parents in the group were over forty. This means that this was a group of middle age people.

Table 12.6 The Age Cohort of the Parents

Age	No. of Parents	% of Total
40 or under	61	21
41 - 50	125	43
51 and over	98	33
(Nil Returns)	(10)	(3)

Total No. of Parents = 294

Summing up, the sample group of parents was a group of mainly middle age people earning on the whole a moderate monthly income and

generally not highly educated. Generally speaking, there were comparatively more parents of pupils in upper streams (in general, in Cloudview and in Brookside). Yet, parents of all social classes were equally represented in the sample.

The parental views on the academic role of the school

This section shows what the parental group thought of the process of schooling in academic terms. Whenever possible, the parental views were compared with those of the pupils in similar or related areas as revealed in the last chapters. The comparison was meant to show, on the one hand, how pupils' views might have been affected by their parents and on the other hand, whether there was a gap between the two generations.

When asked whether they still remembered the school to which they applied for secondary school places allocation (Question 7), about half of the 294 parents (51%) said they did not. A significant link was found between school and social class and whether they still could remember the schools they had chosen (Table 12.7).

Table 12.7 Parents' Choice of their Sons' Schools According to School and Social Class

(a) According to School

School	No. of Parents		No. of Parents Responding
	Remembering	Not Remembering	
Cloudview	42 (43%)	55 (57%)	97 (100%)
Brookside	109 (65%)	60 (35%)	169 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 10.44, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)

(b) According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Parents		No. of Parents Responding
	Remembering	Not Remembering	
1	22 (44%)	28 (56%)	50 (100%)
2	19 (49%)	20 (51%)	39 (100%)
3	102 (62%)	62 (38%)	164 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.31, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)

It is not possible to prove just from the data available that parents remembering the school they opted for their sons were parents who cared more about their sons' school education, though this might be the case, for there could be a number of reasons that helped them remember their option. In this study, for instance, as discussed in Chapter 8 on "The Pupils", at the time when the option was made, of the 199 secondary school in the public sector, only 22 were technical secondary (Education Department 1979a pp.43 & 51). Thus, it was easier for parents who opted for technical education for their sons to remember the schools that they had chosen. As revealed in the analysis of the data from Chapter 8, there were more pupils in Brookside than in Cloudview who named the school as one of their first three preferred schools and there were more pupils from the working class families as well. In short, the reason why more parents in Brookside and in Social Class 3 could remember the school they chose for their sons was very likely due to the fact that they were the parents who opted for technical education for their sons. The smaller number of technical secondary schools at that time as compared with the number of grammar secondary schools might help them remember the names of the schools more easily.

On the issue of the major task of the school (Question 8), most

of the parents found that the expressive role of the school was more important than its instrumental one (Table 12.8).

Table 12.8 Parents' Views on the School Tasks

Task	Rank Order	No. of Parents Ranking it as Most Important/ Important	Nature of Task
Helping pupils to develop their personality and character	1	283 (96%)	Expressive
Teaching pupils what is right and wrong	2	280 (95%)	Expressive
Helping pupils to do as well as possible in exams.	3	269 (91%)	Instrumental
Teaching pupils plenty of things so that they can be interested in a lot of things	4	266 (90%)	Expressive
Teaching pupils things of direct use in their jobs	5	257 (87%)	Instrumental
Helping pupils to get as good as a job or career as possible	6	222 (76%)	Instrumental
Helping pupils to know what is going on in the world	7	220 (75%)	Expressive

Total No. of Parents = 294

On the whole, the parents' views on the school's role were similar to those of the pupils (Table 8.9) except that the parents appeared to be more instrumental in the sense that they gave higher priority and relatively higher percentage to the school's major task as "helping pupils to do as well as possible in examinations". However, differences were found in the two following school tasks according to the respective variables :-

(1) "Teaching pupils things of direct use in their

jobs" according to school and social class,
and (2) "Helping pupils to know what is going on in
the world" according to social class and streaming
(Brookside).

The differences of the above two school tasks are shown in
Tables 12.9 and 12.10 respectively.

Table 12.9

Parents' Views on the School's Tasks as
"Teaching pupils things of direct use in
their job" According to School and
Social Class

(a) According to School

School	No. of Parents Ranking it as Most Impt./Impt.		Not Impt.	No. of Parents Responding
Cloudview	86	(81%)	20 (19%)	106 (100%)
Brookside	171	(94%)	11 (6%)	182 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 10.17, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
Impt. = Important

(b) According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Parents Ranking it as Most Impt./Impt.		Not. Impt.	No. of Parents Responding
1	41	(79%)	11 (21%)	52 (100%)
2	35	(85%)	6 (15%)	41 (100%)
3	154	(93%)	12 (7%)	166 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 8.30, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)
Impt. = Important

Table 12.10

Parents' Views on the School's Task as
"Helping pupils to know what is going on
in the world" According to Social Class
and Streaming (Brookside)

(a) According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Parents Ranking it as Most Impt./Impt. Not Impt.		No. of Parents Responding
1	30 (63%)	18 (37%)	48 (100%)
2	33 (87%)	5 (13%)	38 (100%)
3	130 (83%)	27 (17%)	157 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 10.79, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 2)
Impt. = Important

(b) According to Streaming (Brookside)

Stream (Brookside)	No. of Parents Ranking it as Most Impt./Impt. Not Impt.		No. of Parents Responding
Upper	22 (63%)	13 (37%)	35 (100%)
Lower	116 (86%)	19 (14%)	135 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.32, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
Impt. = Important

What has been shown in Table 12.9 is the practical attitude of the parents of Brookside, who were most likely of a working class background and doing manual jobs (Social Class 3). The traditional views of working class people seemed to have made working class parents find "teaching pupils things of direct use in their jobs" as an important task of the school. This practical view was further endorsed by the findings shown in Table 12.10, when more parents of a lower social class background (Social Class 2 & 3) found that "helping pupils to know what is going on in the world" as an important task of the school. In an "international society" like Hong Kong, to know what is going on in the world seems to be a

pre-requisite for one to adapt to the constant changes. This seemed to explain why parents of the lower streams of Brookside were much more in favour of the school's teaching their sons "what is going on in the world". In view of the "triple failure" of their sons - failures of getting a place in a first class grammar school, a place in a second class grammar school and even a place in the upper stream of a technical school, the parents of these boys might think that to be "cosmopolitan" was the basic technique to survive.

In order to further clarify the parents' views on the effectiveness of schooling, they were asked about the appropriate school leaving age (Question 9). 282 parents in the group (96%) pointed out that the school leaving age should be 17 - an even higher percentage than that of the 369 pupils (91%).

On the whole, almost all parents of the group unanimously agreed that pupils should stay on in school until 17 or after completing their secondary school education, though variations were found in Brookside according to stream (Table 12.11). This signifies the high esteem given by the parents to the importance of education - an outstanding characteristic of the Chinese culture.

Table 12.11 Parents' Views on School Leaving Age According to Streaming (Brookside)

<u>Leaving Age</u>		15	17	18 or over	No. of Parents Responding
<u>No. of Parents</u>					
Stream (Brookside)					
Upper	0	7	31	38	
(%)	(0)	(18)	(82)	(100)	
Lower	2	55	82	139	
(%)	(1)	(40)	(59)	(100)	

(Chi-Square = 6.74, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)

What is shown in Table 12.11 is that in both the upper and lower streams, parents' hopes were much higher than those of the pupils in the same group. It was 82% in the upper; and 59% in the lower of the respective parental group who found that pupils should not leave school until at least 18. But for the pupils, it was 65% for the upper streams and 27% for the lower ones (Table 8.8b). This signified a gap between the parents and pupils which only the school could help to bridge. On the other hand, the extremely high parental preference in the upper stream for pupils' staying on at least until 18 also verified the pressure that they might exert on their children when it was difficult to get into the upper stream in Brookside. It is here that teachers have a role to play in ameliorating these pressures.

When asked about the type of curricular activities that they would like the school to provide for pupils (Question 10), the parents expressed their order of preference as shown in Table 12.12.

Table 12.12 Parents' Views on the Curricular
Activities in order of Preference

Activity	Rank Order	No. of Parents Ranking as V/F much Preferred
Taking pupils to visit places related to their studies	1	268 (91%)
Organising outings to places like the art galleries, museum, space museum or library	1	268 (91%)
Running clubs or other activities for pupils' spare time	3	252 (86%)
Organising inter-school projects or exhibitions	4	237 (81%)
Taking pupils to visit factories, 5 offices or other work places to see different sorts of jobs		230 (78%)

Total No. of Parents = 294
V/F = Very/Fairly

Findings in Table 12.12 enhanced the academic-oriented philosophy of the parents listing curricular activities related to studies and cultural heritage as the top curricular activities. Furthermore, a significant correlation was also revealed between the social class background of the parents and their preference for "taking pupils to visit places related to their studies" as shown in Table 12.13.

Table 12.13 Parents' Views on "Taking Pupils
to visit places related to their
studies" according to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Parents showing V/F Much Pref. No Pref.		No. of Parents Responding
1	46 (90%)	5 (10%)	51 (100%)
2	38 (95%)	2 (5%)	40 (100%)
3	160 (99%)	2 (1%)	162 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 8.59, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)
V/F = Very/Fairly
Pref.= Preference

Though the difference was not great, it still showed that working class parents almost unanimously agreed that curricular activities related to pupils' studies were important, for very likely they found that academic achievement was the only way for upward mobility. Anything relating to academic studies therefore mattered.

The parents' academic-oriented philosophy was obtained via their views on the importance of the major school subjects (Question 11) as shown in (Table 12.14).

Table 12.14 Parents' Views on School Subjects
in order of Importance

Subject	Rank Order	No. of Parents Ranking it as Very Important/Important
English	1	288 (98%)
Mathematics	2	284 (97%)
Chinese	3	277 (94%)
Science Subjects	4	245 (83%)
Social Science Subjects	5	241 (82%)
Technical Subjects	6	236 (80%)
Physical Education	7	195 (66%)
Music, Art & Craft	8	143 (49%)

Total No. of Parents = 294

Though there were variations between the ranking of these subjects by the parents and pupils, they shared the same view on the first three most important subjects. This, at the same time, illustrated the fact that both these groups of people shared the same way of responding to the needs of the society. (The parents' views on the importance of school subjects are compared with those of the pupils as shown in Appendix 12.4.). As in the case of the pupils (Tables 8.13 and 8.14), significant relationships were found between school and parents' views on technical subjects and the subjects of Music, Art and Craft (Table 12.15).

Table 12.15 Parents' Views on the Importance of Technical Subjects and Music, Art & Craft According to School

(a) On Technical Subjects

School	No. of Parents Ranking it as Very Impt./Impt. Not Impt.		No. of Parents Responding
Cloudview	63 (68%)	29 (32%)	92 (100%)
Brookside	169 (96%)	7 (4%)	176 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 28.75, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)
Impt. = Important

(b) On Music, Art & Craft

School	No. of Parents Ranking it as Very Impt./Impt. Not Impt.		No. of Parents Responding
Cloudview	61 (66%)	31 (34%)	92 (100%)
Brookside	82 (50%)	83 (50%)	165 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.95, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
Impt. = Important

As shown in Table 12.15, it seemed, like the pupils, that the parents' attitudes towards the school curriculum were affected by the types of school that their children attended. The parents of a technical school would find the technical subjects more important than their counter-parts in a grammar school. However, parents of a grammar school would be more in favour of the cultural subjects (Music, Art & Craft) than their peers in a technical school. On the other hand, a significant association was also found between the social class background of the parents and their views on Chinese as an important school subject as shown in Table 12.16.

Table 12.16 Parents' Views on Chinese as an Important School Subject According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Parents Ranking it as Very Impt./Impt.	Not Impt.	No. of Parents Responding
1	48 (92%)	4 (8%)	52 (100%)
2	38 (95%)	2 (5%)	40 (100%)
3	164 (99%)	2 (1%)	166 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.12, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)
Impt. = Important

Though the difference was small, it still showed that the lower the parents were on the social ladder, the more they were in favour of Chinese as an important school subject. There was even an almost unanimous agreement from the working class parents with 99% of the group finding Chinese as important. This is probably due to the fact that in a society like Hong Kong, the lower one is on the social ladder the more Chinese, rather than English, one will use in daily life. This might make the working class parents of this group feel more concerned about the importance of Chinese.

To ascertain the parents' views on the role of the school in the pupils' moral education, the parents were asked whether Moral Education should be a school subject (Question 12). On this issue, the parents again seemed to share similar views to their children. While 286 of the 369 pupils (78%) opined that Moral Education should be a school subject, 238 of the parents in the group (81%) held the same view.

On the subject of who should teach knowledge relating to moral education when Moral Education was not a school subject (Question 13), the list of people in order of suitability for the job

is shown in Table 12.17.

Table 12.17 Parents' Views on the most Suitable
People for Teaching Knowledge of
Moral Education

People	Rank Order	No. of Parents Ranking them as Very Suitable/Suitable
Parents	1	250 (85%)
Form Teachers	2	232 (79%)
School Social Worker	3	203 (69%)
Discipline Master/ Mistress	4	197 (67%)
Headmaster/Headmistress	5	179 (61%)
Subject Teachers	5	179 (61%)

Total No. of Parents = 294

Table 12.17 reveals three significant points relating to the caring job of the school : -

(1) The parents of this group of children still maintained the view that they had the most important role to play in the socialisation of the children. In other words, teachers should bear this in mind when caring for the pupils by keeping close contact with the parents.

(2) In the school, the parents of this group seemed to feel that their role should be undertaken by the form teachers who had the highest contact ratio with the pupils in their own class. This mirrors the role of the teachers acting in "loco parentis" in school.

(3) The concept of school social work did not seem to be new to the parents for quite a majority of them (69%) found that the school social worker had a role to play in imparting moral education

to the pupils. In other words, the school social worker can be considered as an agent in bridging the gap between the school and the parents, not only on an ad hoc basis, but also as a mediator between the two. A significant association was found, moreover, between the social class background of the parents and their views on the school social worker as the most suitable person for moral education as shown in Table 12.18.

Table 12.18 Parents' Views on School Social Worker
as a Suitable Person for Moral Education
According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Parents As Suitable	Ranking him/her As Not Suitable	No. of Parents Responding
1	27 (64%)	15 (36%)	42 (100%)
2	27 (82%)	6 (18%)	33 (100%)
3	132 (92%)	11 (8%)	143 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 20.74, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 2)

As shown in Table 12.18, it seemed that the lower the parents were in the social ladder, the more they would support the school social worker as a suitable person for teaching moral education. A very hypothetical explanation is that in theory, the lower one's social class, the more likely it is for one to have contact with social workers in general as he may be more often in need of help. The trust in the school social worker of this group of parents might further be enhanced by the official publicity made for the scheme of school social work especially on the roles and functions that the school social workers were expected to play in schools.

The ranking of parents and form teachers as the first two on the list also indicated the parents' views that there was a need for

parent-teacher co-operation for the moral education of their children. A lengthy additional remark, expressed by a father of an upper stream boy of Cloudview, indicated this when he said :

Moral education includes almost everything that affects a child's life both present and future. Parents (even if qualified) cannot be available all the time for it. It is only when parents and teachers are working closely together that moral education can be taught.

What has been shown in this section is that, on the whole, the parents' views on the academic aspect of school life were similar to those expressed by their children. That is, both groups were academic-oriented and practical people. However, parents ranked the importance of examinations as higher, and their views on the appropriate school leaving age indicated a higher staying on preference than the pupils. Yet, the academic side is only part (though may be a major part to some) of the whole school process. In order to further understand the parental effects on pupils' social behaviours in school, it is necessary to know what the parents think of the caring system of the school.

The parental attitudes on the caring task of the school

When asked how often they had visited their sons' school since the beginning of that school year (Question 14), 177 of them (60%) reported that they had not gone there more than twice while 49 of them (17%) had not visited at all; and 60 of them (20%) had been three or more times. There was a significant association between the number of visits the parents made and the schools their sons attended as shown in Table 12.19.

