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SOME MANAGEMENT IMPLICATIONS
OF THE DYNAMICS OF
EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Submitted by G R Haywood-Hicks
for the degree of PhD
of the University of Bath
1980

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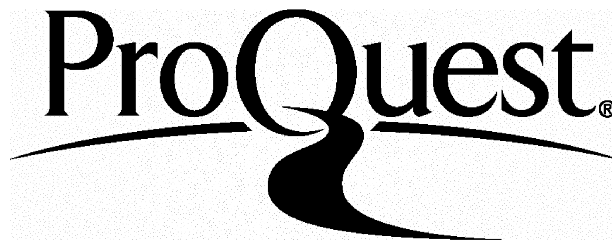

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ABSTRACT

The receptivity to innovation and change by teachers in local authority schools was examined within a period of systemic and institutional reorganization. The initial interest arose out of expressions of political, professional and parental concern about the schooling process.

It was postulated that certain factors, in isolation or in combination, existed at institutional level which exerted a significant influence on the rate of take up of innovation, in the general direction of conservatism. These factors were powerful enough to over-ride heightened environmental interest, support and encouragement for change over recent years.

The methods of investigation employed included a pilot survey of one hundred senior serving teachers and their working experiences of innovation and change with respect to fifty two aspects of school life.

Investigations were then conducted by means of recorded interviews with headteachers and assistant staff, in order to examine the significant factors affecting the openness to innovation at the level of individual institutions.

A model of institutional dynamics was developed during the empirical investigations. This brought into prominence a number of institutional phases which then led to a reappraisal of previously published examinations of planned change.

The investigations supported the view that innovative activity and periods of maintenance of the existing state were more closely associated with the interactions of chief executive and assistant teachers and determined more by the longevity of this association and degree of cultural cohesion than by external factors such as political interest in schooling, improved funding and research and dissemination of innovations.

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Introduction

There can be very few parents today who can claim that their children are being educated in the same type of local authority secondary school that they themselves attended. The past twenty five years have been characterised by the almost complete abolition of maintained grammar, modern and technical institutions and the creation of middle, comprehensive schools and sixth form colleges spanning all or part of the secondary stage of education.

Even parents who were themselves secondary school children as late as the nineteen fifties did not have an education influenced by the Schools Council, Programmed learning, Teachers' Centres and CSE courses and examinations.

Neither could they become engaged in the traditional social process of transmitting to their children any of their personal experiences of the eleven-plus examination and matriculation procedures. Both these hitherto crucial rites de passage have been erased from the calendar of educational events for eighty per cent of the nation's children.

These changes have been costly. The proportion of the Gross National Product spent on the education service has been doubled in the past decade. There are twice as many teachers employed today as in 1960 and the servicing of local authority debt charges incurred for capital educational purposes is now running at ten per cent of annual income.

The expenditure and the expansion has steadily continued, and yet .... a recent official report on secondary education included the following remark made by a former client of contemporary schooling:

> A boy who had just left school was asked by his former headteacher what he thought of the new buildings. He replied, 'It could all be marble, sir, but it would still be a bloody school'.

Criticism of the maintained sector of schooling has been mounting in recent years. Government, HMI teams, teacher committees, employer groups, university entry tutors and parent associations have all stated their dissatisfaction.

Their shared concern can be summarised as being one of puzzlement that the massive 'investment'

in funding and staffing has not been reflected in significant improvements in the product of schooling. Similar concern, in conditions of even more generous provisioning, has been expressed in the United States, where programmes of educational reform have failed even to achieve objectives drawn up by the teachers themselves.

The present investigation attempts to identify some of the influences affecting receptivity to innovation in the maintained sector of education. Attention is focussed particularly on the high degree of autonomy found at the third order of differentiation in state controlled education, with respect to goal setting, internal institutional organization and management.

Such an examination explores the possibility of the existence of a rhythm of receptivity to innovation on the part of the school culture which depends on the relationship between the existing state of the teacher culture and the chief executive.

PART I *BACKGROUND AND APPROACH*

Chapter 1

Postwar perspectives on schools and schooling

The past thirty five years of maintained secondary schooling are briefly reviewed in terms of the paradigms which

> can be defined as the dimension of management ideology which informs the posture an organization assumes with repect to change and conflict. They emerge from the constellation of beliefs and the assumptions which individuals in the organizations, particularly key decision makers, share about the nature of their organization and its environment.
>
> Thomas and Bennis, P 12

In order to preserve the continuity and flow of the summary, detailed consideration and justification of the paradigms identified is taken up in succeeding sections. The emphasis here is on the chronological relationship of the paradigms as they emerge under the influence of economic, social and political changes in post-war England.

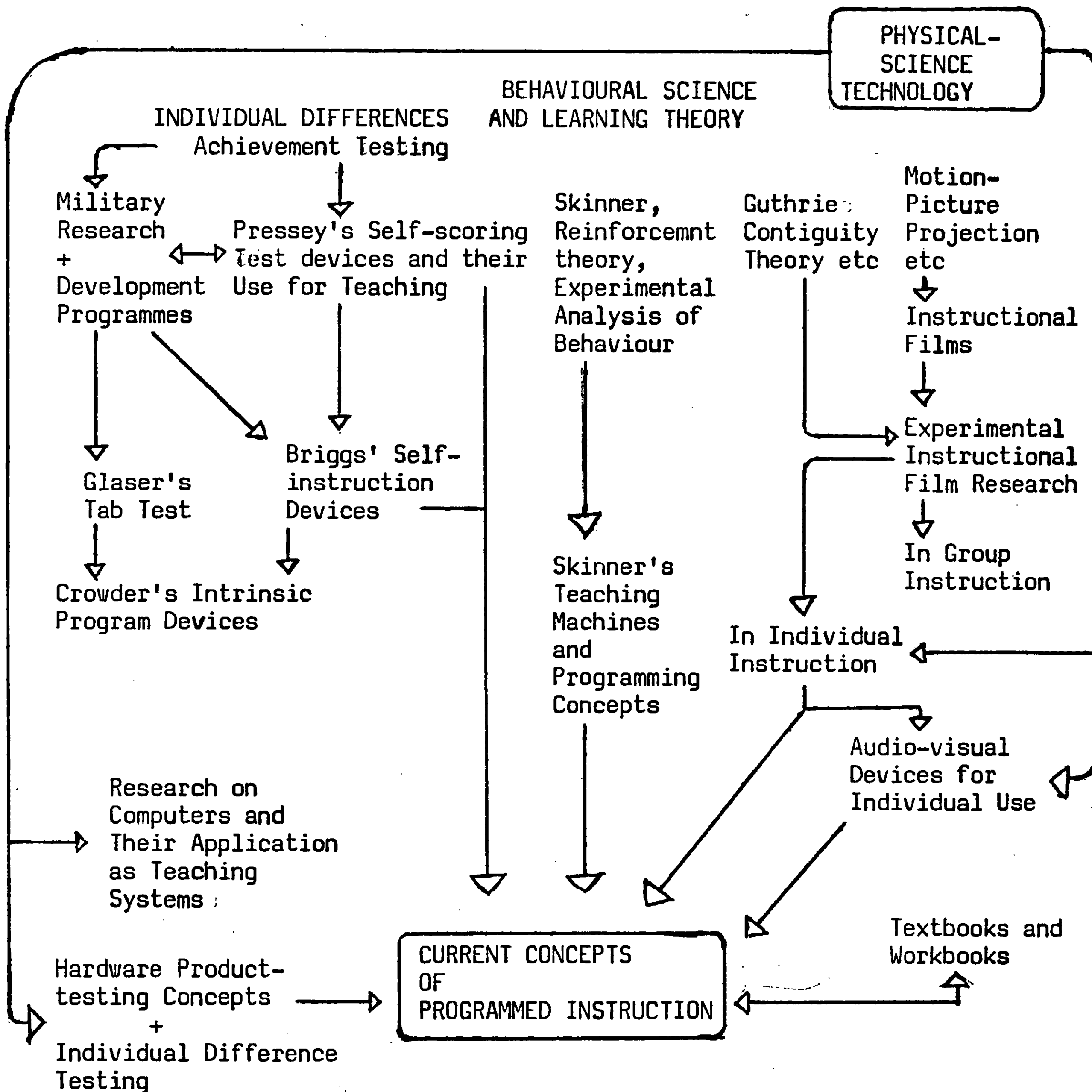
For some years after the end of the second World War, schools were viewed as social reservoirs containing a range of malleable intellects which could be processed in order to yield desirable products.

The response to a number of government reports calling for increases in the nation's stock of scientific and technological manpower was to install better 'pumps' to speed the flow through secondary and tertiary institutions.

Other developments associated with this educational pumping mechanism included educational technology, teaching machines, programmed learning and item banks for objective tests. In the drive towards the efficient production of specialists in the physical and technical science there was little scope for individual idio-syncrasy or style. Convergence was much more highly valued, as illustrated by Figure 1 .

The disappointing production statistics which resulted from these efforts led to the installation of coarser filters which controlled progressively less rigidly the flow from one sector of education to the next higher in the age-sequence. Thus a greater proportion of the yearly cohort of pupils were allowed to move into grammar schools. When they reached the tertiary

Figure 1



Converging streams of influence affecting present concepts and practices in educational technology
I K DAVIES - The Management of Learning p 8
Reproduced from LUMSDAINNE A A (1964) - Educational Technology, Programmed Learning and Instructional Science in HG RICHEY (ed) Theories of Learning and Instruction, University of Chicago Press.

stage this resulted in massive increases in numbers as they moved into the higher education sector, including the many new universities established in the nineteen fifties and sixties. The production of scientific manpower, it was believed, required scientific processes and scientific management, vide Taylor.

However, criticisms of the principles upon which selection mechanisms were designed began to build up. The potential in the reservoir or 'pool of talent' would never be effectively utilized, it was claimed, as long as the intakes of secondary and higher education institutions had filters which rejected values, norms and beliefs associated with the working class culture. Grammar schools and universities, on this theory, were run by the members, or aspiring members, of the middle strata of society. They sought to use publicly funded institutions to restrict entry to the most prestigious occupations and professions to those who exhibited middle class values.

Children whith abilitiy, but 'tainted' by artisan values derived from home and neighbourhood did not show up well in the selection tests and the grammar school culture. In operational terms, the teachers were accused of manipulating the system in the interests of the social class to which they sought entry as

aspirant professionals at a cost borne by working class children. In other words, a host of 'mute inglorious' Maxwells, Marconis and Mendels remained untutored and locked into socially deprived environments by the very mechanisms designed to help in the search for new generations of scientific talent.

The growing recognition of contextual influences of the pool of talent marked a significant change in the way schools and schooling came to be viewed. Educational journals and teacher training courses took up the sociological perspective which thus gained momentum in the late nineteen fifties. There was much talk of cohorts, sub-cultures, institutions, networks, structures, functions, systems, power and authority. Academic research, based on statistical surveys of life chances of members of particular social classes and school case studies rejuvenated the aging nature-nurture controversy.

Of the two main determinants considered to influence realised intelligence, environmental factors were deemed more susceptible to modification in the short term than those which were genetically derived. It was not the task of schools, some argued, to continue to pump into the economy scientists, technologists, Russian or Chinese linguists or any other group of specialised skilled manpower deemed vital to the state. Such activity perpetuated a society made rotten by

materialism and big business profit-seeking which were held responsible for polluting both the physical environment and the minds of men. It was felt that such use of schools to feed the technological machine created a hierarchy of values in which personal needs and aspirations were subordinated to demands of external 'scientific' or 'inhuman' complexes.

The call for a radical change in the values that appeared to govern and control the development of adolescents met with considerable response. Schools, it was proposed, could play a crucial role in correcting some of the more serious deficiencies in society. They could become local centres of action against the worst excesses in local 'communities'. Tactics employed included judicious siting of new school buildings, careful drawing of catchment boundaries and bussing of pupils to achieve desired social mixes and home visits by teachers with pastoral responsibilities. The peripatetic friar or worker priest model was not very effective, and administrative manipulation of catchment boundaries met with strong resistance, as did any serious attempts at implementation of bussing.

These puny attempts at social engineering came up against the charge that they denied the rights of people to lead their own chosen way of life, albeit governed by values abhorrent to the 'colonizers'. A

number of anthropological studies had been produced which questioned the right of 'missionaries' from more 'advanced' groups to impose their values on so-called primitive cultures. The assumptions made by inhabitants of institutions of education that they were the possessors of the 'true word' received scant support from the unbelievers.

Spokesmen for the working class argued vehemently that the term 'socially disadvantaged' as applied to children of artisans and labourers was demeaning. It was a relative judgement based on values embedded in a middle class culture. Teachers were continuing to use schools as mechanisms for the preservation of the status quo in the interests of the middle class. The debate concluded that schools and schooling were causing many of the perceived social and psychological ills and that the solution was not for teachers to penetrate more facets of community life but that society should be de-schooled altogether.

The general response to such conclusions was for teachers to withdraw from the environmental battlefield where attacks had been too dispersed and infrequent. They regrouped behind the school walls and set about protecting and preserving the values and beliefs apparently rejected by society. Society was not ready for reformation.

Chapter 2
Research into schools and schooling

Until at least the early nineteen fifties education management and administration literature tended to be descriptive of the growth of provision and the kinds of institutions to be found. This factual, uncritical and unquestioning approach was heavily underscored by references to educational legislation. They were the manuals for the operation of a 'machine' and it was a machine built by an Emmet - or, more accurately, by several generations of Emmets, each of which added another component, redesigned a valve or bolted on a widget.

The 1944 Act reformed the law relating to education 'and rendered obsolete every work on the law relating to education which has ever been written' as Wells and Taylor (1954) commented in The New Law of Education. For the first time it was possible to see the education system in the round and to trace the interdependence of its parts, including control and monitoring mechanisms.

Enthusiasm for the main proposals was very high and priority was given to secondary education for all, a crash programme of teacher training, more schools and the raising of the school leaving age. This heroic

phase lasted less than ten years, as research into the values associated with principles and practice of selective schooling was published. According to Dempster (1954), Pedley (1956), Loukes (1956), Yates and Pidgeon (1957), Kneebone (1957) and Jackson and Marsden (1962), the tripartite secondary schooling system was not based so much on ability as on social class. This argument was reinforced by Beck (1955), Floud and Halsey (1956 and 1957) and Vernon (1957) among others, who severely criticized the eleven-plus testing procedures which formed the rites de passage associated with entrance to the secondary phase of schooling.

Commenting on his period of office as Secretary of State for Education, Anthony Crosland said

> the Department was backward for an awful long while, on the new information that was developing in sociology, educational psychology and the rest. It wasn't the Department, in fact, that cracked the 11-plus doctrine, but it was mainly such outsiders as Vaizey, Floud, Halsey and the rest.

Politics of Education p 186
(1971)

By 1963 the Newsom Report called for a new deal for the pupils comprising the 'Half Our Future' that was being neglected in the secondary modern schools. The response to such charges of social divisiveness and preferential treatment for the middle classes was the establishment of comprehensive schools throughout the next twenty years.

This policy thus reversed the increasing elaboration and differentiation which, reflecting the trend in other organizations, had been a feature of compulsory schooling for generations of pupils. Teenagers, regardless of ability and aptitude were to be integrated and regarded as an age group rather than a particular section of potential learning-range or achievement bands. The new institutions therefore were more heterogeneous in terms of pupil and teacher cultures. On average they were also significantly larger in terms of pupil enrollment and teacher groups and they had correspondingly much bigger budgets to manage.

The education service as a whole was inevitably a very big business. Before the end of the nineteen sixties it absorbed more of the national budget than the armed services and by nineteen eighty there are nearly a million paid employees. The grossing-up trend particularly affected secondary institutions.

Research was by this stage badly needed on appropriate organization structures, including decision making. Techniques developed in non-educational activities were scanned for possible modification and adaptation for use in schools. Ackoff and Rivett (1963) examined operations research, Armitage, Smith and Alpen (1969) decision models, Handy and Hussain (1969) network analysis and Tansley and Unwin (1969) simulation and gaming; these were typical examples of management aids offered to headteachers.

There was also considerable research interest in teaching/learning strategies. The main emphasis was on investigating to what extent mechanical devices could be used to supplement or even replace expensive manpower in the nation's schools as epitomized by Goldsmith's Mechanisation in the classroom (1963), Richmond's Teachers and machines (1965), Hepworth's Language laboratory (1966), Leith's Programmed learning (1966) and Skinner's Technology of teaching (1968).

In some respects such research and development work in technology could be seen as an attempt to reawaken the interest of the less academic children who did not respond well to didactic methods. This problem of motivation of reluctant learners became more acute with the introduction of yet another extension of the

compulsory period of schooling. Insights gained from the Human Relations school on commitment, job satisfaction, consultation and sense of worth influenced research into group work, self paced learning, subject and topic choice and pupil projects.

Two other major lines of research were followed in this phase. One was

> to analyse some of the relations between the organization of the school and its environment.
>
> Hutton (1976)

The application of the recently developed socio-technical systems model to 'Lauriston' School in Edinburgh during the early nineteen sixties preceded some English school case studies in which such interactional analysis was neglected by other workers in favour of assertions either that schools polluted their environments or that an environment was likely to destroy the educational institution which it found inimical. Research in this field included Holly (1963) on Social and academic selection in a London comprehensive school, Jackson (1964) on Streaming, an educational system in miniature, Hargreaves (1967) on Social relations in a secondary

school, King (1969) on Values and involvement in a grammar school, Lacey (1970) on Hightown Grammar and, researching the malignent environment situation, Berg (1960) on Risinghill - death of a comprehensive and Mackenzie (1970) on State School.

At about the same time, other massive statistical surveys by Coleman (1966) and Jenks (1972) concluded that educational attainment was largely independent of the schooling a child received, and Bernstein (1970) deduced that education cannot compensate for social conditions.

The other development, peaking somewhat later than the institutional-environmental studies was the application of interactional analysis techniques to the basic operating unit of schooling, the classroom group. The most favoured situations for study were those in which cultural differences between teacher and pupils was considered at its maximum. As stated by Dumont and Wax (1969):

> In the context where the pupils are members of a lower caste or ethnically subordinated group, education has come to denominate a unidirectional process by which missionaries - or others impelled by motives of duty, reform, charity, and self-sacrifice - attempt

> to uplift and civilize the disadvantaged and barbarian. Education then is a process imposed upon a target population in order to shape and stamp them into becoming dutiful citizens, responsible employees, or good Christians
>
> Cherokee School Society (1969)

The teacher was thus viewed as the 'missionary' whose education and occupational socialization was employed by the system to inculcate a different set of values in pupils - in the English context this meant the inculcation of values ascribed to the middle class in children designated as working class.

Using interaction analysis, sociometry, task analysis and anthropological perspectives, a number of such studies were made. Major contributions were made by Gold (1958), Power in the classroom, Getzels and Thelan (1960), The classroom as a unique social system, Henry (1960), Dynamics of instructional groups, Flanders (1967), Analysing teacher behaviour, Jackson (1968), Life in the classroom, Dumont and Wax (1969) Cherokee school society and the intercultural classroom, Hilsum and Cane (1971), The teacher's day, Hannam et al, (1971), Young teachers and reluctant learners, and Nash (1973), Classrooms observed.

In summarising the above outline of research into schools and schooling during recent years, two main points emerge:

1 A very wide range of research methods have been used, from large-scale statistical surveys through to ethnographic studies of small group behaviour in individual classrooms. At the intermediate level use of the case study approach has been commonly accepted when dealing with particular institutions.

2 In terms of areas of research, teaching/learning strategies, particularly technological developments, and inter-relationships between pupils and teachers and between the school and its environment have been the subjects of considerable attention. The sociological abstractions of class and culture are no longer derided as jargon, but have become accepted as terminology.

The research and dissemination effort put into schools and schooling in recent years has had no parallel - in breadth or in depth- in the whole history of state provision of education. The above outline of these endeavours bears witness to the vastness of the scope of research and the fineness of some of its detail. The substantial increases in real expenditure on education and the significant improvements in teacher-pupil ratios,

together with much increased provision of ancilliary and support personnel, including creation of in-service training facilities such as six hundred teachers' centres, all of which have occurred during the past twenty years, gave rise to an invigorating climate in which school headteachers and assistants could take up opportunities to make improvements in the service they offered to children.

The massive statistical surveys have given some indication of the sum total of education endeavour. The crucial area of school decision making with respect to take up of innovations has hardly been researched. It will be argued (see Section E) that the dearth of school-based decision making investigations is influenced by the ideological basis of much that is sanctioned in schools and schooling. A detailed inspection by outsiders of school organization precepts and practice is an investigation into a very sensitive area, namely the psychological characteristics of the chief executive.

Ormell (1969) suggested that attempts to conduct research into and evaluation of ideologically based practices may be frowned upon:

> The theory on which the doctrine rests is

> protected from adverse results and difficulties which might seem to the unprejudiced eye to cast doubts on the promises implicit in the programme. It is always possible to blame lack of vigour in implementing the cause. The education system may become committed to programmes such as nursery education for the disadvantaged groups. The considerable economic and ideological investments in these programmes may require that criticism of them (or finding out what they achieve) has to be limited and that any research which is allowed has to be carefully controlled by the DES and local authorities.
>
> Ormell p 41

When research _is_ allowed, it is generally confined to low status activities such as the classroom behaviour of teachers and children rather than the role of Her Majesty's Inspectors, appointment procedures of poly-technic directors, chief education officers or decision making within schools.

Policy making in educational institutions is of enormous interest in view of the national investment of huge resources in the system of schooling and also in view of the effect of the policies on the futures of the nation's children.

Chapter 3

The area of investigation

This is an investigation into influences that exist at school level which affect receptivity to innovation.

1 Schools as organizationa

Schools share a number of attributes with other organized activities in some of which these characteristics are more fully developed. While the present research is not primarily concerned with the place of schools in the hierarchy of the total kingdom of man-constructed organizations, reference is made to 'family' connections. For example, there are certain features of school institutions which have an affinity with established religion, particularly the monastic tradition. Military and bureaucreatic models provide further insights. Schools share to a degree the reflexive nature of prisons and asylums, the funding and political control as developed in other local government activities and the effective monopolistic situation as occupied by the Post Office. In common with most organizations one can detect elements of careerism, trade unionism, professional status aspiration, power dichotomies and, of course, strong hierarchical and territorial attachment forces.

Schools are not, therefore, seen as unique types of organization owing nothing to and sharing nothing with other enterprises. It is reasonable to think in terms

of schools having a distinctive character but this is a question of chemistry - a particular mix of elements, each readily identifiable elsewhere, rather than an amalgam of unique features. Schools are then seen to differ in degree rather than kind.

If it is accepted that certain elements are found to exert a greater influence in other enduring purposive organizations than in schools, for example professionalism in hospitals and universities or standardization in continual flow process based industries, then it may be possible to see the chemistry of school organization in a similar light.

The present researcher postulates that schools exhibit , to a degree not matched in aggregate by any other publicly funded and maintained organized activity, certain elements which allow the investigator the advantages of a systems approach and a phenonemological perspective. Of these four elements, three are listed immediately below and the fourth is described later:

1 The throughput time of compulsory secondary schooling process has been periodically increased during this century.

2 There has been a significant increase in numbers of employees relative to the number of clients.

A labour intensive activity has become even more labour intensive in recent years.

3 The existence of positive sanctions against parents who do not yield up their children to agents of the State.

These three elements apply to the four thousand Local Authority secondary schools and from them it is possible to derive a number of important systemic properties. The existence of these elements illustrates the difficulties that arise when decision makers seek to make use of entrepreneurial models dominated by notions of efficiency, institutional competition and market forces.

4 The fourth factor which is of great significance in the progress of innovation is a function of the personal characteristics of the headteacher, since the occupant of this role has far-ranging powers of control over all the activities of the school. Individual psychological tendencies therefore influence acceptance or rejection of proposals for change. This enhances the value of case study techniques for analysis of receptivity to innovation and change in educational institutions.

School decision making

The high degree of autonomy, legally invested in the headteacher with respect to the internal organization, management and discipline of the school, makes it imperative to incorporate the role in any model of school decision making.

This executive authority may be exercised in order to promote change or to block it. Zwart (1973), writing in the context of competitive industrial enterprises, makes the point that

> management has two essentially different dimensions, which however complement each other, On the one hand its task is to initiate the innovative process, which means planning and shaping new production capacity. On the other hand there is the task of managing and controlling the existing production capacity of the enterprise.
>
> p 149 in The developing organization, Lievegoed (1973)

In transferring this duel function concept of management into the school milieu, the first set of questions relate to the chief executive:

1 What factors influence his willingness to change himself by abandoning valued experiences?

2 What factors influence the type of innovative and maintenance strategies employed?

3 What determines the timing of these strategies?

In the context of a labour-intensive reflexive organization, the process of 'shaping new production capacity' is a process of re-shaping people; and 'controlling the existing production capacity' is the imposing and maintaining limits on personal growth and experience in the workplace. Attention must also be focussed, therefore, on characteristics of the working culture which are likely to influence, or be influenced by the stance of the chief executive. The next set of questions therefore include:

1 What part does the degree of coherence of the culture play in receptivity to innovation?

2 What innovative or maintenance pressures exist in the culture?

3 Is there an identifiable rhythm of receptivity to innovation?

The formal distribution of executive authority within secondary schools supports the basic headteacher-culture

dichotomy outlined above.

Defining power as the potential to influence the actions of others allows the decision making model builder the opportunity to incorporate bases other than the purely legislative. This will accord more closely with actual conditions in schools.

Four additional bases of power are outlined below. Their influence is variable as it largely depends on the norms and values of the culture of individual schools:

1 <u>Power of Expertise</u>

A potential source of power in school decision making is the mastery of a field of enquiry or other operational activity, which is accredited by external bodies such as universities.

2 <u>Power of Service</u>

Since only one in four teachers is a graduate, emphasis on length of service is particularly important in a maintained school. Lengthy attachment to a particular activity or age group and handling its problems, although not necessarily solving them, is frequently used or acknowledged as a source of influence.

3 Power of Association

Individual teachers can be ascribed power on the basis of their out-of-school activities and connections. Membership of the local council, Justice of the Peace status and lay preaching are examples of extra-mural associations which can influence decision making in the school arena.

4 Power of Incompetence

Given that power is the potential to influence the actions of others, then recognition of incompetence, actual or perceived, among members of a reflexive organization is bound to influence decision making. The point is clearly made by Clark D H (1964) in 'Administrative Therapy' in which he illustrates how the perceived, as opposed to the actual, incompetence of patients can govern the organization and management of psychriatric institutions. Perceived incompetence is a potent force in school decision making in matters relating to both pupils and teachers. The 'model' child around whom so much of school life is structured is surprisingly helpless, insecure, dependent and generally incapable of going unsupervised from point A to point B without falling over, down or into something or someone, That it is in the interests of teachers to foster the image of disability in pupils is developed by Illich (1973 and 1976) and also by Freire (1972) who stated:

> The teacher presents himself to his students as their necessary opposite - by considering their ignorance absolute he justifies his own existence.
>
> Pedagogy of the oppressed
> p 46

Authority of incompetence is also applicable to teachers. For instance, the acknowledgement of expertise in one area of school life implies relative inability to perform other work to the same level. Resistence to certain innovations can be based on the argument that they involve teachers moving outside their sphere of competence. Some technological innovations have failed to be taken up because they are not 'teacher proof'. Curriculum designs based on Bloom's Taxonomy of Objectives (1956) or Phenix' Realms of meaning (1964) have had only minimal success in replacing the traditional subject based approaches.

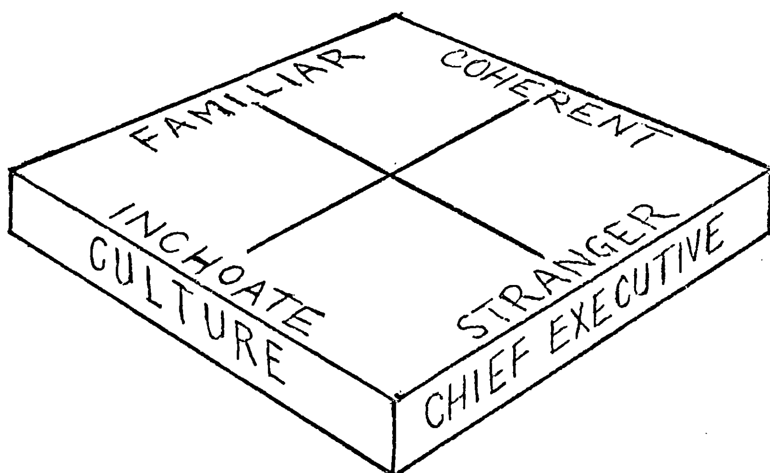
Compulsory school attendance for all children and the general lack of criteria by which teacher effectiveness can be assessed determines that schools must live with a level of incompetence to an extent which would be intolerable in other organizations.

All the above sources of authority and power condition the interaction of the chief executive and the working culture. They are brought to bear on issues of innovation and maintenance.

Model of institutional dynamics

For purposes of investigating this interaction a model of institutional dynamics is introduced which postulates cultural conditions from inchoate or unformed to coherent, and chief executive relationships with the culture ranging from stranger to familiar. The model is illustrated below and its formulation is discussed later in this section.

