ESRC Research Project on *Education and Youth Transitions in England, Wales and Scotland, 1984-2002*

SECONDARY SCHOOL ORGANISATION IN ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND WALES SINCE THE 1980S

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INTRODUCTION

Overview

This paper describes work in progress. It presents provisional results from a 'home international' comparison of youth cohort data for England, Wales and Scotland to draw conclusions about the effects of different models of comprehensive education on attainment at 16 and on social and gender inequalities.[1] An earlier study by Croxford (2001) found that the greater diversity and specialisation among schools in England was associated with higher levels of social segregation and with higher levels of social class inequality in attainment. However, that study covered a single cohort, aged 16 in 1990. The present analysis aims to find stronger evidence of causality by comparing change over time.

Contrasting models of comprehensive education

In 1965 Circular 10/65 and Circular 600 introduced the reorganisation of secondary schooling along comprehensive principles throughout Great Britain. There were differences in the speed, extent and character of reorganisation across the three countries. Scotland and Wales reorganised more quickly, and by the early 1980s virtually all state schools were comprehensive. England retained a substantial number of selective schools, and it also had a larger private sector.

In England the Conservative governments of 1979-1997 introduced market principles in the form of parental choice informed by 'league tables', gave schools greater freedom to select pupils, largely abandoned systems for engineering a social mix of schools, devolved powers to school governing bodies, reduced or removed local authority powers, encouraged the private sector and encouraged greater diversity among schools. In the eyes of critics these changes undermined the comprehensive system and helped to re-introduce a school system based on hierarchy, selection, inequality and individualism (Gewirtz *et al.* 1995, Pring and Walford 1997, Chitty *et al.* 2001, Haydn 2005). Some of these changes were not introduced

[1] The research is part of the ESRC project on *Education and Youth Transitions* (R000239852).

in Scotland or Wales. Others were introduced in a weaker form or - as in the case of 'opting out' - introduced but largely ignored in practice (Adler 1997, Benn and Chitty 1996, Jones 2003, Paterson 2003, Jones and Roderick 2003, Phillips 2003). By the late 1990s the comprehensive sector not only accounted for a much larger proportion of secondary pupils in Scotland and Wales than in England; it was also more uniform.

This paper asks whether this divergence in policy has been reflected in trends in attainment and inequality between the 1980s and the late 1990s. Our analysis is concerned with the reforms introduced by the Conservative governments of 1979-1997. Some of these reforms were reversed by the New Labour administration after 1997; others, notably the encouragement of school diversity in England, have been strengthened. The government in England has articulated a new philosophy of comprehensive education based on specialisation, collaboration, front-line control and strong accountability, rather than uniformity, isolation, centralised control and weak accountability (DfES 2002). The DfES' (2004) *Five Year Strategy* included plans to increase school powers further and to enable all schools to become specialist schools by 2008. In Scotland and Wales, by contrast, the devolved administrations remain committed to something closer to the original ideal of the community comprehensive school. They have ruled out specialist schools and the notion that comprehensive principles can be realised by enabling parents to choose from an increasingly diverse range of schools (NAW 2001, Scottish Executive 2004).

We use data from the England and Wales Youth Cohort Survey and the Scottish School Leavers Survey, for the cohorts shown in Figure 1.

Ideally, we would assess the impact of policy changes by mapping changes from cohort to cohort against a time-line of specific policy changes such as shown in Figure 2. In practice, this is not realistic:

- Several policy trends (such as the encouragement for school diversity) were introduced through a series of changes rather than a single landmark reform such as the 1988 Act.
- Most policies were phased in by stages, with variable time lags between policy change and full impact (in addition to the time lag required for a policy to affect attainment at 16).
- The extent to which policies were implemented, and the manner of their implementation, varied within and between the home countries.
- Our data are not sufficiently fine-grained. There are several gaps in the sequence, including cohorts which we have excluded because of problems in the quality or comparability in the data (especially social class: see Croxford 2005). Even the cohorts which we use are affected by inconsistencies in the design or conduct of the surveys. We should be wary of inferring trends from a comparison of just two consecutive surveys; instead we look for evidence of longer-term trends over several cohorts.

We therefore ask: is there evidence that the trend in outcomes and inequalities in England diverged from that in Wales and Scotland, over a period when there was a divergence in policies for secondary school organisation? In particular, we ask whether there was change between the earlier years covered by our data and the late 1990s, when the effects of differential policy change are most likely to have appeared?