Table 12.19 School Visits by Parents
According to School

<u>No. of Parents School</u>	0	No. of 1 - 2	Visits 3 - 4	5+	No. of Parents Responding
Cloudview	16 (15%)	54 (51%)	30 (28%)	7 (6%)	107 (100%)
Brookside	33 (18%)	123 (69%)	18 (10%)	5 (3%)	179 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 19.22, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 3)

It seems that parents of Cloudview visited their sons' school more often than the parents in Brookside and a possible explanation can be obtained by referring to their reasons for visiting the school (Question 15). The reasons proposed are listed in order of likeliness as shown in Table 12.20.

Table 12.20 Parental Reasons of Visiting
their sons' School

Reason	Rank Order	No. of Parents Ranking it as Most Likely/Likely
Academic problems of their sons	1	246 (84%)
Discipline problems of their sons	2	216 (73%)
Special school occasions e.g. Open Day, Parents' Evening	3	203 (69%)
Taking their sons to school	4	43 (15%)
Taking their sons home from school	5	38 (13%)

Total No. of Parents = 294

The academic-oriented emphasis of both schools is shown in Table 12.20 as academic problems were the major reasons for the parents to visit the schools. This may also explain why the parents

of Cloudview visited the school more than the parents of Brookside did (Table 12.19) as Cloudview was comparatively a more academic-oriented school. It was also found that parents' views on visits to school on special occasions varied according to school (Table 12.21).

Table 12.21 "Special School Occasions" as Reasons of Parents' School Visit According to School

School	No. of Parents Ranking it as Most Likely/Likely	Ranking it as Not Likely	No. of Parents Responding
Cloudview	67 (67%)	33 (33%)	100 (100%)
Brookside	136 (80%)	34 (20%)	170 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.03, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)

In both schools, special occasions such as Open Days and Parents' Evenings were held once every year. But the turn-up rates of parents were said to be low. However, in Brookside, it was held that form teachers were expected to see all parents of their own classes at least once during the school year. The meeting need not be a problem-oriented one. The usual practice was that as they had examinations twice a term for the two terms of the year, parents would be invited to visit the school when the report cards were distributed to them at about ten parents at a time. This might have made parents of Brookside feel more like visiting the school on special occasions. The significance of this finding is that in order to keep in contact with the parents, it is up to the school to take the initiative.

As the self-reported rate of parental visits was just moderate, it was not surprising that less than half (43%) of them (127 of 294)

found that the teachers had done sufficient to keep close contact with them (Question 16) while 136 of them (46%) found the teachers had not done enough and 31 of them (11%) abstained. However, variations were found according to streaming in general and streaming in Brookside as shown in Table 12.22.

Table 12.22 Parents' Views on Parent-Teacher Contact According to Stream (General) and Stream (Brookside)

(a) According to Stream (General)

Stream (General)	No. of Parents Reporting it As Enough	No. of Parents Reporting it As Not Enough	No. of Parents Responding
Upper	21 (34%)	40 (66%)	61 (100%)
Lower	106 (53%)	96 (47%)	202 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.41, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)

(b) According to Stream (Brookside)

Stream (Brookside)	No. of Parents Reporting it As Enough	No. of Parents Reporting it As Not Enough	No. of Parents Responding
Upper	11 (29%)	27 (71%)	38 (100%)
Lower	72 (57%)	54 (43%)	126 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 8.19, $p < 0.01$, D.f. = 1)

What is shown in Table 12.22 is that more parents in the lower streams in general and in Brookside found that the teachers had done enough to keep them informed. However, there was no evidence that these two groups of parents had made more visits to the school because of academic or discipline problems of their sons. A possible reason for this finding was that, as shown in Chapter 9 of "The Pupils", there was a higher rate of absence in the lower stream in general and in the lower stream in Brookside, and it was the practice

of both schools to contact the parents by phone on the day of the pupils' absence. This might have made parents of the two lower streams feel they had been kept well informed. However, no significant relationship was found between streaming in Cloudview and the parents' views on the sufficiency of parent-teacher contact of the school (Appendix 12.5) most probably because the difference of the rates of absence between the upper and lower streams in Cloudview (0.34 and 0.75 day per pupil respectively) was less than that in Brookside (0.38 and 0.91 day per pupil respectively).

In order to understand how the parents thought they should be kept in touch, four common ways were proposed (Question 17) and their assessments on the suitability of these various ways are shown in Table 12.23.

Table 12.23 Parents' Views on Methods of Parent-Teacher Contact

Method	Rank Order	No. of Parents Ranking it as Very Suitable/Suitable
Personal invitation, personal contact and visits by teachers	1	218 (74%)
Open Days	2	215 (73%)
Parent Teacher Association	3	210 (71%)
Parents' Evenings	4	204 (70%)

Total No. of Parents = 294

Table 12.23 shows that the difference between parents' preferences for the various ways of teacher-parent contact was very small. This seems to show that the parents did not seem to favour any special methods of being contacted as long as they were

contacted. On the other hand, school, stream and social class were not associated with parental views on the proposed methods for parent-teacher contact except on the following two items :-

(a) Parents' Evening according to school

and (b) Parent Teacher Association according to social class.

The data from the above items are shown in Tables 12.24 and 12.25 respectively.

Table 12.24 Parents' Views on "Parents' Evening"
According to School

School	No. of Parents Ranking it as V.Suit./Suit.	Not Suit.	No. of Parents Responding
Cloudview	64 (71%)	26 (29%)	90 (100%)
Brookside	142 (83%)	30 (17%)	172 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 3.95, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Suit. = Very Suitable
Suit. = Suitable

Table 12.25 Parents' Views on "Parent Teacher"
Association" According to Social Class

Social Class	No. of Parents Ranking it as V.Suit./Suit.	Not Suit.	No. of Parents Responding
1	29 (64%)	16 (36%)	45 (100%)
2	32 (82%)	7 (18%)	39 (100%)
3	128 (82%)	29 (18%)	157 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.40, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)
V.Suit. = Very Suitable
Suit. = Suitable

Superficially, the outcomes shown in Tables 12.24 and 12.25 seem to be contradictory to what is generally believed concerning parental opinion that working class parents or parents of a lower social class background are less interested in school business. However, the

findings here must be related to the particulars of the parents in the sample. In Cloudview, the more middle class oriented setting of the grammar school might have reduced the interest of the working class parents, who, though not a majority, still made up almost half of the total (49%) (Table 8.3). But in Brookside, the less middle-class oriented school setting and the working class majority of the school (76% of the total) seemed to have made parents feel more interested in coming to school, hence the results in Table 12.25.

In view of the threat of the increasing juvenile crime rate during the period when the study was undertaken, the parents were asked about their views on juvenile delinquency (Questions 18 & 19). When asked what they thought was the major cause of the increasing juvenile crime rate, most of them (86%) found materialistic attraction as the major issue as shown in Table 12.26.

Table 12.26 Parents' Views on the Increasing Juvenile Crime Rate (N = 294)

Cause	Rank Order	No. of Parents Strongly Agreed/Agreed
The social attitudes of keeping up with the Jones	1	253 (86%)
Dramatisation of crimes in television programmes and movies	2	247 (84%)
The Government's lenient policies on pornographic movies and magazines	3	237 (81%)
The increasing number of broken families	4	194 (66%)
The heavy pressures of examinations	5	158 (54%)

The parents' functional and instrumental philosophies on education seemed clear when the least blame was put on "examination pressure". On the other hand, though the parents agreed that they were the most suitable people to teach moral education (Table 12.17), the family was not the major cause for the increasing juvenile crime rate even though two-thirds of them agreed that broken homes was a possible reason. The parents' views on increasing juvenile crimes seem to show that they are "passing the buck" concerning the caring for the youngsters as discussed earlier in Chapter 1. While teachers would tend to blame the family background or society for the misdeeds of the pupils, the parents seemed inclined to blame society or the Government as the reason leading to any "down-fall" of the youngsters today. But, the views of the parents on this issue did carry some force for the long term aim of any successful caring system in school should be the development of a caring society, which cannot be done without the Government taking the lead through the education of the public. Yet, parents of the two schools thought differently on the two following subjects :-

(1) "The increasing number of broken families"
(Table 12.27)

and (2) "The social attitudes of keeping up with
the Jones" (Table 12.28).

Table 12.27 Parents' Views on "The increasing number of broken families" as a cause of Juvenile Delinquency According to School

School	No. of Parents		No. of Parents Responding
	S.Agreed/Agreed	Disagreed	
Cloudview	81 (84%)	16 (16%)	97 (100%)
Brookside	113 (70%)	49 (30%)	162 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.39, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
S = Strongly

Table 12.28 Parents' Views on "the social attitudes of keeping up with the Jones" as a cause of Juvenile Delinquency According to School

School	No. of Parents		No. of Parents Responding
	S.Agreed/Agreed	Disagreed	
Cloudview	98 (97%)	3 (3%)	101 (100%)
Brookside	155 (89%)	20 (11%)	175 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 4.94, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
S = Strongly

Table 12.27 can be considered as showing how parents could be affected by the norms and values of the schools that their children attended though the effects might be rather indirect. Firstly, this group of parents did not find "the increasing number of broken families" as the very major cause of the increasing juvenile crime rates. However, "broken families" are more of an "imported culture" (from the West), which in most cases is more strongly felt by people of a middle class background. As Cloudview belonged more to a middle class nature, parents might feel about this "imported culture" differently from their peers in the working class school - Brookside.

As shown in Table 12.28, a statistically significant difference was found between the parents of the two schools on the subject of

materialistic greed as a cause of juvenile crime. Though the difference was small, it still showed almost a unanimous agreement of parents in Cloudview (97%) on this subject reflecting the competitive nature of the grammar school, which might have made them feel more sensitive to the greed of materialistic comforts as a cause of juvenile crime.

As a follow-up question to the issue of the juvenile crime rate, the parents were asked what they thought to be the best policy to deter juvenile delinquency (Question 19). Their responses to the proposed suggestions in order of priority are listed in Table 12.29.

Table 12.29 Parents' Views on Policies for
"Stopping the Increasing
Juvenile Crime Rate"

Policies	Rank Order	No. of Parents Strongly Agreed/Agreed
More outdoor activities for the youth be run by the Government or voluntary organisations	1	264 (90%)
More Government sponsored programmes on family education be put on T.V. or radio	2	245 (83%)
Hard labour imprisonment for young offenders convicted for serious crimes	3	178 (61%)
The authority of corporal punishment be extended to teachers	4	97 (33%)
Punishment of short, sharp, shock for young offender convicted	5	90 (31%)
Participation in examinations made voluntary	6	63 (21%)

Total No. of Parents = 294

Table 12.29 can be said to complement the parents' views on the causes of the increasing juvenile crime rate (Table 12.26), in which the parents seemed to have put more blame on society as well as the Government rather than families. Eventually, to improve the situation (i.e. to halt the increasing juvenile delinquency), more than three-quarters of the parents agreed that the Government should be responsible for sponsoring out-door activities for the youth (90%) and for improving the qualities of the mass media (83%). The parents of this group also shared the views of their children in the way that physical punishments should be maintained. Of the whole group of 369 pupils, only 15% of them found corporal punishment an effective punishment (Table 9.17) while about one third of the parents supported corporal punishment and less than one-third, the application of short, sharp, shock for young offenders though more than half of them agreed to put severe young convicts behind bars in hard labour prisons. The parents' emphasis on the importance of out-door activities and family education seemed to illustrate their support for some of the positive measures to solve the problem. This was summed up by the father of an upper stream boy in Cloudview :

The essence of the problem of juvenile delinquency, I personally think, is the concept of value that youngsters are now holding today. It is the concept that stresses on what you have got rather than how you got it. It is now time to bring back the traditional values, which encourages hard work, respect for the others, perseverance and co-operation.

It seems that "out-door activities" and "family education" are two of the major means of "bringing back" those "traditional values".

Though different views were found on the policy of having "more outdoor activities for the youth to be run by the Government or voluntary organisations" according to the social class background of

the parents, the difference was very slight. The finding was not further analysed (Appendix 12.6).

As an indicator of the significance of the generation gap between the pupils and their parents, the parents of this group were asked what they thought were the important things to a 15-year-old school leaver (Question 20) and the views of the parents on the proposed daily issues are shown in order of importance in Table 12.30.

Table 12.30 Parents' Views on Pupils' Order of Importance of some Daily Issues

Items	Rank Order	No. of Parents Ranking it as Very Important/Important
Getting jobs they like	1	250 (85%)
Their families	2	199 (68%)
Being treated as grown-ups	3	156 (53%)
Earning money	4	143 (49%)
Having a good time while young	5	77 (26%)
Having a girl friend	6	63 (21%)

Total No. of Parents = 294

When the pupils' views on these various issues were referred to (Table 9.9), it seemed evident that a gap did exist between the parents and their sons as far as this subject was concerned. Though both groups agreed that "a job they like" was important, conspicuous differences were found especially on the following 3 items :-

(1) "Being treated as grown-ups" - It was third on the parents' list but sixth on the pupils'.

(2) "Earning money" - The parents viewed it as the fourth

important one but the pupils the second.

(3) "Having a girl friend" - It was the fourth important one to the pupils but the sixth on the list of the parents.

The result of this discrepancy is that what the parents supply may not be what the pupils demand. Consequently, conflicts may break out. This then highlights the caring role of the teachers, who need to liaise not only between the school and the parents but also between the parents and the pupils.

On the other hand, parents' views on "having a girl friend" as important to the 15-year-old school leavers were found different according to streaming in Brookside (Table 12.31).

Table 12.31 Parents' Views on Pupils' Ranking on "Having a girl friend" According to Streaming (Brookside)

Stream (Brookside)	No. of Parents Ranking it as V.Impt./Impt.	Not Impt.	No. of Parents Responding
Upper	2 (7%)	25 (93%)	27 (100%)
Lower	37 (28%)	93 (72%)	130 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 4.24, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V.Impt. = Very Important
Impt. = Important

The vast majority of the upper stream parents (almost the whole group) expressing that "having a girl friend" was not important to the 15-year-olds can be considered as an example of the deferred gratification pattern (DGP) of attitude which, as Schneider and Lysgaard (1953) describe, "refers to post-ponement of gratification or satisfaction". Some of the examples of this deferred gratification pattern, as Horton and Hunt (1975 p.268) suggest, are : education is considered neither a luxury nor a bore but an

investment in future prospects. Thrift will lay the basis for eventual economic power, and emotional control will permit eventual emotional satisfaction.

The upper stream parents' views of deferring the 15-year-olds "having a girl friend" could be asserted by the majority of them (82% of the upper stream parents versus 59% of their lower stream peers) supporting their views that their children should stay on in school until 18 or over (Table 12.11).

On the non-academic side of school life, parents were asked whether they thought students nowadays were attracted more to extra-curricular activities than to their studies (Question 21). Only about one-third of them (36%) said "Yes" while 177 of them (60%) said "No". Table 12.32 shows the different parental view-point on the number of extra-curricular activities that they thought students should be involved in.

Table 12.32 Parents' Views on Pupils' Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities

Number of Activities	No. of Parents in Favour
0	7 (2%)
1 - 2	159 (54%)
3 - 4	94 (32%)
5 - 6	13 (4.5%)
6+	11 (4%)
(Nil Returns)	10 (3.5%)

Total No. of Parents = 294

When compared with the reported number of participated activities by the pupils themselves (Table 9.2), it seemed that

parents of this group would expect the pupils to be more involved in the extra-curricular activities in school as more than one-third of the pupils (36%) were involved in none of the activities at all, while about half of them (48%) took part in one or two of the activities and 16% of them participated in 3 or more of these activities. Yet, as shown in Table 12.33 below, parents shared similar views to the pupils on the importance of the various types of extra-curricular activities.