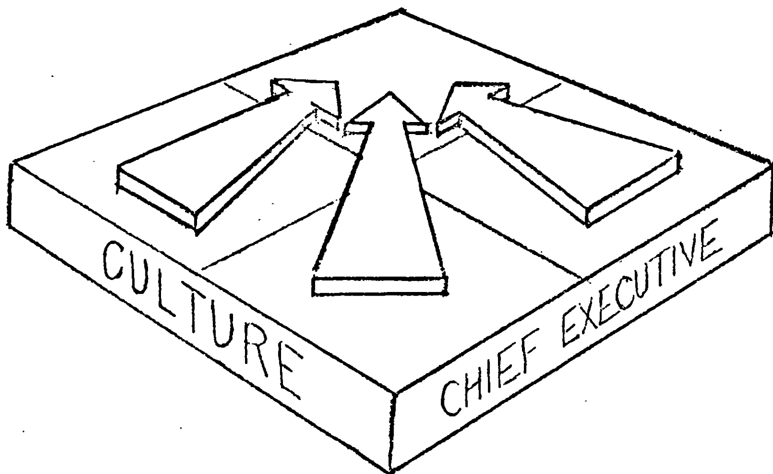
Figure 2



Model of institutional dynamics: Basic elements

The matrix so created shows four states of institutional existence. It is postulated that they are all phases in institutional development and that whatever the characteristics of their 'origin', institutions will tend to move towards the phase in which a Chief Executive familiar is associated with a coherent culture.

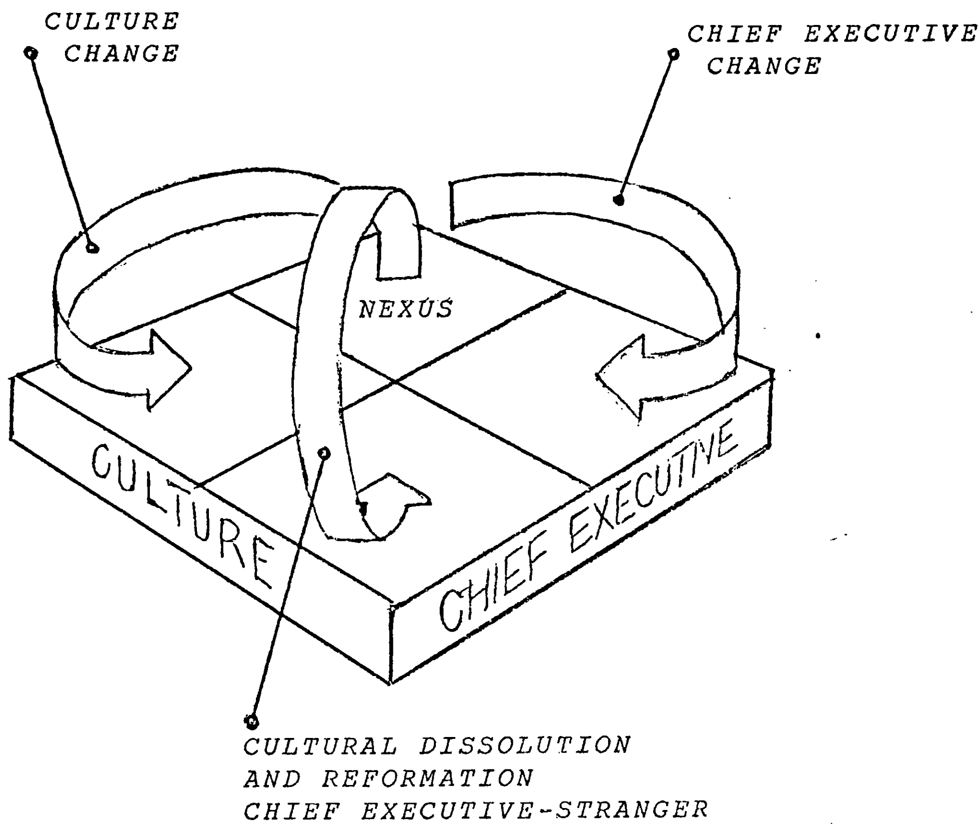
Figure 3



Model of institutional dynamics: Phase shifts

This phase is not an ultimate state. It is a Nexus, providing a link with the others identified. Transfer along the linking paths occurs through further changes in chief executive and/or degree of coherence of the culture.

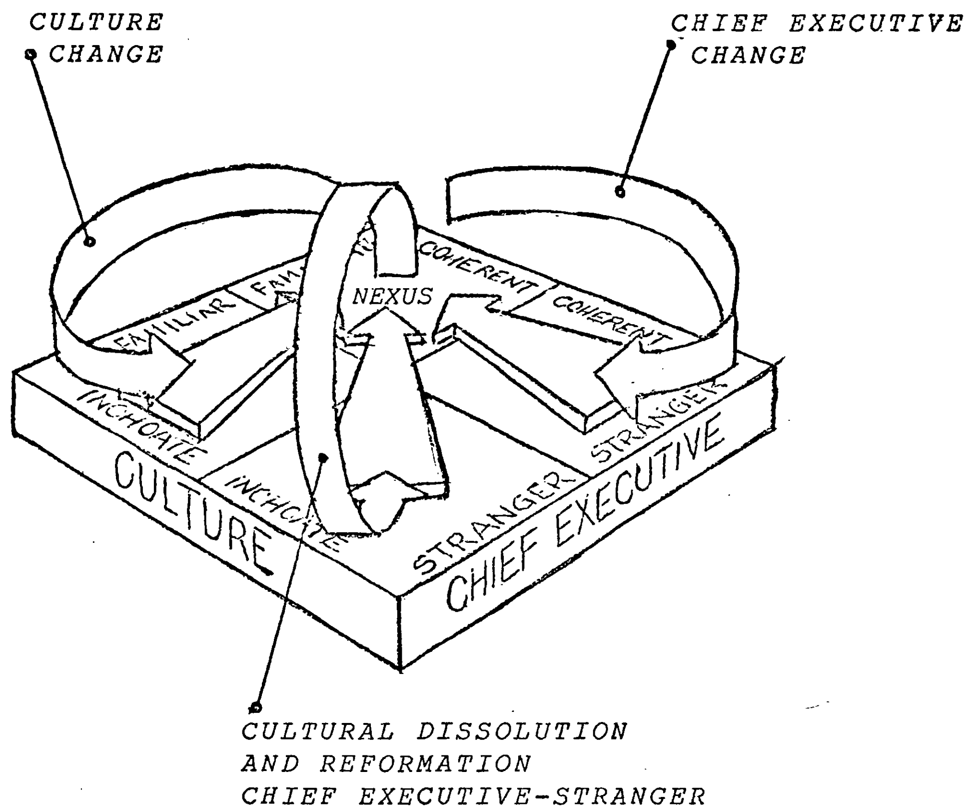
Figure 4



Model of institutional dynamics: Phase loops

The complete model of institutional dynamics is set out below:

Figure 5



Model of institutional dynamics: Total system

The investigation into factors affecting receptivity to innovation is now considered systematically in a manner which places appropriate emphasis on interaction between chief executive and culture.

The utilization of the model in the empirical research is taken up as part of the discussion on methodology below.

The chief executive is defined as the headmaster, headmistress, principal, high master or warden of an educational institution.

The definition of working culture follows that of Jaques (1951). 'It is the way of thinking and doing things', and includes the values, attitudes amd beliefs underlying customs, habits, taboos and organized relationships which govern working methods and both operational and personal goals.

Methodology

The investigation was concerned with innovations affecting the internal organization and management of schools which are subject to the decision making powers of the chief executive as defined in the Education Act (1944), Schools Regulations (1959) and summarised by Kogan (1972), see Appendix 2.

Stage I

An analysis of nearly two hundred periodicals regularly included in the British Educational Index provided a broad coverage of those aspects of schooling that had formed the subject of published papers during the past ten years.

In addition, programmes of conferences, extra mural seminars and in-service training programmes mounted by the Department of Education and Science, universities, colleges and local education authorities were also studied in order to identify topics of current concern which formed targets for innovative proposals.

My personal experience as schoolmaster, director of in-service courses in the management of educational institutions and as project supervisor and consultant provided further information on organizational

matters of concern.

Stage II

All the above sources were used to build up a checklist of aspects of school life which had been the subject of potential innovation and change activities. The total number of items was fifty two. An impression of the actual experience of teachers was then sought by circulating the checklist to one hundred practising teachers of middle and senior management rank and with ten or more years experience. Respondents were particularly to reflect on innovation experiences drawn from the whole of their teaching careers rather than that limited to their present organization. They were also invited to add further items to the list.

The returns were analysed with the aid of the model of school activities developed by Hutton (1976). Management and organization were separated out to form an additional group of activities.

The aspects of school life of particular interest were those affecting significant proportions of the teaching staff. Innovation proposals in these areas were most likely to yield insights into the influence of chief executive-culture interaction on decision making.

A proposal to implement team teaching, for instance. has implications for professional autonomy with respect to control over course and lesson content, teaching style and pace of operations. It can affect the sense of personal achievement and closure. Attachment to pupil groups can be weakened because of their variable size and composition.

In the pilot survey, team teaching appeared as a significant item both in terms of implementation and subsequent abandonment. The most important group of innovations that formed part of the experiences of respondents related to pupil grouping, which included banding, setting, streaming, express, remedial, mixed ability and Delta grouping. Appendices 1 and 5 provide full descriptions of each of these practices with emphasis on organizational implications.

Stage III

The physical layout and obvious finite limits of school premises, the ease of identification of the chief executive and the teaching and pupil groups under his authority all contribute to decisions by many investigators into schools and schooling, to adopt a case study approach.

This approach is particularly appropriate where the

interactions between members of organizations and the products of those interactions are the focus of research interest.

The techniques used in the present investigation follow those described by Attwood (1964) as Interaction theory and method. The main assumptions are as follows:

> Society and culture are products of social action. Social action consists of events in time and space in which people stimulate one another and respond to stimulation. Out of the recurrence of such interactional events emerge symbols, attitudes, values, beliefs and norms. These emergents have meaning primarily in the events of interaction in which they occur.

Phenomena are therefore placed in the primary contexts which can be institutions, enterprises, cultural niches and so on. Such social organizations have a background, setting or environment in which other interactions have taken and are taking place. Such interactions exert a restraining or revitalising influence on the course of events in the primary contexts.

The method of investigation, based on these assumptions, requires close attention to be paid to past and present interactions within the cultural niche under study and identification of environmental influences which may condition these interactions.

The way in which the early stages of this investigation developed was therefore:

1 Initial concern with innovation and change in schooling, with particular interest in both take up and rejection of proposals.

2 Identification, by means of the pilot survey, of pupil grouping practices as of particular significance to this concern.

The next stages required field work in schools and followed the course:

3 Recognition of the unique position of the head of the educational institution in terms of statutory control of internal school arrangements, and hence the postulation of the characteristics of the 'chief executive' as one dimension of the model of institutional dynamics.

4 Identification of individual headteachers whose chief executive characteristics spanned the postulated significant range.

5 Further field work involving tape-recorded interviews with these chief executives and with their senior members of staff was carried out, during which the importance of a second dimension, the working 'culture' became established.

6 More work was done on developing the model of institutional dynamics and hence analysis was performed of further and more detailed interviews with the chief executives and members of the working cultures. This development and refinement of the model brought states of dynamic activity into prominence which had not previously been considered.

7 These states had not been included in the field work investigation but research revealed that the application of this model to previously published reports shed further light on the analysis of organizational change in specific institutions in both England and the United States.

8 A follow-up survey was conducted of the (Nailsea) English example of this previously documented situation, in the light of the new model of organizational dynamics.

The fieldwork - some practical problems and their resolution

The investigation upon which this thesis was based took place over a four year period, beginning in 1976. For a number of reasons that was a difficult time for pursuing enquiries into school decision-making. The academic year had begun rather badly for the maintained sector of schooling with a critical speech at Ruskin College by the then Prime Minister, James Callaghan, concerning the quality of the products of state schooling. Public comments of this nature by a Prime Minister are extremely rare. It was followed by a nation-wide series of 'debates' on the state of education, conducted on an agenda created by the Department of Education and Science. Issues discussed were control of the curriculum, work standards, teacher unworldliness and employers' dissatisfaction with levels of literacy and numeracy among youngsters applying for jobs.

The decision to arrange eight regional debates over a two month period ensured that the disquiet about schooling was kept in public view for quite some time. This publicity coincided with two other occurrences which many inside schools regarded as 'teacher bashing'. One was the publication of the Taylor Report (1976) on school management, which advocated a wider power sharing structure and which led to another round of conferences, in which

I was personally involved as a regional organizer. The other event seen as an attack on teachers was the broadcast in March 1977 of a BBC television programme on the Faraday Comprehensive School, Ealing. Although the headteacher and Ealing Education Authority had given their permission for the producer to enter the school and televise activities, a large number of hostile comments by teacher union representatives and education officers were published and broadcast. The general burden of their complaints was that maintained schools are 'not like that' and that the producer was biased and the programme a muck-raking exercise designed to sensationalise rather than to inform. The fact that it was a product of the Panorama Unit, used to dealing with weighty national and international issues ensured that reactions to the programme gained considerable publicity in the daily and educational press.

Meanwhile, teachers in both primary and secondary schools had to contend with the investigations of a new official agency called the Assessment of performance Unit (APU) which was busy conducting tests of achievement in mathematics, languages and the sciences. In between the accommodation of the visits of the APU and the completion of its questionnaires, many schools were called upon to 'help' Her Majesty's Inspectors with a whole range of enquiries into classical studies, modern

languages, gifted children and mixed ability grouping in comprehensive schools. Other nation-wide investigations by HMI were also taking place into reading standards and mathematical achievement.

In short, all the concern, criticism, investigation and monitoring activities outlined above tended to drive teachers back into a defensive attitude and any further enquiries, for whatever purpose, were difficult to arrange. In my own research it was vital to obtain permission for access to school headteachers and their assistant teachers. Three major factors proved to be crucial in determining the success of this endeavour:

1 I had by then spent some fifteen years in teaching and had come to appreciate the problems associated with the occupation in the maintained sector of schooling, including those affecting the senior staff in schools.

2 I had directed a large number of award-bearing programmes and extra-mural courses for further education institutions, local education authorities and the University of Bristol School of Education, over several years, and had thus become personally known to a number of school chief executives and others who were to be promoted to that position.

3 It was because of my familiarity with teachers and schooling derived from the above experiences that

> I was able to appreciate the nature of many of the inhibitors to investigation and research which confront others less well acquainted with maintained schooling.

My approach was therefore to request help with my work from a number of chief executives who knew me as director and tutor of senior management courses that they had attended. In order to obtain permisssion to undertake research within their institutions it had to be guaranteed that the tape recording of any discussions that I was granted would be confidential between me and the person interviewed except that my own research tutor and external examiner would have access to the data and derived comment for operational purposes associated with the preparation and presentation of the thesis.

The agreement negotiated was that each school would be protected by a pseudonym and individual teachers would only be referred to by their position titles. Transcripts of discussions would be confidential with respect to colleagues and I would use the normal facilities made available by the University of Bath for the protection of this confidentiality. The restriction of a four year period of limited access at the discretion of the author was agreed.

PART II SOCIETY, SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLING

Chapter 4

THE POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE

Introduction

A socially legitimated activity whose processes and products are evanescent, ephemeral and future orientated is potentially an innovator's paradise. When this is coupled with an administrative and authority structure which in effect places virtually all control over internal organization, management and discipline in the hands of the heads of some thirty thousand autonomous operating units - particularly those concerned with the early stages of the activity - then the scene is set for a richness and variety of structures and operations far beyond that expected in a more centralised system.

If the climate for change under external pressure and encouragement is also strong and supported by agencies and interests which fund the system, then few inhibitors of innovation remain.

The concept of organization climate

The geographer makes use of the concept of climate in order to create a typology of meteorological conditions experienced and, by inference, expected in different parts of the globe. The thumbnail sketches so produced are derived from many thousands of rigorous observations and measurements collected and collated over several decades. Unfortunately, the meticulous approach to basic data collection is undermined somewhat by the coarse nature of the synthesis. The abstractions are based on averages and the data extrapolated in order to provide coverage of the whole land surface. The need to keep down the number of climatic types to a number capable of being learned, a classification problem frequently occurring in the behavioural sciences, further reduces the value of the generalization.

Climatic descriptions then, have least value where they are likely to be most needed. This is in areas subject to great variability in pressure distribution, airstream direction and strength, seasonal and diurnal temperatures, precipitation, incidence of frost and so on. In such areas, and they include the most populous parts of the world, for example South East Asia and Western Europe, significant fluctuations in

day to day conditions, ie the weather, highlight the fragile nature of some climatic models.

The original raw data is still extant and is frequently subjected to reappraisal. New exercises in classification take place. Miller, for example, identified no less than six definitions that had been put forward for a desert climate alone. Climatology continues to be a very good training ground for the developing intellect since it requires the ability to assess objective data, justify premisses and value judgements in reaching an acceptable classification.

Schon (1963) and Bennis (1972) refer to the utility of metaphors in the management of change and Scott Greer (1969) specifically identified meteorology as one of the four patterns which have guided the social sciences. It stands alongside the Game, the Machine and the Organism in theory formulation. Most applications of the meteorological metaphor, however, confuse climate with weather. This is unfortunate, since the basic differences of time span and sensitivity to day to day experience acknowledged by geographers is not fully explored or utilised by the behavioural school of thought.

In organizational life there is a need to identify the distinctive contributions of both the 'climatologist' and the 'weatherman'. The former may be seen to take

a long term view, basing his perspective and judgements on experience of past events. He is the repository of organizational history and the personification of institutional mores. In short, by his ability to tease out the main threads from the general tangle of events he helps to establish the framework, the parameters and the general form of the enterprise.

The role of the weatherman is based on his sensitivity to changes in the factors which influence day to day tone and morale. He is very knowledgeable about local factors, which frequently modify or exaggerate general trends which apply nationwide, on average.

A further distinction between the climatologist and the weatherman is that, since man is physiologically incapable of sensing variations in atmospheric pressure common at sea level, he must make use of universally acknowledged instrumentation and recording procedures. He works by means of the collection, analysis and dissemination of hard data and can justify his conclusions by reference to the figures. Psychologically, man has the faculties to sense very small changes in the atmosphere of a social group, but he lacks at present a universally acknowledged system of transmitting his perceptions to others. This sense

is his sixth, his intuition or gut feeling. He himself, is, in effect, a barometer for the group and his judgements become accepted on the basis of past success.

Halpin (1966) described a range of organizational climates whose extremes are summarised as 'open' and 'closed'. Neither term has any relevance in the context of the discipline from which he borrows the concept He believed that the prime factor is the degree of authoritarianism of the chief power holder. This is strongly in agreement with the research conclusions of Lippitt and White twenty five years before with respect to the social climate of children's groups.

The distribution and use of formal power is not the only factor which contributes to the climate of a social group. It depends also on:

1 The level of resource provision
2 The esteem accorded to those involved by influential agencies and interests in the environment of the enterprise
3 The degree of internal social and technical cohesion
4 The stock of experience and expertise available and utilised
5 The potential for experiment and innovation

6 The potential for fulfilment of personal expectations

7 The power to behave as a potent factor in the activities of other organized groups.

If the impact of these factors is consistent over a very long time the concept of climate is valuable. It provides an individual with an insight into what he may expect to experience as a member of the enterprise. The future becomes more assured and he may need this insight before he undertakes a life-long investment of himself in an activity.

It must be pointed out that consistency does not necessarily imply conditions of stability, placidity and calm such as the doldrum climates of certain equatorial regions, geographically speaking, or the bureaucratic climate in social organization terms. Consistency also includes situations in which a wide variety of problems occur frequently, where the emphasis is on risk taking, problem solving and heurism. Examples of such constant expectation of change are found geographically in monsoon/semi-desert climates and in organic/task force/project situations in organized social groups. Each type of social climate has its attractions for particular individuals,

In the case of physical climates the governing factors of latitude, altitude, land and sea distribution and patterns of atmospheric pressure show little variation over the life span of individuals. The factors governing social climate, however, are man-determined and are capable of rapid fluctuation. Changes in attitudes, values and beliefs can take place remarkably quickly and particular periods in the history of this country are notable in this respect, for example the eleventh, seventeenth and now the twentieth centuries. In these times the climate is, in fact, the weather. It must also be stated that periods of revolution and overturning of fundamental attitudes are brief and dramatic compared with the intervening periods of consolidation and conservatism.

Social climate factors change at different rates and at different times. There is, therefore, a potential for confusion and inconsistency which, if realised, creates periods of transition between the old order and the new. The situation is complicated for the education service because it is derived from the economic, political and social climates:

> As ever in education the system is modified piecemeal in response to a multiplicity of pressures of which the political, economic and demographic are far more prominent than the educational. Shaw & Frankland (1978)

Resentment at this state of affairs surfaces in the form of demands by teachers that politicians, trade unionists, the CBI, school governors and even parents should be kept out of the field of school decisions and operations. The view that education is tainted by economic, political and contemporary social considerations is widely held by teachers and illustrates very well the remnants of the tradition of monastic seclusion from the mundane. Teachers frequently attempt to erect a protective palisade of concepts of professional autonomy and academic freedom to try to guard their belief in the need for purity of the educational process. Such behaviour is patently at odds with the fundamental objectives of educational provision, whether measured by the requirements of traditional functionalists or the demands of supporters of social engineering.

It is worth noting that school teachers' complaints of interference are not confined to those they view as outside the school system. Some headteachers resent the influence and control that universities have over the school curriculum through the Ordinary and Advanced level syllabuses and examinations - although pupil success in these examinations is proudly communicated to the local press. Similarly, polytechnics complain about interference by local education officers

and the CNAA examiners, on all of whom the funding and academic recognition of the institutions depend. Also, of course, all sectors deplore the decisions made by the mandarins of Whitehall and, more particularly, the Department of Education and Science at Elizabeth House. Each sector is more concerned with the local weather conditions than with the national or otherwise generalised climatic trends.

To summarise the use of climate as a concept in the different disciplines it is useful to consider just what is being described in fact or in metaphor. The meteorologist concerns himself with understanding the factors which govern the net balance of solar energy received directly as insolation or indirectly through airstream transfers. A geographer would add to these matters a study of the potential energy in vegetative cover, surface runoff and subterranean mineral fuels. In its metaphorical usage within social sciences what is being described is the fundamental energy balance available to the enterprise or activity. An abundance of energy serves to fuel the imagination, opens up possible developments whereas a diminution of energy, actual or projected, restricts opportunities. In this context climate is experienced in psychological rather than physiological terms and it is in this sense that the climate metaphor will be pursued further.

Education as an investment in manpower training

The second World War was finally terminated by the use of the most advanced weapon available - the atomic bomb. This event was a signal to all nations that their existence would henceforth depend on brains rather than brawn. Combat and competition in military, economic and social endeavours had to be dealt with in cerebral terms. The United Kingdom had, for many decades, lost ground to the USA, Germany and France in terms of manufacturing since its days of dominance in the nineteenth century.

The war had almost bankrupted the nation -in economic terms it was a Pyrrhic victory. The assured supplies of raw material and energy and the markets for manufactures, governed by the most favoured nation clause, dwindled as the commonwealth countries gained independence and therewith the freedom to establish alternative trading relations.

The feeling developed that the country's prime resource was the brainpower of its fifty million inhabitants. The education system had, therefore, a considerable part to play in future prosperity. An expansion of the system required an infusion of resources on a massive scale. The idea-in- good-currency was that education was an

investment and that present consumption should be foregone in anticipation of future benefits.

Government interest in education and support for the investment concept from the mid-nineteen forties was illustrated by the terms of reference and conclusions of several official reports.

1943 White Paper on Educational Reconstruction

Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends.

In the youth of the nation we have our greatest national asset ... we cannot afford not to develop this asset to the grestest advantage.

1945 The Committee on Higher Technological Education (Percy Report)

Terms of reference: Having regard to the requirements of industry, to consider the needs of higher technical education in England and Wales.

1946 The Committee on Scientific Manpower

(Barlow Report)

Terms of reference: To consider the policies which should govern the use and development of our scientific manpower and resources during the next ten years.

This committee, chaired by Sir Alan Barlow and including Professors Blackett and Zuckermann, C P Snow and Sir George Nelson, concluded that the fraction of 2% of the population which was then reaching the universities could easily be doubled. This report had far-reaching consequences . By 1959 the number of undergraduates had been increased to twice the pre-war numbers and fifteen new universities were established in England by the mid-sixties.

Interest in educational provision was not confined to higher education. The theory that there was a significant pool of potential untapped talent was extended to earlier stages in the education system and attempts were made to identify factors which were inhibiting individual motivation and opportunity for full time study.

1954 Advisory Council on Early Leaving

(Gurney-Dixon Report)

Terms of reference: To consider what factors

> *influence the age at which boys and girls leave secondary schools; to what extent it is desirable to increase the proportion of those who remain at school ... and what steps should be taken to secure such an increase.*

A conclusion of this report was that the child's social environment was very important in determining educational achievement.

> *We have been impressed above all with the far reaching influence of a child's home background. We have traced the school records of children in different social groups and we have found that from the children of parents in managerial or professional occupations at one extreme to the children of unskilled workers at the other there is a steady and marked decline in performance at the grammar school, in the length of school life, and in academic promise at the time of leaving.*

The main thrust of the polity was the identification and training of potential scientists and technologists upon whose endeavours the country's economic future was perceived to depend. Reports relating to this concern were produced at approximately two year intervals and

were sandwiched between others which ostensibly reviewed secondary and primary schooling but which, in fact, continued the theme of investment in scientific manpower. Politicians tended to base their arguments for educational proposals on the need to combat the external threats that the country faced.

1956 White Paper on Technical Education

> *From the USA, Russia and Western Europe comes the challenge to look to our system of technical education ... it is clear enough that all these countries are making an immense effort to train more scientific and technical manpower and that we are in danger of being left behind ...*

Within a few months of this warning the Russians had launched their first sputnik, which was variously described as a symbol of technological supremacy or 'just a hunk of iron', depending upon the point of view.

The White Paper proposed expansion of some university technology departments, extensions of sandwich course provision and the establishment of Colleges of Advanced Technology. Aston, Birmingham, was the first and was followed by many others, including Bath in 1960.

This report's interest in technical and craft support for the technologists was developed in the next report on post-compulsory education courses in the country's grammar schools.

1959 Advisory Council for Education 15-18
(Crowther Report)

> *.... the available resources of men and women of 'high' ability are not fully used by the present system.*
>
> *More time and care must be spent on education and training ... It is not only at the top but almost at the bottom of the pyramid that the scientific revolution of our time needs to be reflected in a longer educational process.*

This report strongly recommended a twenty five per cent increase in secondary school resources through the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen. The Council wanted a five-fold increase in full-time education pupils up to the age of eighteen . It was scathing on the subject of the harsh quality controls or, perhaps the low entry qualifications accepted for technical National Certificate courses:

> *Only one student in eleven succeeds in climbing the*

National Certificate ladder from bottom to top, and only one in thirty does so in the time for which the course is designed. Against the background of the nation's present and future needs for trained manpower, these wastage rates are shocking .... If the ladder cannot be made less steep, the only alternative is to provide more help for the climbers.

The contribution to technical education and training by individual firms through apprenticeship schemes and other 'in-house' programmes came under scrutiny. The White Paper on industrial training which was published in 1962 was followed shortly afterwards by the Industrial Training Bill. Its objectives were

1 To enable decisions on the scale of training to be better related to ecomonic needs and technological developments.
2 To improve the overall quality of industrial training and to establish minimum standards.
3 To enable the cost to be more fairly spread.

The last objective was, of course, vital to a coordinated scheme since firms were reluctant to train apprentices who were then free to join other enterprises which had made

no such provision for manpower training. A levy on all firms above a certain size was introduced and training grants made to those enterprises which had established schemes.

Meanwhile, the inefficiences of the earlier stages in the education system continued to be exposed. Having analysed the Sixth forms (Crowther) the government followed up with an inspection of schooling for the average and below average secondary pupils.

1963 Advisory Council Report on Half Our Future (Newsom)

Despite some splendid achievements in the schools, there is much unrealised talent especially among boys and girls whose potential is masked by inadequate powers of speech and the limitation of home background.

The point is, could many people with the right educational help achieve still more? If they could, then in human justice and economic self-interest we ought as a country to provide that help.

Any substantial recommendations affecting provision for half the population are bound to cost money. Are we prepared to foot the bill? We ... think it essential to state at the outset the economic argument for investment in our pupils.

The need is not only for more skilled workers to fill existing jobs, but also for a generally better educated and intelligently adaptable labour force to meet new demands ...

In the same year the Robbins Report, dealing with the need to expand the number of places in higher education, proposed that further huge sums should be investd in capital programmes.

While we are unable to put a figure on the return on this outlay considered as an investment, we are clear that it will be remunerative, both in its absolute effects on general productivity and adaptability of of the internal workings of the economy and in helping to maintain our competitive position in the world at large.

A summary of the work of Advisory Councils on aspects of education would not be complete without reference to the last brief to be given such a body - that dealing with Primary schooling, published in 1967. Previous reports had followed a general sequence of tracking back from the highest levels of education and training, This process also worked through the earlier stages and included interwoven booster reports the identification and training

of scientists and technologists.

One aspect of the need to secure the economic future of the country was that of removing obstacles preventing individuals taking up educational opportunities. The school based reports following that of Gurney-Dixon gradually expanded the thesis that social deprivation and class values were inhibitors of the maximization of the nation's talent.
While the eleven plus quality control procedures remained it was natural to ensure that potential scientific talent would not be lost because of contextual factors. What the Plowden Report did, however, was to lend support to the view that had been strongly advocated by sociologists for over ten years. This was that the very task of identifying talent and its concomitant tripartite school organization were creating fissures in the social fabric of the nation. Boundaries between subjects, streaming and differentiated schooling established barriers between children of different social backgrounds. In short, many believed that the education system should be the engine for social reform rather than the instrument of selection and training of manpower to serve economic purposes.

The Plowden Report became an ideological document in the growing partisan approach to educational provision.

It advocated a number of structural and and operational innovations termed 'progressive' which were, in fact, ideas floated by the last great report on Primary education thirty years previously (Hadow) which had not been implemented to any significant extent.