In the next sections of the paper we present our findings. We hope that the main messages in the text - at least in relation to the individual-level analyses in Part 2 - are clear even for readers who lack the time or the expertise to study the tables.

INDIVIDUAL-LEVEL ANALYSES

Level of attainment

Figure 3 shows each cohort's average attainment in public examinations at 16 (mainly GCSEs and Standard grades).[2] The attainment score is calculated by allocating 7 points for an A or 1, 6 points for B or 2, 5 points for C or 3, and so on. The chart shows a rising trend in all three countries over the period. Small differences between the countries may reflect differences between the qualifications and their place in school timetables: for example, most Scottish schools' timetables allowed for seven or eight Standard grade subjects, while many English schools allowed for up to ten GCSEs. Attainment rose slightly more slowly in Scotland than in England during the 1980s and slightly faster during the 1990s. For most of the period attainment in Wales rose more slowly than in England, but it appears to have caught up in the final (1999) cohort.

Table 1 shows multiple regression analyses of the pooled data from all three countries for the cohorts shown in Figure 1.[3] It confirms that compared with England more of the increase in attainment in Scotland and Wales occurred in the later part of the period.[4] In each country attainment grew as fast within the comprehensive sector as among all schools (ie including private and state selective schools). Comprehensive schools thus contributed as much as other schools to the overall rise in attainment.

Gender

Females had higher average attainments than males. The gender gap grew wider over the period (Table 1, model 1), although it widened more slowly in Scotland than in England or Wales. However, this widening of the gender gap occurred in the earlier part of this period, and was no longer significant among cohorts from 1995 onwards (model 3).[5]

Compared with England the gender gap was wider in Wales and not significantly different in Scotland. In England the gender gap was wider in comprehensive schools than in other types of schools. This affects the country comparison. If we look only at comprehensive school pupils, we find no difference between England and Wales in the size of the gender gap, but a narrower gap in Scotland.

Social class

In all countries, and throughout the period, attainment was strongly associated with social class.[6] In England the relative disadvantage of working-class pupils increased over the

[2] It includes some of the cohorts omitted from the other analyses below.

[3] Time (years) is a continuous variable derived from cohort, centred on 1990 (the reference category). Thus the first cohort (1984) has the value -6, and the last cohort (1999) has the value +9.

[4] This is shown by the significant value of time-squared. However the overall trends in Table 1 refer only to the reference category, working-class males. As we see later the trends are different for females and for other social classes.

[5] However trends for this later period are based on a smaller number of cohorts, and a smaller time span.

[6] Social class is the higher class of mother or father. It is based on the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification, collapsed into three categories and a residual group with no reported class. For details, and

period. However, in the years from 1995 onwards the class gap appeared to be narrowing again, especially between working-class and managerial/professional class youngsters.[7] The social class gap was slightly narrower in the comprehensive sector than among all schools, and between 1984-1999 it did not widen to the same extent in the comprehensive sector as among all schools.

In Wales, the relative disadvantage of working class pupils was even greater than in England, especially among comprehensive pupils. There is no evidence that the trend in social class inequality differed between Wales and England.

The comparison between Scotland and England is more complicated. In Scotland, in 1990 (the reference year) the gap between professional/managerial and working classes was narrower than in England. This may have been due to the smaller size of the non-comprehensive sector in Scotland: among comprehensive pupils there was no difference between the two countries in the size of the class gap. However, the gap between intermediate and working classes was wider in Scotland than in England. Moreover, the fact that the 'SEC missing' category (which tends to have characteristics similar to the working class) was relatively disadvantaged in Scotland makes us cautious about inferring that inequalities were narrower in Scotland. The differences may have reflected the different coding procedures, and the way they affected the distribution between the 'SEC missing' and working class categories.

The evidence about trends seems clearer. The relative position of working-class pupils improved in Scotland over the period 1984-99, while it deteriorated in England.[8] This narrowing class gap occurred within the comprehensive sector as well as across the whole education system. By the late 1990s the gap in attainment between working-class and professional/managerial-class pupils was substantially narrower in Scotland than in England or Wales.[9]

MULTI-LEVEL ANALYSES

Social class, school mix and contextual effects

Some critics of school reforms in England argue that policies which increase parental choice or promote school diversity increase the social segregation of schools - that is, the extent to which the mix of pupils from different social backgrounds varies from school to school. An increase in social segregation is seen as undesirable, partly because it offends comprehensive principles (eg the principle of social fraternity) and partly because it may increase the contribution of school contextual effects to social inequalities.