Table 12.33 Parents' Views on the Importance of the types of Extra-Curricular Activity

Activity	Rank Order	No. of Parents Ranking it as Very Important/Important
Games	1	272 (93%)
Athletics	2	252 (86%)
Cultural Appreciation	3	235 (80%)
Creative Activities	4	233 (79%)
Physical Exercises	5	207 (70%)
Social Services	6	206 (70%)

Total No. of Parents = 294

When compared with pupils' self-reported involvement in the types of extra-curricular activity (Table 9.4), it could be seen that both parents and pupils agreed on games as the most important of the extra-curricular activities.

In order to understand the parental expectation of this group of parents, they were asked about the job prospects of their sons (Question 26). Of the 294 parents, 207 of them (70%) said that they would not like their sons to take up jobs like their own. This was

similar to the expectation of the pupils when 80% of 369 boys said that they would not like to do jobs as their fathers'. This indicated a high expectation of job mobility from both boys and their parents of the group. At the same time, this also emphasizes the need for careers guidance in school. As for the types of job that the parents would like their sons to do, the social class status of the jobs they would expect their sons to do including both those similar to and different from their own are shown in Table 12.34.

Table 12.34 Social Class Status (R.G. Category)
of the Jobs that Parents expected
for their sons

Social Class (R.G. Category)	No. of Parents Expecting it for their sons
1	28 (10%)
2	45 (15%)
3	31 (11%)
4	9 (3%)
5	0 (0%)
(Nil Returns)	(181) (61%)
Total	294 (100%)

Note :- 1 = R.G. Social Class I
2 = R.G. Social Class II
3 = R.G. Social Class III (Non-Manual)
4 = R.G. Social Class III (Manual)
5 = R.G. Social Class IV & V

The significance of Table 12.34 is that quite a majority of the parents (61%) had views which were not shown in the Table. The reason is that these 181 parents had either abstained or they reported that they had got no particular job in mind and they would leave the decision to their sons.

A study on the remarks by parents who did not name any job for their sons shows that their reasons of not responding to the question can be divided into two major groups : being utilitarian and being open-minded. A father of nine children from stream 2 of Cloudview summed up many of the parents' ideas :

I have never had any proper education because of the two Wars. (He meant the Second World War and the Chinese Civil War.) I can tell what kind of job I can get. However, these young people are now facing a highly competitive world nowadays. It is not the type of job that is important but their abilities. To acquire high academic qualifications is the only way to be competitive.

The parents' open-minded attitude was represented by another father of the group, a journalist from the upper stream of Brookside, as he added :

After being a journalist for 22 years, I realise that we can enjoy doing our job only if we like it. As it is their job, the best thing to do is to leave it to themselves for only they themselves know their own interests and what they are after.

In short, to most of the parents in this study, the kind of job that their children would do was not the issue but whether they enjoy doing it was.

Conclusion

What has been shown in this chapter are the views of a group of ordinary parents, who might also be considered as representative of the other parents in Hong Kong. They were moderately educated and earning a moderately monthly income. On the whole, this group of parents was a group supportive of the school and had expressed their trust in the role played by the school both cognitively and affectively. Their support and trust can be seen in their views on

the raising of the school leaving age to 17, on making Moral Education a school subject and on suggesting the form teacher as their partner for the moral education of their children. At the same time, this group of parents were quite open-minded as could be seen in the fact that more than half of them left the decision of job choice to their sons and also more than half of them agreed on the participation of their sons in extra-curricular activities. Yet, the study also reveals how parents can be affected by their own social class background and school policy. For example, working class parents were found more supportive than middle class parents of the teaching of job skills and knowledge about the world in school as well as the role of the school social worker. At the same time, parents of the grammar school were found to be more in favour of subjects such as Music, Art and Craft than parents of the technical school. Yet, parents of the technical school emphasized more on the importance of technical subjects than parents of the grammar school. This was mainly due to the two different types of curriculum of the two schools. Besides, the academic-oriented nature of Cloudview and the school policy of meeting parents for the distribution of reports in Brookside were both found causing variations of parents' views on visiting their sons' school.

The message derived from these findings is two-fold. Firstly, the effects of the parents' social class background endorse the significance of "cultural capital". The practical attitude of the working class parents shown in this chapter found in line with the practical attitude of the working class children towards school life as revealed in the previous chapters is an example for this. Secondly, the effects of school policies on parents signify the

importance of children in parent-teacher co-operation for the parents' understanding of the policy and their support to carrying it out. This study shows that the parents were almost equally divided on the subject of whether the school had done enough to build up good parent-teacher contact. It seemed that it all depends on the school and stream of their sons as to how they answer. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, parents of Hong Kong schools are, on the whole, rather passive. What can be concluded from this study is that in order to minimize the differences caused by the variation of "class ethos" that pupils bring into the class and to maximize the effectiveness of the school for the well-being of the pupils, much more parental involvement in school should be emphasized and encouraged.

Studies have also shown that there is a close link between parental interests in school work and pupils' performance in school (Craft 1974 p.57, Rutter et al. 1979 p.87) and the rate of delinquency in school (Rutter et al. Op. Cit. p.201, Farrington 1972). This significant link between the school and the parents can best be summed up by the recommendation of the Plowden Report (p.37) on home and school interaction that :

An improvement in school may raise the level of parental interests, and that in its turn may lead to further improvement in school.

This Plowden ideology, as a matter of fact, highlights the importance of parents' partnership in the education of the school children.

Chapter 13

The Teachers - Their Accounts of their Roles as Teachers, as People in "loco parentis" and as Staff Members

Even when the teacher acts like a broadcasting station, it is doubtful that all pupils are tuned in. A more plausible model is that the teacher is communicating with different individuals for brief sporadic periods and that these pupils are responding to other stimuli the rest of the time.

Harry F. Silberman
Journal of Teacher Education 14 : 235, 1963

Studies of teacher-pupil interaction in the classroom have shown that teachers on average talk for 70% of the total talking time of the lessons (Flanders (1970), Delamont (1976)). The passive role of the pupils in the classroom was also revealed in the classroom observation of this study. It is not, however, the theme of this study to discuss the classroom managerial style of teachers but rather the dominating role of the teacher in the classroom which highlights the teacher's major function of instruction, socialisation and evaluation (Hoyle 1969 p.59). This section serves two purposes. On the one hand, it looks at the views of teachers on the various areas of the schooling process since, after all, the teachers are the executives of the process. On the other hand, the teachers' views are compared as far as possible with those of pupils and parents. It is through these comparisons that the existing pastoral care system can be analysed and possibly improved.

Teachers in this study included the school supervisors, the school heads, the school social workers and the ordinary classroom teachers. However, because of the nature of their job, the school supervisors, the school heads and the school social workers were different from that of the classroom teachers, they were not included in the questionnaire survey but in the interviews only. To understand the teachers' views is of paramount importance for what they think about the school life of the pupils will affect their ways of tackling school business on a short term basis, while on a long term basis, their effects on the children may be life long. In order to study the teachers' views, this chapter is divided into four parts as follows :-

(1) The responding teachers - This part is designed to show the general characteristics of the teachers who had returned the questionnaire. The information is based on Questions 1 - 4, and 24 - 26 of the questionnaire (Appendix 5.1c). This includes the teacher's total teaching experience (Question 1(c)), teaching experience in their schools (Question 1(d)), the number of periods and levels taught (Question 2), additional responsibilities other than teaching (Question 3), qualifications (Question 24), subjects studied (Question 25) and age (Question 26). Other particulars about the teachers are : the teacher's sex and marital status (Question 1a & b) and their areas of residence (Question 4). All these showed the biographical background of the teachers. However, as discussed in Chapter 6, not all these personal variables were used as indicators for analysing the data. The level at which the teachers taught, for example, was not considered as an indicator because many teachers, such as the Biology teacher in Cloudview and the Wood Work and Metal

Work teachers in Brookside, taught from the lowest to the highest forms of the school. It was therefore not possible to group the teachers according to the levels they taught. On the other hand, in order not to repeat analyses of a similar nature, the subjects (major and minor) that the teachers studied were replaced by the subjects that they taught, their length of service in their respective schools and age by their total teaching experience.

Summing up, the personal variables used as indicators for the investigation of the teachers' views on the school process were divided into two main categories :-

(i) Non-hierarchical social divisions : sex, marital status, area of residence, and

(ii) Hierarchical social divisions (secondary social class) : school, teaching experience, additional duties, subjects taught, number of periods per week/cycle, qualifications. As teachers are already in the middle class group, the concept of primary social class is, therefore, not relevant.

(2) The teacher as a teacher - This section reveals the teachers' views on the school (Questions 5 & 7) and the school curriculum (Question 8 & 11). Complementary information was also sought from interviews with the teachers using the interviewing sheets attached in Appendixes 5.3c, d & e to show teachers' attitudes towards the cognitive aspect of the school process.

(3) The teacher in "loco parentis" - The theme of this section is to portray the teachers' views on the disciplinary and caring functions of the school (Questions 12 - 23). The analysis is also further elaborated with their opinions expressed during the interviews.

(4) The teacher as a staff member - This section indicates how the teachers thought of their job for job satisfaction is a "satisfaction of the self-esteem need (which) leads to feelings of self-confidence, worth, strength, capability and adequacy of being useful and necessary in the world" (Maslow 1954 p.91). This satisfaction, in turn, can promote the staff morale. The analysis was based mainly on data collected during interviews with teachers and information from the questionnaire (Question 6).

The responding teachers

There were 63 teachers in the sample, 27 from Cloudview (43%) and 36 from Brookside (57%). The 27 teachers from Cloudview represented 61% of the total of 44 teaching staff while the 36 teachers from Brookside formed 92% of the total of the 39 teachers of the school. The disparity of the return rates between teachers of the two schools reflects the disparity of the number of pupils of the two schools who attended the interviews. As the researcher was working "away from the teachers" in Cloudview, there were some pupils attending interview in Cloudview but none from Brookside because the researcher was working "with their teachers" in the staff room. But for the teachers, there were more teachers in Brookside who returned the questionnaire because the researcher was "nearer to them" but this was not so in Cloudview because the researcher was away from the teachers. Of the 63 teachers who returned the questionnaires, 40 were male (64%) and 22 female (35%), 26 of them (41%) were single and 36 (57%) were married. This was a group of moderately experienced teachers as about one-third of them had taught for five or fewer years, about another one-third from six to ten years and the other

one-third for eleven or more years. Most of them had served in their present school for not more than five years. The teaching experience and the length of their service in their present school are shown in Table 13.1.

Table 13.1 Teachers' Experience and Period of Service

<u>No. of Teachers</u> <u>No. of Years</u>	Teaching Experience	Period of Service
5 or below	22 (35%)	25 (39%)
6 - 10	21 (34%)	23 (37%)
11 - 15	9 (14%)	6 (10%)
16 or over	9 (14%)	7 (11%)
Nil Returns	2 (3%)	2 (3%)
Total	63 (100%)	63 (100%)

Of the 63 teachers in the group, 10 (16%) were senior teachers who were either deputy heads or subject panels, 39 (62%) were form teachers, 4 (7%) were extra-curricular activities organisers and 6 (10%) were in charge of the school discipline while 4 (7%) of them held no special duties other than teaching.

The major subjects that the teachers taught were divided into four groups : -

- (1) Arts Subjects - These were all languages and social sciences subjects
- (2) Science Subjects - These included Mathematics and all Science Subjects.
- (3) Cultural Subjects - These were Music, Art, Craft and Physical Education.
- (4) Practical Subjects - These included all technical

and commercial subjects.

The number of teachers according to the subjects that they taught are shown in Table 13.2.

Table 13.2 The Teaching Subjects of the Teachers

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>
Arts Subjects	36 (57%)
Science Subjects	16 (25%)
Cultural Subjects	2 (3%)
Practical Subjects	8 (13%)
Nil Returns	1 (2%)
Total	63 (100%)

As mentioned earlier, it was not possible to group the teachers according to the levels which they taught as most teachers had classes with more than one level of pupils and most of them taught both upper and lower forms. Table 13.3 shows the number of teachers involved in the various levels. The idea of the Table is to show the general working background of the teachers. It can be seen from Table 13.3 that more than half of the responding teachers had classes with the junior forms while only about one-quarter of them had lessons with the pre-university classes.

Table 13.3 The Teaching Levels of the Teachers

<u>Level</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>
Form 1	32 (51%)
Form 2	34 (54%)
Form 3	38 (60%)
Form 4	28 (44%)
Form 5	25 (40%)
Form 6	6 (10%)
Form 7	9 (14%)

Note :-

The total number of teachers in the group = 63
The sum of the total number of teachers and the percentages in the Table cannot be added up to 63 and 100 respectively as most teachers were involved in more than one level.

The number of periods that a teacher has will affect the time that is available for him to handle the caring business of the pupils. Usually, senior teachers or teachers holding special duties such as form teachers or deputy heads will have fewer lessons according to their posts than those who have no special duties. Usually, most teachers would have 30 or more periods per week/cycle. Teachers holding additional or responsible duties would have 30 or less. Table 13.4 shows the number of lessons that the teachers in the group had to teach per week/cycle.

Table 13.4 The Number of Periods per week/cycle of the Teachers

<u>No. of Periods per Week/Cycle</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>
20 or less	3 (5%)
21 - 30	21 (33%)
31 or more	38 (60%)
Nil Returns	1 (2%)
Total	63 (100%)

Table 13.4 shows that more than half of the teachers (60%) had 31 or even more periods per week/cycle. The implication is that of the 40 periods per week or 48 periods per cycle, most of the teachers spent almost two-thirds of the time on teaching, excluding marking. The significance of this is that the teachers appeared to have been given no additional time to promote their relationship with their pupils, which highlights the difficulties facing teachers attempting to carry out their caring task.

A study on the area of residence of the teachers showed that of the 63 teachers in the sample, 33 of them (53%) lived in Kowloon, 19 (30%) on the Island and 7 (11%) in the New Territories. As the two schools were in Kowloon, this meant that about half of the sample teachers lived not too far away from where they worked.

On the subject of the qualifications of the teachers, of the 63 teachers, 35 (56%) were graduate teachers either with or without the teaching certificates and 26 (41%) were non-graduate teachers holding teaching certificates of the College of Education.

As pointed out earlier, the teachers' age and the subjects they studied at colleges/universities were not taken as indicators in this study. However, in order to describe the sample of teachers more

fully, their age and subjects studied were also collected for information. These are shown in Tables 13.5 and 13.6 respectively.

Table 13.5 Age of the Group of Teachers

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	
25 or below	10	(16%)
26 - 35	36	(57%)
36 - 45	13	(21%)
46 - 55	2	(3%)
55 or over	2	(3%)
Total	63	(100%)

Table 13.6 Subjects that the Teachers Studied at College/University*

<u>No. of Teachers</u> <u>Subjects</u>	<u>As Major Subject</u>		<u>As Minor Subject</u>	
Arts Subjects	35	(56%)	26	(41%)
Science Subjects	12	(19%)	19	(30%)
Cultural Subjects	4	(6%)	1	(2%)
Practical Subjects	9	(14%)	2	(3%)
Nil Returns	3	(5%)	15	(24%)
Total	63	(100%)	63	(100%)

*The grouping of subjects is the same as in Table 13.2.

Summing up, in this group of teachers, there were comparatively more teachers from Brookside than Cloudview at a ratio of 1.3 : 1. There were also more male than female teachers at a ratio of 1.8 : 1. The ratio between married and single teachers in the group was 1.4 : 1. They were generally speaking moderately experienced teachers with more than two-thirds of them having taught for not more

than ten years. Most of them had not served very long in their present schools. There were more teachers from the Arts area in terms of the subjects they taught and those that they studied at college or university. Of the total of 63 teachers in the group more than half of them had lessons with junior forms (i.e. Forms 1 - 3). However, quite a great number of these teachers (60%) had a heavy teaching load. This meant that they would be short of time in fulfilling their caring function in school. Comparatively speaking, there were more graduate than non-graduate teachers in the group at a ratio of 1.4 : 1. On the whole, this was a group of young teachers with more than 70% under 35. It is with all this background information about the teachers in the group that their views on the academic and caring aspects of the school process would be studied.