Summary

Since the war the polity had made known its will concerning the role of the education system. No less than eight White Papers and Advisory Council reports on sectors of the service had been published. The approach adopted was based on the following premisses:

1 The country's future depended on the products of scientists and technologists.

2 The education system was the obvious agency through which the country's potential talent could be identified and trained.

3 The pool of talent was not being trawled efficiently and contextual factors required attention.

4 Education was expensive but it was an investment vital to future creation of wealth.

Schooling objectives - the potential for change

In a recent DES document which was published following a rare Prime Ministerial speech on the state of the nation's education service, four subjects were put forward as a basis for a Great Debate. One of these concerned the school curriculum. The document proposed that

> for the purposes of this discussion the curriculum means all that schools deliberately plan that their pupils should learn and experience.
>
> Educating our children p 3

If this statement lacked a crisp hard edge in terms of traditional views and expectations of schooling, it highlighted the difficulty that faced DES officials in their efforts to summarise the objectives and practices of nearly thirty thousand schools.

At the turn of the century this problem did not exist. Centrally determined codes and regulations for elementary and secondary schools prescribed in some considerable detail the subjects to be taught and the

amount of time to be allocated to each:

> The (secondary) course should provide for instruction in English language and literature, at least one language other than English, Geography, History, Mathematice, Science and Drawing, with due provision for manual work and Physical Exercises, and in a girls' school for Housewifery. Not less than 4½ hours per week must be allotted to English, Geography and History; not less than 3½ hours to the Language where only one is taken or less than 6 hours where two are taken. and not less than 7½ hours to Science and Mathematics, of which at least 3 must be for Science. The instruction in Science must be both theoretical and practical. When two languages other than English are taken, and Latin is not one of them, the Board will require to be satisfied that the omission of Latin is for the advantage of the school.

After complying with these minimum demands, less than an hour a day remained for curricular variation between schools.

Although the Morant Regulations were subsequently withdrawn, they became such a powerful model for secondary schooling over the decades that control of the curriculum could safely be delegated to the level of school governing boards. Perhaps in the belief that headteachers were fully acquainted with and supporters of the traditional model, school governing bodies in turn delegated these powers to headteachers.

This development became a potential source of great variation between the thousands of institutions comprising the primary and secondary sectors. The freedom to define the corporate strategy was further enhanced by the weakening and/or abandonment of the quality control measures such as the eleven-plus examinations and Matriculation procedures. Such measures, which had bound together the school and higher education sectors no longer had such a constraining effect on innovativeness in curricular and teaching/learning strategies.

Comprehensive reorganization, the creation of the Schools Council, the establishment of six hundred regional Teachers' Centres and the increased opportunities for secondment on curriculum development courses all enhanced the potential for variation in school tasks and operations.

Statements relating to the total territory of intent and legitimate concern of individual schools have certainly become more expansive in recent years. An example of one chief executive's corporate strategy for a new secondary school is given in Appendix 3. Its comprehensiveness is positively breathtaking but it does raise serious questions about priorities, potential internal inconsistencies and the extent to which school teachers are equipped to realise the objectives stated.

In attempting to encapsulate all the dreams and fantasies of a future desired state within a course curriculum, providers of aducational programmes lay themselves open to charges of seduction. It appears that these complaints are not just confined to proposals made by schoolteachers, as Morris (1968) stated in his review of mid-career courses for managers:

> when one looks at the course brochures, one is struck by the speed with which new objectives are added to the list, without in any way displacing those coming earlier. The objectives are seldom ranked in order, and hardly ever related clearly and systematically to the strategies of course

organization. One never hears the suggestion that some of these objectives might be unobtainable within the limits of the course, or even conflict with one another - innovation and efficient stability, for example.

Education for Management, p 7

The ideological basis of schooling objectives

As an almost throwaway last chapter of his argument advocating the gene as the basic biological unit of replication and survival, Dawkins (1978) posited the idea of an equivalent unit of cultural transmission which he called a meme. Genes have and need the facility of replication and this is the key to their existence in living creatures, or as Dawkins labels us all, survival machines. We are also the temporary vehicles of memes which

> *propagate themselves in the meme pool by leaping from brain to brain via a process which, in the broad sense, can be called imitation. If a scientist hears, or reads about, a good idea, he passes it on to his colleagues and students. He mentions it in his articles and lectures. If the idea catches on it can be said to propagate itself, spreading from brain to brain.*
>
> The Selfish Gene p 206

A meme can literally parasitise the recipient, in the way that a virus can infect the genetic mechanism of the host cell. That only a very limited number of memes,

or, to use Schon's term (1971) 'ideas-in-good-currency' , can exist in any one context can give rise to ideological conflicts. Schon attempts to describe

> *the barely visible process through which issues come to awareness and ideas about them become powerful.*

Some ideas developed in one context gain such wide support that they are elevated to the level of a paradigm which becomes the 'controlling imagination' of Thomas and Bennis (1972). Values, beliefs, attitudes, operations and what is considered a problem of concern to an organization can all be strongly influenced by the prevalent idea-in-good-currency. Schon suggests that such ideas have existed in sequence and during their autocratic reign are gradually applied to more and more facets of society. This wider application can be very unfortunate, as exemplified by scientism, which is currently under attack in the field of social behaviour. Another example is the way in which the modus operandi of fields of enquiry comprising the secondary school curriculum has been dominated in the past by the idea-in-good-currency. The philosophical approach of the Middle Ages gave way to the grammatical, which in turn was deposed by the scientific by the end of the nineteenth century. The contemporary approach

is heuristic and centred on problem solving. In practice, more problems may be raised than solved by a Procrustean application of an idea-in-good-currency. The potential richness and variety of a school curriculum can remain unrealised. Project activity in all subject areas can become as boring as the total commitment to chalk-and-talk which its advocates seek to replace.
A long list of subjects for study in a school is reduced in practice to one or two perspectives or modes of learning. It may be necessary for a headteacher's sense of control of the enterprise to reduce the potential variety of styles of teaching and to insist on the adoption of his preferred modus operandi. He will, of course, strengthen his position if such a change is in line with the idea-in-good-currency and can therefore be assured of underwriting by accepted 'authorities'.

Schon suggested that emerging ideas-in-good-currency exist on the periphery, awaiting an opportunity provided by a crisis or catastrophe before they can take up a more central position. The resilience or, in Schon's terms, the 'dynamic conservatism' of the existing social system is such that a massive shock is required before change takes place. Dramatic incidents such as the launching of the first sputnik

and the student revolts of May 1968 are frequently identified as triggering off changes in the American and French education systems respectively. The teachers of the time may be forgiven their resentment at being made the whipping boys for the politicians' own failures. The American system proved very quickly that it had the latent skills and expertise to satisfy President Kennedy's demand for a moon landing within ten years. The American teachers may also be forgiven a degree of cynicism following the rapid run down of the NASA task force once the political objectives had been achieved.

Emery and Trist (1973) believed that emerging ideas and processes can exist much nearer to the heart of a system but remain concealed. Like parasites they evolve, using the host as a source of nourishment, and gradually distort it until they take over completely. Although this analogy is closely related to Anygal's stages of the neurosis emergence model (1966) and thus has pathological connotations it relates appropriately to the spread of secondary comprehensive schooling in England in recent times in a number of ways. This process has so far taken over a quarter of a century to evolve, and about one third of the local education authorities have yet to organize all or some of their schools along these lines. The repeal of the 1976 Education Act, which was

to have been the final coercive approach has now delayed completion of the process.

Reorganization has, in fact, taken so long that it has required the support of a succession of several ideas-in-good-currency in order to maintain momentum. These have included

Maximisation of the nation's manpower potential

Equality of opportunity

Education as a desirable attribute in the good life

Social integration

Good housekeeping, in amalgamating and rationalising resource provision.

Bennis and Thomas make the significant point that

the effective management of change implies having an awareness of the origins of the paradigm presently governing the organization.

The management of change & conflict
p 13

This is particularly true in the context of comprehensive schooling. Given the extended period of reorganization and the sequential nature of ideas-in-good-currency, it is important to identify the date on which any particular school under study was established. The term 'comprehensive'

does not, of itself, provide evidence of the values, attitudes and beliefs of the teaching staff. A school established in the nineteen sixties, when the correction of deficiencies in the task of spotting the nation's talent, through the selection testing at the age of eleven, was the good idea will, if there is a continued tenure of office by the first headteacher, be likely to reflect significant differences when compared with a school organization set up in the mid nineteen seventies and designed to achieve objectives based on social integration.

Characteristics of ideologies

The main features of ideologies have been discussed by Hartnett, Naish and Finlayson (1976) and can be summarised as follows:

1 In general, ideologies are prescriptive and so embody views as to what should or should not be done, what is good and bad and what is right and wrong in life.

2 They contain practical judgements based on less than perfect knowledge which, nevertheless are expounded as the answers to problems.

3 Ideologies are commonly irrational in the sense defined by Feigl (1955) and as such contain ambiguities, hazy conceptual definitions, illogicalities, untruths and an

undue dependence on appeals to the emotions.

> *Whatever functions an ideological document might have, they seem to depend on their persuasive one. Such documents might be produced, for example, to offer people engaged in activities which they do not know how to justify, or even which cannot be justified, a means of publicly defending what they are doing. They might not themselves* <u>*believe*</u> *in the documents. But in so far as the documents are effective in offering a defence, they will need to have some effect on the beliefs of those to whom the defence is made.*

Hartnett, Naish + Finlayson, p 57

Chapter 5

Development of the Culture

Massive infusions of capital, increase in political interest and the establishment of research and development facilities have all played a part in recent years in the creation of a more invigorating climate for change.

Without such support, even the most ardent advocate could not hope to gain commitment to new teaching methods, changes in objectives or the reorganization of schooling.

Such proposals are designed to have an impact on customary working methods, ways of doing business, conventions and taboos - in short, the working culture. Innovations which do not take into account the norms of the generality of teachers will start with a very severe handicap.

There is a need to trace the historical radicles of schooling in order to appreciate the ideas and events which have helped to shape valued precepts and practices. Such a survey can identify the general level of receptivity to change built into the culture.

The radicles of schooling

The reorganization of the publicly funded education system which is still taking place is similar in many respects to the reorganization of the education system that occurred during the dissolution of the monasteries. In both cases there was dismantling of long-established institutions, a lack of a clear cut alternative system and a need to cope with the dismissal and redeployment of huge numbers of personnel. The change strategies that were required for the two reorganizations have a great deal in common.

The massive complex institutions of the monasteries had, prior to their complete disappearance in the four years before 1540, acquired a range of tasks and purposes as well as substantial incomes and properties. One such task was the maintenance of religious purity and the transmission of the culture of the established church through the education and training of boys. The monasteries were, in fact, the boarding schools of the church.Several hundred years after the dissolution it is still possible to identify a number of important

characteristics of contemporary schooling as vestiges of monastic culture, custom, practice and precept. This point is developed later but the first issue examined is the tendency for institutions to change over long periods of time, under both internal and external pressures, in a way which can only be described as decay. An examination of the monastic system is particularly relevant to the discussion of this point because the tendency was clearly recognised in its origin. Monasteries were deliberately designed precisely for the purpose of excluding external influences. Residential groups of those who had taken religious vows were secluded from the contemporary community, in closed social systems, in order to maintain their primitive purity and fervour. Very determined attempts were made to isolate the monks from the affairs of everyday life outside the monastery gates. The belief that seclusion is not only possible but necessary, in order to keep control over the educational process and maintain the purityof values, continues to be exhibited in schools and colleges and has a very significant impact on the whole problem of management of innovation and change.

Present day educational institutions face the same problem that had to be resolved by the monasteries, that of securing the necessary inputs in terms of finance and

personnel from the outside world, in order to keep the internal system functioning. Over the centuries before dissolution the great religious foundations had acquired substantial holdings of land and other properties. Most of this wealth came in the form of bequests from lay gentry who paid for prayers to be said both for living relatives and for those waiting in purgatory to be cleansed of venial sins.

The possession of property on this scale brought with it a need for estate management, legal and accountancy skills. The requirement that monasteries should provide hospitality, for the poor and for the pilgrims drawn by holy relics, created the need for the accommodation of lay people. This facility was gradually extended to include those who bought annuities which allowed individuals to reside within the monastic walls. Other residents gained access by virtue of association with thepatron, founder or High Steward.

Religion, like education, is characterised by much that is abstract and ephemeral but both systems require physical resources on a substantial scale and both are renowned for massive visual artefacts, commonly topped with soaring spires and towers of little practical use but of immense psychological significance.

It was, and is, the need for financial support from sources outside the institutions themselves that prohibits any social organization from totally rejecting external influences and pressures. The cloistered life style could not be maintained for ever. It crumbled under the need for monastery management to concern itself with legal, financial and political affairs associated with their resource inputs. The head of a local family who argued the toss with the Abbot over a shortfall in the honouring of a bequest was obviously profane but this commonplace situation highlighted the need for the religious to develop worldly managerial skills.

That these skills were acquired by the religious is evidenced by the longevity of many monastic foundations, the appointment of large numbers of former monastic heads as managing directors (deans) of cathedrals and the employment of clerics as lawyers , accountants and estate managers in the world beyond the monastery gates.

Just as present day academics cannot pass on their titles, honours and positions to descendants, so the powers of the religious died with them since they were forbidden to marry during the existence of the monasteries. This meant that the task of education gained additional

importance for the church system because it needed to replenish its manpower resources regularly. Boys were brought in from all levels of society, intellectually able boys who could master Latin and religious principles and practices as well as contributing eventually to the management of the monastic institutions. In short, the church created and used the education system primarily for its own purposes. The same may be said of the current education system, which also needs to replace its own personnel. It absorbs over half its own successful graduates and is frequently subject to complaints from industry and commerce that its product is ill suited to the world of manufacturing and trading.

As time went on the monasteries were encouraged to educate the sons of local gentry, on the payment of fees. These children of the richer families had little alternative provision of schooling. They swelled the ranks of those already chosen by the church to be educated for recruitment to its own service and inevitably they influenced the development of the curriculum.

More clerics were produced than the church actually needed to run its institutions and so many men of letters fanned out from these ecclesiastical colleges into trade, commerce, medicine, government, teaching and

the law. They formed a distinct caste by virtue of their education and their privileges as men of the cloth. Eventually such activities gave rise to the distinct professions, each male dominated, and each with its own carefully nurtured monopolies and strict membership control. The monasteries therefore became firmly and inextricably linked with society, not only because of the need to protect financial inputs but also as producers of qualified men who took up employment outside the church.

With these close ties to everyday life at both input and output stages it was inevitable that the intermediate conversion process within the monasteries themselves should come under pressure from the outside world.

It has already been mentioned that local families made use of the church's education provision for their own purposes. To the pressures arising from this must be added those resulting from the securing of senior management positions in monasteries for relatives on the part of patrons, founders, High Stewards and other influential laymen. In time Abbots became more closely involved in the day to day affairs of nearby settlements, as Justices of the Peace, for example, and were used by the Crown to survey royal castles and forests and to collect monies.

Evaluation of monastic activities took the form of a triennial visitation, on the pattern of the present day CNAA inspections of further education colleges. A visitation, conducted by the bishop, was an occasion for the airing of complaints about institutional affairs by both monks and lay people. The original and artificial cellular structure of monastic existence could not withstand the osmotic pressures generated both by those within the organization who wished to leave it and by laymen who wanted to interfere in the management of the internal affairs. Most of the complaints related to problems at the boundary between the religious and lay systems.

Over the centuries the ascetic image of the monk had undergone a drastic change. Even by Chaucer's time it is clear that the monk had lost the lean and hungry look of his archetype. The complaints about the religious, riding to hounds, whoring and playing tennis, that can be extracted from the last visitations before dissolution were no different in volume or in kind from the remarks made after visitations a century or so earlier. Such complaints were not, therefore, the main reasons for the dismantling of the monastic system. Very good monasteries which were proved to be fulfilling their functions of praying, teaching, almsgiving and hosting pilgrims and destitutes disappeared along with other foundations .

whose organizational fabric was obviously decrepit.
No monastery, however faithfully it performed its
task, could survive after the dissolution Act of 1536.

Evaluators who carry out prescribed sequences of
inspection of organizations are not faceless officials
but are themselves part of the system, moving in
similar circles and often personal acquaintances of
the examined. There are frequently many informal ties
between the evaluator and the examined. Their roles
can so easily be reversed that there is considerable
reluctance on the part of the current inspectors to
force particular issues.

In large complex units, as opposed to small specialised
units, it is relatively easy for those involved as
organizational heads or as evaluators to seek to balance
good or quiescent sections of the system against those
which are the subject of contemporary criticism.
Differentiation, elaboration and specialization are
regarded as normal and natural by the theorists of
social organizations. The acceptance of this characteristic
gives a sense of added security to the managers of the
whole enterprise. However, for a new, specialised
activity there is a dangerous period at about the time
that it grows large enough to seek an existence which

is independent of the parent body. In this early stage of its growth such a mono-objective organization is perilously prone to criticism and attack and continues to remain in a precarious position until it acquires a thick shell of associated activities to protect its basic core. It tends, therefore, to survive by encouraging the decay of its original purity of purpose, by being as many things to as many men as will ensure its continued existence as an organization.

The contemporary education scene provides a number of examples of the development of special sections which experience a precarious existence before they succumb to a form of incestuous reintegration with the parent body. Free or alternative school units created for those deemed disruptive by mainstream primary and secondary schools, research and development organizations such as the School's Council and regional in-service training centres, mono-technic teacher training colleges and, on a still larger scale, the local education authorities themselves, have all been subject either to complete extermination or to grossing up of provision by amalgamation with the organizations which spawned them. The new, surviving, organizations are _poly_technics, _comprehensive_ schools and _corporate_ management authorities. These are hybrid organizations, the offspring of tame

sows and wild or maverick boars, as the Oxford dictionary defines the term.

The monasteries were specialised repositories and transmitters of religious virtues and beliefs, and they suffered the common fate of mono-purpose organizations in their dissolution. The present brief summary is not so much concerned with tracing the reasons why the four years up to 1540 saw their complete abolition but more with the manner in which the destruction of the system was achieved and the effect that this had on the education activities which formed part of the monastic task.

The strategy of dissolution was replicated in a most uncanny fashion during the present day reorganization of the publicly maintained education system. The strategy comprised four main elements in the time sequence:

1. The establishment of a special Commission to collate criticism of the existing system
2. An affirmation that the best aspects of the existing organization would be preserved
3. The making of arrangements for the security of the senior personnel affected by the reorganization, with new positions and special severance and pension provision.
4. The rapid dispersal of the capital and revenue resources to avoid resurgence.

In the case of the monasteries the Commissions of 1535 had more than enough material already recorded in the trienniel visitations of the past several hundred years to draw on. This was supplemented by contemporary examples of negligence of duty, misappropriation of funds and other matters for criticism. The commission's recommendations were anticipated by most religious houses.

The Act of Six Articles of 1536, which reaffirmed the beliefs and practices of the established religion, was designed to placate the religious affected by the dissolution of the monasteries.

The most senior monastics, the Priors and Abbots, were made bishops and suffragan bishops and deans in newly created posts in the mother church hierarchy. Others with influence were given severence payments and handsome pensions.

The financial power base of the monasteries was speedily dispersed. Lands were first leased, then sold to local families. The treasure and church plate was appropriated by the Crown and the very lead on the monastic roof was stripped. The drastic nature

of the breaking up of the organization's manpower and resources was such that even Mary I, many years later, could not reestablish more than a handful of monasteries.

Of particular significance is the fate of the educational function previously performed by the religious. The need of the church to recruit and train fresh generations of boys remained. Able boys from the poorest social classes could reach some of the highest positions in the land via the ecclesiastical schoolroom. The great Wolsey was a ploughman's son, as was Longchamps, bishop of Ely. Grotete of Lincoln and even Pope Gregory VII came from similar backgrounds.

Mention has already been made of the benefits of a church education enjoyed by the thousands of clerics who had moved out to take up work as lawyers, doctors and accountants. There was therefore a wide demand for some sort of provision which would continue to serve these deleloping professions. Thus part of the monastic function was retained and developed despite the physical destruction of the original institutions. Some new schools were established by the Tudor monarchs, using part of the proceed of monastic property sales. Many of these schools, founded by Henry, Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, survived longer than the monasteries

themselves but several have been dissolved in recent times by the application of local authority Section 13 notices. The cathedral schools were also created and local land owners became founders of grammar schools, using money which formerly would probably have gone to the monasteries for more general purposes.

It was, however, to be a very long time before the incipient school system for boys was fully fleshed out into something approaching national coverage. Partly because of this and partly be cause the closed system concept of education and socialization was still prevalent, some of the grammar school set up boarding facilities. Out of these were to grow the great Public school which flourished from the nineteenth century. The consideration of this educational hiatus between the Tudor dissolution and the Victorian resurgence provides a convenient point at which to summarise some of the trends and organizational characteristics so far discussed.

Summary I

1 There is a tendency to compartmentalise social existence and isolate sections, stages and aspects which then form the bases of institutions and organized interests. A substantial proportion of

the energy available for such activities must be spent on maintaining and protecting the territory from external predations.

2 No social activity can exist for long as a closed system seeking to protect its primitive purity. Its resources will be used both by those inside and those outside the boundary of the enterprise for purposes other than the overtly stated objectives.

3 Monitoring, evaluation and assessment systems and procedures are too easily subject to the human frailties of those charged with the task.

4 Large enterprises of long standing require very large and sudden external pressures if they are to be changed.

5 The dispersal of physical plant, equipment and funds is not necessarily the end of an enterprise. The associated customs, practices, values and beliefs form a very substantial element which is capable of survival long after the holocaust, much as pollen can survive a prairie fire. They can thus provide the radicles of future resurgence long after the demise of the original organization.

During the three hundred years following the dispersal of the monks and their great libraries the concepts of schooling remained dormant, but not dead.

Victorian education

By the mid-nineteenth century the religious orders provided some form of instruction for most children up to the age of eleven. The established church, aided by a small group of organizations such as the bible societies, made use of the pattern of parishes which not only formed the livings of the incumbents but also provided the basic framework of the livelihood of the country's inhabitants.

The spiritual and social focus was the church whose tower or spire soared above the low set dwellings symbolising the timeless dominance of religion over daily life. The clock and the bell ticked and tolled the school day away. The vestry or the porch served as the classroom, the bible was the basic text and the vicar supervised the process of instruction, whether daily or weekly. Attendance was not compulsory according to the law of the land, for no parliament was able to make it so until 1870. By that date no less than six attempts

had failed, through warring between religious pacifists. The remarkably high level of enrolment in these elementary and Sunday schools was a result of the very tight grip that the established church had over the lives of individuals. A system of control had been developed which brought the economic, political, military and ideological components of the nations activities into congruency. The fundamental origin of society's energy at that time was land. Those who possessed it had the power to influence the day to day existence of the rest of the population, who depended on them for employment, food,heat, shelter and clothing. The great landowning families also controlled parliamentary representation, the local militia and courts, as well as the livings. A pattern was established whereby the eldest son inherited the demesne, the second entered the army and the third was likely to be installed as the local vicar.

It is therefore not too surprising to find that the vicar's desire to arrange elementary education was supported by parents, if not their offspring. Legislation was not neccessary, for this was the natural order of things. The curriculum was confined to religious instruction, moral training and the inculcation of good habits of industry and servitude. It continued on Sundays before matins and in the afternoons before evensong.

The rural elementary school headteacher-cum-vicar had counterparts in the nine public schools open to the sons of the gentry and heavily concentrated in the London area. Staffing them with clerics solved two problems. The moral upbringing of the sons of the wealthy was thereby placed in the hands of men of the cloth and also their familiarity with Latin and Greek covered the specialist requirements of the curriculum. A study of the classics was as far removed from day to day knowledge as one could get without losing the benefits of written texts. The future position in life of the scholars was already assured by virtue of their family connections and it was therefore perfectly acceptable for their schooling to be classical and competely non-utilitarian. One major attraction of these languages was that they were dead. As was the case with the official version of the bible the works of Homer and Ovid had therefore been passed down through many centuries in a pure uncontaminated form 'untouched by the inevitable process of degeneration and decay' as stated in the Clarendon Report of 1864. Although there was great difficulty in maintaining a closed educational system, at least the curriculum could be based on unalterable texts. It was also agreed that Latin and Greek civilisations provided the foundations for our modern tongues and the associated poetry, history, philosophy and jurisprudence. In fact, such a curriculum could be regarded as the nineteenth century version of the present cry 'Back to the basics!'

The third group of schools, some seven hundred in all, provided a grammar school education which, at its most traditional, copied faithfully the public school model. However, many of these schools, catering for large numbers of day boys, had responded to the demands of fee-paying parents for the inclusion of mathematics, modern languages and scientific subjects in the curriculum. These parents deemed such studies important for the management of industry and commerce. The satanic mills, commodity exchanges, banks and railways needed engineers, accountants and merchants in ever increasing numbers. Grammar schools which met these demands flourished in the Midlands and the North, notwithstanding an instruction from the Council on Education to Her Majesty's Inspectors that

> .. *no plan of education ought to be encouraged in which intellectual instruction is not subordinated to the regulation of thoughts and habits of the children by the doctrines and precepts of revealed religion.*
>
> (1840)

It was not that the people in the developing conurbations were ungodly. The established church had been dilatory in responding to the shifts in population that accompanied the industrial revolution. While Rochester and Hereford have by now each appointed their hundredth bishop, sees such as Birmingham, Liverpool and Manchester have not yet had ten incumbents.

The established church had become heavily involved with the great landed families and the affairs of the shires. The spiritual vacuum which was left in the fast-growing manufacturing towns was rapidly filled by the dissenters as the Methodists and Baptists moved in and set up their chapels in the yawning gaps between the cathedrals. They established schools and so strong was their influence that they delayed state intervention in educational provision on any large scale for many decades.

Successive governments did, however, become concerned about education, principly at two levels. There was a growing need for clerks able to read and write, but, much more important in terms of control over the economy in particular and over society in general, there was a need for the products of the public schools to understand the language of the financier, the merchant and the entrepreneur. A dangerous situation appeared to be developing in which Euclidean geome try would be Greek to the ruling classes but the lingua franca of many in the lower orders.

It was not that the boys' public schools were completely indifferent to additions to the classical diet. Musgrove (1971) describes how a certain Stephen Hawtry was able to lease a site in Eton College upon which he erected

a mathematics lecture theatre. He appointed his own assistants to teach the subject to over three hundred boys at a time. Hawtry's problem was obtaining offical sanction for the inclusion of the subject in the formal curriculum and it took fourteen years to achieve his aim.

Three government enquiries succeeded one another in the eighteen thirties, dealing with the provision of elementary, grammar and public schooling. They were followed very shortly by the first Education Act in 1870, which concentrated on making elementary education compulsory for all up to the age of thirteen. This secular intrusion into the sacred preserve was neither easy nor painless. The church demanded and secured a number of compromises which colour the educational scene even today. When the current educational provision is stripped down to its mandatory core only two requirements have to be fulfilled: the provision of a headteacher and religious instruction. The Arnolds and Thrings of the eighteen hundreds incorporated both these essentials in their personal school duties. Although religious instruction is the only mandatory subject it is, ironically, also the only one which children can legitimately refuse to receive without being accused of organizational misdemeanors such as insubordination, indiscipline and absenteeism.

Summary II

Three hundred years after the dissolution of the monasteries the large numbers of parish, grammar and public schools provided some forms of instruction and education but did not form an integrated system.
They were not linked in sequence, since attendance at one was not a prerequisite for entry to another. Each school type was based on provision for children of different socio-economic backgrounds. There were no supra-administrative control mechanisms, no shared funding base or universally acknowledged evaluatory techniques.
Despite these factors the institutions were, in general, governed by the same paradigm. A shared set of assumptions, values and beliefs were reflected in school customs and practices, throughout the spectrum of provision. An explanation of this must include reference both to monastic traditions and to the characteristics of the teaching personnel.

The model of schooling developed by the religious was later resuscitated, particularly with respect to its two major fundamentals:

1 Consolidation of a set of values, attitudes and beliefs derived from an earlier culture, considered to be the essence of a valued lifestyle.

2 Transmission of this essence to acolytes in conditions of seclusion to minimise contamination from mundane influences and interests.

These two basic functions were developed and practised within the context of a patriarchal society,with the result that education and, more particularly, the custodianship of values, was a male preserve. Education was provided by men for boys.

An analysis of the teaching force illustrated the reason for congruency in content, style and methodology of educational activity. Potential teachers were drawn from among those who had attended the grammar and public schools prior to reading divinity and classical lanquages at the only two English universities existing at the time. On achieving their orders and degrees they returned to the schools or took up livings and the religious instruction of the poor children of the parish.

Given this common background and training, the strong convergent tendencies in school curriculum, customs and

practices were hardly surprising. These schooled and trained teachers then provided in their turn a regular succession of acolytes who travelled along the same grooves of Academe. A closed loop was formed which, coupled with a system of deeply entrenched custodial beliefs and practices, became highly resistant to change.

The decision making structure of the secondary schools was extremely simple and autocratic. Headteachers of the public schools were, almost without exception, clergymen. Such men were deemed not only to have the qualities necessary for the education of gentlemen but,by virtue of their own education,they were also skilled in Latin, Greek and, of course, divinity. Since most of the assistant teachers were also clergymen and the curriculum comprised a solid diet of the classical languages, a sentience existed which could be considered as the purest example of the concept in practice. The personal qualities, qualifications and expertise of the head of the institution spanned the organized activities. Very little that went on in those schools was beyond the working experience of their heads. The chief organizers were also the chief masters of scholarship. Their decision making did not have to wait on reports from working parties, academic boards, school parliaments or county advisers. The public school headmasters were renowned for their authoritarian attitudes and exercise of

personal power and Dr Thring of Uppingham could say 'I will brook no interference'.