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discussion of the problems of consistency of measurement between countries and over time, see Croxford (2005).

7 We have data on ethnicity only for England and Wales. We are therefore unable to test directly whether different class effects in England may reflect ethnic inequalities, given the larger ethnic minority population of England. A further analysis of data for England (not shown) shows that neither the level nor the trend in social class inequality is substantially affected if ethnicity is included in the model. (More precisely, the analysis shows the class gap widening somewhat faster when ethnicity is included.) It also shows a relative improvement in the attainment of all non-white groups except Pakistanis, for whom the observed improvement was not statistically significant.

8 This is not attributable to 'SEC missing' category, whose relative position also improved.

9 Or (for Scots who choose to see the cloud rather than the silver lining): the professional/middle classes made less relative progress in Scotland than in England or Wales.

The contextual effect is the effect of the characteristics of fellow-students (such as their social class or prior attainment) on the outcomes (eg attainment) of a given individual, independent of his or her own characteristics. Where schools are socially segregated contextual effects compound the inequalities that may be found among individuals within each school. Not only does the typical working-class child perform worse than other students at the same school; s/he is further disadvantaged by attending a more working-class school. A comprehensive system may aim to reduce social inequalities by:

- reducing social inequalities within each school, whatever its social mix,
- reducing the level of social segregation, and
- reducing the impact of a given level of segregation, by making the contextual effect weaker.

To what extent can the relative narrowing of social class inequalities within the comprehensive sector in Scotland be attributed to different trends in these three components? Our analysis is still at an exploratory stage; here we present some early results.

Within-school inequalities

Table 2 summarises the results of a series of multilevel regression models of predicting attainment. These models are based on pupils in comprehensive schools, and were run separately for each country. A separate intercept was fitted for each cohort in order to estimate school effects over time. The table includes a measure of the average social-class (SEC) level of pupils in each school.[10] The social-class terms therefore show the within-school inequalities, net of any contextual effects. These are broadly consistent with the trends described above in our discussion of Table 1. Class inequalities in the reference year (1990) did not differ significantly between England and Scotland; they grew narrower in Scotland over most of the period but became wider in England (except in the last cohort).

Social segregation

Provisional analyses by Linda Croxford and Lindsay Paterson show lower working-class between-school segregation in Scotland than in England (table not shown). Segregation in Scotland rose slowly over the early cohorts to reach a peak among the cohort that was aged 16 in 1992, and fell slightly among the later cohorts. Working-class segregation in England increased between 1990 and 1993 but it was relative stable in the years before 1990 and in the years after 1993. It is possible that the apparent change between 1990 and 1993 is an artefact of changed YCS sampling arrangements. Smaller sample numbers make the Welsh data less reliable. The level of managerial/professional-class segregation was very similar in Scotland and England; it declined very slightly across the cohorts in Scotland, and remained

[10] School social context is the school average of the 8-category NS-SEC measure per school and cohort. These eight categories are given scale values as follows: (3) Higher managerial and professional (2) Lower managerial and professional (1) Intermediate (0) Small employers and own account (-1) Lower supervisory and technical (-2) Semi-routine (-3) Routine (-4) No information. Thus, the reference category refers to a school in which the average pupils are from families who are “Small employers and own account workers”. The estimated effect of school social context is given in terms of an increase of one point, which would be equivalent of a school in which the average pupils are from intermediate backgrounds.

relatively stable in England.[11] Overall, we are reluctant at this stage to draw any firm conclusions from these analyses.

The contextual effect

Table 2 shows that pupils tended to have higher attainment scores if school average SEC was high, and lower attainment scores if school average SEC was low. In other words the 'contextual effects' are positive, although this is at best a crude measure of such effects: our model does not include other measures (such as ability or prior attainment) which would ideally be included as individual 'controls' in an analysis of contextual effects. Subject to this caveat, in 1990 (the reference time point) the contextual effect as shown in Table 2 was greatest in England and lowest in Scotland. It declined over the period in both England and Scotland.[12] In Scotland this decline occurred during the years up to 1990; in England it declined in the years since 1990. One interpretation of this trend is that comprehensive schools in both countries have learnt how to match their provision to the social mix of each school in such a way that each student is less affected by the characteristics of fellow-students.[13] In Scotland this process occurred during the 1980s, in England during the 1990s.