The teacher as a teacher

When asked what they thought the important task of the school should be (Question 5), like the pupils and parents, the teachers in the group also found the expressive role of the school more important than its instrumental one. The views of the teachers on the tasks of the school in order of importance are shown in Table 13.7.

Table 13.7 Teachers' Views on the Tasks
of the School

Task	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Ranking it as Very/Fairly Important	Nature of Task
Helping pupils to develop their personality and character	1	63 (100%)	Expressive
Teaching pupils to know what is right and wrong	2	62 (98%)	Expressive
Helping pupils to know what is going on in the world nowadays	2	62 (98%)	Expressive
Helping pupils to do as well as possible in examinations	2	62 (98%)	Instrumental
Teaching pupils things of direct use in their jobs	5	55 (87%)	Instrumental
Teaching pupils to get as good a job or career as possible	6	48 (76%)	Instrumental
Teaching pupils plenty of things so that they can be interested in a lot of things	7	43 (68%)	Expressive

Total number of teachers = 63

Unlike the pupils and parents, the teachers agreed almost unanimously on the first four important tasks of the school. (See Appendix 13.1 for the comparison of their different rank orders of the tasks of the school). The teachers' emphasis on the expressive role of the school was also shown in their further remarks in the questionnaire. For example, three of them found "to help pupils develop their critical mind" and two others pointed out that "the training for good citizenship" were important tasks of the school.

When asked what they thought as the appropriate school leaving

age for most pupils in general (Question 7), like the parents and pupils, the teachers also proposed a very high school leaving age as shown in Table 13.8.

Table 13.8 Teachers' Views on the School Leaving Age

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Teachers for</u>
15 or under	5 (8%)
17	36 (57%)
18 or over	21 (33%)
Nil Returns	1 (2%)
Total	63 (100%)

As in the case of the parents' views on the school tasks, almost all teachers (90%) agreed that the appropriate school leaving age was 17 or over

When asked what they thought as the most useful teaching method (Question 8), almost all teachers (98%) agreed that "classroom teaching" was the most useful way. However, the difference in the teachers' other views was only marginal. It ranged from 81% for inter-school exhibitions to 95% for group projects as shown in Table 13.9.

Table 13.9 Teachers' Views on Teaching Methods

Method	Rank Order	Teachers Ranking it as Most Useful/Useful in Number and Percentage	
Classroom teaching	1	62	(98%)
Group Projects	2	60	(95%)
Visits to places related to studies	3	55	(87%)
Talks given by outside speakers	4	54	(86%)
Inter-school exhibitions	5	51	(81%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

Yet, the almost unanimous agreement on the importance of "classroom teaching" signifies two important points. Firstly, it seemed that this group of teachers were still more attached to the traditional way of teaching, which very likely was the way they were educated. This might then be a reason explaining the need for curricular changes as urged by the pupils during their classroom interviews (Appendix 11.1). This leads to the second implication detected from Table 13.9, which shows a gap between the type of teaching method that this group of teachers liked (or in most cases were using) and the types of teaching method that the pupils and parents really preferred. For the pupils and parents of this study, over 90% of them put "visits to places related to studies" as the first on the priority list (Tables 8.21 and 12.12). It was also shown on the same occasion that only 64% of the total of 369 pupils were found in favour of "classroom teaching". This disagreement on teaching methods might lead, in effect, to disharmony in the pupil-teacher relation. It is, therefore, a point that should be noted for the

caring for pupils.

On the issue of Moral Education as a school subject (Question 9), 39 of the 63 teachers (62%) agreed that it should be a school subject. The percentage was lower than those of the pupils (78%) and parents (81%). This difference can be explained better if the views of these groups on the tasks of the school are compared. Though all of them found the expressive role of the school more important than its instrumental one, 98% of this group of 63 teachers (i.e. almost all of them) remarked "helping pupils to do well in examination" as an important role of the school (Table 13.7) while the same opinion was shared by 87% of the pupil group and 91% of the group of parents. Though the difference was not great, it still could show the teachers' stronger emphasis on examination success. Besides, it seems easier for the teachers to report the number of A's that they have "produced" out of their pupils in public examinations rather than the number of good citizens or good pupils they have "created" for society. This might be the reason why this group of teachers did not think more highly of teaching moral education in school.

When asked what they thought about the role of the various school subjects in imparting knowledge of moral education to the pupils, most of the teachers (94%) agreed that Chinese was a very/fairly useful subject. The next most important subject they found useful in teaching moral education was Social Science Subjects with 87% of them finding them useful in this aspect. It seems that both teachers and pupils agreed on both Chinese and Social Science Subjects as the two most important school subjects from which pupils could acquire moral education though the pupils' percentages of

preference were lower (74% and 61% respectively) (Table 8.18). The teachers' views on the value of the other school subjects in teaching moral education are shown in Table 13.10.

Table 13.10 Teachers' Views on the Value of School Subjects in teaching Moral Education

Subject	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Ranking it as Very/Fairly Useful
Chinese	1	59 (94%)
Social Science Subjects	2	55 (87%)
English	3	51 (81%)
Physical Education	4	34 (54%)
Music, Art & Craft	5	33 (52%)
Science Subjects	6	25 (40%)
Mathematics	7	19 (30%)
Technical Subjects	8	15 (24%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

When comparing the difference between the teachers' and the pupils' views on the importance of the school subjects in teaching moral education, a remarkable difference was found in their views on the role of English in the curriculum as a subject for moral education (Appendix 13.2). With reference to the pupils' views (Table 8.18), it was the fifth on the rank order with 35% of the 369 boys agreeing that it offered moral education. This has to be considered in line with the fact that 99% of the 369 pupils in the group valued English as the most important school subject (Table 8.12). In view of the social need for English as an asset for careers development in Hong Kong, it was possible that the pupils

ranked it more as an instrumental than an expressive subject. However, it seemed that the teachers in the group ranked it a much higher expressive subject than the pupils. The result could be that there might be disharmony or disappointment when the teachers tried to insert moral teaching during the English lessons. The teachers, moreover, viewed differently on the importance of "Physical Education" as a subject for teaching moral education according to their qualifications as shown in Table 13.11.

Table 13.11 Teachers' Views on "Physical Education" as a Very/Fairly Useful School Subject for Teaching Moral Education According to Teachers' Qualifications

Qualification	No. of Teachers Ranking it		No. of Teachers
	As V/F Useful	As Not Useful	Responding
Graduate	24 (57%)	18 (43%)	42 (100%)
Non-Graduate	19 (95%)	1 (5%)	20 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.99, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V/F = Very/Fairly

According to the findings revealed in Table 13.11, there was a much greater majority of non-graduate teachers who agreed on the moral education value of Physical Education. This seemed to echo the fact that non-graduate teachers seem to put more emphasis on moral education. This might be due to the different attitudes of the teachers toward teaching as a job or a profession as observed by Hargreaves. For the graduate teachers, "it is the degree, not the teacher training, which establishes one's credentials as a teacher and as a professional" (Hargreaves 1982 p.195). But for the non-graduate teachers, who entered teaching via the colleges of education rather than the universities, they had no degree and not

even one subject of special expertise. As a result, "their professional identity was round "pedagogical rather than subject expertise". Because of the comparatively more relaxing social climate in classes of Physical Education, non-graduate teachers might find them more suitable for the expressive role of the school. Besides, all teachers of physical education were non-graduate teachers. This might lead them to think more highly of their (or their colleagues') role in this aspect.

When asked who were the most suitable people to transmit knowledge of moral education to pupils when Moral Education was not a school subject (Question 11), almost all teachers (98%) agreed that "parents" were the most suitable people. This was then followed by form teachers. 95% of the 63 teachers shared this view. The teachers' views on the suitability of the other people on teaching moral education are shown in Table 13.12.

Table 13.12 Teachers' Views on the Suitable People for Transmitting Knowledge of Moral Education

People	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Strongly Agreed/Agreed
Parents	1	62 (98%)
Form Teachers	2	60 (95%)
Subject Teachers	3	56 (89%)
Headmaster/Headmistress	3	56 (89%)
Discipline Master/Mistress	5	55 (87%)
School Social Worker	6	51 (81%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

While both teachers and parents agreed that "parents" and "form teachers" were the most suitable people for teaching moral education, a very conspicuous difference was found on the role of the school social worker. While the parents ranked the school social worker as the third suitable person (Table 12.17), the teachers put them on the last of the list. (See Appendix 13.3 for the comparison between the teachers' and parents' rank order of the various groups of people suitable for transmitting knowledge of moral education).

The low esteem given by the teachers to the school social worker symbolises the professional conflict between school teachers and school social workers (or counsellors) as shown in Lakeshore High School in the study by Cicourel and Kituse in the mid-60's and that by Johnson and her colleagues in the mid-70's. In Lakeshore High, it was the less teaching and the more time off that the counsellors were granted that caused antagonism and resentment which school counsellors were likely to face when teachers' co-operation and assistance were sought for counselling activities (1963 pp.83-84). In the Hong Kong case, as school social work was still quite a new scheme, it earned more financial support from the Government for various programmes and higher social prestige. These were the things that teachers themselves found hard to obtain. This might be the reason that caused the low esteem they gave to school social worker.

In the four comprehensive schools studied by Johnson and her colleagues, it was found that "no teachers participating in the research mentioned the possibility that teachers as well as pupils might consult a counsellor about personal problems" (1980 p.75) as some teachers in their group believed that "the presence of a counsellor inhibits the responsibility for the pastoral care of their

pupils and that the social organisation of the school should be such as to cater for all problems adequately" (ibid. p.65).

The following expressions collected during interviews of the study can serve as reflections to the above findings :-

English Subject Panel (Brookside):

She (the school social worker) is looking for clients and cases just to complete her reports.

School Social Worker (Cloudview):

When I first came, I had lunch with the teachers. However, I always got the feeling that they always tried to hold back something and became obviously cautious when talking about pupils and school business. So, I decided to have lunch alone.

The teachers' views on the school social worker's role in moral education is important for it could affect how teachers are willing to work with the school social worker on the pastoral job in school, for the caring for the pupils is too large a task to be tackled single-handed by the teachers alone. It demands an orchestrated effort and co-operation from all parties concerned and the school social worker, whose major role is on the caring for pupils, should not, therefore, be ignored. It was also found that the teachers' views on the "school social worker" and the "discipline master/mistress" as the most suitable people to teach moral education differed according to the number of periods per week/cycle they had as shown in Table 13.13.

Table 13.13 Teachers' Views on the "School Social Worker" and the "Discipline Master/Mistress" as suitable people for teaching moral education according to the number of periods per week/cycle

(a) On the "School Social Worker"

No. of Periods per week/cycle	No. of Teachers		No. of Teachers Responding
	S.Agreed/Agreed	Disagreed	
25 or less	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)
26 - 30	13 (72%)	5 (28%)	18 (100%)
31 or more	35 (97%)	1 (3%)	36 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 8.09, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 2)
S.Agreed = Strongly Agreed

(b) On the "Discipline Master/Mistress"

No. of Periods per week/cycle	No. of Teachers		No. of Teachers Responding
	S.Agreed/Agreed	Disagreed	
25 or less	5 (100%)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)
26 - 30	14 (74%)	5 (26%)	19 (100%)
31 or more	35 (97%)	1 (3%)	36 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 8.26, $p < 0.05$, D.f = 2)
S.Agreed = Strongly Agreed

Table 13.13 shows that on the whole there was a great majority of teachers who, irrespective of the number of periods per week/cycle they had, agreed that both "school social worker" and "discipline master/mistress" were suitable people for teaching moral education. However, a slightly lower support was found from teachers having 26 - 30 periods per week/cycle. A very hypothetical reason is that these teachers were usually teachers of the middle management groups, i.e. the subject panels or discipline master/mistress. As discussed in Chapter 4, these are the teachers, who form the academic and non-academic split in the current school system. As the non-academic

aspect of school life is virtually identified with discipline and control, which are, in most cases, the responsibilities of the discipline master/mistress supplemented by the school social worker, this middle managerial group might, therefore, be more inclined to think that both the discipline master/mistress and school social worker were people working on the negative side of the caring system (i.e. disciplining and control) rather than on the positive one such as moral education.

Summing up, it seems most of the teachers saw the various aspects of the school process in the same way as each other on the role of the school, the school leaving age, teaching method and the various aspects of moral education. It seems true that teaching like the other jobs, is located within an "occupational culture" in terms of beliefs, habits, traditions, ways of thinking and feeling and relating to others that are shared and understood by those already in the occupation. (Hargreaves 1982 p.193). This may explain why in quite a number of cases in this study teachers all agreed on the same issues.

With the exception of teaching methods, the teachers' views were quite in line with those expressed both by parents and pupils. However, the effects of the sub-culture model were also reflected in the teachers' views on their job as teachers when the number of periods per week/cycle and their qualifications are taken into account. Generally speaking, it is mainly the work load of the teachers that may affect their views on the academic side of the school process most. Nevertheless, teaching is one of the many tasks of a teacher though it may be the most important one to some. Yet in order to make teaching successful, learning must take place. This

signifies the importance of the teachers' care and concern for their pupils if the academic performance is to be promoted for after all the ultimate aim of the school is to lead pupils to academic success though in various degrees. As a matter of fact, during normal school hours, the pupils are under the care of the teachers in both cognitive and affective terms. The teachers then become the "surrogate parents" in school. In other words, how teachers view their own affective role in school will affect the effectiveness of schooling to the pupils.

The teacher in "loco parentis"

When asked whether they thought students nowadays were too much attracted to extra-curricular activities than to their studies (Question 12), 39 of the 63 teachers (62%) responded "Yes", while 22 of them (35%) said "No". It seems that the teachers felt more strongly about the distractive effects of extra-curricular activities than the parents for there were only 36% of the 294 parents agreed that students were too much distracted by extra-curricular activities while 60% of them disagreed. This strengthens the teachers' emphasis on the cognitive achievements discussed earlier. As teachers have inherited their role in the pre-industrial societies to transmit a "high" culture and a particular set of values for the children of elite groups, their role of "teacher-as-instructor" becomes the most obvious and public of the teacher's role. This might have made the teachers in the group feel more strongly against any distraction that might affect the transmission of knowledge. Possibly, this is why there were more teachers than parents who found students nowadays had been distracted by extra-curricular activities. As for the number of

extra-curricular activities suitable for the pupils, most of the teachers in the group (70%) found that one or two were appropriate. The teachers' views on the number of extra-curricular activities for pupils are shown in Table 13.14.

Table 13.14 Teachers' Views on Pupils' Participation in Extra-curricular Activities

No. of Activities	Rank Order	No. of Teachers in favour
1 - 2	1	44 (70%)
3 - 4	2	15 (24%)
More than 6	3	2 (3%)
None	4	0 (0%)
5 - 6	4	0 (0%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

Table 13.14 points to the fact that there was quite a large majority of the teachers suggesting that pupils should take part in one or two extra-curricular activities. Their views were quite in line with those of the parents according to the order of preference for the number of the activities but the percentages in the parental group were comparatively lower with 54% of the 294 parents for 1 or 2 types and 32% for 3 or 4 types (Table 12.32). However, when compared with the self-reported participation of the pupils (Table 9.2), it was found that less than half of the pupils took part in one or two activities while more than one-third of them took part in no activities at all though the remaining 16% of the 369 pupils were involved in more than two types. The implication of this finding to the caring task of the school is that while teachers expected pupils only to have moderate participation in the extra-curricular

activities, only about half of the pupils were found doing so. The other half were either taking no part or taking part in more than what the teachers expected. This gives rise to the possible problem that while teachers would not put too much emphasis on these activities, the participating pupils might be expecting much more from them. In order to make extra-curricular activities effective in the caring for pupils, it is necessary to understand the needs of the pupils so that the appropriate advice can be provided. It seems, moreover, that the parents' views in this aspect were more moderate.

On the subject of the important extra-curricular activities for the pupils (Question 14), unlike both parents and pupils, most of the teachers (92%) ranked cultural appreciation as the top one on the list while both pupils and parents preferred games most (Table 9.4 and Table 12.33). The teachers' list of extra-curricular activities in order of importance is shown in Table 13.15.