The growth and elaboration of consultative processes in recent times has been promoted with reference to research conducted in an American telephone-making factory about the time that most of the current English headteachers were born. The perceived need to foster commitment to and involvement in the organizer's school objectives through consultative machinery has, however, a more fundamental explanation than a belief in the virtues of democracy and self actualization. The present day curriculum and ability range of a typical comprehensive school is well beyond the practical experience of contemporary headteachers. Consultative procedures give the head, among other things, the means to draw together information on particular problems which lie outside his experience and yet allow him to maintain all the decision making powers of his position which owe much to the sentient model of the public schools a hundred years ago.

Education - process or product

This investigation has included historical surveys of schooling in order to identify the nature of education and its management. The conclusions reached are that in the case of education it was seen as a process of socialization into the values, beliefs, attitudes and operations required to maintain the powerful position of the established church in society. Furthermore, the process places enormous emphasis on maintenance.

Following the hiatus created by the dissolution of the monastic seminaries the model was revived by the middle of the nineteenth century in the form of boys' public schools. Process was still the main theme. The consolidation of class values and codes of honour for which the institution offered no formal assesment or evaluation instruments had high priority. The formal input by the clerics who dominated the teaching force was deliberately designed not to send out into the world a boy well tuned to the industrial society that was rapidly reaching its peak at the time.

Although the Clarendon Committee (1864) on public schools identified this unworldliness as a potential threat to the control over the industrial state by the agrarian based gentry, the public schools only slowly responded to the need

for schools to concern themselves with production.(It is notable that enquiries into private education were termed Commissions whereas groups dealing with state provision were entitled Committees.)

State elementary and secondary education was characterised at the end of the nineteenth century by a very strong instrumental flavour. The education provided was product orientated. Grants to schools were dependent on results of quality control checks made annually by HMIs. Standards were set, scholarships conferred on the basis of scores in intelligence tests and certificates after evidence of success in examinations. The product aimed at was a rise in the general level of literacy and numeracy and instruction of a selected few in the sciences, mathematics and languages. The nation required trained manpower. The education system was funded by compulsory contributions from ratepayers and general taxation, attendance was legally enforced, up to the age of fourteen just after the Great War, and the curriculum was controlled by centrally imposed Codes. Teaching styles, school organization and resource provision were all designed to achieve a product.

Although the school teachers have had access to a range of managerial models and insights throughout tbe first half of this century, the works of Fayol (1916), Barnard (1938), Follett (1941) for example, were hardly referred to

in the educational literature of the time in connection with school organization. American educational publications of the period made several references to F W Taylor and his advocacy of a scientific (in-word of the period) management. It is possible that a number of techniques and practices described above owe their popularity in this country to his view that workers were to be viewed as functionaries acting under the directions of officials and administrators.

The development of a distinctive management corps has been quite alien to schools at the level of the individual enterprise until very recent times. Almost without exception headteachers have been recruited from class teachers after they had spent half their career in the ranks. The posts of deputy headteacher and heads of department were not established until well into the 1950s and even today there are schools without deputy headteachers because of the small number of pupils on roll.

In organization terms then, most schools, whether elementary or secondary, functioned on the nineteenth century public school model of headteacher plus assistants. The hierarchy based on management functions was very flat indeed.
Until very recently it would have been considered the height of pretentiousness to call oneself, as a member

of the teaching staff, a Coordinator, Director, Planner or Evaluator, after Fayol. If the term management was used at all in those days it was used in the sense of coping with the domestic daily problems which naturally occur in a reflexive organization.

As far as most schools were concerned, the management functions spelled out and elaborated by Barnard et al were rolled into one position, that of the headteacher. Even he, however, could not stand aloof from the classroom. Local education authorities still stipulate that he should spend half his week teaching and this was built into the school staffing provision. It is still a role as far as many assistant teachers are concerned and it is not considered good enough for contemporary heads, deputies and other senior staff to justify their place entirely on the basis of pastoral activities or administrative efforts. The dominant process was considered to be teaching, not management. Education was a product of this process.

The characteristics of the traditional style of teaching have been listed by Bennett (1976). He drew on the work of Sherman (1970), Bruner (1961), Ausubel (1963) as well as the Hadow (1931) and Plowden (1967) educational reports. The highly instrumental nature, teacher dominated, product perspective of this approach is illustrated very clearly

in his summary, as indicated below:

1 *Separate subject matter*

2 *Teacher as distributor of knowledge*

3 *Passive pupil role*

4 *No pupil influence on curriculum planning*

5 *Accent on memory, practice and rote*

6 *Extrinsic rewards/punishment system*

7 *Concern with academic testing*

8 *Regular testing*

9 *Accent on competition*

10 *Teaching confined to the classroom base*

11 *Little emphasis on creative expression*

To this list should be added the emphasis on compulsory attendance, the expectation that 'catching up' with work missed during absence in the pupil's <u>own</u> time and the maintenance of a strong boundary between curriculum based knowledge and the child's everyday experiences and interests, and also the formality of pupil-teacher relationships.

The individual teacher's 'front' and 'performance', as far as pupil and colleague contact was concerned, developed along very formal lines, in sympathy with

instrumentalism. Sartorial trends were frivolities and being fashionable an indication that energy and thought which should be devoted to the task was being squandered. Exhibitions of real enthusiasm or anger were considered eccentricities. Understatements were considered of much more value.

The instrumental orientation of the state education system was being seriously challenged in the years following the Education Act of 1944. The cry 'secondary education for all' indicated a radical change in values. The new 'idea' was that education was one aspect of the good life and a right for all children, not just those who could place their intellectual powers in the service of the economy. In short, education was to be seen as part of the whole process of maturation and personal fulfilment.

In the early stages, however, the idea that the state education system should abandon its instrumental orientation was not proposed. The attacks concentrated on the inefficiences and ambiguities that existed in current practices. The selection tests, it was argued, were biased against potential talent among working class children, and grammar school provision across the country penalised the urban areas in comparison with the rural ones. It was as a result of these complaints that the movement against selection at this stage in the child's development gained strength.

The successful attack against the objectivity and efficiency of the psychologically orientated test procedures broke a log jam. During the years following the publication of such researches as those of Halsey, Floud & Martin (1957), Vaizey (1960), Jackson & Marsden (1962), some of their objections were taken up by the socialist politicians, as recorded by Kogan (1971). The Plowden Report on Primary education advocated a more 'informal' child-centered view of the activity and this ideology, when put into practice, tended to give schooling the following characteristics:

1 Integrated subject matter
2 Teacher seen as a guide to educational experience
3 Children active on curriculum decisions
4 Learning dominated by discovery techniques
5 Extrinsic rewards and punishments abandoned
6 Less concern with academic standards
7 Regular testing not highly valued
8 Accent on cooperative working not individual competition
9 Activities not confined to the classroom
10 Accent on creative expression

Bennett p 38

Education was no longer to be seen as a product to be market-

tested at the 16, 18 and 21 year old stages but a lifelong recurrent process. This 'progressive' model required that opportunities which the child could exploit should be equalised and the right of access to resources was a basic principle underlying operations. The knowledge and skills of the teacher were viewed as merely one resource among several to be made available to the child, rather than as the dominant input. The teacher was to see himself more as a manager of 'learning situations' of which a large number could exist in any one classroom. The potential variation would be in great contrast to the conventional ' chalk and talk' model of pedagogy in which the teacher controlled the content, style and pace of the instruction process. The ' child-centred ' model proposed that these controls be removed so that children would be able to ' learn at their own pace ' while being engaged in activities of their own choice. This approach formed the basis of the new plan for Cambire School discussed below.

Chapter 6
The School Chief Executive

The concentration of executive authority in the role of the English headteacher is a remarkable phenomenon among contemporary western societies.

The powers attached to the office by legislation over thirty five years ago have remained intact despite massive reorganization of the decision making structure of local education authorities, changes in size, complexity and character of schools and the pressures for greater democracy at institutional level.

It is argued that headteacher powers have in fact increased vis-à-vis school governing bodies and assistant teachers.

The chief executive's powers to define the corporate strategy and to determine the internal organization and management of the school places him in the most crucial position with respect to innovation and change.

In terms of his command of the organization, a headteacher is truly the St Peter of all gatekeepers.

The power base of the headteacher

The term 'power' is used in the sense of the potential to influence the actions of others. Power is ascribed to the role of headteacher by reason of his authority of office in a social organization.

The personal attributes of the office holder can influence the degree to which this role power is realized. They can also be the source of additional influence through subordinate acknowledgement of personal expertise, qualifications and psychological characteristics.

An action frame of reference has great value in that it emphasizes the realization of power in specific contexts. Acquiescence or resistance to role power by actors is frequently based on less than perfect knowledge of the situation. The impact of personal attributes and the frequent overt or covert 'trade-offs' which accompany commands and responses add further colour to institutional dynamics.

The powers attached to the office of headteacher are clearly established and defined in:

The Education Act 1944

Section 17

1 For every county school ... there shall be an instrument of government

2 The instrument of government shall be made by an order of the local education authority... and approved by the Secretary of State and such articles shall in particular determine the functions to be exercised in relation to the school by the local education authority, the body of governors, and the headteacher respectively.

The White Paper (Cmd 6523) published in 1944 was presented as a specific guide to local education authorities and proposed model instruments of school government. These were accepted in toto and included the following:

Internal organization and curriculum

Section 18 , Division of functions

The local education authority would have the right, in framing the development plan for the area and subsequently, to settle the general educational

> character of the school and its place in the system. Subject to this general responsibility the governors would have general direction of the conduct and curriculum of the school. The headmaster or headmistress would control the internal organization, management and discipline of the school ...
>
> White Paper: Principles of Government in maintained schools (1944)

In the years that have passed since the 1944 Education Act became law and the model instruments of school government were adopted a number of developments have led to an increase in the executive powers of the headteacher role.

Control over the curriculum

Without exception, the general direction of curriculum was delegated by governing bodies to the headteachers. It has been argued above that such a decision was quite reasonable in the early years in the light of the dominance of the Morant model which had become so very firmly established over several decades.

The composition and balance of the curriculum in terms of fields of enquiry during the immediate post-war period copied remarkably faithfully that which followed the establishment of state secondary schools at the turn of the century.

The abandonment of the former Matriculation controls, followed by the phasing out of the eleven-plus examinations provided individual headteachers with opportunities to experiment with different subjects and teaching/learning strategies. Concern about the potential variations possible at the level of individual shcools led the Minister of Education to attempt to resuscitate some form of central control in the early nineteen sixties. He was strongly challenged and one result of the ensuing negotiations was the creation of the Schools Council, whose decision making structure was dominated by teacher representatives.

As long as the matriculation procedures existed, with their requirements for success in a broad band of subjects legitimated by university departments, headteachers had little discretion to make radical alterations to the curriculum. This constraint was, in turn, reflected in th composition of the teaching force which faithfully reflected, in terms of

qualifications and expertise,the status accorded to subjects in the public examination.

In the pursuit of good matriculation results, upon which school and teacher reputations were built, headteachers came to value academic qualifications and pedagogical effectiveness, perhaps sometimes at the cost of their having to tolerate idiosyncratic behaviour and outspokenness from their assistants. The collective power of the teachers, based on scholarship and a shared goal was a source of protection from 'ill-conceived' innovations proposed by the chief executive.

This situation changed dramatically with the introduction of 'one subject' examinations - the General Certificate of Education. The curriculum became a means by which the headteacher could increase his hold over the activities of the teachers in his control. This is illustrated by Musgrove (1971):

> Headmasters who wish to reduce their subordinates' power and increase their own will be wise to abolish subjects and integrate the curriculum. For subjects are the centres of power. They are also centres of authority. They help to make

up the pluralism of power which is a
crucial check on the power of headmasters ..
Autocratic heads of schools and colleges
will decry subject boundaries and initiate
policies of integration and hybridization.

They will be in the forefront of the progressives
who attack such obvious and easy targets
as 'narrow specialization' and the
'compartmentalization of knowledge', and who
proclaim (perhaps on the authority of
Benjamin Bloom) the natural superiority of
synthesis, as opposed to analysis and mere
description, in the hierarchy of intellectual
operations. They will not attach much weight
to classification as the basis of systematic
thought and the importance of putting together
things that belong together. They will
discredit the very concept of boundary. It is
already one of the most disgraceful concepts in education.
And in removing boundaries, they will remove
important and legitimate defences of those
within them. Integrated curricula are
powerless curricula, wide open to centralised
control. They present no effective curb on
the will of the man at the top.

Patterns of power and authority in
English education, pp 6-7.

Even the fields of enquiry that have traditionally been seen as the 'founder members' of the federation of special schools, such as Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry and French offer little resistance to this kind of absorption by the headteacher. They cannot be integrated as far as subject matter is concerned but they can be dramatically affected by the chief executive's directives on how they are taught and to whom. Of twenty operational items (general and curricular) that were included in the pilot survey questionnaire, no less than ten referred to innovations in teaching/ learning approaches and five to subject hybrids.

The congruence that existed between a headteacher's own scholarship and the content of the curriculum, such as pertained in the nineteenth century boys' Public Schools, is now something of the distant past. The combination of chief executive authority and mastery of the classics created a formidable power base from which to direct school affairs .
The problems involved in establishing a modern elaborated curriculum, spanning perhaps thirty externally examined subjects for a comprehensive ability range in a mixed school places the chief executive in quite a different relationship vis-a-vis operational activities compared with men such as Arnold, Butler, Sanderson and Thring.

A sense of control over a potentially complex situation, by those with little or no teaching experience in over eighty per cent of the operational activities in a typical secondary comprehensive school, can be derived by recourse to the Schools Council and the Nuffield Foundation.

These curriculum development agencies have produced a number of packages, which comprise course materials extending over several years. Bought in as ready-made components, they can come complete with information on objectives, timetabling, staffing and assessment procedures as well as model lessons and book lists. Coming from reputable external sources, just a handful of these large 'blocks' of work greatly simplify the task of curriculum compilation and confer an aura of respectability on the chief executive's destruction of the subject specialists' traditional freedom from detailed direction in curriculum matters. The head-teacher, as a non-specialist, emerges from the exercise with a self-ascribed expertise in the particular subject area. He too can read the package material and, more significantly, he can insist that it is used 'lock, stock and barrel'. The conventional discretion of his colleagues, the traditional 'teacher autonomy', is thus very effectively undermined and their power withdrawn to the chief executive himself.

Enlargement of the power base - recent developments

'Concern for the whole child' is a much used slogan in contemporary school curriculum documents and discussions. Operational and pilotage activities are performed in a context which does not appear to have a recognised firm static boundary. There is considerable lack of clarity in the distinction between what is the concern of the institution and what is not. More and more school activity spills over into family and neighbourhood. This may be partly a reaction to the level of achievement in conventional literacy and numeracy skills. If the prime task of the institution is no longer the comparatively narrow one associated with the development of cognitive skills, then teachers and schools cannot be decried as unsuccessful if such skills are not actually learned by the pupils in their charge. The stated concern for 'the whole child' can thus mask any number of deficiencies in the traditional range of instructional activities.

Such expansionism on the part of teachers has not gone uncontested. The attack on the increasing institutionalization of life formed the basis of the call for de-schooling society (Holt, 1971, Reimer 1971, Illich 1973):

> Schools tend to develop effects contrary to their aims as the scope of their operations increases. Many assume a therapeutic and compassionate image to mask the paradoxical effect.
>
> Illich (1973) p 59

There is a tendency to prescribe increased treatment by the same people in the form of extra years of schooling if previous doses do not appear to have yielded the desired results. The massive infusion of funds into the school system in order to correct several deep-seated social problems such as deprivation and prejudice was sadly misconceived since

> by making men abdicate the responsibilities for their own growth, school leads many to a kind of spiritual suicide.
>
> Illich (1973) p 65

The attack against the people-processing occupations has been widened to include all the 'disabling professions' (Illich, Zols, McKnight,Caplan + Shaiken, 1978). Loving, caring and treating the sick, the sinful and the stupid are, it appears, the growth occupations. Each day another 'professional' group is spawned which carves a slice off the individual and creates a field

of operations and 'problems' for which it demands and often gets monopolistic rights of treatment. Illich and his co-authors argued that, in contrast to the modern industrial techniques based on the assembly of bought-in components, the professions depend on the dissection and disabling of the human whole in order to create spheres of influence and activity.

The difficulty in accommodating the demands of professionals for access to the client/case/pupil/customer/patient is aggravated by the limited lifespan of the individuals under treatment. The response is to set up multi-professional committees which seek to synthasise what was formerly whole, prior to 'professional' dismemberment.

Elaboration of the Hierarchy

The powers of headship have been substantially increased in recent years with respect to individual members of the school staff group, as a result of the elaboration of the hierarchy within the organization. This elaboration has been codified in successive Burnham Committee agreements which govern teacher grades and salaries.

The trend has been towards a finer and more precise definition of the status of individuals in the hierarchy . Such definition has increased the 'distance' between those on the basic Scale 1 and the chief executive role. Six grades below headteacher now exist where formerly only that of assistant teacher pertained.

Organization status is now more specific and more minutely prescribed. The worth of each individual to the plans and purposes of the chief executive is more open to inspection and comment than ever before. The Burnham agreement of 1971 gave headteachers freedom to further differentiate between his teachers. He can now

a) allocate the highest scales allowed in his school to any facet of operational, pilotage or management activity, instead of being restricted to heads of the largest subject departments;
b) designate any teacher a departmental head;
c) introduce a whole clutch of new status titles.

Unlike the nationally agreed salary scale rankings, there is no agreed rank order for these titles. Their use is specific to each individual school. Thus relative status is extremely difficult to establish.

The trend towards greater specificity in role definitions can be seen as being partly due to the need for individual teachers to determine who they are and where they are in a comprehensive school. A lowly position on the six salary grade ladder can to some extent be bolstered by a suitable job title. Heads and deputy heads of innumerable activities have been created. Coordinators, directors, consultants and counsellor have proliferated. It is ironic that, while differentiation between teachers is anxiously sought, homogeneous pupil groupings are fashionably promoted.

Mixed ability or banding practices are organization devices of considerable value to chief executives who seek a sense of control over very complex institutions. This point is developed in the context of the Quarrybank case study.

Other post-war developments that have enhanced the power of headteachers are

1 Rise in average school size

This is illustrated by the statistics over the past thirty years of the number of teachers per secondary school:

1950	1960	1974	1980
16	22	44	55*

DES Statistics + * from CIPFA

The manpower resources under the command of each chief executive have been substantially increased, through

a) integration of separate schools under comprehensive reorganization;
b) extension of the compulsory period of education, to 15 in 1947 and to 16 years of age in 1973;
c) steady and significant improvement in the ratio of teachers employed to pupils on roll, even during a period when schools are being affected by the decline in birthrate (see Figure 6).

2 Fall in number of secondary schools

Over the past twenty years more than one thousand five hundred headteacher posts have been phased out. However, the executive power has remained in the system at the same level, being shared out among the remaining post holders. The fall to under three-quarters of the original number is indicated below:

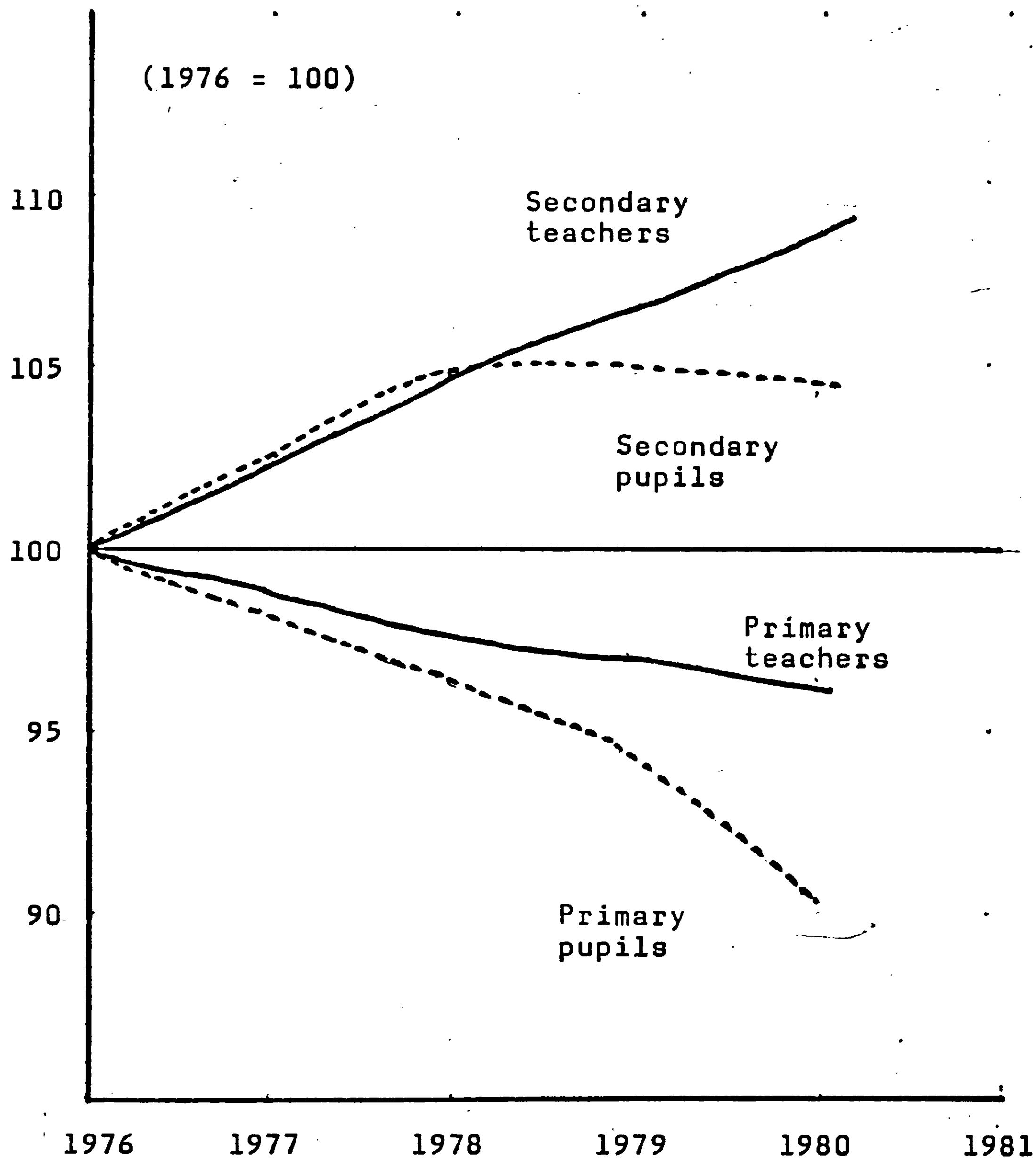
	1960	1974	1980
Number of secondary schools	5,801'	4,675'	4,295*
Comparisons with 1960 as 100	100	81	74

(') DES Statistics

(*) CIPFA Statistics

Figure 6

Recent changes in numbers of pupils and teachers in primary and secondary schools



Source: The Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy: Education statistics and estimates 1979/1980 Published July 1979.

Responses to changes in Chief Executive's powers

The increase in the power acquired by headteachers as a consequence on the systemic changes outlined above has been accompanied by counterbalancing proposals. These have included

a) a call for limited tenure of office - for, say, five years;

b) creation of school Academic Boards with executive powers;

c) the election, rather than appointment, of headteachers;

d) election of assistant teachers as full members of the present school governing bodies;

e) recognition of pupil unionism and representation on governing bodies;

f) the return of curriculum control to (i) Governors or (ii) the DES, with Ner Majesty's Inspectors defining a 'core' curriculum;

g) a vast improvement in the information to parents about school policies, processes and examination results;

h) the complete reconstitution of school governing bodies in order to satisfy demands for greater participation.

Calls for participation, dislike of unaccountable autocrats in modern community life, concerns for perceived low levels of pupil achievement and the decline in the belief in unitary organizations all played a part in the Government's decision to review the arrangements controlling school government.

The Taylor Committee gave a report ' A new partnership for our schools' (1977) which made recommendations accepting:

a) that education was a contested concept;

b) that at least four major interest groups could be identified -

   (i) Education officials as administrators and quartermasters

   (ii) School teachers as operatives

   (iii) parents as primary clients and surrogates for their offspring as minors

   (iv) Individuals representing occupational, political and social facets of community life.

c) that an 'interest group bargaining model' (Pondy, 1967) which recognized the importance of local environmental characteristics was distinctly preferable to the hierarchical 'bureaucratic' model which was denying significant groups any real influence.

The Taylor proposals were that the schools be governed by an equal partnership of the above four groups and that furthermore:

> We have concluded that there is no aspect of the school's activities from which the governing body should be excluded nor any aspect for which the head and his colleagues should be accountable only to themselves or the local education authority. It follows that the responsibility for deciding the school's curriculum in every sense of that word must be shared between all levels and between all those concerned at every level.

The proposals were comfortably quashed by the two current power holding groups - teachers and officials. They were able to use their national machinery to give an impression of massive rejection of the Taylor Report. It was vilified as "a busybodies' charter" and 'an administrator's nightmare'.

The two other groups which were designed to make schooling reflect local needs just did not exist as bodies. Like 'the community' they were academic concepts, not organized power blocs with national spokesmen. Had there existed a National Association

of Parents and a Union of Individuals, then the proposals might have been more vigorously defended. It would not then have been a contest fought on the issue of local influence (strongly recommended by Taylor) but a struggle between four national interest groups. Taylor's passionate personal advocacy of the importance of local influence as a force for good in the effective running of the local schools was never allowed to take root, in the absence of strong identifiable support bodies and in the face of determined opposition from those with monolithic existing power. His Report was seen as a threat to the existing system of balance and control between the LEAs and their headteachers and between the heads and their staff.

PART III INVESTIGATIONS AND FIELD STUDIES

Ch. 7 INNOVATION AND CHANGE

A Pilot Survey

The abandonment of the eleven-plus examinations and matriculation requirements as quality controls opened up the education system to new proposals in terms of processes and objectives. Innovations in the areas of educational technology, teaching/learning strategies, the curriculum and its underlying philosophy, monitoring and evaluation,school organization and management, and teacher training were developed and disseminated. In terms of calendar dating, tne outpouring of new proposals was jumbled and confusing. Processes, often conflicting and unworkable, appeared before consensus had been reached on manpower skills. Monitoring and evaluation recommendations preceded agreement on both objectives and processes, and so on.

With the aid of an extensive literature survey of 175 regularly indexed periodicals in the British Education Index published since 1964, reference to national and regional conference programmes and the investigator's personal experience as senior management course director, LEA and school consultant and fifteen years at the 'chalk face', a list of fifty two items was constructed. The underlying classification and subsequent analysis were based on Hutton's model of school activities.

CHANGES IN EDUCATION : Questionnaire

The questionnaire was submitted to, and completed by, one hundred headteachers and members of staff.

The rubric following spaces for name, address and total number of years teaching ran:

> *Reflecting on your total teaching experience please identify, by ticks in the appropriate column, any changes in the aspects of school life listed below for which you have had personal responsibility/close involvement.*

Each of the fifty two items was followed by four columns under the following headings:

A Existed but withdrawn

B Introduced and continued

C Introduced and withdrawn

D Plans made - changes expected

The total responses are shown on the following pages and three further columns are included in the results:

(+) Total number of introductions

(-) Total number of withdrawals

(N) Sum total of changes, i e (+) + (-).

From these three columns the response graphs were drawn.