DISCUSSION

Our main headline finding is that social-class differences narrowed in Scotland over a period when they tended to get wider in England. Can this be attributed to the different comprehensive school policies? Several factors make us cautious in drawing such inferences at this stage:

- the Welsh data do not match the Scottish pattern;
- class differences appeared to get narrower in England among the last cohort, when the school policies had had most impact;
- English class differences widened more slowly among comprehensive school pupils, suggesting that the overall trend partly reflected the role and composition of the non-comprehensive sector, rather than changed policies for comprehensive schools;
- our analyses of social segregation, while still very provisional, do not support one possible interpretation of the different trend in inequalities.

In this paper we have often struggled to find clear-cut evidence of cross-national differences. Perhaps these differences are too small to be heard above the 'noise' in our data. Perhaps the impact of common 'British' influences, including influences external to the school system, is stronger than the impact of policy differences. Possibly our most intriguing - but still tentative - finding is that schools across Great Britain may have become more skilled in matching their offer to the social characteristics of their intakes, and thus minimising the contextual effect. We plan further work on school variability in the next stages of this research.

[11] An alternative approach based on variation ratios shows a decline in working-class ratios in Scotland after 1988 and a relatively stable pattern of managerial/professional-class ratios. In England it shows a decline in both ratios interrupted by a sharp increase between 1993 and 1995.

[12] The effects for Wales are very unstable, and this is probably a result of small sample sizes per cohort.

[13] Possibly through more individualised approaches to pedagogy or the curriculum.

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Figure 1: Cohorts (identified by year of completing compulsory education)

England	Wales	Scotland
1984	1984	1984
		1986
		1988
1990	1990	1990
1993	1993	
1995	1995	1996
1997	1997	1998
1999	1999	

Figure 2: Key policy changes: a time line

1980	Education Act (England and Wales: weak parental choice)
1981	Education (Scotland) Act (stronger parental choice)
1983	Curriculum Framework for 14-16s (Scotland)
	First TVEI pilots (England and Wales)
1984	First TVEI pilots (Scotland)
1986	City Technology Colleges announced (England)
	First GCSE examinations (England and Wales
	First Standard grade examinations (Scotland: phased in)
1987	Separate English and Welsh National Curricula proposed
1988	Education Reform Act (England and Wales: National Curricula, strong parental choice, league tables, local management of schools, 'opting out')
1989	'Opting out' in Scotland
1990	Local management of schools implemented in England
1992	Education Act (England: specialist schools)
1993	Curriculum Cymreig
	Education Act (England: technology colleges)
1994	Devolved school management introduced in Scotland