Table 13.15 Teachers' Views on the Types of Extra-Curricular Activities

Activities	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Ranking it as Very Important/Important	
Cultural Appreciation	1	58	(92%)
Athletics	2	56	(89%)
Creative Activities	2	56	(89%)
Games	4	55	(87%)
Social Services	5	49	(78%)
Physical Exercises	6	48	(76%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

Different from the parents and pupils in the study, who showed a very great preference for physical activities, the teachers seemed to view the various types of extra-curricular activities with similar enthusiasm. As the difference in the teachers' interests in the type of extra-curricular activities was not large, the slight difference was not further analysed. (The preferences for the different types of extra-curricular activities of the pupils, parents and teachers are shown in Appendix 13.4).

As teachers are the major organisers of extra-curricular activities, their devotion to these activities is vital. However, as reflected in the teachers' views on the cognitive aspect of the school process, teachers in many cases were strait-jacketed by the heavy teaching load. Extra-time is therefore difficult to find for duties other than teaching. Extra-curricular activities, when organised, are more for routine duties than for developing pupils' interests. This may cause low response from the pupils. Like the case in Lumley Modern, the low response to school societies "may to some extent reflect the lack of interests of the pupils in participation in them" (Hargreaves 1967 p.84). As a result, no extra-curricular activities were run in the school.

In view of the teachers' role in organising extra-curricular activities, they were asked when was the most appropriate time for running extra-curricular activities (Question 15) and their preference in order of priority is shown in Table 13.16.

Table 13.16 Teachers' Views on the time for Running Extra-Curricular Activities

Time	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Strongly Agreed/Agreed	
Weekdays after school	1	60	(95%)
Saturday mornings	2	53	(84%)
During long school holidays	3	50	(79%)
Special periods arranged within the time table	4	31	(49%)
Lunch break	5	16	(25%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

As can be observed in Table 13.16, it is almost unanimously agreed that weekdays after school is the best time for running extra-curricular activities, which in fact is the usual practice in most Hong Kong schools including the two under study. The implication of this finding to the organisation of extra-curricular activities in school is that most teachers would prefer organising activities that could be run only during week days usually after the normal school hours. This shows, on the one hand, that extra-curricular activities, which can help to develop pupils' character and personality, are always considered as subsidiary to the ordinary school process. On the other hand, it also points to the fact that it may be difficult to offer to the pupils activities that are time-consuming.

A more direct way of pastoral care in school other than extra-curricular activities is student guidance and counselling. In this connection, teachers were asked about their views on careers guidance (Question 18) and the related problems of their caring job in school (Questions 22 and 23).

On the subject of careers guidance, most teachers (more than 90% of them) agreed that careers exhibitions and careers master/mistress were the best ways of providing job information to the pupils. Their views on the ways of careers guidance in order of preference are shown in Table 13.17.

Table 13.17 Teachers' Views on Methods of Careers Guidance

Method	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Ranking it as Most Helpful/Helpful	
Careers exhibitions	1	61	(97%)
Careers Master/Mistress	2	60	(95%)
Contact with manufacturers or industrialists	3	51	(81%)
Contact with past students of the same school	4	46	(73%)
Advertisements in newspaper	4	46	(73%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

On the issue of the role of the manufacturers or industrialists, variations were found according to school (Table 13.18).

Table 13.18 Teachers' Views on the Importance of Manufacturers/Industrialists in Careers Guidance According to School

School	No. of Teachers Ranking it		No. of Teachers
	As M.Help./Help.	As Not Help.	Responding
Cloudview	18 (69%)	8 (31%)	26 (100%)
Brookside	33 (97%)	1 (3%)	34 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.90, $p < 0.01$ D.f. = 1)
M.Help. = Most Helpful
Help. = Helpful

There are two vital points that can be extracted from Table 13.18. On the one hand, teachers of Brookside, most likely because of the school curriculum, felt more strongly about the role of the manufacturers and industrialists, the potential employers of most of their pupils. But much more important than this was the fact that most teachers of the group agreed on the significant role played by the manufacturers and industrialists. In short, as far as this group of teachers were concerned, the essential elements in careers guidance should include, in order of importance, careers exhibition, careers master/mistress and involvement of manufacturers and industrialists. The teachers' views on the importance of these three items for careers guidance sum up the essential stages of careers education for pupils. It starts with helping them to know their own interests through careers exhibition, followed by letting them understand their abilities through consulting careers teachers. Their decision may then be made after studying the labour market demands by meeting the manufacturers and industrialists - the potential employers.

On the problems relating to the caring for pupils, teachers were first asked what they thought were the major obstacles that hindered their attention to pupils (Question 22). Most of them (over 90%) found "large class size" and "heavy teaching load " as the two major problems. Their views on the other problems in this aspect are shown in Table 13.19.

Table 13.19 Teachers' Views on Problems hindering their caring attention to Pupils

Problems	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Strongly Agreed/Agreed	
Large class size	1	61	(97%)
Heavy teaching load	2	59	(94%)
Examination pressures	3	54	(86%)
Mixed abilities in the class	4	50	(79%)
Mixed social in-takes	5	44	(70%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

Table 13.19 shows an invisible dividing line that dichotomised the views of the teachers on the problems hampering their caring for the pupils - those derived from their work load (the first three items on the list) and those resulting from the personal backgrounds of their pupils (the last two items on the list). And it seemed, as revealed from the data, that teachers found the former could pose greater problems than the latter. Very likely, "heavy work load" could leave them less time to care for the pupils on an individual basis. (An ordinary class in a Government or aided secondary school in Hong Kong consists of 35 to 40 pupils. The current practice is that 1.1 teachers is assigned to teach 1 class. The ultimate target suggested in the Education White Paper (1981) is to raise the teacher-class ratio until it reaches the target of 1.2 teachers for 1 class). It is hoped that with the improvement of the teacher-pupil ratio as proposed in the Education White Paper (1981), as mentioned in Chapter 3, the situation can be improved and teachers can have more time to spend on the caring aspect of the school process.

In addition, it was found that teachers of the group had different opinions on the issue of "pupils' mixed social in-takes" in

connection with their "parental role" and these related to their qualifications as shown in Table 13.20

Table 13.20 Teachers' Views on "Mixed Social in-takes" as an obstacle to their caring attention to pupils according to qualifications

Qualification	No. of Teachers		No. of Teachers Responding
	S.Agreed/Agreed	Disagreed	
Graduate	19 (66%)	10 (34%)	29 (100%)
Non-Graduate	24 (96%)	1 (4%)	25 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 5.93, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
S.Agreed = Strongly Agreed

Table 13.20 illustrates the fact that teachers' view-points on the school process are sometimes affected by their qualifications. As referred earlier in Hargreaves' work (1982), the curriculum at the colleges of education usually put more emphasis on the affective side of the school life than the university education and therefore non-graduate teachers would very likely tend to be more conscious of the social background of the pupils. However, in most Hong Kong schools including the two under study, non-graduate teachers usually have more periods than their graduate colleagues because usually they teach more of the lower forms. This might have led the non-graduate teachers to feel more strongly about the social in-takes of the pupils. The implication of this finding for pastoral care in school is that in order to maximize the effectiveness of the pastoral care system, a necessary pre-requisite is to improve the working conditions of the teachers.

Another aspect of the caring for pupils is how teachers work with each other. In this connection, teachers were asked who they

would go to for advice on handling a problem student (Question 23). Most of the teachers (97%) pointed out that they would go to "colleagues with more experience". Their views on consulting the other colleagues are shown in Table 13.21.

Table 13.21 Teachers' Views on Consulting Colleagues for dealing with a Problem Student

People	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Ranking it as Very Likely/Likely	
Colleagues with more experience	1	61	(97%)
Discipline Master/Mistress	2	54	(86%)
Colleagues with similar experience	3	51	(81%)
Head or Principal	4	39	(62%)
Deputy Head or Vice-Principal	5	32	(51%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

Table 13.21 can best be explained by the sub-culture model. There is a separation between the ordinary teachers' "peers" (the first three groups on the list) and those who had authority over them (the last two on the list). The head and the deputy heads are in many cases responsible for recruiting the teachers. To consult them about student problems may mean virtually exposing their deficiency in performing their duties. This eventually may affect their career prospects in future.

On the subject of consulting the Deputy Head or Vice-Principal, variations were found between male and female teachers (Table 13.22)

Table 13.22 Teachers' Views on Consulting the
Deputy Head/Vice-Principal
According to Sex

Sex	No. of Teachers As the M.L./L. C.	Ranking him As the U.L.C.	No. of Teachers Responding
Male	23 (74%)	8 (26%)	31 (100%)
Female	8 (36%)	14 (64%)	22 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 6.11, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
M.L. = Most Likely U.L. = Unlikely
L. = Likely C. = Consultant

As all deputy heads in both schools were male, it was quite likely that male teachers would be more inclined to consult them on student problems than the female teachers. There is no regulation that there must be a female deputy head when there are female teachers. There was no evidence available from the data of this study showing whether a female or a male teacher would be a better or worse teacher in "loco parentis" for the boys. Yet, the finding here shows that the sex of the teacher may be a factor affecting the extent of his/her consulting circle relating to student problems. This was especially true of the two schools under study, in which only one-quarter of the total teaching staff were female.

In order to understand how much the teachers in the group could tell of the needs of their pupils, the daily issues put to the pupils and parents for their order of priority for a 15-year-old school leaver were also put to the teachers (Question 19) so that a comparison could be made. The teachers' views on the daily issues in order of priority are shown in Tale 13.23.

Table 13.23 Teachers' Views on Pupils' Order of Importance of some Daily Issues

Issues	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Ranking it as Very Important/Important
Getting jobs they like	1	47 (75%)
Being treated as grown-ups	2	44 (70%)
Their families	2	44 (70%)
Earning money	4	36 (57%)
Having a good time while young	5	34 (54%)
Having a boy or a girl friend of the opposite sex	6	9 (14%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

When the views of the teachers, parents (Table 12.30) and pupils (Table 9.9) on the importance of these daily issue were compared, it could be found that all these three groups shared the same view that to get a good job was the most important of all. (See Appendix 13.5 for comparison table). Yet, it was also revealed that both teachers and parents shared a similar list of priorities of these issues except that the parents placed "families" as the second on the list and "treating the pupils as grown-ups" as the third and the teachers ranked both as the second. This was most probably because parents are generally more family-oriented than the teachers, who would most likely find how the pupils are treated as more important. One remarkable difference between the adults and the children of this study was the issue of young people "being treated as grown-ups". While the teachers and the parents ranked it respectively as the second and the third important issue on the list, the pupils reckoned it as the least important of the whole. While the teachers and parents find the children should be treated as equals, the youngsters

may think otherwise. As a pupil expressed it during the classroom interview, "growing up, taking up more and more responsibilities day after day" may be a problem to many of the young people nowadays (Appendix 11.1(1d)). To treat the children in the way which adults think the children would like to be is not a guaranteed way of caring for them. It was also found that the teachers' views on "earning money" as important to the 15-year-old school leavers were different according to their qualifications as shown in Table 13.24.

Table 13.24 Teachers' Views on "earning money" as important to the 15-year-old school leaver according to their qualifications

Qualification	No. of Teachers Ranking it		No. of Teachers Responding
	As V/F Impt./Impt.	As Not Impt.	
Graduates	23 (74%)	8 (26%)	31 (100%)
Non-Graduates	11 (42%)	15 (58%)	26 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 4.72, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
V/F Impt. = Very/Fairly Important
Impt. = Important

As pointed out earlier, the curriculum in the colleges of education is more oriented towards the development of character and personality of the pupils. This might have made the non-graduate teachers think that "earning money" need not be an important issue to the young school leavers. Besides, generally speaking, non-graduate teachers usually earn less than the graduate teacher.¹ This might lead the non-graduate teachers in the group to feel that "earning money" was not that important to the 15-year-olds.

A constructive way of promoting the teacher-parent relationship is to establish close contact between the two parties. In view of this, the teachers were first asked whether they found the parents of

their school keen on visiting the school (Question 20). Of the 63 teachers in the group, only 11 of them (18%) agreed that the parents were keen on visiting the school while 49 of them (78%) pointed out that they were not and 3 of them (4%) abstained. In this case, it seems that more parents found teachers had done enough to keep them in touch than vice versa as 43% of the 294 parents agreed that there was close contact between teachers and parents while 46% of them did not think so.

Another way of understanding the teachers' views on improving parent-teacher relationships is to seek their views on some common methods of encouraging parents to visit the school (Question 21). There was a great majority of teachers (94%) who preferred "open day" as the best method of encouraging parents to come to the school. Their views on the other ways for parent-teacher contact are shown in Table 13.25.

Table 13.25 Teachers' Views on Methods for Parent-Teacher Contact

Method	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Strongly Agreed/Agreed
Open days	1	59 (94%)
Parents' evenings	2	56 (89%)
Personal invitation, personal contact and visits by teachers	3	51 (81%)
Parents teacher association	4	41 (65%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

An outstanding feature displayed in Table 13.25 is the much lower percentage of teachers' support for the parent-teacher

association. It is not easy to explain this preference directly from the data available. Yet, as only 11 of the whole teacher group (18%) reported that they found the parents were keen on visiting their school, a hypothesis could be proposed that most of the teachers in the group did not have a very active relationship with the parents. This can further be illustrated by the sub-culture model. As teachers belong to middle class, they might find it difficult to have a joint-association with the parents many of whom were from working class backgrounds. Added to this is the regular meetings of a parent-teacher association, which may mean additional work-load to many teachers. It was found, on the same occasion, that married teachers were more in favour of "Parent Teacher Association" than their single colleagues (Table 13.26).

Table 13.26 Teachers' Views on "Parent Teacher Association" as a way of parent teacher contact according to marital status

Marital Status	No. of Teachers		No. of Teachers Responding
	S.Agreed/Agreed	Disagreed	
Single	13 (57%)	10 (43%)	23 (100%)
Married	27 (84%)	5 (16%)	32 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 3.92, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
S.Agreed = Strongly Agreed

The variation shown in Table 13.26 was quite likely due to the fact that the married teachers, who were either parents or potential parents, felt more about the functions of a parent-teacher association than the single teachers.

A comparison between the teachers' and parents' preferences for methods of parent-teacher contact (Appendix 13.6) shows that while most teachers supported open day, the majority of parents were in

favour of personal interviews, personal contact and visits by teachers (though the difference in the parents' preference for the various ways of parent-teacher contact was not very great). This different point of view indicate a possible gap or even block in the parent-teacher communication. A possible solution for this is to lessen the teachers' work load so that more time would be available for teachers to meet both pupils and parents on an individual basis.

On the subject of punishment, teachers were asked whether they agreed that teachers should have the authority for carrying out corporal punishment. Of the 63 teachers in the group, 26 of them (41%) agreed while 35 of them (56%) did not. This was much different from the pupils. For only 54 the 369 pupils in the group (15%) supported the effectiveness of corporal punishment (Table 9.17).

When asked about the types of punishment for a student swearing openly in the class (Question 17), most teachers (81%) agreed that they would detain the the student after school. This is different from how pupils in this study thought of the effectiveness of "detention" for only 24% of the 369 pupils found it effective (Table 9.17). Teachers' views on the other types of punishment are shown in Table 13.27.

Table 13.27 Teachers' Views on the types of punishment for a swearing student

Punishment	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Strongly Agreed/Agreed	
Detaining him after school	1	51	(81%)
Asking him to stand aside in the classroom	2	48	(76%)
Suspending him from classes	3	27	(43%)
Asking him to write lines	4	25	(40%)
Asking him to stand outside the classroom	5	20	(32%)
Just pretending not hearing	6	5	(8%)

Total No. of Teachers = 63

It is clear from Table 13.27 that most teachers would not allow misconduct in the class to go unnoticed for only 8% of the 63 teachers reported that they would pretend not to hear that swearing. However, detention, which was the general practice in the schools under study and preferred by quite a great majority of teachers, was not found as an effective punishment by the pupils. Nevertheless, as teachers are not allowed to use corporal punishment in Hong Kong schools, detention seems to be the only means that teachers can do to exercise their authority to the full when punishment is found necessary.