Changes in Education : Questionnaire items

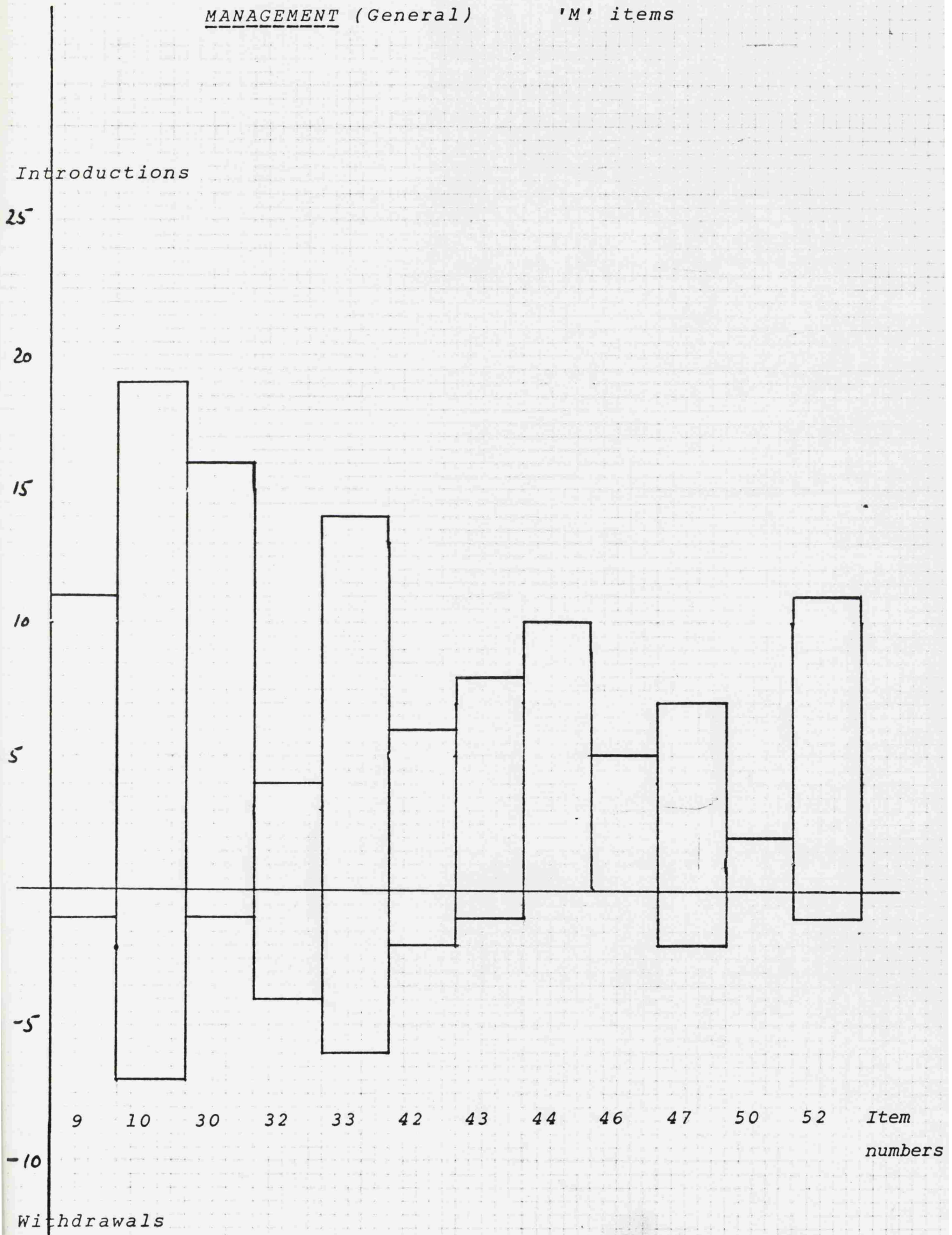
ASPECTS OF SCHOOL LIFE	A	B	C	D	(+)	(-)	N
1 Regular use of Schools broadcasts	4	14	1	2	15	5	20
2 Regular school foreign visits	1	21	-	-	21	1	22
3 Regular use of field work	1	19	1	-	20	2	22
4 Link courses School/FE	-	10	1	-	11	1	12
5 Language laboratories	-	8	2	-	10	2	12
6 Programmed learning	-	4	2	1	6	2	8
7 Project based learning	4	9	1	-	10	5	15
8 Self-paced learning	1	8	-	1	8	1	9
9 School Resource Centre	1	11	-	3	11	1	12
10 Team teaching	2	14	5	2	19	7	26
11 Remedial groups	1	19	1	-	20	2	22
12 Banding	1	15	2	-	17	3	20
13 Setting	1	26	1	1	27	2	29
14 Streaming	11	3	1	-	4	12	16
15 Mixed ability grouping	6	29	3	-	32	9	41
16 Express groups	1	4	1	1	5	2	7
17 Humanities curriculum project	2	8	3	2	11	5	16
18 Nuffield science	1	14	1	-	15	2	17
19 Nuffield French	-	1	1	-	2	1	3

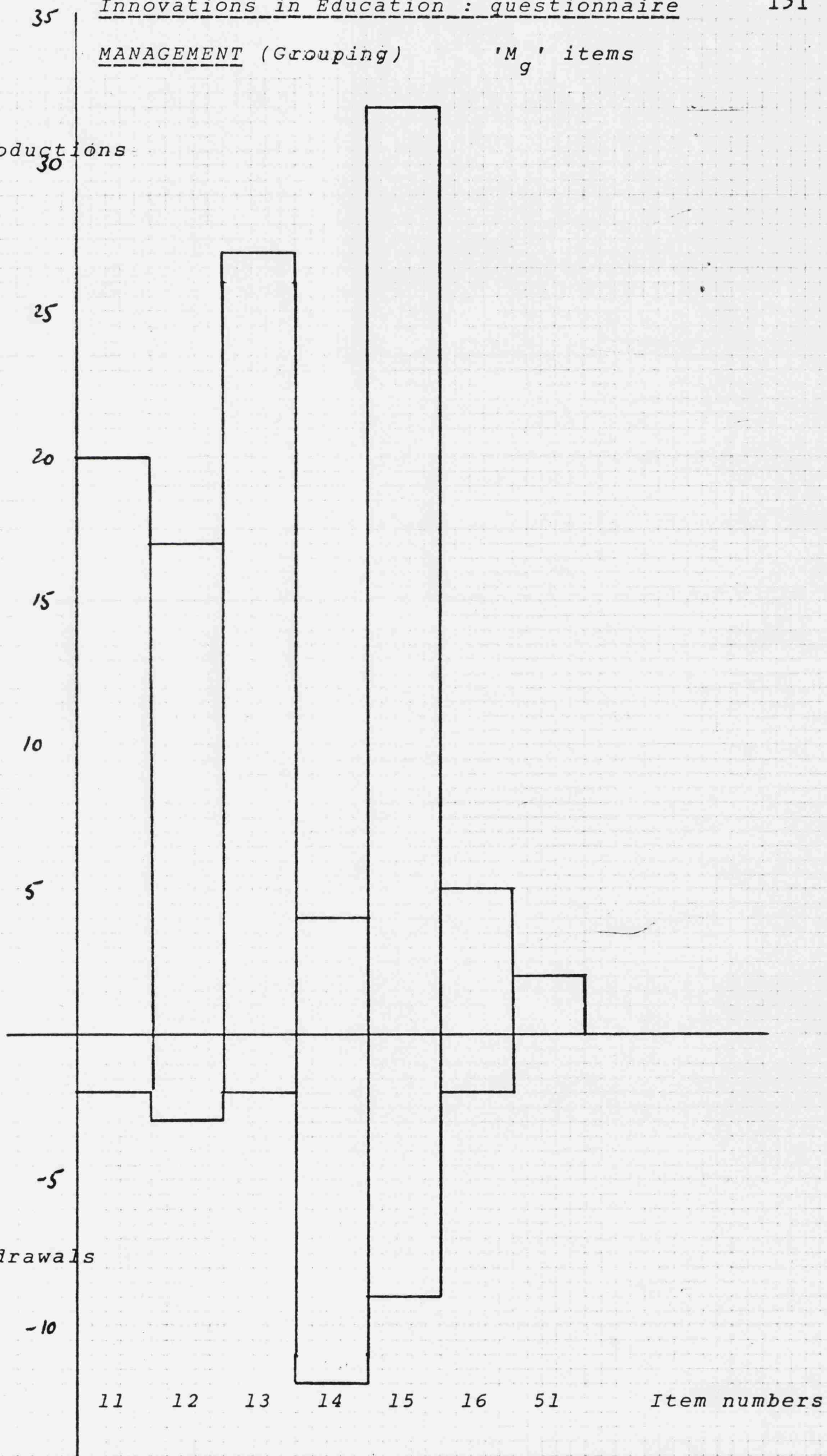
ASPECTS OF SCHOOL LIFE	A	B	C	D	(+)	(-)	N
20 SMP and/or Maths for the majority	1	9	1	1	10	2	12
21 Latin in lower school	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22 Classical studies	-	1	1	-	2	1	3
23 Common curriculum in middle years	-	3	-	2	3	-	3
24 Compulsory VI form General Studies	1	4	2	-	6	3	9
25 Community work schemes	2	6	-	1	6	2	8
26 Unisex combined craft course	-	8	-	1	8	-	8
27 Use of class textbooks from Year One	-	14	1	1	15	1	16
28 House system	4	18	-	2	18	4	22
29 Year system	1	15	1	1	16	2	18
30 Parent Teacher Association	1	16	-	-	16	1	17
31 Prefect system	2	9	-	-	9	2	11
32 Corporal punishment	4	4	-	-	4	4	8
33 School speech days	1	9	5	-	14	6	20
34 Homework for all pupils	2	13	-	-	13	2	15
35 School uniform	1	15	-	3	15	1	16
36 Pupil self-assessed profiles	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
37 Internal annual examinations	-	15	-	-	15	-	15
38 Periodic form/tutor group rankings	2	7	-	-	7	2	9
39 Continuous assessment credits	-	10	-	-	10	-	10

ASPECTS OF SCHOOL LIFE	A	B	C	D	(+)	(-)	N
40 Regular testing mental arithmetic	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
41 Regular testing use of English	-	3	-	-	3	-	3
42 External exam results in Press	1	5	1	-	6	2	8
43 School based in-service training	-	7	1	3	8	1	9
44 Probationer induction scheme	-	10	-	-	10	-	10
45 Teacher counsellor for pupils	-	7	-	-	7	-	7
46 Teacher counsellor for staff	-	5	-	-	5	-	5
47 School 'parliament'	-	5	2	-	7	2	9
48 School 'sanctuary'	-	3	-	-	3	-	3
49 CSE/O level Mode 3 courses	-	14	8	4	22	8	30
50 Use of Davies curriculum notation	-	2	-	-	2	-	2
51 Delta grouping	-	2	-	-	2	-	2
52 Use of job descriptions and staff specifications in appointments	1	11	-	-	11	1	12

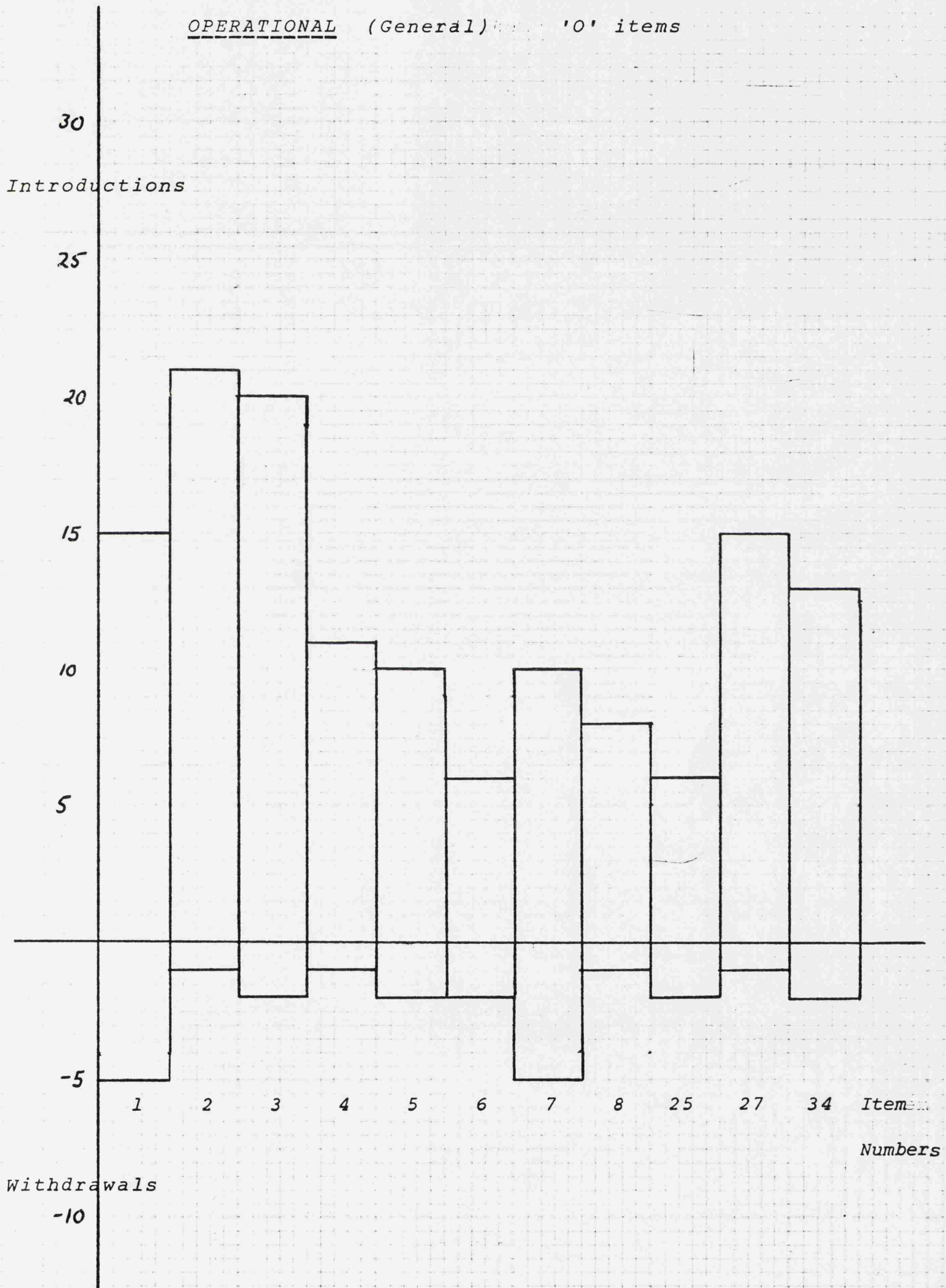
Innovations in Education : questionnaire

MANAGEMENT (General) 'M' items



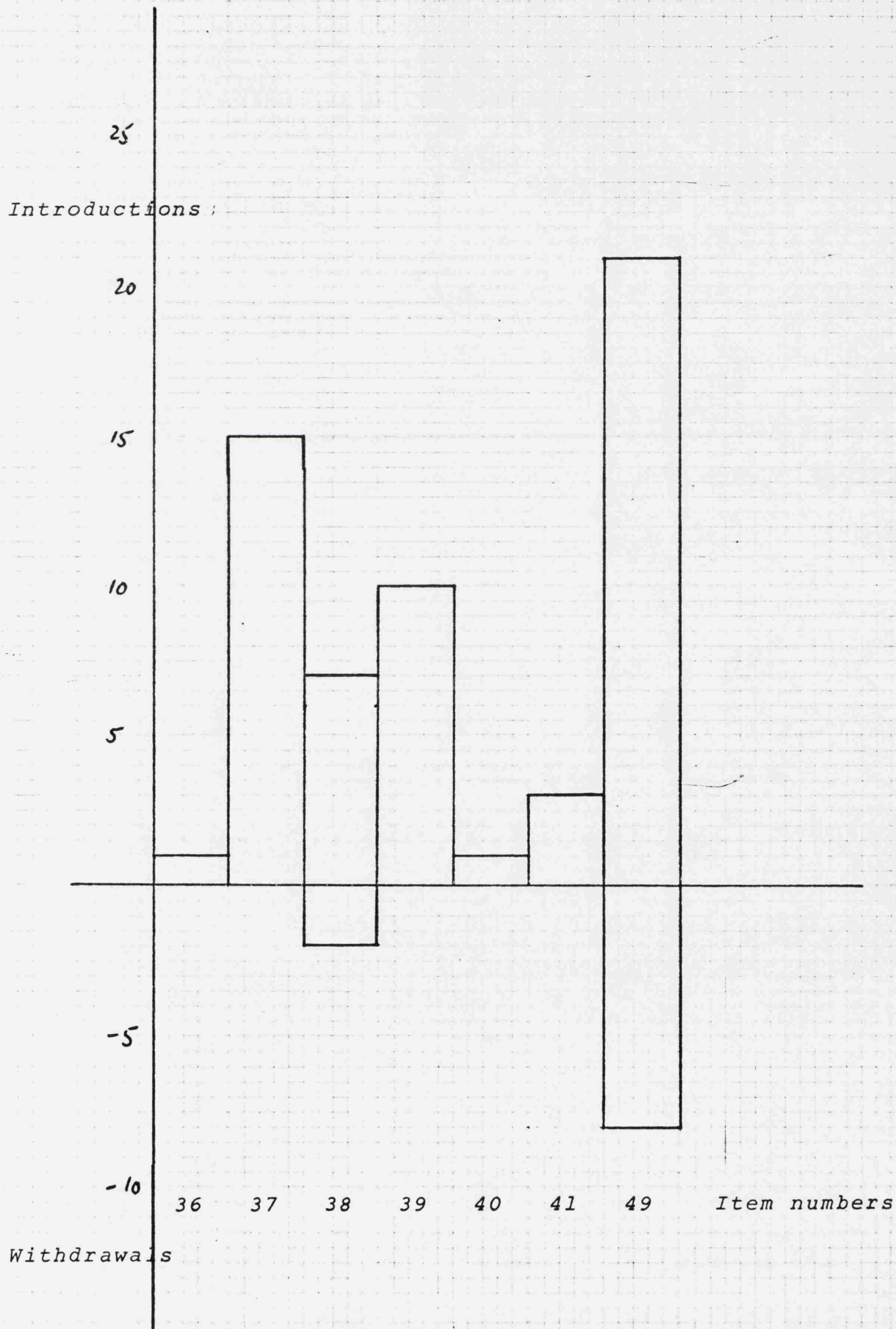


Innovations in Education : questionnaire
MANAGEMENT (Grouping) 'Mg' items
Introductions
Withdrawals
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
-5
-10
11
12
13
14
15
16
51
Item numbers


Innovations in Education : questionnaire
OPERATIONAL (General) 'O' items
30
Introductions
25
20
15
10
5
-5
-10
Withdrawals
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
25
27
34
Items
Numbers

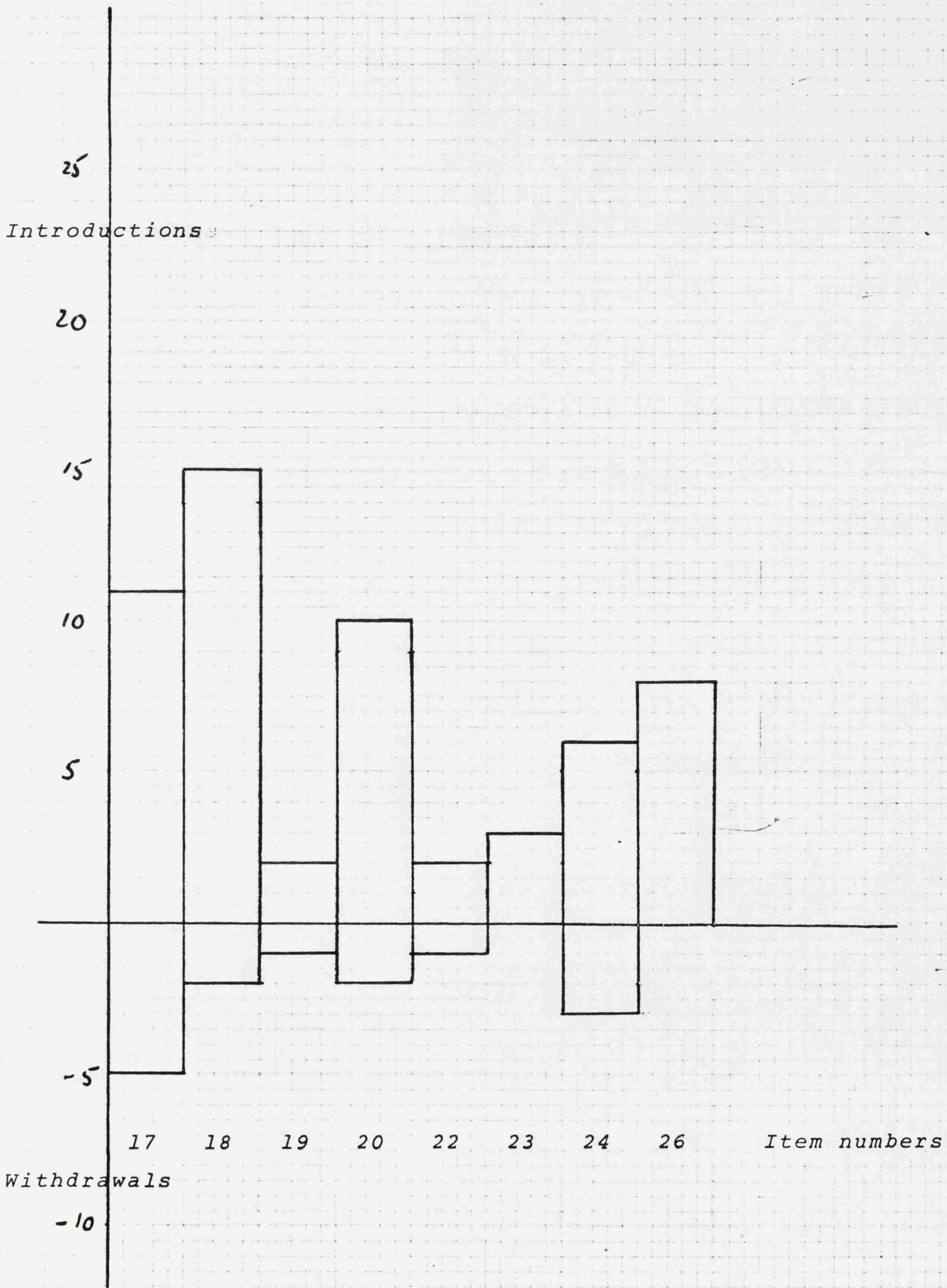
Innovations in Education : questionnaire

OPERATIONAL (Assessment) 'O_a' *items*



Innovations in Education : questionnaire

OPERATIONAL (Curriculum) 'O_c' items



Innovations in Education : questionnaire

PILOTAGE 'P' items

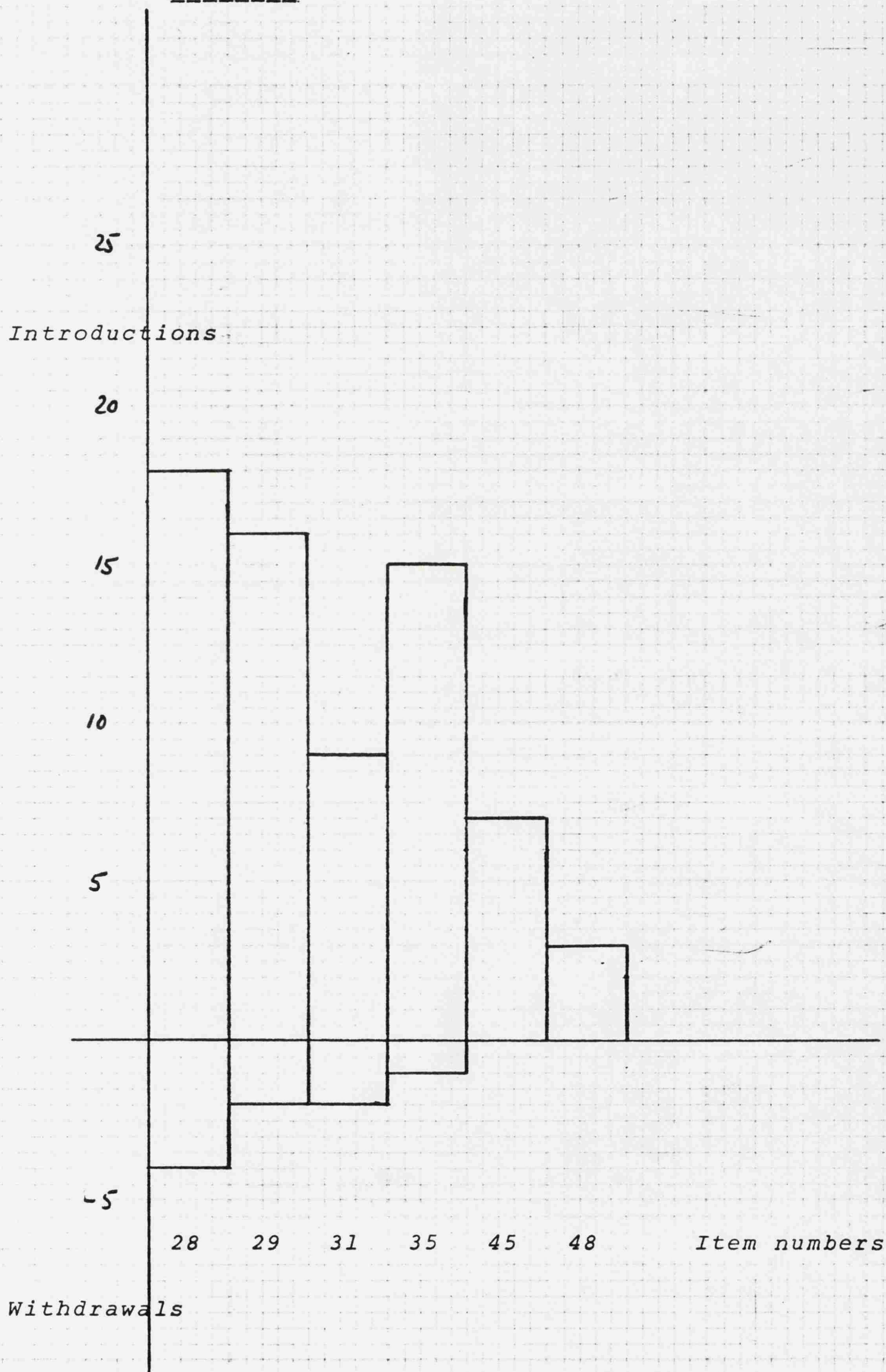
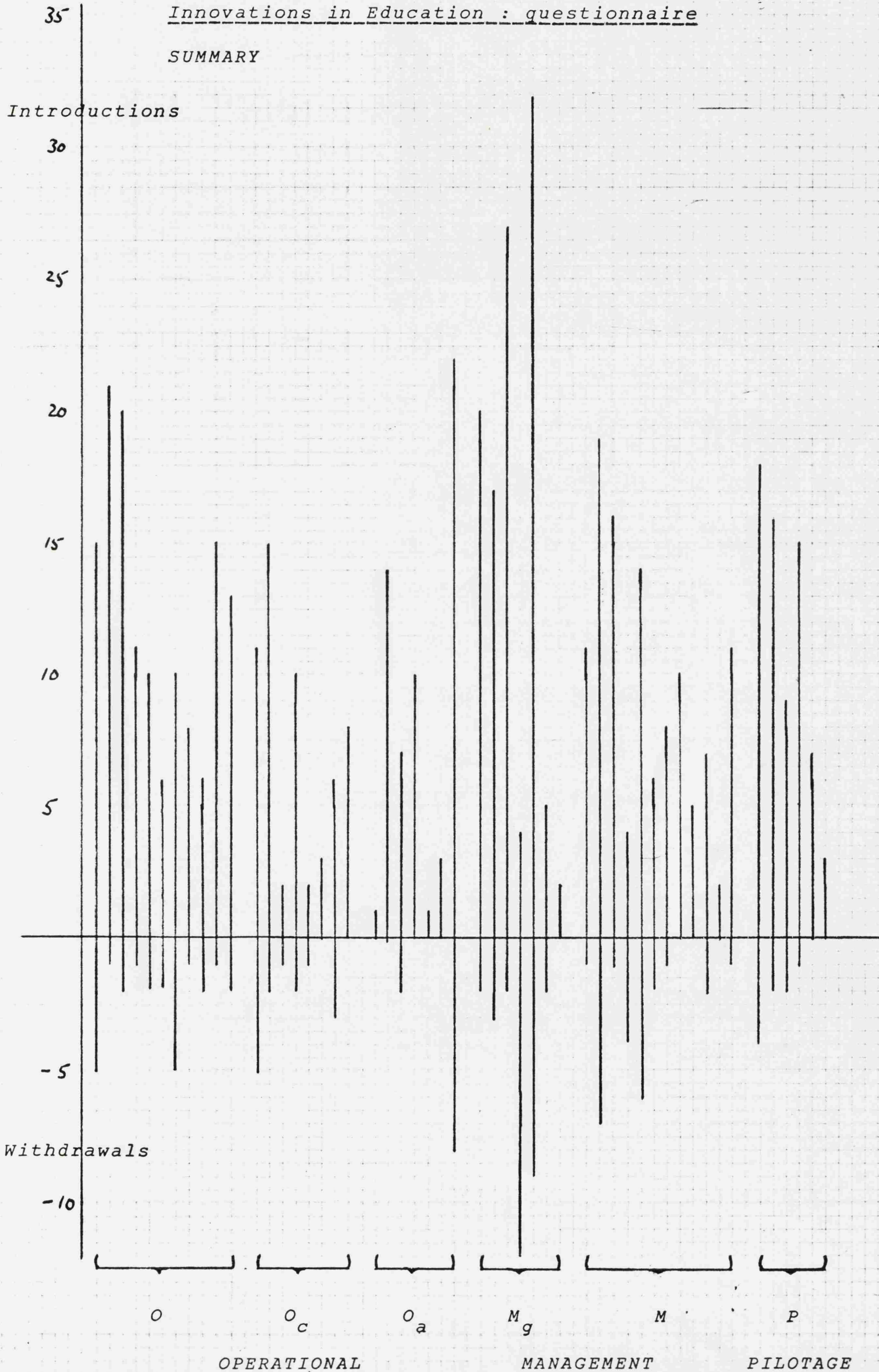


Figure 7

Innovations in Education : questionnaire

SUMMARY



Changes in Education : Classification of items in questionnaire

OPERATIONAL (General) O items:

1 Regular use of Schools broadcasts

2 Regular school foreign visits

3 Regular use of fieldwork

4 Link courses School/FE

5 Language laboratories

6 Programmed learning

7 Project based learning

8 Self-paced learning

25 Community work schemes

27 Use of class textbooks from Year One

34 Homework for all pupils

OPERATIONAL (Curriculum) O_c items

17 Humanities curriculum project

18 Nuffield science

19 Nuffield French

20 SMP and/or Maths for the majority

21 Latin in the lower school

22 Classical studies

23 Common curriculum in middle years

24 Compulsory VI form General Studies

26 Unisex combined crafts course

OPERATIONAL (Assessment) O_a items

36 Pupil self-assessed profiles

37 Internal annual examinations

38 Periodic form/tutor group rankings

39 Continuous assessment credits

40 Regular testing mental arithmetic

41 Regular testing use of English

49 CSE/O level Mode 3 courses

MANAGEMENT (Grouping) M_g items

11 Remedial groups

12 Banding

13 Setting

14 Streaming

15 Mixed ability grouping

16 Express groups

51 Delta grouping

MANAGEMENT (General)   M items

9 School Resource Centre

10 Team teaching

30 Parent Teacher Association

32 Corporal punishment

33 School speech days

42 External exam results in Press

43 School based in-service training

44 Probationer induction scheme

46 Teacher counsellor for staff

47 School 'parliament'

50 Use of Davies' Curriculum Notation

52 Use of job descriptions and staff specifications in appointments

PILOTAGE   P items

28 House system

29 Year system

31 Prefect system

35 School uniform

45 Teacher counsellor for pupils

48 School 'sanctuary'

Pilot survey questionnaire:

Rank order of items in respect to total number of changes recorded in responses, classified as Operational ($O/O_a/O_c$), Management (M_g/M) or Pilotage items.