Figure 3: Average attainment score at age 16

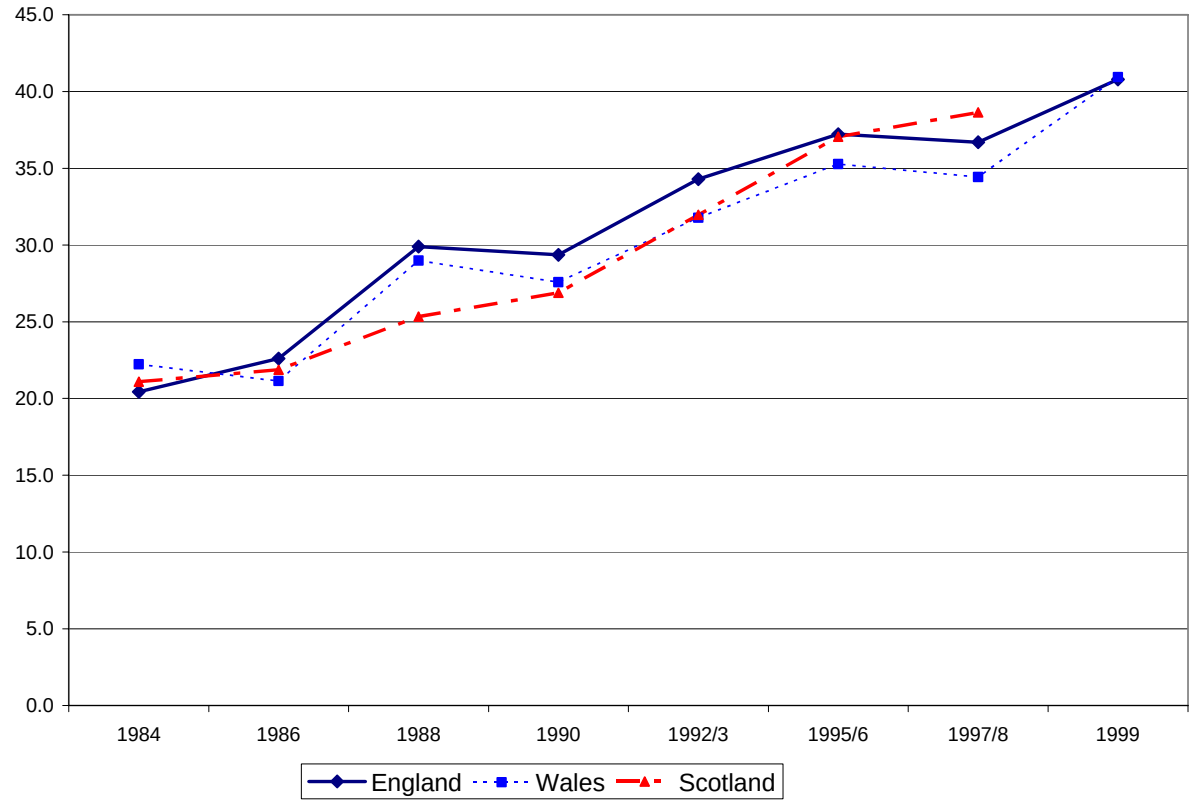

Table 1: Standard regression of attainment score at 16 years

	1 All schools 1984-98/9		2 All schools since 1995		3 Comprehensive 1984-98/9		4 Comprehensive since 1995	
	B	***Std. Error***	**B**	***Std. Error***	**B**	***Std. Error***	**B**	***Std. Error***
(Constant)	**25.53**	*0.17*	**30.94**	*0.28*	**24.44**	*0.18*	**30.16**	*0.29*
Female (vs male)	**1.69**	*0.15*	**2.96**	*0.23*	**2.42**	*0.16*	**3.40**	*0.26*
Managerial & Professional (vs workin	**14.82**	*0.19*	**16.88**	*0.31*	**12.95**	*0.20*	**14.84**	*0.33*
Intermediate (vs working)	**7.30**	*0.20*	**8.12**	*0.33*	**6.53**	*0.21*	**7.36**	*0.35*
SEC missing	**-3.03**	*0.25*	**-3.22**	*0.43*	**-3.64**	*0.26*	**-3.87**	*0.45*
Time: Years since 1990 (1995)	**1.13**	*0.03*	**1.16**	*0.11*	**1.15**	*0.03*	**1.17**	*0.12*
Time squared	**-0.01**	*0.00*			0.00	*0.00*		
Time*female	**0.21**	*0.03*	0.12	*0.09*	**0.15**	*0.03*	0.04	*0.10*
Time*managerial & professional	**0.09**	*0.03*	**-0.87**	*0.12*	0.06	*0.04*	**-0.80**	*0.13*
Time* intermediate	**0.13**	*0.04*	-0.07	*0.13*	**0.10**	*0.04*	-0.12	*0.14*
Time* SEC missing	0.01	*0.05*	0.06	*0.18*	0.04	*0.05*	0.20	*0.19*
Wales (vs England)	**-2.51**	*0.63*	**-3.68**	*1.10*	**-1.75**	*0.63*	**-2.90**	*1.09*
Wales*female	**1.31**	*0.56*	**1.80**	*0.95*	0.79	*0.56*	1.17	*0.95*
Wales*managerial & professional	**1.84**	*0.70*	**2.84**	*1.24*	**3.34**	*0.71*	**4.72**	*1.24*