To conclude this section, a summary was made from the information obtained by interviews with the teachers on the six areas concerning the caring role of the school (Question 9 in the interviewing sheets shown in Appendix 5.3c, d & e). As this question required in-depth discussion, it was put only to the interviewees who were given the interviewing sheets during the interviews, i.e. the

teachers who attended the follow-up interviews, the school heads and the school social workers. There were altogether 13 of them - 9 teachers, 2 school heads and 2 school social workers. (See Appendix 13.7 for details of the teachers interviewed).

On the subject of triad infiltration and juvenile delinquency, 8 of the 13 teachers interviewed found family negligence as the major cause (Appendix 13.8a) and 11 of them found that student counselling and guidance could help to improve the situation signifying the important part played by the school. Similar support was also found (9 of the 13 teachers) in favouring student counselling as the recommendable policy for deterring juvenile delinquency. Their views were further elaborated when they gave the highest scores for the role played by the family in improving the situation caused by these two issues as summed up in Table 13.28. (See Appendix 13.8a & b for details of analysis).

Table 13.28 Mean Scores given by teachers on the role played by Family, School, and Government on lowering the rate of Triad Infiltration and Juvenile Delinquency

Mean Scores on the 5-Point Scale
(Point 1 is the highest, Point 5, the lowest.)

Issues	Family	School	Government
Triad Infiltration	1.1	1.8	1.8
Juvenile Delinquency	1.2	1.9	1.8

Though most of the teachers interviewed suggested that student counselling and guidance could improve the situation highlighting the importance of the school, it seems that they still found the role of the family indispensable. What the headmaster of Cloudview expressed during the interview summed up how teachers see the role of the

family in general as he said :

Whatever we do, we cannot replace the role of the children's parents. Pupils could be properly behaved in school where they are properly guided and disciplined. It is only at home that they can present their own true selves. Besides, they spend more time at home than in school.

This outlines one of the major problems of caring for children in school - how far should the teachers' caring for their pupils go beyond the school gate. The significant role of the family is further ascertained by the highest grand mean score given to the role of the family in helping to develop careers guidance, student counselling, corporal punishment and Moral Education (Appendix 13.8cii). Though the difference between the family, the school and the Government is slight, the role of the family is established. The scores can be compared in Table 13.29.

Table 13.29 Mean scores given by teachers on the role of Family, School and Government on Corporal Punishment, Moral Education, Student Counselling and Careers Guidance

Roles in Mean Scores on the 5-Point Scale
(Point 1 is the highest, Point 5, the lowest)

Issues	Family	School	Government
Corporal Punishment	2.5	3.0	2.6
Moral Education	1.7	2.3	2.5
Careers Guidance	1.6	2.4	2.7
Student Counselling	2.4	1.9	2.6
Grand Mean	2.1	2.4	2.6

With the exception of student counselling, it seemed that the interviewed teachers agreed that the parents had a more important role to play than the school.

On the effectiveness of the four proposed subjects on the caring for pupils (Appendix 13.8ci), the interviewed teachers were quite in line with those of the whole group of teachers obtained through the questionnaire survey. Corporal punishment was the least effective of the four with a mean score of 3.3. Student counselling and Moral Education were found equally moderately effective with an average score of 2.5 and the most effective caring method of the four was Careers Guidance with a mean score of 2.1.

The headmaster of Brookside did make a crucial point in the effectiveness of these four subjects in relation to stopping triad infiltration and juvenile delinquency when he said :

All these are only short term measures. The long term measures should be the innovation of the school curriculum so that the kids can feel the sense of achievement in school. For practical measures, as we have been doing, it is necessary to have constant contact with the police and keep a close watch on the children so that all types of deviant behaviours can be detected before they become real problems.

What has been revealed from the findings of the interviews is that there appears to be a hidden danger that the caring business of the pupils is very likely to fall between the teacher and the parents. Both groups found that the other partner should have a bigger share. There is no doubt that parents are indispensable in the caring task for the children. However, teachers seem to be in a more advantageous position to carry out the job in terms of resources and professional expertise.

The teacher as a staff member

In the last two sections, the analyses are on how teachers in the group thought of their job either as an instructor or as a caring agent. However, whether a teacher can perform the dual responsibility will depend very much on the kind of satisfaction that they can acquire from their job for it is from this satisfaction that their motivation is generated to uphold their morale.

This section is meant to examine the teachers' views on themselves as an ordinary working group of people, the employees. The findings are based on two types of data resources - the Questionnaire (Question 6) and the interviews. These interviews included the follow-up interviews (9 teachers), the invitational interviews with the 2 school heads and the 2 school social workers. All these interviews were structured using the interviewing sheets for the respective groups (Appendixes 5.3c, d & e). Views were also sought from the invitational interviews with the 2 school supervisors, 2 deputy heads and 2 careers teachers. No interviewing sheets were used during these interviews, but questions relating to Questions 1 - 7 in the interviewing sheets for teachers were also asked. Moreover, as discussed in Chapter 6, some additional informal interviews were held with 5 ordinary classroom teachers. There were altogether 24 teachers interviewed. The teachers interviewed were divided into two groups :-

(a) The classroom teachers - These were the ordinary teachers.

(b) The decision-making teachers - These were considered as teachers because their job was closely connected with teaching for whatever they decided would affect the classroom practice. In other words, they need also

to understand the classroom situation before they can formulate their policies. This group of teachers included the headmasters, the school supervisors and the school social workers.

The interviewed teachers of both schools are shown in Appendix 13.7.

When asked what the important criteria that made them choose a school to teach (Question 6), all of the 63 teachers in the sample (100%) agreed that "teaching the subjects they liked" was the most important pre-requisite to decide where to teach. As most teachers in the two schools were teaching subjects they studied, it could be assumed that teachers of the group were quite satisfied with their job in terms of the subjects they taught. On the other hand, almost all the 63 teachers (with the exception of only one) agreed that "a reasonable school head" was important.

The teachers' views on the various criteria for choosing a school are shown in Table 13.30.

Table 13.30 Teachers' Views on Choosing a School (N = 63)

Criteria	Rank Order	No. of Teachers Strongly Agreed/Agreed
Teaching the subjects they liked	1	63 (100%)
A reasonable school head	2	62 (98%)
Promising prospects for careers development	3	52 (83%)
Being very near home	4	42 (67%)
A well-established reputation of the school	5	35 (56%)

It seems, from the Table above, that most of the teachers in the group did not find the reputation of the school so important. Yet, their views on this differed according to the schools they were teaching in as shown in Table 13.31.

Table 13.31 Teachers' Views on "a well-established reputation of the school" as a criterion of choosing a school according to school

School	No. of Teachers		No. of Teachers
	S.Agreed/Agreed	Disagreed	Responding
Cloudview	10 (39%)	16 (61%)	26 (100%)
Brookside	25 (69%)	11 (31%)	36 (100%)

(Chi-Square = 4.70, $p < 0.05$, D.f. = 1)
S.Agreed = Strongly Agreed

As mentioned in Chapter 8 on "The Pupils", because of the comparatively shorter history of Cloudview, the school had not yet earned much social esteem. However, as for Brookside, firstly, because of its comparatively longer history of development and secondly, because there were not so many technical secondary schools in the Territory in general and in the locality in particular, the school had succeeded in establishing a quite renowned prestige in technical secondary education. This might have led to the teachers feeling more strongly about the reputation of the school.

As teachers are the practitioners of the policies passed on to them, their views on their jobs are of vital importance for this will affect the success of the policies. In view of this, the data obtained from the interviews were analysed to look into the teachers' own views on their jobs. This included their own criteria for a good school, a good teacher, a good pupil, a good class, a good job, a

good society and a good Government. (The last three items were for classroom teachers only). As most teachers gave similar criteria for a good society and a good Government, these two items were combined into one when analysing the data (Appendix 13.9d). A 5-point scale was applied to ask the interviewed teachers to assess all these elements in their own serving school. The criteria that the teachers suggested for the various subjects were categorised as shown in Appendix 13.9.

The three most important criteria for a good school as suggested by the interviewed teachers were school management (by 16 teachers), the in-take qualities of pupils (by 11 teachers) and facilities (by 10 teachers). The grand mean score that they gave to their own school was 3.3. It was below the mean of the 5-point scale with Point 1 as the highest and Point 5 as the lowest. This low assessment on their serving school could be exemplified by some of the complaints recorded during the interviews. The headmaster of Cloudview, for example, complained that some of his first year pupils even had problems of identifying with the 26 alphabets, while the English Panel of Brookside blamed the difficulty of using the language laboratory as it was highly demanded. He also claimed that this upset his teaching schedule. The school social worker of Brookside also regretted that many of her out-of-school programmes for the pupils could not be carried out because she could not get the supervisor's approval even though finance was not the problem.

The teachers' views on a good teacher can be grouped into four main categories : the teachers' personality (by 17 teachers), their expertise (by 15 teachers), their devotion to the job (by 11 teachers) and their teaching techniques (by 9 teachers). The grand

mean score of their assessment on teachers of their schools including themselves was 2.1, showing their above-the-mean satisfaction.

When discussing the criteria for a good pupil, most of the interviewed teachers agreed on the importance of diligence (by 18 teachers) and behaviour (13 of them) signifying their emphasis on the Protestant Work Ethic. The grand mean score that they gave to their pupils according to the suggested criteria was 3.2 revealing their satisfaction with their pupils well below the mean of the scale. The fact that "the pupils needed a push" expressed by the supervisor of Brookside quoted earlier can be considered as an indication showing the school's urge for diligence. On the other hand, demand of acceptable behaviour was found obvious in Cloudview as its supervisor said in his interview that :

Our policy on school uniform is to teach pupils to be sensible. Our other way of teaching them to be sensible is to ask them to greet their teachers for lessons by just standing up rather than "calling out" their greetings as children in some other schools do.

The emphasis on diligence and behaviour by this group of teachers was summed up by the headmaster of Cloudview as he said :

The problem of many of the youngsters nowadays is the lack of a purpose for their life. They come to school just because their parents told them to or by law they have to. It is this life without aim that makes them uninterested in their work not to say considering how to behave properly in school.

As a matter fact, he did highlight the importance of the pastoral role of the teachers - making pupils feel life is meaningful.

On the other hand, the 18 classroom teachers were found moderately satisfied with their jobs with a grand mean score of 2.4 given to the job of teaching according to their own suggested criteria. The three basic criteria they gave for a good job were :

prospects (by 11 teachers), salary (by 11 teachers) and challenges (by 10 teachers). What the careers master of Cloudview commented on teaching as a job could reflect the views of many of the teacher in the group :

I would say teaching is a highly paid job. It is also challenging in the sense that we need to achieve good examination results for the pupils as well as to develop a harmonious social relationship not only with our pupils but also with our colleagues. However, the prospects are not very promising. Once the quota for promotion is reached, our hope vanishes.

To most of the interviewed classroom teachers (11 of 18), law and order was the basic criterion for a good society (or Government). Yet, they did not find the Hong Kong society very satisfactory according to their own suggested criteria. The grand mean score obtained from their assessment was 2.9. Their dissatisfaction could be explained by the discipline master of Brookside as he said :

It is easy for the public to blame the school for the juvenile problems today. However, if the Government has imposed its control over all the adverse influences on the youngsters, especially those by the mass media, the youth problem will be less serious than we are now facing.

Summing up, it can be said that, on the whole, the interviewed teachers were moderately satisfied with their job and their teaching colleagues including themselves. However, they were not so satisfied with their school, pupils and society. This brings to the problem that the task of caring for pupils is not the responsibility of the teachers only. It should also include the implementation of both Government and school policies concerning the development of a proper youth culture and a school curriculum to interest pupils of different abilities.

Conclusion

What has been shown in this chapter are the views of a group of moderately experienced teachers on the academic and non-academic aspects of school life. Generally speaking, most teachers agreed on the various subjects of school life raised in this study. On the whole, their views showed that they supported a balanced education for the children. For example, they found the expressive and instrumental roles of the school equally important; they gave equal support to both classroom teaching and group projects as the two most important teaching methods and they also encouraged pupils' moderate participation in extra-curricular activities. However, what is noteworthy is their views on the problem of large class size and heavy teaching work load, on which they almost unanimously agreed were the major obstacles to the pastoral role. This probably explains why they preferred "open day" to "individual visits to parents" as a means for parent-teacher contact. On the other hand, it was also revealed that variations existed between views of graduate and non-graduate teachers on some issues, for example, on "Physical Education" as a subject for transmitting moral education, on "earning money" as important to the 15-year-old school leavers and on the relationship between the social in-take of the pupils and the problem of pastoral caring. Broadly speaking, because of their educational background, the graduate teachers were found, comparatively speaking, to put more emphasis on the cognitive development while their non-graduate colleagues on the affective one. By and large, the teachers of this study were quite satisfied with their job. They recognised the role of the parents as their partners for educating their children. They also considered that the

Government had a major role to play. On the whole, they agreed on the effects of the school as shown in their support for the higher school leaving age. However, they also realised the problems that they had to face, such as the provision of school facilities and their working conditions.

The message derived from all these findings is that the improvement of the caring system for the pupils cannot be completed without improving the caring system for the teachers, who are the managers of the whole school system including the caring one. The most crucial problem, as expressed by this group of teachers, is the improvement of the heavy teaching load. The recent appointment of three additional teachers in Government and aided secondary schools (2 for language remedial teaching and 1 for counselling and extra-curricular activities) as discussed in Chapter 3 can be said as moving towards the direction of lessening the teachers' work load, though much more still needs to be done. The difference between the views of graduate and non-graduate teachers also points to the fact that the pupils can be better cared for if all teachers possess similar or equivalent qualifications - say all are university graduates, for instance. It may then be more possible for them to share a similar philosophy on the issue of caring for the pupils. Besides, when all teachers are university graduates, they can look forward to similar job prospects in future. This, in turn, bridges the social gap between graduate and non-graduate teachers existing in many of the Government and aided secondary schools in Hong Kong including the two of this study.

Part V

The Conclusion

Chapter 14

Implications and Recommendations -

Working towards an Innovative Model

Perhaps we have been tackling the 'caring element in the education' from the wrong point of view. We have tried to identify it with particular individuals or sections of the system. But should not the essential caring element be that part of each of us that cares for others?

Ben Morris (1973)
The Caring Element in the Education System in
Joan Hunter & Frank Ainsworth (eds.)
Residential Establishment : The Evolving of the
Caring Systems
School of Social Administration
University of Dundee

The theme of this thesis is two-fold. Firstly, it attempts to illustrate the need for pastoral care for children in schools. Secondly, it highlights the necessity of revising the existing caring system in Hong Kong schools, which is no longer able to cope with the needs of the children after the recent raising of the school leaving age.

In studying the development of the pastoral care system in Hong Kong schools, this research reveals that it can be divided into two major stages : the laissez-faire stage and the ad hoc stage. The laissez-faire stage refers to the period before the raising of the school leaving age in the seventies and the ad hoc stage, the time after.

During the laissez-faire stage, the caring role of the school teacher was a take-it-for granted issue. In Hong Kong, at that time,

economically speaking, the labour market was within the "wage competition" model and the task of the school, as can be explained by the rational-systemic model, was to achieve the objective of providing skills for economic growth. Children went to school to be sorted out for the different types of work they would take when they left school. As different jobs required different kinds of abilities, different kinds of school were developed for pupils of different abilities. A secondary social class hierarchy was, therefore, well-established in the school system. Any changes in education were limited to making changes in the number of school places rather than the quality of education, including the welfare of the pupils.