Rank	Score (N)	Item	Description	Classification
1	41	15	Mixed ability grouping	M_g
2	30	49	CSE/O level Mode 3	O_a
3	29	13	Setting	M_g
4	26	10	Team teaching	M
5=	22	2	Regular foreign visits	O
		3	Regular fieldwork	O
		11	Remedial groups	M_g
		28	House system	P
9=	20	1	Regular broadcasts	O
		12	Banding	M_g
		33	School speech days	M
12	18	29	Year system	P
13=	17	18	Nuffield science	O_c
		30	Parent Teacher Association	M
15=	16	14	Streaming	M_g
		17	Humanities curric. project	O_c
		27	Textbooks from Year One	O
		35	School uniform	P
19=	15	7	Project based learning	O
		34	Homework for all	O
		37	Internal annual exams	O_z

Rank	Score (N)	Item	Description	Classification
22=	12	4	Link courses/FE	O
		5	Language laboratories	O
		9	Rēsource Centre	M
		20	SMP/Maths for majority	O_c
		52	Job descriptions/specificns.	M
27	11	31	Prefect system	P
28=	10	39	Continuous assessment	O_a
		44	Probationer induction	M
30=	9	8	Self-paced learning	O
		24	VI General Studies	O_c
		38	Form/group rankings	O_a
		43	School in-service training	M
		47	School parliament	M
35=	8	6	Programmed learning	O
		25	Community work schemes	O
		26	Unisex crafts	O_c
		32	Corporal punishment	M
		42	Exam results in Press	M
40=	7	16	Express groups	M_g
		45	Counsellor for pupils	P
42	5	46	Counsellor for staff	M
43=	3	19	Nuffield French	O_c
		22	Classical studies	O_c
		23	Common curric. middle years	O_c
		41	Testing use of English	O_a
		48	School sanctuary	P

Rank	Score (N)	Item	Description	Classification
48=	2	50	Davies Curriculum Notation	M
		51	Delta grouping	M_g
50=	1	36	Self-assessed profiles	O_a
		40	Testing mental arithmetic	O_a
52	0	21	Latin in lower school	O_c

Additional items supplied by 10 respondents:

Frequency score indicates withdrawal (-) or Introduction (+)

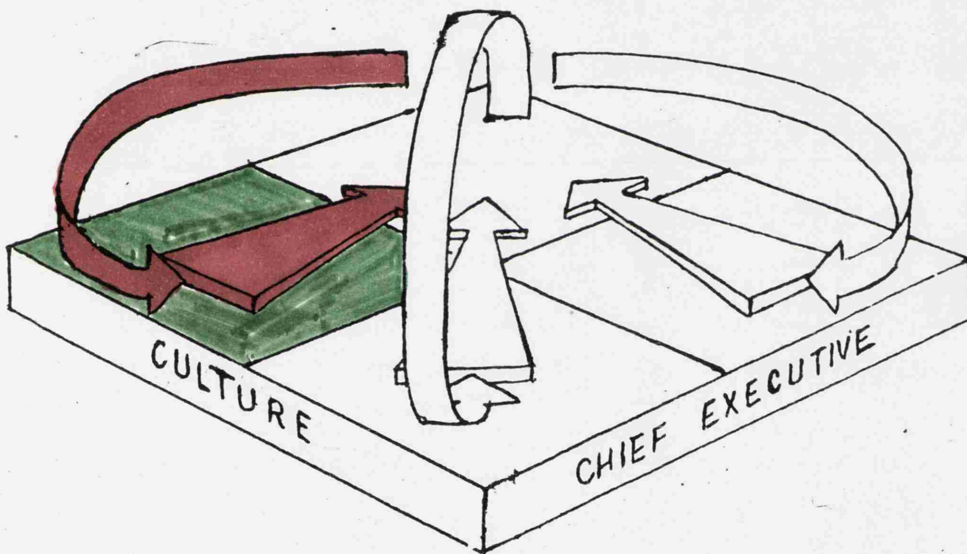
Frequency		Item
+	1	P E clothing policy
+	1	Games options, upper school
+,-	2	New detention system
+	1	Schools Council project History 13-16
+	1	Education for personal relationships course
-	1	Lower school magazine
-	1	Package learning, English
+	1	Cambridge 'A' level modern maths
+	1	Pupil record card

Thus no additional item scored more than two changes, ie if added to the rank order list above, only one new item would rank 48=; the rest would share 51= rank.

Mean ranking scores of each classification groupa included in pilot questionnaire items:

Classification grouping		Sum total of rankings	Number of items	Mean ranking
MANAGEMENT (Grouping)	M_g	121	7	17
OPERATIONAL (General)	O	216	11	20
PILOTAGE	P	127	6	21
MANAGEMENT (General)	M	318	12	27
OPERATIONAL (Assessment)	O_a	222	7	32
OPERATIONAL (Curriculum)	O_c	290	9	32

CHIEF EXECUTIVE FAMILIAR - INCHOATE CULTURE



Case study

Quarrybank Middle School

Chapter 8
Preface

This case study was based on a number of personally recorded interviews with the chief executive, the two deputy headteachers and the four Heads of Years who comprised the Middle School's management corps. Additional data was drawn from school records, staff handbooks, internal memoranda, staff disposition summaries and teaching timetables.

This investigation was significant in several respects to the total research conducted into the factors affecting the receptivity to innovation at the level of individual schools.

As a Middle school, Quarrybank was itself a whole institutional innovation on the English maintained school scene and as such was potentially open to a very wide range of innovative proposals which could be organized into a novel values-structure-technology framework.

It was during the investigation at Quarrybank which followed the chief executive's invitation to study his successful implementation of Delta grouping practices that the outlines of the model of institutional dynamics were formed.

As this model was more clearly defined and refined, existing data and reports of innovative activities in educational institutions was reassessed. Subsequent field work in Quarrybank and other schools lent support to the view that innovative activity and periods of maintenance of the existing states were more closely associated with the interaction of chief executive and assistant teachers, and determined more by the longevity of this association and degree of cultural cohesion than by external factors such as political interest in schooling, funding and research and dissemination of innovations.

The Middle School innovation in the maintained sector of education

Decision-making connected with the establishment, provisioning, setting of objectives and managing of schools was conducted at three distinct levels, in line with existing practice. An analysis by Kogan (1973) of areas controlled by the Department of Education and Science, the local education authorities and the school headteachers is given in Appendix 2 . The arrangements can be briefly summarised as follows:

> The DES formulated norms relating to buildings, staffing levels and, indirectly, recurrent expenditure. It was always involved in any proposals for changing the status quo. The LEAs administered both the law of education and the building, staffing and capitation norms. The curriculum, internal organization, management and discipline were under the control of the headteacher.

The days of formal machinery linking the areas and decision making at the three levels , as far as planning, implementation and evaluation were concerned, had long passed. The abolition of 'payments by results', centrally determined curriculum Codes and the regular round of school visits by the HMI was complete by the nineteen sixties. It is to be noted, however, that among the current issues in education

are proposals for a national curriculum and assessment of performance. Other trends indicate strong integrative tendencies and consequent potential loss of freedom at the periphery of operations.

The Leicestershire experiment

In 1964 the DES, through parliamentary legislation, allowed variations in the age of transfer between primary and secondary school units. The Leicestershire Experiment, adopted in 1957 and commonly viewed as the pioneer in the Middle school concept, had to work within the constraints of previous legislation, which had fixed the primary/secondary interface at eleven years. Consequently there are no designated Middle schools, straddling this age, in that county. Although, in his advocacy of the Experiment, the chief education officer stated that its chief virtue was that the school concerned could be easily modified (Mason 1964). Ten years later no middle schools have been created.

This point highlights a crucial issue concerning innovation - that of timing. Mason had, during his time as chief education officer, become acutely aware of the distortions and dissonances associated with post-war implementation of the eleven-plus quality control instrument. His county was already admitting twenty five percent of children to the grammar schools.

> Ten years ago I had comparatively few qualms about the effect of the selection examination on the work of the primary schools. Only the very worst, it seemed, were prepared to allow it to distort the curriculum. Every year I grow more uneasy.
>
> Mason (1962)

He admitted that the burden of placing children in grammar and modern schools was borne by his centrally located officers. Parents of children at the cut-off point were increasing in numbers and in vociferousness:

> ... there was no doubt that parental anxiety remains unabated and builds up a state of neurosis in home and school.
>
> Mason (1962)

It must also be said that this was true of the education office, where officials had become acutely aware that their allocations lacked an educational rationale. They depended almost entirely on the size of the grammar school buildings - a somewhat pragmatic approach which was difficult to justify in theoretical terms.

The Mason Plan, implemented in a few selected areas of his county in 1957, had the following characteristics:

1 All the children in the area were transferred at the age of eleven to the secondary modern schools - renamed High Schools.

2 These schools would cater for all children up to the end of the compulsory years of schooling, which, at that time was reached at the age of fifteen, except for those who wished to transfer to the Upper Schools at the age of fourteen. The Upper Schools were based on the former grammar school premises.

This plan was administratively satisfactory in that
a) no capital costs of any magnitude were incurred
b) education officers were relieved of the need to make transfer judgements - at any age.
Because the High Schools were also organized as terminal schools they could not be deemed Middle Schools, either at that time or after the changes in legislation under which middle schools were established in other areas.

> The plan had the practical advantage of fitting snugly into the pattern of school buildings as they exist in the county and appeals to those who are old-fashioned enough to admire the particular virtues of the medium sized school.
>
> Mason (1962)

Hardly any other local education authority adopted the

Mason Plan. Even the newly reorganized Leicestershire LEA shows today, six years after amalgamation, that his ideas did not cross the former county/city boundary.

In terms of dissemination and take-up, the Plan was not well timed. It was a solution to perceived pressures exerted on a small group of administrators by an increase in school population and a rise in parental expectations, all in the context of limited resources. The somewhat Procrustean approach to educational provision that formed the core of the administrative plan was not, however, lost on education officers, politicians and HMI in the rest of the country. Within a very few years of the modifications of the law relating to primary-secondary transfer a 'new' organization, the Middle School arose. By 1979/80 the number of such schools was 1,385. This compares with the 22,482 schools which cater for the primary age range.

Although the Plowden Report (1967) had offered psychological and physiological reasons for a delay in the transfer age, it failed to provide a convincing case for a new phase of schooling to be sandwiched between the traditional primary and secondary stages. Neither the political parties nor the DES, nor the LEAs presented an educational rationale for such an organization, although the economic reasons were powerful.

Given that permitted entry age could range from eight

to ten years and the leaving age from twelve to fourteen, depending on the wishes of the LEA, and that some middle schools were deemed 'primary' and others 'secondary', a considerable conceptual confusion existed from the outset. It was, therefore, left to the teachers appointed to such schools to create a value-structure-technology framework for this newly formed phase in the compulsory education process.

Downshire LEA

School provision

The provision of places for children below the compulsory school leaving age was a mandatory duty placed on local education authorities. This did not mean that they need to provide schools as such. The Education Act of 1870 encouraged local authorities to make use of the many denominational schools already in existence, run mainly by the Church of England, and to fill in the gaps by establishing county elementary schools.

The number, size and composition of school units within any one authority arose from the interaction of geographical factors, population distribution, demographic trends, national legislation, resource provision norms and educational policies at both national and local level. In recent years the elaboration of the curriculum and the changes in the modus operandi of teaching processes have also had a considerable impact on what is deemed to be an acceptable standard of provision.

The history of schooling in an area shows very clearly how these factors have influenced decision making

and actual provision. The trend is towards larger but fewer units - a grossing up and increasing centralization which is best studied on the geographical periphery of a local authority area and on the boundary between two stages in the education process. Such a situation is found in a six hundred square mile sector of Downshire.

Developments, 1870 - 1944

Seventy years ago there were over forty elementary schools and only one secondary school, which was situated in the largest settlement on the coast. Scholarship winners from the elementary schools, no more than two per cent of any year cohort, were enrolled at this grammar school and were expected to remain until their sixteenth birthday. The local bye-laws governing school attendance up to thirteen years of age for their contemporaries were not very strongly enforced and consequently increasing numbers of those children remaining in the elementary schools dropped out after Standard Five (eleven year olds). The small numbers of older pupils remaining were encouraged, for economic reasons, to enrol at the

nearest 'central' school. There were four of these schools, and they provided a more elaborate curriculum, including the sciences and modern languages, for children up to the leaving age of thirteen.

The school leaving age was raised to fourteen after the first World War and local authorities were forced to consider some form of secondary education for all children. The Central schools were renamed Senior schools and all pupils over the age of eleven were transferred to them if they were not offered grammar school places. By the end of the 1940s the situation in the area was that there were thirty two elementary schools, four senior schools and one grammar school. Entry to the grammar school was still governed by success in the eleven plus examinations, although the proportion of the yearly cohort succeeding was now one in ten. A number of elementary schools, which thus no longer kept pupils beyond their eleventh birthday, were then closed on economic grounds. The children living in small hamlets and villages had to make their way to the larger settlements for their compulsory schooling. The closure of village schools had serious consequences for the local inhabitants for whom it was an important centre of activities and interests.

In later years the Church of England was to follow the same centralising path. It amalgamated parishes, conducted services at central places or provided only alternate Sunday provision at many of its churches.

Changes after World War II

This pre-war schooling provision was continued, with the addition of an extra secondary year when the leaving age was raised again , in 1947, to fifteen. This change only affected the four Senior schools,which were now renamed secondary modern. The elementary schools were renamed primary. The law concerning the age of transfer from primary to secondary stages was modified in 1964, during a period of central government pressure for comprehensive schooling. Various arrangements acceptable to the Department of Education and Science were circulated to local authorities. Shortly afterwards the Plowden report on Primary education was published and provided ideological support for a more flexible approach to transfer.

The local authority's plan for the area under scrutiny was to dissolve the secondary modern and grammar achools in the main settlement of Quarrybank and establish a 13-18 comprehensive school. Feeding this would be three widely separated 'Middle' schools for children aged 9-13. These would be fed by a number af 'First' schools for the 5-9 year olds, distributed around the region. This three tier approach had a number of consequences.

1 It meant that all children from the whole six hundred square miles of countryside, which had considerable transport problems, would now have to attend one secondary school in order to complete their compulsory schooling. This school would then have more than a thousand pupils.

2 The erstwhile central/senior/secondary modern schools would now form three middle schools by keeping children until their thirteenth birthday and by taking the 'top' off all the surrounding primary schools near to them.

3 Because of this decapitation, a number of primary schools would no longer be considered viable. By 1974, when reorganization had been completed, no less than sixteen primary schools were closed.

Two further points are of particular interest. First, a ring fence system was operated in the area during the initial phase of appointments to the new middle and comprehensive school. Vacancies were mainly filled by the teachers already employed in the schools. Secondly, the middle school arrangement was considered to be less expensive than a straight transfer at eleven, on the grounds that staffing and other norms relating to secondary education were at a higher level than for primary schools. The new middle schools would cater for

two of the former secondary years of education at the lower cost as a result of this plan, and existing premises could by utilised. Thus one result of the reorganization of schooling in the area was the creation of a new type of unit, the Middle school, for 9-13 year olds. The one established in Quarrybank forms the basis of this case study.

<u>Quarrybank Middle School - Summary of crucial factors</u>

The Downshire education officers decided

a) to establish this school with a 9-13 age range,
b) to deem it 'secondary' for administrative purposes, although in practice the staffing norms were closer to the primary school norms,
c) to appoint, as its first headteacher, a man from another authority which had just previously set up its own middle schools,
d) to staff the school mainly by transfer from local primary and secondary modern schools, which would lose children to the new school,

The organization of schooling

The nature of tasks associated with compulsory education dictates to a very large extent the internal organization characteristics of schools. When aggregated, the conditions required to socialize young children differ significantly from those needed to maximize individual cognitive development. Both these tasks are present at all stages of schooling but the order of priority alters with increasing age, ability and aptitude of pupils. The orthogonal nature of this change in task priorities and concomitant structures have conventionally been accommodated by having primary schools on one side of the eleven - plus boundary and secondary schools on the other.

A model of school activities is now discussed which relates task organization to structures and which helps to identify some of the problems created when the task changeover becomes embedded in a single institution such as a Middle School.

Hutton's model of school tasks and structures

Some years before the widespread abolition of the transfer examination in England, the comprehensive reorganization on any large scale and the DES and Plowden support for middle schooling, Hutton (1961) developed a model relating task organization to structures. He identified three kinds of school activities: Operational, Pilotage and Extension. These were defined as follows:

Operational activities (O)

These are the instructional or teaching activities, fairly rigidly defined as being those between the teacher and the pupil with the pupil's learning the subject matter in hand. They could, in principle,

be carried out by machines.

Pilotage (P)

These activities are concerned with the position of the child as a whole in the social system of the school. In some schools the idea of 'pastoral' activities is similar.

Extension (Q)

These activities are extra-mural and non-curricular.

A form of organization particularly well adapted to pursue P activities is termed a confederation of village schools, with an associated set of 'V' characteristics:

V_1 Continuity of pupil group within the week and year

V_2 Continuity of teacher contact with this group

V_3 Small teacher-set or group of teachers to which each child is exposed

V_4 Wide range of subjects or problems in teacher-pupil relationships.

The class teacher is the prime operator of this system. There is little attempt to place the expertise of the whole staff group at the service of each class of children. Close regular contact with a single teacher is considered more important, so that the desired behaviours and attitudes can continually be instilled. The teachers involved often become very attached to their groups, although this is not always reciprocated. Many are reluctant to hand

over their classes to better qualified colleagues even for a few lessons a week. The pressure on primary schools to widen the curriculum in order to include the sciences and languages and to adopt a more rigorous approach to English and mathematics widens the gap between the desired levels and areas of studies and the actual teacher expertise available. The problem is partly resolved by the importation of pre-packed courses and modules legitimated by the Schools Council and the Nuffield Education Foundation. One effect of this type of innovation is to reduce opportunities for further development because it tends to lock sections together, for example, the science studies across several primary school years. The opportunity for an incoming class teacher to make further changes is severely reduced.

The confederation of separate classes or 'village schools' within one institution becomes more unitary as control over curriculum details passes from the class teachers to the head of the school through his choice of reading or mathematics schemes. He may also direct that a uniform teaching style be implemented, thus further reducing variations between classes.

The form of organization best suited for 'O' activities is termed a confederation of special schools by Hutton, and has the following 'S' characteristics:

S_1 Variation in pupil groupings within the week and year

S_2 Variation in teacher contact

S_3 Large teacher set

S_4 Special narrow range of subjects or problems in teacher-pupil relationships.

Such an organization allows the development of secondary specialist teachers into departments, or schools-within-a-school. When fully implemented, individual children will be in contact with about ten different teachers in a normal working week. Authority of expertise is supported by an initial degree or higher education training. In secondary schools nearly fifty per cent of teachers are graduates, comapred with less than one in ten in primary schools.

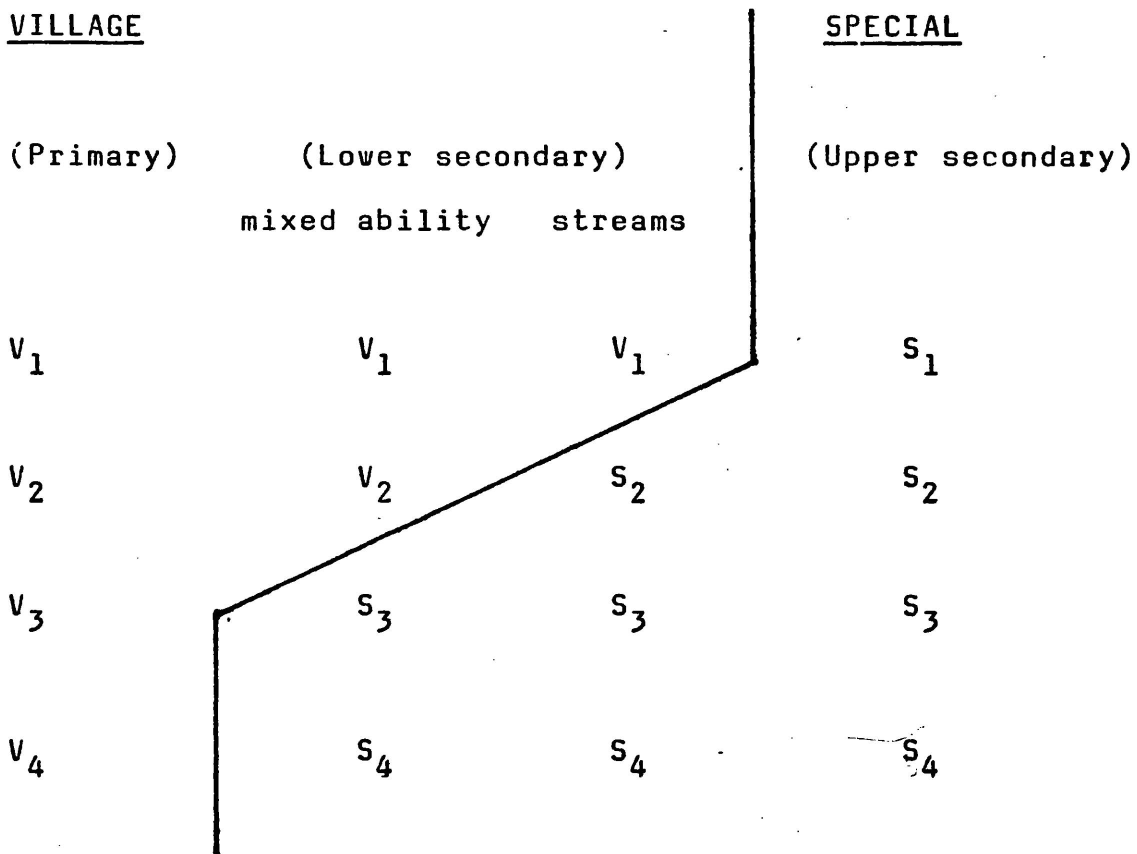
Subject based secondary teachers can and do develop fraternal relations with teachers associated with their subject in other schools, in a way which is not open to the 'village school' teachers. These associations commonly include university-based specialists. Meetings and journals help to maintain the attachment to a discipline and also provide a means of updating a teacher's knowledge and expertise. A field of knowledge provides a territory with which a teacher can identify. This territory has its hierarchy, extending into the university sphere. The price of continued membership of these socio-intellectual systems is continual defence of their boundaries and deference to their highest authorities, who determine

what is, for example, good history or good science.

Although a present day secondary school headteacher possesses considerable powers of office, which have changed little from those held by his nineteenth century public school predecessors, he is no longer a master of scholarship in the mould of Thring or Arnold. The distance between a contemporary headteacher's expertise and the extent of the school curriculum has increased dramatically in recent years. There are now some forty subjects offered for examination by GCE and CSE boards. No headteacher can claim formal professional qualifications and teaching experience in more than about fifteen per cent of externally examined work. Managing a confederation of special schools in the context of a formal decision making structure that has not changed in a hundred years presents considerable difficulty. Headteachers are now expressing much interest in organization theory and practice, with particular interest in integrative devices. Where these have been implemented the effect has been a significant modification of the pure model of a federation of special schools. These devices are discussed in detail elsewhere, but the figure below summarises the two pure forms of Hutton's model with two examples of transitional types:

Figure 8

Pure and transitional forms of village and federation of special schools



The Primary-Secondary interface and its organizational implications

A straight run through all the stages of education up to and including graduation commonly takes sixteen years. The three stages, primary, secondary and tertiary have traditionally been separated by quality control measures, ie the eleven-plus tests and the Higher/Advanced level examinations. With the abolition of the former it is now possible for most children to have eleven years of state-provided schooling without any form of external examination. This is a very long time for a process to exist without some regular form of external evaluation or feedback either to the target population or to the sponsors.

There is a danger that the infant, primary and secondary subsystems may lose contacts and connections. If regular feedback mechanisms are not associated with the educational process - and eleven years without formal evaluation denotes a considerable span, then it is quite possible that curricular content, teaching/learning strategies and work levels become disorganized from the point of view of the individual child. It is the child that makes the eleven year journey through the school stages. Teachers themselves have a very low mobility rate in movement from one sector to another.

Very few teachers, therefore, have professional experience of what is required of pupils if they are to master the next stage in their education.

Less than ten per cent of the total teaching force engaged in teaching up to the end of compulsory schooling is working in programmes which culminate in the 4th/5th year pupils being assessed externally by university-controlled examining boards. Even those providing courses leading to the Certificate of Secondary Education work towards standards which are validated by their peers; university staff being excluded as a matter of policy.

Traditionally, the examination at or about eleven years of age was the first important quality control instrument in the maintained sector of schooling. It marked a separation between two stages in the rites de passage of modern industrial society which has, at different times, been variously characterised, for example by the separation of boys from girls, the cutting off of the childish locks of the boys, the wearing of long trousers, attendance at the family evening dinner, the removal from the care of the nanny. This age was a very important landmark, both in physiological and psychological terms, particularly in respect to the onset of puberty. It is not surprising that this age was also recognised in terms of educational provision.

With the growth of the movement in favour of comprehensive

secondary education, which insists that <u>all</u> children be kept together in one school until they reach the limits of compulsory schooling, the age of transfer became a significant matter for debate. The Plowden report (1967) rehearsed some of the arguments for maintaining the status quo, which can be summarised as follows:

1 An earlier transfer age could interfere with the primary sector schools which 'were rapidly becoming leaders in educational advance'. A change would 'disturb a revolution in ways of teaching'....

Apparently revolutionists, like maintainers, dislike interruptions.

2 Transfer at eleven gave the secondary school staff time to get to know their pupils before decisions on choice of courses are made at the age of about 14.

This does not explain why secondary school teachers need a three year 'diagnostic' period when in all other stages three years is the average duration of the total separation+transition+incorporation process.

3 The existing transfer age would allow eleven and twelve year olds to benefit from the 'stimulus of teaching by .. specialists.. in subjects such as mathematics and science.

4 'There is also the point that transfer at eleven allows a small majority of pupils time to adjust

to their new school before meeting the strains of puberty'.

Such a summary of the arguments for maintenance of the status quo highlights the institutional tensions arising from vested interests on both sides of the transfer boundary.

Plowden's list of arguments <u>for</u> a change in the transfer age did not include any reference to an earlier age. The desirability of delaying the transfer was supported by reference to:

1 Piaget's model of the emergence of powers of abstract thought and the need to avoid interruptions in the children's developmental processes.

2 The fact that junior schools were teaching such secondary school subjects as sciences, languages and mathematics already.

3 The fact that secondary schools were now so large that new entrants at the age of eleven could not expect to claim much attention from the highly qualified teachers dealing with the growing numbers of sixth formers.

4 The difficulty for a school unit to cater for such an extended age range as 11-18.

The evidence to support these generalizations was neither referred to nor made available in the report. It may be conjectured that, since at the time the Advisory Council sat, the transfer at eleven plus was an important political issue and any other age of transfer but that one was preferable, in order to rid the state system of 'the dreaded landmark' as the report termed it in its very first paragraph on the subject. Transfer at twelve was recommended.

This report, which considerably influenced primary school organization , objectives and teaching strategies for more than a decade, also strongly recommended the establishment of 'middle' schools for children over nine yeats old up to the transfer at twelve. There was no mention whatsoever of psychological and physiological evidence to support transfer to this new type of schooling. The Report encouraged acceptance of the 'progressive-informal-child-centred' ideology of education.

The examination arranged for those about to enter their teenage stage had, for most of the century, tied the curriculum and teaching styles of the primary schools to the requirements of the secondary schools. It acted, therefore, both as an instrument of quality control and as a goal for primary school activity. In short, state primary schools were preparation schools for the next stage of educational operations. In this respect they

mirrored the activity and purpose of the preparatory schools in the independent sector. Automatic entry to a single type of secondary scool has made the eleven plus examination procedure ostensibly irrelevant. It has appeared to have lost total validity because it was not one hundred per cent perfect as a selection instrument after it had become distorted in application. As a result, primary school teachers have, in general, been relieved of the tensions and pressures associated with the quality control procedures. Although, in the years immediately following abolition of the examination, considerable numbers of primary teachers had practical experience of work at this level and the top junior classes were working to the standards of the eleven plus examination this is no longer true.

Transfer at eleven should not be seen purely in terms of selection. This particular age identified a definite boundary between the clutch of values, attitudes, operations and objectives broadly subsumed under the primary education label and those attributed to the secondary stage of schooling. These distinctions were manifest in the size of school units, internal organization and teacher qualifications. With respect to this last category, it is not uncommon for teachers to be told that their application for a post teaching younger children has been rejected on the grounds that they are 'too well qualified'. To know too much about the stage further on

in the sequence is frequently construed as a threat rather than as a potential advantage. Such authority based on expertise and experience must not be allowed to conflict with the authority of office of those managing the earlier stages. This has a considerable effect on the type of innovations sanctioned by the heads of the organizations and, inevitably influences the direction and pace of any resultant change.

The potential conflict between primary and secondary values is generally handled by embedding them in different institutions. Structurally, a potential exists for a clean break at the primary/secondary interface.

The Downshire decisions

As stated above, the education authority had decided to staff the middle school by drawing on teachers already in service in the Quarrybank district. This 'ring fence' policy had definite advantages for the administrative officers, since it avoided the awkward problems associated with the dismissal of serving teachers displaced by others appointed from outside the authority. As will be discussed below, however, it created problems at the level of operations in the context of an innovatory institution, which continue to exist a decade after the policy was formulated and implemented.