Wales* intermediate SEC	**1.83**	*0.75*	**3.14**	*1.32*	**2.33**	*0.75*	**4.08**	*1.31*
Wales*SEC missing	0.04	*0.95*	-1.43	*1.79*	0.50	*0.95*	-0.67	*1.77*
Scotland (vs England)	**-3.13**	*0.28*	0.19	*0.86*	**-1.97**	*0.28*	0.89	*0.86*
Scotland*female	0.34	*0.22*	0.97	*0.77*	**-0.50**	*0.23*	0.62	*0.78*
Scotland*managerial & professional	**-1.60**	*0.28*	**-5.39**	*0.97*	-0.08	*0.29*	**-3.28**	*0.99*
Scotland* intermediate SEC	**0.88**	*0.31*	-1.75	*1.07*	**1.35**	*0.31*	-1.24	*1.08*
Scotland*SEC missing	**-1.38**	*0.40*	-1.43	*1.36*	**-0.98**	*0.40*	-0.90	*1.36*
Wales*time	**-0.26**	*0.11*	0.64	*0.44*	**-0.23**	*0.11*	0.56	*0.44*
Wales*time squared	**0.05**	*0.01*			**0.04**	*0.01*		
Wales*time*female	-0.02	*0.10*	-0.26	*0.39*	0.01	*0.10*	-0.09	*0.39*
Wales*time* managerial & profession	0.00	*0.13*	-0.37	*0.50*	0.04	*0.13*	-0.41	*0.50*
Wales*time* intermediate SEC	-0.04	*0.14*	-0.32	*0.53*	0.02	*0.14*	-0.35	*0.53*
Wales*time*SEC missing	-0.10	*0.18*	0.44	*0.73*	-0.10	*0.18*	0.31	*0.73*
Scotland*time	0.06	*0.05*	-0.05	*0.35*	0.05	*0.05*	-0.02	*0.35*
Scotland*time squared	**0.06**	*0.01*			**0.05**	*0.01*		
Scotland*time*female	**-0.09**	*0.04*	-0.49	*0.31*	-0.04	*0.04*	-0.50	*0.32*
Scotland*time* managerial & professi	**-0.43**	*0.05*	0.61	*0.40*	**-0.36**	*0.05*	0.47	*0.40*
Scotland*time* intermediate SEC	**-0.48**	*0.06*	-0.20	*0.44*	**-0.42**	*0.06*	-0.09	*0.44*
Scotland*time*SEC missing	**0.16**	*0.07*	0.56	*0.56*	0.13	*0.07*	0.37	*0.56*