However, as the economy of Hong Kong continued to grow, so did its international status. This meant that a better quality of work force was needed to fit the demands of the labour market, which then had changed from the "wage competition" model to the "job competition" model and this economic growth made educational expansion possible. As a result, children of a wide range of social class background were admitted to school. In effect, features such as social interaction in school, teacher-pupil disharmony and classroom conflict provide illustrative examples to support the sub-culture and adaptation models. Discipline problems in school thus became a focal issue and coupled with this was the increase in juvenile crime rate, which then became a matter of official and public concern. As a result, both the Government and the public seemed to reach an agreement that the caring for children in school should be enhanced. Consequently, there was a sudden increase in the "caring business" of the school and promotion for careers and

discipline teachers, implementation of school social work, appointment of an additional graduate teacher for the welfare of pupils and the publication of the official guidelines for moral education in schools ensued. As there were so many changes which needed to be accomplished within a short period of time, both the school and the teachers and even the pupils and their parents were not quite prepared for these changes. What this research has tried to do is to locate the problems which the teachers have to face because of these changes and to recommend an innovative model to replace the existing one, which, as discussed in Chapter 4, is piecemeal and no longer suitable to provide for the needs of the children.

The study of this research points to the fact that the crucial problem arising from the existing caring system in Hong Kong schools is its secondary position in the system, mainly because the caring role of the teacher is always taken for granted as part of the teachers' daily responsibility. The result of this is that there is hardly any official guidelines showing how the job should be done and proper encouragement is not given to people dedicated to the job. In effect, the caring role of a teacher may mean different things to different people, but in many cases, when the teachers are pressurised by the heavy teaching load, discipline becomes the substitute for caring.

Another problem arising from the existing caring system in Hong Kong schools as revealed by this study is the lack of co-ordination among teachers responsible for the caring activities such as careers guidance, extra-curricular activities and between teachers and school social workers. However, the findings from the study show that pupils are on the whole more influenced by their secondary social class

status i.e. school and stream, than by their primary social class background. This enhances the importance of the caring role of the school. Yet, the success of this caring role depends on the co-operation between parents and teachers, who should be partners in the education of the children. As shown in this piece of research, pupils usually give equal respect for their parents and teachers. Nevertheless, the parents are frequently seen to have a passive role. Besides, teachers, because of their work load, may find it difficult to keep in touch with parents unless there is a problem. In short, the caring role in Hong Kong schools, as analysed in this thesis is rather loosely organised and when it does become structured, it is usually for disciplinary actions only.

The problems arising from the existing caring system in Hong Kong schools point to the need for innovation. However, as education is a gradual and long term process, any drastic changes are unlikely to be practical or practicable. They are not practical because it will not be possible to get all the required capital as well as human resources immediately. Also it is not practicable because it is rather difficult to ask people, especially teachers, to adapt themselves to the new system all at once. The innovative model suggested, therefore, is designed on two fundamental principles. On a long term basis, the model is aimed to review the Government's policies, which have exerted influences on caring for the school children. On a short term and an intermediate basis, the model is meant to expand and improve the existing system so that optimal effects can be obtained. New measures are suggested only if they are necessary to enhance the function of the system. However, before the practicability of the new model can be discussed, it is necessary to

specify the actual areas included in the pastoral work for it is when these areas are defined that the roles of the people carrying out the job can be elaborated.

Defining the pastoral care involvement in schools

One of the major problems of defining the arena of pastoral care in Hong Kong schools is its comparatively new development. The "General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools" was published coincidentally at a time when there was "public concern" about the increasing juvenile crime rate. Pastoral care, therefore, became an educational strategy developed out of circumstantial need. It was, moreover, considered a panacea for curing behavioural problems in schools and even the social mishaps of the juvenile as a whole. Because of the contingency nature of its development, the pastoral job and role for teachers in school is either vague or embryonic. In turn, this affects the effectiveness of the teacher's caring task.

When discussing the meaning of pastoral care, Marland suggests that it is about "the total welfare of the pupils" (1974 pp. 8-9). He further concludes that "the care of a school's work is the disciplinary, educational, vocational and personal guidance and the pupils' real situation must contribute to the formulation of school policy. This is the pastoral need" (ibid. p.12). The compartments of pastoral care are then dichotomised into positive aspect concerning personal development and the negative aspect relating to control, supervision and discipline. When the current caring tasks of the school are referred to, they can be categorised into two major areas : positively - counselling and guidance - and negatively - discipline. Counselling according to Jones (1977 p.25) is designed :

to help an individual come to terms with his life as it is and ultimately to grow to greater maturity through learning to take responsibility and to make decision for himself.

Guidance in education, according to Milner (1980 p.123), on the other hand, is about :

helping young people to begin to find themselves, to develop their sense of identity, to begin to know who they really are, what they can do with difficulty and what they probably cannot do at all, in terms of education, occupations, relationship, values and society.

In the school setting, counselling and guidance are usually linked together to include personal, educational and vocational guidance. Personal guidance is related to the development of personal, as well as working, relationships between pupils and teachers, between pupils and parents and also between pupils and pupils (Johnson 1980 p.48). Educational guidance is a service to maintain pupils' attainment and development (Jones 1977 p.29). For personal and educational guidance, pupils at risk have to be referred to the child guidance clinics for psychological as well as social problems of the child. Vocational guidance, on the other hand, provides not only information about jobs but also opportunities for school children to make decision in choices of jobs as well as subjects.

The negative aspect of pastoral care according to Halsall (1973 p.98) is discipline. To the progressive educationists, discipline is an effective form of social control in the classroom (Sharp & Green 1975 p.vii). Yet, discipline should not be viewed as sheer constraints. It predetermines appropriate modes of response and therefore responds to the individual's need for restraint. In other words, it safeguards the individual rights of each member. In school, this helps to maintain social stability in the classroom so

that the teaching-learning process will not be disturbed. Neill suggests two kinds of discipline : "orchestra discipline" and "army discipline". He further explains (1962 p.144) that :

In an orchestra, the first violinist obeys the conductor because he is as keen on a good performance as the conductor..... Every army is ruled mostly by fear, and the soldier knows that if he disobeys, he will be punished.

The "orchestra discipline" is therefore for the promotion of the public interest while the "army discipline" is for the suppression of individual deviance. School discipline should carry the spirit of the orchestra type.

The study of this thesis reveals that, in most Hong Kong schools including the two under study, discipline is over-developed while counselling and guidance are under-developed. As discussed in Chapter 4, a tightly structured discipline network is found in almost all Hong Kong schools. In the two schools studied, school regulations telling pupils what to do and what not to do were clearly made known to the school children. However, the positive aspect of the caring system was either neglected or operated as part of the disciplinary measures. For example, the House System, is never thought of as an important part for the welfare development of the pupils. School social work, which was first developed "to increase the effectiveness of individuals' interaction with each other, singly or in groups" (Robinson 1978 p.2) was found in the two schools of this study to be limited to remedial work of the "pupils at risk". It seems that it is this group of pupils who need personal and educational guidance. In the first term of the school year 1982/83, the school social workers of this study altogether had handled 38 cases. All of these were teacher's referrals. School social work

has thus become a pathological means for the "deviants" only.

Careers (vocational) guidance, moreover, is characterised by its piecemeal nature and ad hoc-ism. Official attention was not paid to this area until the sixties, when the Careers Masters'/Mistresses' Association was formed and careers guidance and counselling is quite independent of the other pastoral jobs. In Brookside, for instance, the careers master was directly responsible to the school head. In Cloudview, it looked better to have two careers teachers responsible for advice on professional development and further studies. However, little co-operation was observed between these teachers and the other pastoral colleagues. Eventually, the careers guidance usually available is from family and friends. Besides, no less important is the morale of the careers teachers, who are usually not given the allowance of non-teaching periods for the related work. There is seldom a spare room for interviewing students or for exhibiting the information resources. As one of the careers teachers in the study complained, at most he could only supply information directed to him from the various outside sources and advice or counselling was next to impossible because of the heavy teaching load. Added to this is the fact that, in many cases, the post of a careers teacher is held by very junior teachers, some still in their probationary years. The careers master of Cloudview is an example of this. This shows the low esteem given to the importance of careers guidance.

Careers guidance, like the other arenas of education, is a long term process. Blackburn does make a crucial point in saying that "the work must be planned over the years of secondary education" (1975 p.103). When discussing careers guidance, Jones (1977 p.17) emphasizes the importance of "careers readiness", and it is through

long term guidance that "careers readiness" can be developed. The work experience project of Cloudview is a good example of enriching pupils' "careers readiness". Yet, it suffers from two weaknesses. Firstly, in order to fulfil the school requirement, pupils sometimes had to "beg to be 'employed'" as one interviewed teacher put it. This seemed to encourage cheap and abused voluntary child labour. Secondly, the work experience in Cloudview was on a weekly basis. This could easily make the pupils feel tired of the project and the work would then become drudgery and the spirit of work experience would vanish. Besides, no evaluation had been made on the effectiveness of this project. Its success (or failure) is, therefore, hard to establish. To organise work experience projects during the long school holidays may avoid the above problem.

Summing up, pastoral care should include both developmental and preventive measures. Both are equally important. While the positive approach helps pupils grow, the negative aspect leads pupils to grow in an appropriate direction. It is necessary to keep a balance between the positive and the negative measures in order "to maintain an orderly atmosphere" in Marland's words (1974 p.10). This balance is vital, as Marland further argues, for "even love must have method" (ibid. p.205). As a matter of fact, it is through this balanced development that pupils could develop their own self-control as well as self-direction. And, it is through self-direction that what Daunt's "active" rather than "passive co-operation" (1975 p.45) and Marland's "responsible autonomy" of the child (1974 p.3) can be accomplished. The interviewed pupils' views on stealing the Flag Day money seemed to show that their sense of "active co-operation" and "responsible autonomy" was not yet fully developed. This highlights

the needs for pastoral care in school.

In short, with reference to the caring system in most Hong Kong schools, the negative aspect of the "caring" for pupils can be said as over-developed while the positive one is almost left in a laissez-faire situation. This pin-points the need for an innovative model if pastoral care means the "total welfare of the pupils". The recent raising of the school leaving age, admitting children of a wider range of social background, further endorses the need for changes as the pupils nowadays do not seem to be well-served by the existing caring system.

An innovative model on a long term basis

This section suggests changes in the current Government policies, the result of which could be to improve the quality of the caring service in school.

As discussed in Chapter 3, the current Government educational policy which brings the most detrimental effect to the pupils' future is the Junior Secondary Educational Assessment system (JSEA), which selects only about 60% of the junior secondary pupils to the senior secondary sector. It is this selection in the third year of the pupils' secondary education that almost decides who is going to get the manual or non-manual jobs. The pupils' and parents' views on the appropriate school leaving age shown in this study revealed that both pupils and parents agreed on a higher school leaving age. For both social and educational reasons, as the Visiting Panel suggest, "the Junior Secondary Educational Assessment system (JSEA) should be abolished as quickly as possible" (1982 p.38). They further expressed the view that "subsidised post-compulsory education should

be available to anyone who wants it" (ibid.). It is only when this selection is abolished that equal opportunity for education for the youngsters can be obtained.

One of the important results of this study is the effects of school on pupils' attitudes towards the various aspects of their school life. For example, more Cloudview than Brookside boys found cultural subjects such as Music, Art and Craft as important subjects. Yet more Brookside than Cloudview boys were found in favour of technical subjects. A higher staying-on expectation was also found in the grammar school than in the technical school. Besides, it was also found that pupils of the two schools viewed the importance of wearing school uniform and writing lines as an effective punishment in accordance with their schools' policies on these two subjects. On the whole, the grammar school seemed to symbolise the norm of the middle class while the technical school appeared to represent the characteristics of the working class group. It is this division that creates the secondary social class in the school system. A sharp discrimination between the grammar and technical school is obvious. The irony is that the industrialised economy demands more manpower with technical qualification while the Government's development plan for grammar and technical schools is at a ratio of 3 : 2. In addition to this is the fact that since 1974, the Government has been putting greater emphasis on technical education. A possible solution to this division is to break down the barrier between schools on the basis of the curriculum. When commenting on the technical education in Hong Kong, the Visiting Panel (1982 p.39) suggest that :

We nevertheless favour a comprehensive type of secondary schooling up to Form 5. We do not mean that every student do the same subjects and learn the same thing : diversification and specialisation should be offered

within the same school as well as among schools.

This reflects the philosophy of what Daunt means "choice with, not between, subject areas". Thus, "a balance between the pursuit of what one likes doing as well as what one ought to do, lies not between the broad subject areas but within them" (1975 p.67). The existing early specialisation in the first year of pupils' secondary education has deprived many of them the chances of knowing what their counter-parts are doing in the other types of school. This kind of division is therefore educationally unsound and socially unjust. The effects of school on pupils as shown in this study confirm the need for a common type of schooling.

A much more detrimental discrimination is found between the Government and aided schools and the private independent ones. Pupils in the private independent schools suffer not only the lack of facilities but also staffing inadequacy in terms of qualifications, morale and turn-over. It was reported that, as at March, 1981, of the 432,323 full-time day school pupils within the secondary school age cohort, 57% of them were in private independent secondary schools (Education Department 1981a p.30). That was more than half of our future. Data from the study have shown that there were deficiencies in the two Government aided schools under study. For example, both the Cloudview and Brookside boys were restrained by the inadequate facilities because of the expansion of education in the City. The practice of floating classes, has, in many case, compelled the teacher to restrict his caring role to disciplining only because of the congested situation of the school, especially during changes of periods. As problems can be found in Government and aided schools, it is not too difficult to picture the situation in the private

independent schools, in which the provision of resources is constrained by their own financial situation.

When studying education in Hong Kong, the Visiting Panel urged an improvement in the quality of education, especially that in the private independent schools. The most practical way to do this is to make education for the young the full responsibility of the Government, i.e. private independent schools are allowed to operate only if they could reach the equivalent standard as in the Government and aided schools in terms of facilities and teacher qualifications. The decrease in the number of pupils enrolled in private independent secondary schools from 60% of the total of 427,493 full time secondary school children in 1979 (first year of the 9-year free and compulsory education) to 57% of the total of 432,323 in 1981 shows that the Government is taking up a greater share of providing education for the young (Education Department 1979a p.43 and 1981a p.30). Yet, it seems that there is still a long way to go before the whole age cohort of the secondary school pupils could be admitted to Government and aided secondary schools. However, it is only when pupils are in a common type of school in terms of both curriculum and financial nature of the school, that the "total welfare of the pupils" can be said as being properly taken care of.

The role of the teachers in the caring for pupils has been emphasized throughout the whole thesis. It was also revealed in the research project that teachers may view differently the various aspects of the process of schooling according to their qualification for this affects their careers prospects. A workable solution to this problem is to make a university degree the basic requirement for being a teacher. At the time when this thesis was in process, the

two universities and four colleges of education were working on programmes for courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Education (B.Ed.) and preparation for the establishment of the third university was already under way. This means that in the very near future, there would be more university graduates in the Territory than it is now. However, this does not mean that it would be easier to recruit university graduates as teachers. It all depends on the careers prospects that teaching as a job can offer. Grievances on promotion were heard many times from teachers of the two schools, especially from teachers in Brookside. This draws attention to the weakness of the promotion system for teachers in Government and aided secondary schools in Hong Kong. In the Government schools, promotion for teachers of all the Government schools is considered on a territorial basis, while the promotion of teachers in all the Government aided schools is made within each school. This means that once the senior posts of a school are filled, no more teachers will be promoted. It is here that the Government has created a social division among teachers - a division between teachers in Government and Government aided schools. The best solution to this division would be to make the promotion of teachers in all Government and aided schools on a territorial basis. However, as aided schools are operated by different sponsoring bodies, it is rather difficult for the sponsor of any one school to release any of its competent teachers to serve another school. An alternative solution is to give an acting allowance (equivalent to promotion post) to teachers holding posts of responsibility in schools where vacancies for promotion are not available. As a result, the teacher will be satisfied that he has been rewarded according to his job. This may also prevent him from

joining another school just for the promotion.