The only exception to this arrangement was that Downshire imported people to fill the executive posts. They were brought in from other authorities which had already set up middle schools. Given the novelty of this institutional type on the education scene, the imported experience was,of necessity, shallow. By 1971, the year of the appointment of the first head-teacher to Quarrybank, the number and lifespan of the country's middle schools is shown below:

Figure 9

Numbers of Middle Schools in all LEAs

1960	1965	1969	1970	1972
-	-	15	136	323

(DES Statistics)

Bearing in mind that the totals shown include the whole range of age bands permitted, 8 - 12, 9 - 13 and 10 - 14, and the fact that no teacher could possibly have experienced even one complete school cycle of four years before being appointed to the new Quarrybank school, these figures illustrate very clearly that there was no extensive experience of middle schools on which Downshire LEA could draw.

The centrally-determined policy to establish new institutions called middle schools did not include any reference to the aims and objectives of these novel

enterprises. The decision to bring in teachers who had been associated, however briefly, with the innovation elsewhere was a convenient way of overcoming the problem of working out just exactly what the primary task was to be.

The teachers involved at operational level had, therefore, little guidance from education officers, who they came to view as working on the level of quartermasters - issuing materials and running expenses as per regulations, rather than as guides, philosophers and friends in a new education adventure. The present chief executive of Quarrybank viewed the initial period of reconstruction this way when it was discussed:

> Q *Why did the County go for a Middle school set up here?*
>
> *I think that they went for a Middle school set-up for two reasons; the cost of running small rural schools - by taking the top element out (two senior years) and putting them into larger units such as the middle school it meant that they could close a number of small rural elements. They became non-viable.*

I think also that it appeared at that stage to be a cheaper alternative to the eleven-to-sixteen type of comprehensive in as much as there was an expectation that the degree of expertise and equipment would be less ... in the event they have found that middle schools are very expensive. I suspect that this is one of the reasons why the middle school programme has not been completed in this area or elsewhere in the county. It was one of those bandwagons that seemed to be The Answer in terms of organizational structure and in terms of finance.

Q *Was there something which you could say was the concept of middle schooling - this is what middle schooling is all about?*

No. There was nothing in effect to really guide anyone. Middle schools were very very new. No one really knew what a middle school was and it was one of the reasons why they imported headteachers to a large extent into this area because they felt there was no expertise here that could cope with what a middle school is. They also picked a time when the heads of the various schools were due for retirement.

Quarrybank's chief executive was unable to identify clearly the distinctive tasks of the new enterprise. The school handbook contained the following statement:

Objectives

The school will work to develop within each individual child the 'right' attitude, values, skills and ideas, which are acceptable and expected by society, namely -

i To provide for the all round development of each individual child to its full potential

ii To foster in every child a desire for learning and the development of an enquiring mind. This involves

a observing and understanding

b posing questions and devising means of answering such queries

c having the ability to arrive at conclusions and the courage and initiative to act upon such conclusions

d having the ability to communicate ideas and findings through a variety of media

e having the ability to appreciate patterns and relationships

iii To encourage the development of interests, attitudes and aesthetic awareness. This involves the fostering of

a sensitivity and imagination

b a high level of perseverence

c a high level of tolerance towards fellow creatures

d a highly developed level of moral concepts

e a responsibility to the community and society of which the child is part (beyond the bounds of school).

There is nothing in this list that would prevent its being published in relation to any sector of the compulsory education system, from infant level to the sixth form. Neither was it original to Quarrybank, as it was published by another middle school headteacher in a distant education authority at an earlier date. (Charles, 1974)

That the officers of Downshire Education Authority placed little value on the identification of the major operational issues involved with those likely to be affected is illustrated by the following comments. The teacher concerned could not recall the Unions' being consulted and she said:

> *I have a visual image of the whole staff sitting in the Library and the Chief Education Officer saying that reorganization had been suggested but, as it was so highly confidential for the moment, would we keep it confidential. must have heard something; everybody was agitated. I can remember everyone muttering and wondering. Then nothing at all until*

> *it was a fait accompli. There was great upheaval in the area.*

In short, the officials viewed the teachers as functionaries. A senior teacher, discussing his own approach on appointment to the new Quarrybank Middle school said:

> *You can imagine that at the time it was a case of "here's a clean slate, what do we score on it as a kick off point?"*

The very same teachers who had been denied an airing of their own anxieties and problems by the education officers, before the decision to reorganize had been confirmed, in turn adopted a similar mechanistic attitude to their own subordinates. Assistant teachers and pupils were seen as so many pieces of bright and shiny Meccano which could be bolted together according to the organization architect's plan. In fact, of course, each individual involved on the new enterprise was already partially or wholly 'formed' in terms of attitudes, values and beliefs arising from their previous experiences. They were not, therefore, 'straights','90° bends'or'base plates'. Nor could they be treated as tabulae rasae - unscratched surfaces upon which organization managers could score their own values.

The initial school intake of children was organized into

mixed ability groups. This was the first innovation designed to make the middle school 'distinctive'. It was a pupil grouping practice familiar to the first head in his previous post, but no other teacher involved had experienced the practice with the 11-13 age group to which it was now applied.

Those concerned came together as the school staff in September 1971 to implement the headteacher's decision. It is instructive to refer to some of the implications of introducing mixed ability grouping made by Her Majesty's Inspectorate in 1978:

1 A decision on the adoption of mixed ability grouping needs to be preceded by detailed considerations of aims and consequences in both the educational and social dimensions, and adequate time should be given to this consideration.

2 It is unwise for a school to make a blanket decision on the introduction of mixed ability organization. For each subject and for each year group the reasons for adopting it should be most carefully weighed, and the likely consequences considered.

3 The decision to adopt mixed ability organization should be taken for positive rather than negative

reasons, and not merely in the hope that
a new situation will produce new thinking.

4 Adequate time should be allowed to prepare thoroughly for a change to mixed ability methods.

HMI Series: Matters for discussion - Mixed ability work in comprehensive schools, 1978

The investigation carried out by HMI upon which these comments are based, and other important issues surrounding prouping practices are considered further in Appendix 5.

The approach to innovation recommended by HMI does not take into account the variations in school culture - coherent or inchoate - and the headteacher's characterisation - familiar or stranger - which can have a considerable effect on both the timing of the innovation and the chances of success. These factors can also be crucial in determining whether or not changes actually take place.

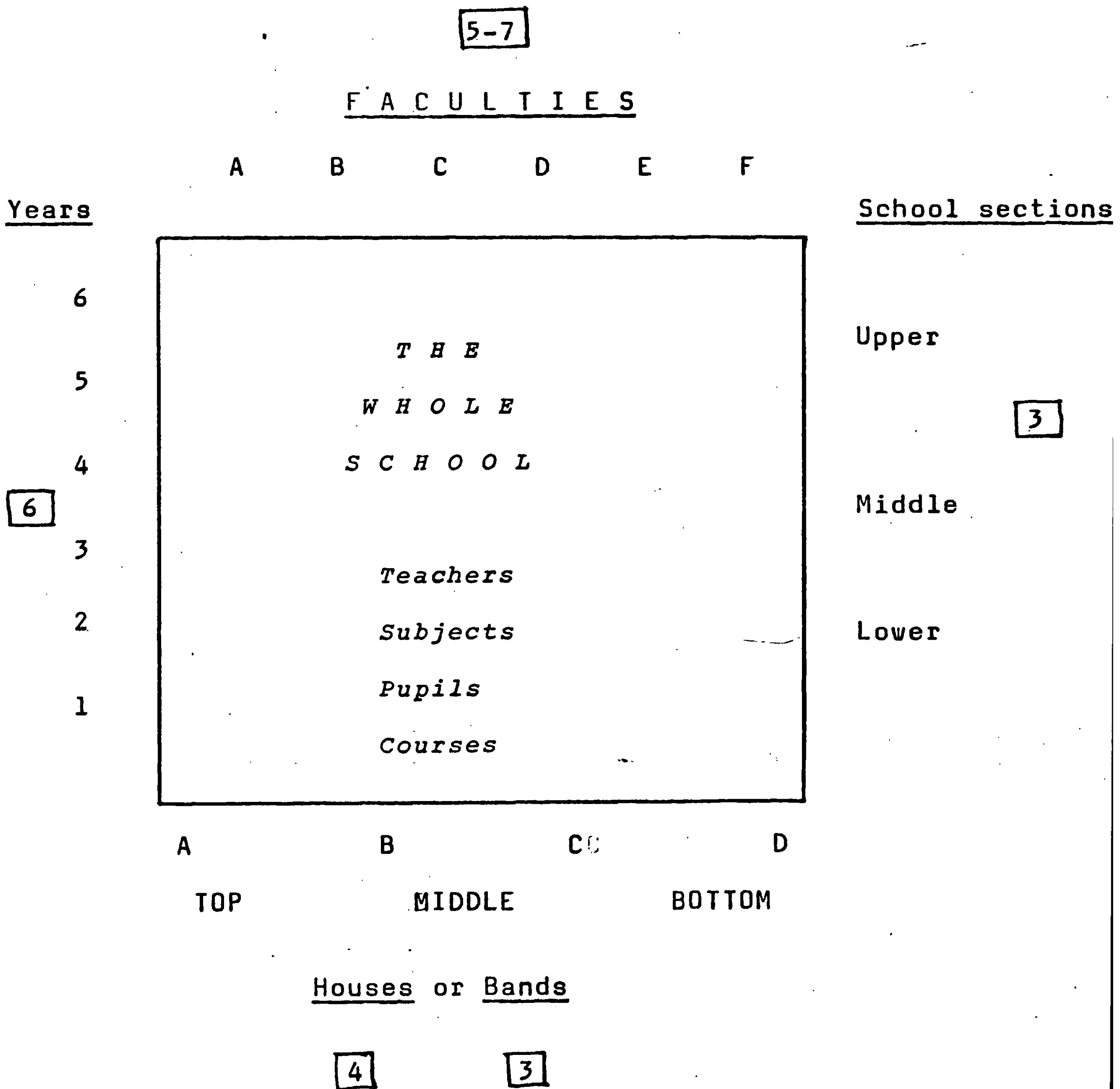
Internal organization and the sense of control

A school comprising children drawn from practically the whole range of intellectual abilities, with age differences of four years or more is a complex social construct. If the socio-economic characteristics of pupils are brought into consideration the complexity increases. The variation in attitudes, values and beliefs of parents, teachers, education officers, school managers and politicians connected with the institution - ostensibly orientated towards the intellectual development of each child as an individual - presents a social situation almost beyond comprehension.

The conventional response made by headteachers is to create a model of this complex social reality. Its prime characteristic must be simplicity. It takes the form of a matrix which is based on the principle of grouping children together on broad criteria, such as age and intellectual ability, and,in the case of teachers, on their subjects and pastoral activities. This stereotyping allows the headteacher to make some sense of the situation commonly found in, say, a large comprehensive school. The matrix set out below incorporates the basic principles :

Figure 10

The social organization of a school: Control Matrix



With the growth of the average size of schools, there has developed a tendency for the units of the coordinates to become less refined. Differentiation between grouping has been halted and, in many cases, reversed. The number of groups which can be manipulated in the mind is subject to severe limitations. Many indicators tend to show that this figure is about five - the quintessence of control. The matrix illustrates this point. As a corollary of this empirical finding, an increase in the complexity of a situation must lead to a coarsening of the definitions of the subgroups into which the whole is conceptually divided and perceived by managers of situations.

Any individual, whether pupil or pedagogue, can be readily identified within the total social system by reference to the coordinates. A child is, for example, in ability band A, Lower school, or Year 4, House X. From this can be derived the operational and pilotage activities in which the individual is involved. The matrix principle is applicable to all schools and its value to the chief executives of an institution increases with the size and complexity of the intake.

As stated earlier, the basis of pupil classification has not been elaborated with increase in size and complexity ot the school population. In fact, the reverse tendency is evident. The seven year groups found in an 11-18 comprehensive school are frequently reduced to three, being

organized into lower, middle and upper school sections. As far as teachers are concerned the fifteen to twenty subject departments are integrated into five to seven faculties. The grossing-up process continues with the reorganization of many streams into, usually, just three ability bands.

The ultimate unitary state capable of achievement would be the mixed ability group of acolytes in the charge of one sole master for all operational and pilotage activities. Hutton's"confederation of village schools" model, ie each class existing as an organizational entity within a school community, incorporates the essential characteristics of this structure. The 'O' and 'P' activities are fused into a single role and the class is identified by the name of the teacher concerned.

There are severe limits to the average primary based pedagogue's ability to teach a broad range of cubjects to high levels. This is acknowledged in the way that the organization of schooling changes from Hutton's federation of village schools to a "federation of Special Schools". As commonly found in the secondary sector, special schools or departments comprise the curriculum which is staffed and managed by subject specialists.

Primary school teachers commonly talk of this change from village to special schools in derogatory terms. It is,

according to them, a change from child-centred to subject-centred education.

The contrast in values, technology and structure identified above has remained as background 'noise' in the past. The formal transfer at the age of eleven from primary to secondary schools had provided a convenient institutionalized change from 'Village' to 'Special' structures. The establishment of Middle schools has altered this situation. The Quarrybank headteacher's decision to organize the 'O' and 'P' activities of the Third and Fourth year children and teachers on the basis of mixed ability groups was part of his plan to make the middle school distinctive. He was to extend this grouping practice to the younger children as they came on to the school roll. None of his teachers could bring to the new situation that he was creating expertise in both the 11-13 age range and mixed ability group experience. The teacher who was charged with the task of putting the new organization into operation recalls those early years:

> *I was coming here from a Junior school which was absolutely mixed ... I wanted mixed ability, I felt that I had been doing it for so many years that the achievement was there and such like ...*
>
> *I was the only ex-Junior school teacher, the others had been part of the comprehensive school.*

> *They had only taught in tightly set situations and they had no confidence in the wide range. They were losing confidence and, as a result, losing the children.*

The headteacher's model, based on mixed ability groups, allowed him to simplify complex reality as far as his own future decision making and sense of control over the total situation was concerned. He need only have a mental image of one group per Year this way, since the other groups would be replications. Complexity at operational level does not, however, necessarily disappear with conceptualization at managerial level. In this case, the teachers as operatora were being asked to handle the task of ensuring educational and social progress of each child , where each child had been placed in a group whose composition spanned the complete range of abilities, socio-economic environments and commitment to formalised education. The task was not made any easier by the actual numbers of children involved at any one time. The Junior school teacher whose responsibility it was to implement the grand design on the basis of his previous mixed ability experience found the task too demanding with the older pupils:

> *I started to get reservations halfway through and this, I believe, was triggered off by the fact that we had to deal with numbers far in excess of what I expected - with classes of 38-40.*

I was asked by Her Majesty's Inspectors, who popped in, "What is your opinion about mixed ability?" I had a stock answer: I'm all in favour, provided you never give me more than fifteen children, Above that figure you get an area of neglect.

I started to refer them to the brighter children as our future remedial children ... I was neglecting them. I wasn't able to get to them because the lower ability children were taking up too much time.

So he (the headteacher) decided to take groups himself in the time he preferred to spend on administration, and we lowered the numbers to just over thirty.

There was little doubt that the difficulties experienced by the teacher-operator, as described above, were transmitted by the visiting HMI to the chief executive. The response was that the headteacher attempted to take some of the unacceptable burden back onto his own shoulders. This situation could not be held for long. The headteacher tried to move some staff with mixed ability experience with younger children to teach the older age groups. But, as the HoY_2 said:

They jibbed at the idea of taking the older ones ... they had a few sleepless nights about it, frankly. They came to me and said that they had never taken this age group. I think its a case of usage ... once you get there, well, it's like a goldfish in a pond, you grow with the size of the pond and cope with it.

The headteacher was desperately trying to operate a structure of his own design. The fourth year teachers disliked the grouping practice and the primary teachers who were drafted in to make the system work expressed concern about dealing with subject disciplines at a level beyond the familiar.

The imprints of experience and valued states began to show on the 'tabulae rasae'. The very thin veneer of a novel organizational framework was lifting and cracking. The association with age groups and fields of enquiry which teachers cultivate become a significant part of their total identity. Through attachment to classes or subjects they acquire both status and knowledge of their place in the scheme of things, The headteacher 'stranger' who ignores the power of these attachments and the benefits that they can confer sows the wind and reaps the whirlwind - if he stays long enough to reap anything.

The Quarrybank headteacher demeaned, by denying their validity, the carefully nurtured identities of the teachers drawn from the primary and secondary schools. They could not take their objections to the novel structure to any higher authority, since the headteacher had responsibility for the internal organization and management of the school. In short, the headteacher's infringements of the teachers' cultural norms were legitimated by school governors and education officers in the interests of administrative and financial convenience.

Before the culture could develop any degree of coherence, the headteacher infringed the moral code of the local community. Teachers may occasionally object to the standards of behaviour expected of them and may resent the conforming pressures placed on the occupation by community elders. These very people, they say, bribe, lie, cheat and steal in their day-to-day activities, without appearing to suffer unduly, either professionally or socially. Yet they demand that not only should teachers act as guardians of all the virtues but that they put them into practice. This pressure prevents teachers from being totally at ease in general company. They tend to seek each other out in social settings and this increases their isolation and 'unworldliness'.

It is a vicious circle which is very difficult to break. Teachers are officially charged with the socialization

of the young into the 'right attitudes and behaviours. Not to practice what one is paid to preach is deemed reprehensible. Society, it seems, can create a museum of the virtues, staff it with the virtuous, erect a high wall around the institution and then carry on community business as usual. There is a tendency for teachers to collude in the maintenance of the sacred by reinforcing the boundaries around the educational territory, against penetration by the profane. Occasionally pleas are made to the local community for support in their work against the deleterious effects of radio, television, unnamed 'bad' families and particular council housing estates.

The Quarrybank headteacher had circulated his aims and objectives to all parents and governors. The first on his list read:

> *To develop within each individual child the 'right' attitudes, values, skills and ideas which are acceptable and expected by society ...*
>
> *School handbook*

This headteacher's own extra-marital liaison with his official Senior Mistress proved to be unacceptable to local society, and so he left.

Chief Executive - Familiar

The early departure of the first headteacher created a number of problems, not least that of the choice of his successor. In the event the governors made an internal appointment. The present chief executive had thus joined the teaching staff of Quarrybank ten years ago, when the school was first established. At that time he combined the positions of head of Fourth Year and Deputy headteacher.

His acquaintance with the town went back much further; he had in fact been born there. The buildings he now occupied had been his old secondary school and he recalled standing 'on the mat' several times as a boy in front of the desk that was now his as headteacher. With the exception of a three year period at the nearest teacher training college, he had never been away from the area during his teaching career. He had worked in local schools for twenty years prior to the creation of the middle school. He was a true Quarrybank man, born and bred. He was familiar with the townspeople who served as school managers and governors, with members of the local teaching force and with the Downshire education officers. He acknowledged that this had worked to his advantage:

Q *Could you say something about being appointed as head to a school of which you were deputy, in terms of what the committee was seeking?*

Well, I think I was a known quantity, I went for it because it was the logical thing to do, in as much as I was here, my roots were here, I knew the school backwards. I think I had done a good job as deputy head, and I think the governing body were looking for someone who they felt safe with.

Q *Were you given any idea what changes the advisers and governors wished to see on your appointment?*

Between you and me, I don't think they wanted to see any. This was regarded very highly as a middle school and it may well be that they felt that by appointing me that there would be very little change.

On appointment the chief executive-familiar had to struggle with the same problems that had faced his predecessor, in terms of task definition and internal organization. But he also had to deal with issues arising from his promotion to chief executive from

among his erstwhile peers.

He could claim no more knowledge or experience of middle schooling than they had. Even his basis of primary school work was comfortably matched by some of those who had been appointed to Quarrybank with him, while others - with secondary school backgrounds, subject specialism and graduate status - could outstrip has experience with the older children.

His only distinctive experience, vis-a-vis his colleagues, had occurred in the year immediatedly prior to his promotion. He had attended a senior management course directed by the present investigator. During subsequent interviews he frequently referred to the value he derived from the programme. He showed particular interest in two techniques introduced, namely Delta grouping and the Davies Curriculum Notation. The latter is an approach to timetabling and teaching resource management. His programme project was, in fact, a feasibility study for both techniques in the context of Quarrybank Middle School.

It was on his declaration subsequently, as headteacher of Quarrybank, that Delta grouping had been implemented that the school was included in the investigation into factors affecting the success or failure of innovatory

attempts. The investigation was conducted by means of a number of interviews with the chief executive-familiar and teachers who held posts of respønsibility as deputies or heads of the four sections based on pupil age bands. Documents, including the official school handbook, internal school and county memoranda and statements of curricular objectives were used.

The first enquiries related to the mission of the enterprise,as identified by the chief executive-familiar:

> *I am really trying to isolate in my own thinking those areas which are peculiar to middle schools.*
> *There are two major responsibilities that middle schools have which I do not believe exist in any other type of school. One is transfer. I think the middle school has a particular responsibility because it is in the middle and effects transfer at both ends. This is not true of any other type of school.*
>
> *So the implication of the business of transfer, which are to be seen in teaching methods, compatability and curriculum matter, lies heavily on the shoulders of middle schools*

and tne staff have to accept that as one of their major reponsibilities.

The other particular one is the age group itself. Nine-to-thirteen is, I believe, a right age group because it deals with a specific period in a child's life, when they go from a young child to a young adolescent, which does in fact involve very complex emotional and physical changes.

Now I would say those are two very particular functions of the middle scnool which have to be built totally into all its structures, all its organization and its philosophies.

This statement by the chief executive-familiar was, in fact, an attempt to rationalize in 'educational' terms a situation created by Downshire education officers for economic reasons.

All schools, as sub-systems in a lengthy process are, of course, involved in transfer and so, in this respect, middle schools such as Quarrybank do not have particular responsibilities. It could be argued that the home-school transfer at the tender age of five years was potentially the most significant

transfer within the process, apart from the pitchforking into adult life which occurs at the end of the school stages of education.

The Innovation - Delta Grouping

The chief executive-familiar stated that he had implemented the Delta Grouping practice immediately on taking over the school. In contrast to the Marchpane chief executive, however, he did have substantial knowledge of the working culture, from his experience as one of the school's assistant teachers. He had been in the school as long as anyone else, he had been head of the Fourth Year and deputy head. He had worked with several members of staff in other local schools before coming to Quarrybank Middle School. Finally, the management course that he had attended in the year previous to his promotion as chief executive had been an opportunity for him to study the school's problems and to conclude that the Delta Grouping practice would help in their resolution.

He described the shortcomings of his predecessor's organization and his handling of the innovation as follows:

Q *You began to introduce the new pupil grouping*

practice - Delta grouping. What was there about it that attracted you? What were its strong points?

The fact that staff could be involved in working out their own timetables, thich would bring commitment. The fact that it meant overall a much lower pupil-teacher ratio, which in my book means better teaching. The fact that the resources available in the school would be maximised in terms of usage.

What I did feel was that the structure and the organization, particularly of the curriculum, made it very difficult for the staff to achieve some of those aims.
In the Analysis, it became very apparent that there was under-use of staff. You might have a teacher available, but the kiddies weren't available, or the kiddies and teacher were available but the room you wanted was not. It was here I felt that the structure was limiting what could be done.

Somehow it had to be reorganized, in order that you could get all three elements together and give teachers a degree of freedom to organize

themselves, because I believe that if you do that you get commitment. If you feel that you have been involved in what's created then you are much more committed to making it work than if someone comes up to you and says "You will do this". It was the commitment that I felt was so important, that it's not a good thing if you have staff coming up saying "I want to do so-and-so but I can't. Can you alter the timetable?

It was this kind of thing that was worrying me. We would have to have a totally new structure and organization.

Q What was the general reaction of the staff?

Polite!
I don't think they really understood what I was talking about. I think they probably thought "He's got a bee in his bonnet, he's away!"
I was on very good terms with them. I think they thought "We would do what we can for him, bless his heart, see if we can help him!"

Q Did any of the staff raise problems prior to

implementation?

No. Because I think in the Analysis (Davies Notation) they knew that I had picked out weakness in the existing system. They wanted to break their groups down. There was never any question, they wanted to do more but the kids weren't there, the room wasn't there. So here was I, saying "I'll make the kids available; you will be available and the room will be there".

So I think they felt that they couldn't be any worse off and it may well work. Also it was the end of term when their resistance was at its lowest. If one is going to be realistic, by the end of the summer term one is normally so whacked that resistance to change is considerably lower. You know - "Oh well, let's get on with it, let's get it done". So there was no real opposition at all.

Q *What has been the reaction of your governors and advisers to this particular change?*

As far as I'm concerned as the head, I had not problems at all. It is very interesting that , shortly after I became head, the

Authority did a survey of the amount of administrative time allocated to senior staff and we were way above the norm. That would not have been true before.
It has gone incredibly smoothly.

Q *You have worked this system now for three years. So you envisage making any basic change in the light of this experience?*

As far as the system is concerned it has to be flexible. The changes will be forced upon me. I don't have to look for them from inside.

Q *One final question, three middle schools feeding into one secondary comprehensive school. Have you had any indication of the impact of your Delta grouping practice structures on the Quarrybank contingent at that school?*

Not really. It's early days.

The innovation and the culture

The chief executive-familiar had identified some of the school's problems and implemented, as he said, 'a totally new structure and organization'. Delta grouping and the Davies Curriculum Notation had provided him with planning tools necessary for his sense of control and intelligibility of the enterprise. According to him, the innovation had gone 'incredibly smoothly'.

The key personnel in the school organization were the two deputy headteachers and the heads of each year (HoY) for Years 1, 2, 3 and 4. The investigation included interviews with all of them in an attempt to find out how the innovation had been handled from their perspective and how it affected the work of the teachers. The picture that emerged was quite unexpected, in the light of the discussions with the chief executive.

The replies to enquiries concerning the implementation of Delta grouping could only be described as indicating complete ignorance of its organization principles and, even, of the very term itself.

Q *Delta grouping, as the headteacher calls it, was introduced into the school in September 1975, and you had been on the staff prior to its introduction. Can you say something about your feelings when it was first proposed?*

HoY_1 I'm a bit confused. What - er - I don't actually know the word. What's the word?

Q Delta grouping. Isn't this how it's been described?

HoY_1 Well, it's new to me.

(Q) There is a system here where each Head of Year is free to group the children such that one can use mixed ability and another Year may say we want to set them.

HoY_1 Well, it doesn't exist in the First Year, simply for the reason we wish to carry on the flow of work that has already started in the First Schools.

Q So I am using a term which is not too well known?

HoY_1 I've never heard of it.

This teacher had been a member of Quarrybank Middle School for almost all of its existence. He joined the staff when the school enrolled its intake of 9-10 year olds. He was appointed head of this age group, known in the Middle School organization as the First Year.

As a deputy headteacher of a primary school in the Quarrybank district he was well acquainted with the local man who was eventually to become the chief executive of the Middle School. He claimed, in fact, to have been responsible for introducing him to Quarrybank's first headteacher for a post in the new school.

His complete lack of knowledge of a major innovation which, according to the chief executive, was a totally new structure was most surprising. The prepared quastionnaire was modified in the light of his reponse as further discussions were undertaken with his colleagues.

Q   *The head became interested in reorganizing the school along Delta grouping lines. Is that term familiar?*

HoY$_4$ *Only vaguely.*

Q *Can you recall your first feelings about the proposed changes?*

HoY_4 *To be honest, I can't.*

Q *Tied up with the use of Davies Notation, although it is not absolutely necessary, is Delta grouping in this school, which has been implemented by the head. Do you know it?*

D/H_2 *No, I don't.*

This last response was from the Second Deputy Head.

By this stage the the investigator found himself in the unexpected and strange position of having to explain the values-technology-structure of a reportedly 'successful' innovation to members of the school staff who were said to have been operating it for three years, according to the chief executive's account.

Q *One thing I understand you have in this school is Year-by-Year flexibility of pupil*

<u>*grouping. This is rather unusual. Do you understand this arrangement as Delta grouping?*</u>

HoY_3 *We don't understand it as that.*

Q *One of its practicalities is that each Year can group children according to decisions made by the Year Head.*

HoY_3 *I would say that this is an area of slight discontent in the Third Year.*

(Q) *You could have mixed ability, banding ...*

HoY_3 *We haven't really gone into it since the headteacher doesn't want it to happen. He doesn't want a banded situation in the Third Year. What we have are five mixed ability classes.*

Q *Would you go for setting if you could?*

HoY_3 *This is what I think people would like and I suppose this is what the conflict is.*

The First Deputy Head was no more informed about the supposed innovation than his colleagues:

Q *The headteacher introduced Delta grouping ...*

D/H_1 *Do you mean the setting, or the banding?*

(Q) *The grouping of children within each Year according to Year Heads' preferences. Taking the internal organization here, for instance, it doesn't impose mixed ability grouping on all Years. What you have here is the possibility of teachers making adjustments Year by Year, so ...*

D/H_1 *On the other hand, even though you have so-called free choice, the teachers must all be aware of the head's position, don't you think? And they know what the head likes. He doesn't say it, but he doesn't have to.*

Q *The head is in favour of giving them choice, Year by Year and ...*

DH_1 *The head is in favour of mixed ability, full stop. They know that.*

As far as the Davies Curriculum Notation was concerned, the teachers had little excuse for not being aware of it. Summaries of the school's disposition of its teachers in the Notation were on the staff notice boards, in the deputy heads' room, the secretaries' office and the school handbook.

It appeared, however, that no-one except the chief executive understood it. One deputy head expressed his ignorance thus:

D/H₂ *Davies Notation to me is like Euclid or Pythagoras.*

The headteacher had said that he found it a valuable weapon in his discussions with staff over teaching duties. It is, he said

> *scientific and objective, more acceptable than subjective opinions.*

But an assistant teacher remarked:

> *We don't understand Davies - we don't believe it.*

No attempt had been made, either by the chief executive to train his staff, or by the teachers to understand the Notation. None of the staff appeared to feel any necessity to master its concepts and evaluate its worth as a resource planning technique.