Reference category for models 1 & 3:
Male, Working SEC, in 1990, in England

Reference category for models 2 & 4:
Male, Working SEC, in 1995, in England

Table 2: Effects of gender and SEC on attainment at age 16: multilevel models: comprehensive schools 1984-1998/9

	England	*se*	Wales	*se*		Scotland	*se*
Cohorts/intercepts					**Cohorts/intercepts**		
1984	**20.63**	*0.46*	**21.88**	*1.77*	1984	**20.10**	*0.47*
1990	**24.63**	*0.36*	**25.02**	*1.10*	1986	**19.73**	*0.46*
1993	**29.16**	*0.32*	**27.37**	*1.37*	1988	**23.57**	*0.45*
1995	**32.47**	*0.35*	**31.45**	*1.45*	1990	**22.21**	*0.49*
1997	**31.21**	*0.36*	**27.89**	*1.33*	1996	**32.93**	*0.44*
1999	**36.89**	*0.35*	**38.61**	*1.30*	1998	**34.93**	*0.35*
Average effects					**Average effects**		
Female (vs male)	**2.38**	*0.29*	**2.76**	*0.95*	Female (vs male)	**1.82**	*0.43*
Managerial & professional	**10.58**	*0.38*	**13.13**	*1.23*	Managerial & professional	**11.77**	*0.56*
Intermediate (vs working)	**5.13**	*0.39*	**5.24**	*1.24*	Intermediate (vs working)	**6.45**	*0.58*
No info on SEC	**-1.37**	*0.48*	**-3.42**	*1.59*	No info on SEC	**-3.63**	*0.88*
School average SEC	**3.54**	*0.23*	**2.91**	*0.72*	School average SEC	**1.87**	*0.29*
Interactions (ref cat 1990)					**Interactions (ref cat 1990)**		
Female in:					Female in:		
1984	**-1.06**	*0.48*	-0.34	*1.73*	1984	**-0.15**	*0.59*
1993	0.67	*0.39*	1.09	*1.49*	1986	-0.07	*0.59*
1995	**0.94**	*0.41*	1.43	*1.52*	1988	-1.14	*0.59*
1997	**1.09**	*0.41*	1.28	*1.48*	1996	**1.79**	*0.57*
1999	**1.15**	*0.41*	1.13	*1.47*	1998	0.96	*0.51*
Managerial & professional in:					Managerial & professional in:		
1984	**-2.81**	*0.63*	-2.40	*2.30*	1984	**1.13**	*0.78*
1993	0.53	*0.53*	1.50	*2.09*	1986	-0.39	*0.76*
1995	**1.12**	*0.56*	1.54	*2.11*	1988	**-1.67**	*0.77*
1997	1.06	*0.58*	3.35	*1.99*	1996	**-1.98**	*0.75*
1999	**-1.92**	*0.55*	-2.87	*1.99*	1998	**-2.32**	*0.67*
Intermediate in:					Intermediate in:		
1984	-1.19	*0.65*	3.74	*2.35*	1984	1.40	*0.79*
1993	0.30	*0.53*	1.60	*2.07*	1986	**2.14**	*0.79*
1995	0.78	*0.56*	2.41	*2.11*	1988	-0.09	*0.80*
1997	0.50	*0.57*	**6.33**	*1.97*	1996	-1.30	*0.78*
1999	0.23	*0.56*	0.55	*1.99*	1998	**-1.43**	*0.70*
SEC missing in:					SEC missing in:		
1984	**-2.56**	*0.79*	2.57	*2.83*	1984	-1.20	*1.11*
1993	**-1.49**	*0.66*	1.12	*2.61*	1986	-1.23	*1.13*
1995	**-1.70**	*0.71*	-2.08	*2.72*	1988	-0.10	*1.17*
1997	-0.72	*0.73*	0.80	*2.67*	1996	-0.15	*1.09*
1999	-0.61	*0.75*	1.51	*2.66*	1998	0.73	*1.01*
School average SEC in:					School average SEC in:		
1984	-0.58	*0.35*	2.05	*1.24*	1984	**1.60**	*0.41*
1993	**-1.50**	*0.27*	-1.07	*0.93*	1986	**1.27**	*0.40*
1995	**-1.47**	*0.28*	-0.60	*1.00*	1988	**0.89**	*0.39*
1997	**-1.64**	*0.27*	-0.27	*0.98*	1996	-0.33	*0.37*
1999	**-1.79**	*0.28*	-1.00	*0.92*	1998	-0.32	*0.37*

Reference category
Male, Working SEC, in 1990

	England	*se*	Wales	*se*		Scotland	*se*
Variance between schools					**Variance between schools**		
1984	**25.30**	*2.77*	**18.33**	*8.89*	1984	**7.33**	*1.67*
1990	**13.37**	*1.49*	6.52	*3.46*	1986	**7.65**	*1.66*
1993	**16.32**	*1.60*	14.68	*7.93*	1988	**6.72**	*1.62*
1995	**16.82**	*1.79*	14.80	*7.50*	1990	**11.48**	*2.13*
1997	**16.17**	*1.97*	**32.57**	*9.30*	1996	**6.93**	*1.46*
1999	**18.12**	*1.83*	10.63	*6.68*	1998	**8.95**	*1.20*
Variance between pupils					**Variance between pupils**		
1984	**219.87**	*4.09*	**262.97**	*16.92*	1984	**250.62**	*4.62*
1990	**201.53**	*2.82*	**240.62**	*10.25*	1986	**234.86**	*4.41*
1993	**221.50**	*2.83*	**279.53**	*14.75*	1988	**198.88**	*4.15*
1995	**235.79**	*3.27*	**311.17**	*15.52*	1990	**182.87**	*4.22*
1997	**245.78**	*3.54*	**258.01**	*13.41*	1996	**135.91**	*3.16*
1999	**196.27**	*3.00*	**215.54**	*12.57*	1998	**127.55**	*2.23*
% variance between schools					**% variance between schools**		
1984	10.3		6.5		1984	2.8	
1990	6.2		2.6		1986	3.2	
1993	6.9		5.0		1988	3.3	
1995	6.7		4.5		1990	5.9	
1997	6.2		11.2		1996	4.9	
1999	8.5		4.7		1998	6.6	