To make education a proper service for the young, education of the teachers is important. Teacher education can be developed in two ways : pre-service and in-service education. Pre-service education prepares teachers for the job and in-service education keeps teachers informed of the new developments in the frontiers of education. Besides, in-service teacher education also brings serving teachers together providing them a chance of exchanging their work experience. The fact that the majority of teachers in the study favoured classroom teaching seemed to reveal the conservative nature of teachers. This highlights the importance of refresher courses for teachers, especially those who have been on the job for quite some time, so that they can cope with the arising needs of the pupils, whose interests are changing in accordance with time.

Recently, the Government has been running territorial seminars from time to time. However, these seminars are only on a daily basis. The schools of education of the two universities also organised short courses on various aspects of education. However, no evaluation has ever been made of all the courses offered either by the Government or by the universities. It is therefore rather difficult to understand how useful these courses or seminars may be.

Chances for promotion and courses for additional qualifications are some of the encouragement that teachers should be provided with in order to improve their welfare. Yet, another kind of vital encouragement is the improvement of teachers' working conditions such as the raise of the teacher-pupil ratio. This is especially important for the caring for pupils. In this study, 60% of the 63 teachers had 31 or more periods in a six day cycle of 48 periods. This means that

extra-time for their caring job was limited. The situation in the private independent schools may be even worse. The last Education White Paper (1981) proposed that the ratio should be increased from the practising ratio of 1.1 teachers taking care of 1 class to 1.2 teachers for 1 class of about 40 pupils and this is not a satisfactory improvement. While the teacher-pupil ratio should be increased, class size should be reduced at the same time so that more attention can be given to individual pupils. "Heavy teaching load" and "large class size" are the two major reasons affecting the teachers' caring role. This, as expressed by almost all teachers in this study, is a strong evidence showing the need for raising the teacher-pupil ratio and reducing the class size.

One of the major weakness in education in Hong Kong, as the Visiting Panel repeatedly pointed out, is the lack of research. Research is important to "back up what is attempted" to use the words of the Panel (1982 p.35). There may be research done within the Government for internal circulation. Yet, as far as the public is concerned, little research has been done on the effects of the various recent changes in school, for example, the effects of the newly introduced free and compulsory education on pupils and their parents and society as a whole.

Long term innovations are needed to provide a framework for the over-all development of the schools. Yet, it takes time to change or introduce new Government policies. For example, it took the Hong Kong Government almost half a century to complete reviewing its educational policies starting from the Burney Report in 1935 and finishing with the General Guidelines on Moral Education in Schools in 1981. Besides, there is also the problem of budgeting and

projecting both capital and human resources for new schemes.

However, pupils, teachers, parents and even the public find it hard to wait. A more immediate step is therefore to start with short term projects which are operated at school level.

Innovations on a short term or an intermediate basis

The biggest loop-hole found in the caring system in most of the Hong Kong schools, as discussed earlier, is the lack of co-ordination between teachers doing the caring job (such as careers teachers and extra-curricular activities organisers) and between teachers and school social workers. This results in the spending of different amounts of time, resources and human effort on similar activities. Besides, as every teacher (or school social worker) is working on his own project, according to his own objectives, it is rather difficult to understand how they can be working towards the "total welfare of the pupils". The additional graduate teacher appointed recently in Government and aided secondary schools is in the best position to take on the role of this co-ordination by setting up the major theme of organising extra-curricular activities and by planning with teachers the type of activities to be offered so as to avoid unnecessary repetition. Besides, as his/her major responsibility is on the caring aspect of school life, he/she may arrange parental visits, which were so much favoured by parents but not teachers, as revealed in this study.

The research project also revealed that pupils are more affected by their school and stream than by their social class background. While common schooling can only be achieved with Government help, destreaming can be operated within individual schools. The effects of

streaming, can be summed up into two major points. Explicitly, it generates two "sub-cultures" in school - the pro-school culture in the upper streams and the anti-school culture in the lower streams. For example, the upper stream boys would tend to support the kinds of punishment that were in practice in their schools. They also supported the role of the senior teachers, such as the Assistant Discipline Master, of teaching moral education. The lower stream boys, moreover, were found more likely to have drawn graffiti in school and have a comparatively higher rate of absence. Implicitly, on the other hand, streaming also helps to develop a sense of inferiority among pupils of the lower streams. For instance, as recorded in this study, there was low participation in extra-curricular activities from children of lower streams. They also had low aspiration for jobs in future and comparatively low school leaving age. Besides, while there were more inter-streaming groupings in the lower streams, the upper stream children would tend to have groupings more within their own streams, symbolising their aloofness. Mixed ability (as opposed to streaming) could therefore encourage greater social integration within schools. However, streaming is, in many ways, an incentive for pupils' academic achievement especially in the upper stream. To compensate for this defect, the examination results of pupils in the mixed ability classes of the year could be arranged in order of merit. By this, the pupils could tell where they are in terms of the whole year. Besides, teachers of the respective classes can also tell how many A's or B's that they have "produced". Destreaming therefore promotes both social integration as well as academic achievement in school.

Another existing caring system in school that can foster social

integration is the house system. As discussed in Chapter 4, the house system is found in almost all Hong Kong schools but is seldom found fully in use. This included the two sample schools of this study. The house system does not only foster social integration of the school but also provides what Haigh (1975 p.10) calls a "buffer effect" to ease the conflicts between teachers and pupils on academic problems. It may be argued that a house system causes an academic split in the school. Yet, the other side of the coin is that as pupils are meeting school mates of various years, it is easier for them to gain academically on things that are not taught in their year but in the senior ones. Besides, it is also easier, under the house system, for the junior pupils to discuss their academic problems with their senior peers. In short, this may help their academic performance.

To improve the function of the house system, on a long term basis, the head of house should be made a post of responsibility or with an allowance, in line with the subject panels. However, as long term innovation is not yet possible, at school level, more free periods should be given to the head of house so that he/she can have more time to prepare for house activities. To foster social integration in school, regular house meetings are also essential.

Careers teachers, on the other hand, are performing a crucial role in the caring for pupils. At the school level, they should also be given extra-vacant periods to fulfil their relevant duties. Careers teachers of both sample schools found that they did not have time to give guidance to their pupils. This means that careers education is confined to provision of information for the leavers only. However, careers guidance includes both educational and

vocational choices, which, as Blackburn (1975 p.103) argues, "cannot be undertaken in a short burst in the weeks before crucial decisions are made; the work must be planned over the years of secondary education". This signifies the importance of careers education in school. However, this cannot be done until the teachers concerned are properly "encouraged".

The role of the form teachers as acting in "loco parentis" was well-recognised by pupils, parents and teachers in this study. Moreover, they are links between the academic and non-academic side of school life. However, form teachers are usually not properly "rewarded" in terms of work load, at least. As a matter of fact, the "parental role" of form teachers allows them greater chances than subject teachers of imparting knowledge of moral education, which had earned quite high esteem from both pupils and parents. The changing scene of youth culture today and the concern shown in both official and public sectors in this aspect point to the need for having teachers responsible for moral guidance of the youngsters. Form teachers seem to be the most suitable group. In the long run, form teaching should be made a post of responsibility (or with an allowance). However, at school level, at least some more free school hours should be allowed for them to prepare for their duties simply as a gesture of appreciation.

There is no doubt that pastoral care is the business of team work. "The role of each person, spheres of responsibility, and the linking between them need careful planning as a total system" (Marland 1974 p.104). The teacher, whether as a tutor, a careers or a discipline teacher is rather like a G.P., who is able to call for specialists' advice when required. However, there is always a group

of people whose expertise for, and knowledge of, the pupils has never been properly consulted. They are the parents. Data from this study show that there is only loose contact between the parents and the schools under study. Besides, the contacts are almost exclusively restricted to complaints of the school to the parents about the pupils either on their academic or behavioural problems. When visiting the school, the parents are therefore bound to be on the defensive; or, in order to please the school, they may try to agree with the teacher on whatever he or she may say. It is not clear how much pupils can be helped in this way. Moreover, this research also reveals that the family background of the pupils such as family size and the number of brothers and sisters affects their choice of consultants for their non-academic problems. It is also shown in this study that children still have due respect for both teachers and parents. All these findings point to the need of a close link between parents and teachers for, as shown in the socio-metric test, pupils' activities outside school are not very much affected by their teachers. This means that close contact must be kept with parents to understand the pupils' life at home so that the "total welfare of the pupils" can be properly cared for.

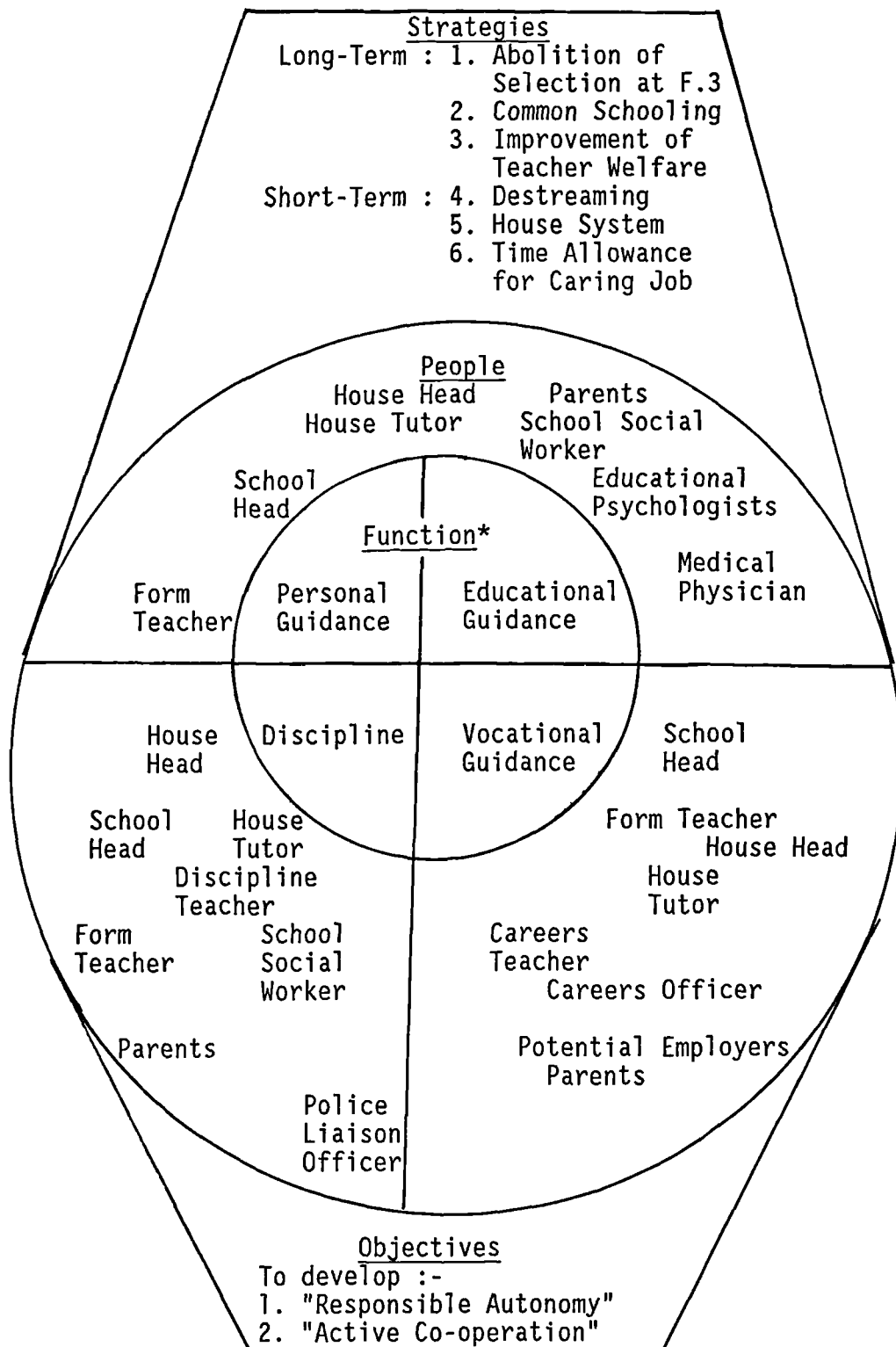
It is reported from Japan that a good way of teaching musical instruments is to teach mother and child simultaneously (Gillett 1975 p.1). In the same paper, Gillett also argues the need for developing a "curriculum for parents", one of the first objectives of which is "to attract a high percentage of the parents to come to school" (ibid. p.3). When discussing the curriculum, he stresses the importance of joint-parent-pupil projects and activities including help from parents in careers guidance by telling pupils

their own experience (ibid. pp.5-6). Gillett also realises that leadership is a problem when putting the curriculum into practice (ibid. pp. 6-7). In Hong Kong, the problem will become more acute as most schools do not have a parent teacher association to take the lead for organising such activities. Besides, both parents and teachers of this study did not agree on the importance of a parent teacher association. However, if the school recognises that parents are their partners in educating the school children, the school should take the lead in implementing joint-parent-teacher activities. As a parent expressed in his questionnaire, it is easier for the school to arrange meetings with parents than vice versa.

Conclusion

Pastoral care is an enterprise that demands concerted efforts from many partners : teachers, parents, careers officers, school social worker and some other professional experts. It is also a gradual process. It, therefore, needs both long-term and short-term changes. What is also essential is the co-operation of a team of responsible professionals to look after the caring for pupils in school for the growth and development of the child as a whole person. The whole idea of an innovative model for pastoral care is shown in Figure 14.1.

Figure 14.1 An Innovative Model for Pastoral Care



*A pastoral curriculum is incorporated with a curriculum for parents

Note : The diagram was not drawn to scale.

Similar to the existing model, the caring task of the school in the new model is also divided into personal, educational and vocational guidance and discipline. However, different from the system in practice, the recommended model emphasizes the co-ordination and concerted efforts of the people involved in the job. For example, form teachers, heads of house and house tutors are involved in all the four areas as they are the teachers who should know the pupils most in school. The school head should also be involved in the whole caring system. Yet, his role is rather on the making of the over-all policy than on the daily routine, or from time to time he may hold talks with pupils as some sort of social or moral education. At the same time, the model also shows that for every area of the caring system, there are teachers exclusively for the job, e.g. the house head and tutor for personal and educational guidance, the careers teachers for vocational guidance and the discipline teacher for discipline. Also different from the existing model, the new model emphasizes the total involvement of the parents in the caring for their children for they are the people who "shape" the character and personality of the pupils, in the first place. Yet, the teachers in their caring job are not isolated. They are expected to consult relevant professionals whenever it is found necessary and appropriate. In a word, the new model stresses the importance of joint efforts of teachers, parents and respective professionals for the caring for the children. It highlights the importance of team work.

The innovative model suffers from the defect of being subject to the success of the long term strategies which depend very much on the Government's financial support to create more aided school places for the pupils and to better the welfare and education of the teachers. Besides, the changes at school level are also affected by the long term changes. For example, to give more vacant periods to form

teachers and careers teachers means that other teachers not taking extra-responsibilities have to take up more classes. This means that they will have a heavier teaching load than before. In the end, pupils might benefit in one sector of their school life but suffer in another one. This adverse situation can be improved only if the teacher-pupil ratio is improved. However, the model does show not only the ideal case but also the appropriate direction on which to move. When there is evidence showing the effects of pastoral care on the school children and the need for implementing innovation in this area because of the socio-economic changes, it is up to the Government to take the initiative. In spite of this, as the success of long-term strategies is still pending, it is necessary for the schools to start with the short term and intermediate changes for no child in school should be deprived of being cared for. The weakness of the existing caring system revealed in this study reinforces the urgency for this innovation. Yet, what must be pointed out is that no innovation in schooling in general, and in pastoral care in particular, can be considered the panacea for all currently arising problems nor can it be treated as a once and for all change. Whatever system is put into practice, it is and should be subject to review all the time in accordance with the arising societal needs. As Blackburn concludes (1975 p.219) :

Pastoral care in school is more concerned with helping pupils to make small modifications than with making dramatic changes, in the belief that these will make a real contribution to the maturity of the adult who will emerge from the years at school.

This is the essence of the whole caring business in school.