All the above comments raised fundamental questions concerning the two innovations that were being investigated. From the chief executive's point of view he had reorganized the school along novel lines with the help of a mathematical model of staff dispositions.

He exhibited a sense of control of the enterprise and a grasp of a planning technique well beyond that of any of his colleagues. He had, in practice, created a 'distance' between them and himself which he felt compensated significantly for his being a familiar - 'one of them', up to the moment of his taking office as chief executive.

The internal organization of Quarrybank

The first headteacher's plan was designed to make the middle school distinctive. He sought to achieve this by

a) imposing mixed ability teaching throughout,

b) creating three Year groups so that the traditional eleven-plus transfer point was buried deep within the school. (Figure 11)

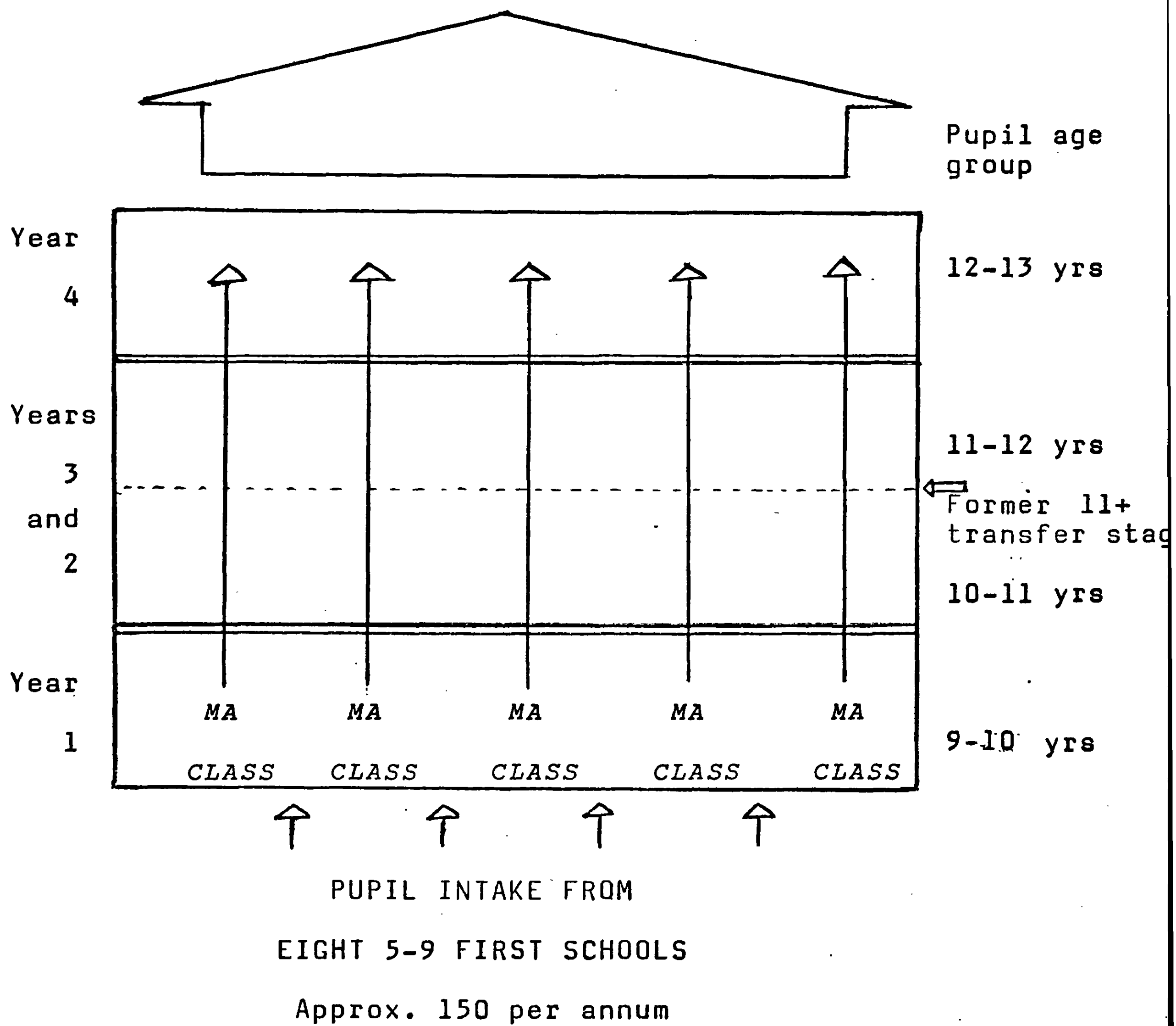
The plan was simple simple but unworkable. Just before he resigned he had to split the central group into two separate parts, each with its own Year Head. He was also having to bolster up his mixed ability design in the Fourth Year by taking on a heavier personal teaching load.

His attempts to set up a new coherent enterprise failed. The lack of a distinctive educational raison d'être ensured that the system was bereft of one of the major cohesive instruments. The Downshire staffing policy meant that the teaching force was split between primary and secondary orientated staff. None of them could offer what this headteacher wanted in order to make his plan work - a combination of experience of both mixed ability work and the teaching

Figure 11

Quarrybank Middle School:

First internal organization plan



MA = Mixed Ability

of older pupils in the age range of the top half of the school.

The present investigation, carried out eight years after the school opened, showed that the culture was still in an inchoate phase. The basic conflicts in values and behaviours appeared to stem from the differing experiences of the teachers who had been brought together by Downshire's deliberate intent.

In the absence of a clearly stated mission and of a definite distaste for the 'transit camp' syndrome, the teachers appeared to have made attempts to reorganize their work along lines familiar to their own individual circumstances. This frequently produced conflicts between the endeavours of colleagues with very different experiences in the education sysetem. The strong impression gained during this analysis was that there were in fact several cliques inside the Quarrybank building and further divisions were currently in process of formation. The inchoate culture found expression particularly in the context of the Year groups and these are discussed below.

YEAR 1

It is useful to view the activity of this Year Head (HoY_1) and his team in the context of van Gennep's model of the changes in role and status of individuals as they progress through social stages - the rites de passage. He identifies three components of each stage; those of separation from the previous stage, a transitional or limbo existence and finally incorporation, frequently associated with examinations, testing and sometimes physical mutilation.

The first component of each stage is normally concerned with inducting the acolyte into the culture of the next 'existence'. It is, above all, designed to be a phase of separation from what has previously been experienced. An example of induction into military life is described by Raphael Steinberg as follows:

> *From the moment a young man enters 'boot camp' at Parris Island, South Carolina, he undergoes 11 weeks of indoctrination to fit him for membership of the elite military organization he has joined - the United States Marine Corps. He is regimented, and even bullied, for a purpose; to submerge his individuality in group discipline. The Corps dresses him and makes him act exactly like his fellows. He must learn to play, dependably and loyally, his role in a Marine fighting unit.*

After being relieved of all personal belongings - the only exceptions are his wallet and wedding ring - a young Marine recruit undergoes his first physical reformation, the shaving of his head.

Steinberg 1976

Such deliberate and officially sanctioned acts generally have a powerful disorientating effect on the individuals concerned. For a short period each is denied the stability, security and self-knowledge of previous experience. This 'unfreezing' process has also been applied to individuals undergoing psychotherapy. It is quite common in many institutions for previous drafts of acolytes to impose their own initiation ceremonies, tests and trials on newcomers. Such activities by both formal and informal organizations , carried out in monastic conditions, deny the novitiate any real chance of avoiding 'separation'.

If the induction of warriors into elite military units appears to be an extreme example of rites de passage in the context of the affairs of young children, an analysis of the situation facing a seven year old girl wishing to join the Brownies illustrates the common principles underlying the separation processes.

Before she can wear the uniform and the Badge of Incorporation she must learn the history of the Brownies, the Motto,

Song, Salute, Law and Handshake. This last is lefthanded between Brownies but they, of course, still use the right hand 'with people who are not in the Guide Family'.Every Pack has its Special Secrets and Signs which are passed on to the neonate after the final act of Incorporation which takes place at the Promise Ceremony.

The Brownie Handbook explains the importance of this as follows, with the italics as shown:

Do you know what makes you a real Brownie?

Is it knowing the Brownie Story?
That certainly tells you *about* Brownies.
But knowing about them isn't the same as being one.

Is it wearing your uniform?
That certainly makes you *look* like a Brownie.
But your uniform is not *you*, but something outside you.

Is it meeting together with the Pack?
That certainly makes you *feel* like a Brownie.
But *feeling* is not the same as *being*.

Is it your Brownie Promise?
YES!

The Brownie Promise

I promise that I will do my best;
To do my duty to God,
To serve the Queen,
and help other people
and to keep the Brownie Law.

The Reception class in an Infant school is the first formal 'separation' that a child generally experiences. A considerable amount of the teacher's effort is directed towards the inculcation of a set of behaviours. The process is called socialization and although explicit stress is laid on the value of children being able to get on with each other, the fundamental objective is that each child comes to accept the need to obey a stranger in a position of authority. A term or so is generally sufficient in Reception before the child moves into the main body of the school.

From now on the child passes through a successsion of stages, each roughly of three years' duration, until the full eleven years of compulsory schooling has been completed. Each stage is marked by a new 'separation', an increase in the number of strangers to whom the child must defer and some form of accreditation, where quality controls exist.

The teacher in charge of the 9-10 year olds at Quarrybank, HoY_1, saw his role in the following terms:

> *I try very hard to get well balanced classes. I take into consideration friendships and keeping children from the smaller schools together. We are prepared to move any child who is unhappy if they are parted from a friend.*

He was greatly concerned that there would be as little difference as possible between the children's previous experiences and relationships and what was going on in the whole of the first year at Quarrybank:

> *we wish to carry on the flow of work that has already been started in the First schools. We try to be as near as we possibly can to what is already going on. In other words, we don't want the jump to be too great.*

An attempt to work to objectives which are orientated towards an earlier operational phase is fraught with problems. Assumptions have to be made that the eight feeder schools are homogeneous in values, structure and technology and that they all succeed in establishing similar levels of achievement. Since the schools in question ranged in size from 25 to 250 pupils, even the pupil grouping practices could not be the same. The adoption of such a backward-looking stance means that the influences affecting the activity of the Year group come not from the institution in which it is embedded, nor from that to which the children will proceed, but from those schools which no longer have responsibility for the children concerned.

The HoY_1's backward orientation is supported by his system of working relationships:

All the Year team goes out to various schools. I see all the children before they come. I also exchange with a school. I have taken over a school for a day myself and their teachers come here and take over my own class.

Q What are your arrangements with the Second Year?

A Well, this room is for Heads of Years. Therefore we are always talking to each other and so things come up naturally. Before the First Year is handed over there is a meeting.

His timetable of visits and meetings was very impressive but in stark contrast to the informality of internal exchanges. A colleague of his who had been appointed to Quarrybank a year earlier said that HoY_1 had almost camped on his doorstep prior to taking up his post, in search of reassurance.

He was rather worried because the stage was very very wide for him, having taught in small schools.

This comment may throw some light on HoY_1's concern, amounting almost to an obsession, that the new entrants to the school should not experience high states of anxiety, such as he himself had experienced. He therefore made every effort to ensure that their first year at the middle school amounted

to a repetition of their previous experiences.

This middle-aged man, a former deputy headteacher in a primary school only three miles from Quarrybank, had spent the past six years totally immersed in teaching nine year olds. This degree of specialization is most uncommon at 'senior management' level in education and is more redolent of the class-teacher basis of a primary school. The HoY_1 had direct responsibility for the activities of five other staff in his Year Team. Connections with the rest of the school were causing concern; as indicated by the deputy headteacher:

> *there is a tendency for some staff not to discipline in other areas of the school. Now this worries me, because I see them walk through the Fourth Year area and they can see something isn't right and are reluctant to do anything because they are unused, let's say, to Fourth Year children. (12-13 year olds) In some cases it is because they are pleasant people and don't like awkward situations; some are hesitant because they are not used to older children.*

The headteacher said that he had made several attempts to encourage movement in and out of the Year Team into other year groups:

> *I'm saying to them, look, unless you allow me to extend your experience, you are not going to*

> *get another job. They are going to look at you and say you have only taught that Year for the last five years - you are no good to me. But you have to argue it through with them, so that kind of change is greeted rather reluctantly.*

One of the factors working against internal teacher mobility in schools such as Quarrybank is that the general lack of acadamic qualifications beyond the obligatory teacher's certificate may be compensated for by the acquisition of status as an expert with a specific age group. In practice this attachment has similar results to those where a teacher identifies very strongly with a particular subject.

A teacher who is too strongly attached to a small age range and who invests himself completely in its affairs can soon lose the connections with the earlier and succeeding stages which are of great interest to the children themselves. The expertise that the teacher has built up becomes lost to the school as a whole. Pilotage activities, of value when conducted in the context of the total social system lose their impact as the sub-system loses touch. Operational activities become atrophied and very often demeaned because they interfere with good relationships. As the HoY_1 said:

> *In the First Year our main thing is to get these kiddies working together happily in a happy environment. I think work comes later.*

The Fourth Year

The operational and pilotage activities in the 'top' year at Quarrybank had been a source of tension and conflict since the school first opened. The pupil age group concerned is normally well into the secondary phase with the federation of special schooling characteristics exhibited in pupil grouping, teacher contacts and subject departments.

The first headteacher had insisted on extending a village school culture right through Quarrybank up to and including this year group. He appeared to place a very high value on maintaining a simple internal organization pattern by which all the Quarrybank year groups were run uniformly. The problems of transfer to the secondary phase would be borne by the comprehensive school and, of course, by the pupils who entered it from Quarrybank.

In the event he did not have not have the staffing expertise to handle the mixed ability groups for French, mathematics, English and science.

His early and precipitate departure from Quarrybank

created a power vacuum. The deputy headteacher at that time was on the management course and the Senior Mistress had left with the Head. The head of Fourth Year became acting deputy head. His year head post was filled by another internally promoted candidate, who described what then ensued:

> *I put my head togther with the other members of the Fourth Year and said - "Look, I feel we need to be reorganized".*
>
> *We were all concerned about the areas of neglect with the brighter children. I then proposed that we banded the Fourth Year.*

Q *So, on becoming Head of Year, you identified this problem yourself. You made a decision to change to banding. It was after that that the new head began to work on reorganization?*

HoY_4 *Yes. We went ahead with this. So I never really got into discussion with him.*

Q *Can you remember any comments that the staff made?*

HoY_4 *They weren't happy; they didn't want Mixed Ability, as it then existed. They had only taught in tightly set situations and they had no confidence in the wide range. You know, we are all human. They tended to pitch towards the middle and were fearful of the top and bottom of the range.*

Therefore I thought in the interests of the children, and I would defend this, they would get a better opportunity and the teachers would feel more relaxed and genuine in the banded situation. I've been through all the systems and I said - "Is this what you want, or are you looking for an easy way out?" - Could be!

I think the results justify the change and I don't mean just academic. I would also at the same time insist that socially there must be complete integration over the absolute range. We must maintain the social side.

The new Fourth Year head broke the shackles on grouping practice variation imposed on the whole school by the first headteacher. He identified the unrest among his Year colleagues and unilaterally declared independence

from the principles enshrined in the first Plan for Quarrybank.

At the time of the present investigation all the original Fourth Year team had left the school for posts elsewhere, except for the head of the Year. The value-technology-structure framework created by the breakaway group continued to function. Pupils were banded and curricular differentiation was practised.

The 'secondary school' orientation of the Fourth Year teachers created considerable tension in the working culture at Quarrybank. The chief executive declared that:

> *the secondary teachers would take over if I let them.*

Comments made by the 'primary' teachers of their 'secondary' colleagues took the form of criticism of

a) their subject centredness:

> *I think the primary school teacher could go upwards more easily than the single subject based secondary type teacher can come down and teach all sorts. I think if they have got to change subjects - all in one day - they would probably have kittens, as they like to flog their maths or French all the time.*

b) the true level of their claimed expertise:

I've been doing maths for goodness knows how many years and I have to sit there and listen to a younger teacher trying to get things her slightly more modern way, if you like, in SMP maths. I suppose half a dozen people in this school - the older primary school teachers - could take over Head of Maths without too many difficulties really.

c) their lack of versatility:

The 'secondary' teachers don't like taking over a class at short notice; they want work to be set.

... a well trained primary teacher is the salt of the earth. I'm that kind of person who can really step into the breach in most parts of the school and take over.

I can go into any class at the drop of a hat and talk about gunpowder for half an hour.

Those who claimed affiliation with the 'secondary' school culture discussed their 'primary' colleagues in more oblique, but equally disparaging, terms:

I suppose I could be criticized for wanting the children to get down to work.

I like to encourage self-reliance so that they will work without necessarily needing the encouragement of an adult, which is what primary school children do need. There's very much a changeover in the Third Year, I'm afraid.

HoY$_3$

There was a psychological boundary existing in the working culture. The contiguous territories had been created and maintained on the valued experiences of the 'village' and 'special' schools from which they had been drawn.

There was great reluctance on the part of individual teachers to lose the association, and the authority of expertise so derived, by crossing the boundary in order to work in a different Year group.

There is little doubt that the resurgence of 'primary' and 'secondary' values, attitudes and beliefs created several operational problems in the form of ineffective resource allocation, internal communications and distortion of O and P systems. One unpleasant consequence of this inchoate cultural state was that the teachers appeared to use the children as whipping boys for the perceived dysfunctional effects of their own attitudes.

The Fourth Year children, in particular, came under attack for not showing sufficient interest in the activities of the younger age groups. This, the teachers explained, was due partly to the isolation of their classrooms from the 'main' school. The school layout was, basically, a hollow square. Much the most important side comprised a brick and stone 'public' face and main entrance. On this side were situated the entrance hall, headteacher's room, secretarial office, staff rooms and some First and Second Year classrooms. Directly across the hollow square lay a cluster of Portacabins, which formed the Third and Fourth Year bases. The ground plan was very compact and it would take about two minutes to walk from one side of the school to the other.

Nevertheless this distance, psychologically speaking, was measured in years. Criticism of the Fourth Year children was made in the following terms:

> *... they have become a different species. The other teachers feel that they find it very difficult to get them involved in the school, unless it is just specifically a Fourth Year thing.*

The impression was given that, in some way, the location of the Fourth Year group had been their decision and that they should therefore accept the blame for any adverse

consequences that this had on cultural cohesion:

> *... had they been down in the main building all day, rubbing shoulders with them (the younger children) ... but no ... they had their own class-rooms and their own set up, toilets, washbasins ... They are the older ones. You know how they grow up in this Year; changes in maturity, particularly the girls. The physical changes coming out.*

These thirteen year old children were being used as vehicles for criticism of the secondary school orientation of their teachers. That the youngsters appeared not to view Quarrybank Middle school as a unitary organization to which they owed loyalty and attachment, and for which they should perform cohesive tasks, outside class hours, rankled some teachers:

> *My first reaction, when I came here was - this is a middle school; your Fourth Year children ought to be down here.*

Q *Why?*

> *Because I think the Fourth Year sets the tone to any school, it's the top year, isn't it! The Fourth Year should be carrying on all the jobs, etc. etc. They're the leaving Year and you always*

have this feeling in the last term - Aha!
We're off! - I think they should be more involved
if they were in the main block of the building ..
I would like the Fourth Year to be here, at the
hub of things and organizing it all.

In the context of the perceived dysfunctions on cultural cohesion arising from the location of the Fourth Year children, the following points are worthy of consideration:

1 When first established as a middle school, Quarrybank enrolled Third and Fourth Year pupils only. Thus the entire building contained but half of the planned numbers , for at least two academic sessions. The Fourth Year was, in fact, accommodated at the 'hub of things'.

2 The buildings had originally housed Quarrybank Grammar school and, as such, were more than adequate in terms of facilities to meet the physical and curricular needs of 12-13 year old children.

3 Within the present headteacher's own association with Quarrybank, the decision was made to move the Fourth Year out of the original buildings into the temporary huts which formed one side of the hollow square.

Since the headteacher, as chief executive, had complete control over the internal organization and management of the institution, the resolution of the problem created by the attitudes of the Fourth Year children was within his powers. The perceived dysfunctional effects of their geographical location could have been neutralised merely by changing the room allocation. It is conjectured that the state of the culture under discussion required that a scapegoat be created and maintained. In this way the real causes of the conflicts and tensions within the situation could be handled.

The headteacher had entered into this performance by acknowledging that 'the Fourth Year had grown away from the school' and that he had sought a resolution by asking the county education officers for an additional storey for the main block. This very expensive resolution had been rejected by Downshire. This was hardly surprising, of course, in view of the fact that Quarrybank owed its initial establishment to reasons of economy. The headteacher's request and the reply were made known to the staff, who accepted the decision as in line with what was generally expected from 'those people up in County Hall'.

One internal response to the perceived isolation of the Fourth Year group was the creation of a system of Houses to which all children were allocated. However, since the

Heads of Year were:

> *responsible to the headteacher for all aspects of social and academic progress of their Year group.*
>
> *School handbook*

the pilotage activities which form the basic tasks of a House system were already covered.

It appeared that the prime job of the new House Heads was to manage organizations specifically designed to counter the centrifugal tendencies of Fourth Year children:

> *We wrung our hands about this ... (it) supported the change into a virile House system. My aim would be that I wanted to see the Fourth Years in contact with the younger ones, involved with them and showing a responsibility which they have opted out of. "You are a House captain, it's your responsibility to ... " You push them hard, you nudge them and they start to accept it.*
>
> *I have children who do duty. They do it through the House system now, which is a good thing. Yes, we have First Aid duty. We have Lost Property duty. We have a Dinner duty. The House staff organize it.*
>
> *Deputy headteacher*

A system which is conventionally designed to serve the pilotage needs of individual children, as they make their way through a social organization, was being used in an attempt to provide a measure of cohesion at the wrong level, in an inchoate culture. It was significant that none of the senior management team, which included all four Year Heads, belonged to the House system.

The Fourth Year children of the previous year have now fled the Middle school nest. They have all been transferred to the 13-18 comprehensive secondary school. There is little in the Middle school handbook about these transfer arrangements; certainly nothing comparable in scale or depth with those associated with the First school entry. There is no programme of visits by the Upper school teachers, no swapping of staff between the schools for a day. no organized parties of middle school children on visits to their new school - as laid down for the transfer at nine years of age. The impression is that the Quarrybank headteacher somehow resents 'his' children growing up and leaving 'his' school. The fact that there is a higher stage of schooling, which is designed to complete an unfinished process, and which incorporates a remedial department which is designed to correct the shortcomings of his own organization, induces rejection of those youngsters who once were at the very heart of his school. This is particularly the case if their later behaviour is the subject of criticism :

If I hear comments about, you know, 'your lot' ... my answer is quite simple. The day they walk through your door they are under your discipline, in your ethos. I'll not accept any responsibility whatsoever ... We have had accusations that our kids cannot get down to work ... well, that's nonsense.

He was not, however, averse to associating himself with the 'O' level successes of Quarrybank's former pupils, achieved some three years after they had left the middle school:

I do a total analysis of the examination results at the Upper school. All I can say is that I'm a very happy man, in terms of what our children do. Their results are quite remarkable, so that I'm very satisfied that what we are doing here is compatible with what is going on up there.

Middle school teachers have little opportunity to experience 'closure' or job completion. There is no test of 'incorporation' with which they are associated, and by such association acquire deference and esteem. Once the scale posts have been allocated, then the most valued component of the headteacher's patronage has been used up. The beneficiaries keep these payments for the duration of their employment at the school.

There are quite severe limits to what a headteacher can do by way of making up the deficiency in intrinsic rewards. If Burnham salary agreements limit his power to confer rewards and status through differentials, he has recently gained freedom to introduce a whole clutch of new job titles. These must be valued in the context of specific institutions, since there are no national criteria by which the authority or seniority of the role can be judged.

Of the twenty six full-time staff at Quarrybank, no less than eighteen hold a title including the phrase '...Head of..' (Years, Houses, subjects and Resources). It can be argued that there are more Chiefs than Indians, and that the titular honours system has been debased to a point where it no longer has any real significance. In this kind of situation, the school staff continually test the headteacher's personal approbation of their endeavours by demanding small gifts and trinkets. The importance of meeting these demands - for a little bookshelf, a slightly larger desk, some small tools, or a second-hand tabletop fan bought by the headteacher in a local junk shop - is recognized by the head. The reactions, he said, are remarkable, and the payoff great. The teachers could easily complain if these gifts were not forthcoming, since the items are too small to be considered unreasonable.

Because there are no externally set criteria by which the teachers can judge their work, and because the achievement

of the stated objectives are difficult to evaluate on an individual basis, the teachers must constantly look to the headteacher for his acknowledgement of their worth:

> *One has to applaud what one's colleagues are doing ... they need this, they need this very badly. They need to be told they are doing a good job. They need their work to be admired. This is the thing which will drive them on more than anything - it will spur them on if they feel that their work is really appreciated.*

There are considerable difficulties in the way of any Quarrybank teacher adopting and maintaining a more cosmopolitan perspective. The headteacher is in the position of determining task objectives, and his personal assessment of their achievement can hardly be questioned. To do so could, and probably would, be interpreted as disloyalty to the headteacher himself and to the organization which is his personal responsibility.

The middle years of the Middle School: Year Two

The centrifugal tendencies of the First and Fourth Year teacher groups discussed above were bound to have an impact on the Second and Third Years. This middle ground was open to cultural tensions set up by the polarity of values exhibited in the entry and leaving years.

The Second Year

Conventionally, the children and teachers concerned would have comprised the top Juniors in a primary school and their activities would have been orientated very strongly towards successfully meeting the challenges of the 11+ quality control. The prize was a place in the grammar school. The associated further educational opportunities and career chances linked with a grammar school education have been discussed elsewhere.

At the time of maximum acceptance and support by teachers, parents and the community in general, the 11+ examination dominated the values, technology and structure of the Junior schools. It also had a significant impact on the career opportunities of headteachers and their assistants. Better-paid positions were frequently sought and granted on the basis of good percentage pass rates.

Primary school headteachers had a special position in their local communities by virtue of managing a crucial rite de passage of society. A successful response by the children to the challenges presented depended on the mastery of concepts, abstractions and symbolic knowledge. The questions came in the form of anagrams, analogies, codes, letter series and word patterns. They were definitely not a test of a child's everyday knowledge to which the average parents could contribute by drawing on their own life experiences. Four out of five parents, in their time as schoolchildren, had, in fact, failed to master the 11+ challenge and felt quite helpless to prepare their offspring to meet it.

In their management of the challenge and in the skills to prepare the youngsters for it lay considerable prestige and status. The 'incorporation' rite into the ranks of the intelligensia was very important . The teachers knew it, the parents knew it and the children were certainly left in no doubt about it. The teachers possessed esoteric knowledge and, therefore, power, in the local community. All that most parents could do was to insist that their children attended school regularly, listened to the teacher, did what they were told and, perhaps also promise them a bicycle or a watch if they suceeded in passing the tests. A sample examination paper for 11 year old children, to be completed in less than an hour, is given in Appendix 4.

The eleven-plus quality control procedure was abandoned in the Quarrybank area of Downshire in 1965. The middle school was established six years later. Today the once crucial test of incorporation is but a memory. The child cohort concerned and the top Junior teacher role are now buried deep within the middle school. The status of all involved, including that of the headteacher, has been affected by the creation of the new institution, for which there is no entry or leaving qualification other than age.

The first headteacher of Quarrybank was responsible for basing the internal organization on four year groups. The most powerful and highest paid assistant teachers were the Heads of Years. The basic grain was therefore horizontal, i.e. day to day operations and working relationships of the group of five or six teachers in each Year were formally recognized and sanctioned. These relationships were therefore stronger than those relating to the children's educational and social progress up through the school. The latter usually falls under the description of vertical relationships.

As stated earlier, the 11+ examination had disappeared in the area seven years before the establishment of Quarrybank. The first head had appeared determined to eradicate any vestige of the formerly crucial boundary which marked the age of the test and transfer from the primary to the secondary stage of education.

He combined the roles of Head of Years Two and Three and appointed a primary school teacher to the new post. As the first (and last) incumbent of this role recalled:

> *I was Head of the Second and Third Year when I first came, because the Head at the time didn't want the idea of the split between Juniors and Secondaries to be so pronounced. He thought that if he had one Head of Year for both, then it would look as though there was a natural carry on, without the old breakage.*

That the headteacher felt more comfortable by delaying the inevitable orthogonal change from a federation of 'village' schools to a federation of 'special' schools was evident by his choice of the role incumbent for the new post that he had devised:

> *I had spent all my time in primary , and the*

Head said, "Well, you know primary upside-down, there will be no need for you to change at all- you can just carry on."

The chief executive's organizational concept did not survive the practical pressures of the situation. The head of the combined Years was subjected to the polarity of values created in the Year teams preceding and succeeding his own field of responsibilities. The First Year team leader's determination "not to make the jump too great" from the feeder First schools had led to a division within Quarry-bank that required the attention of the Second/Third Year coordinator. The Fourth Year group sought to gear their work to that of the 13-18 comprehensive school and pressed for an organization which placed more stress on 'getting on' rather than 'getting on with'.

Lacking the power and authority of his headteacher, the person who had sought to use this coordinator as the main integrative force for the new school, the head of the combined Second and Third Year groups could not hold the middle ground. When the split came he was offered the choice of the territories existing on either side of that value-technology-structure boundary between the traditional primary and secondary institutions. Inevitably, he chose that with which he was most familiar from his previous

teaching experience - the ten to eleven year old primary school group. From his'primary' redoubt he was later to shoot off several arrows across the still extant primary/ secondary boundary within the school, either in attack:

> *The secondary teachers don't like taking over another class at short notice.*
>
> *I have to sit and listen to a younger teacher trying to get things her slightly more modern way.*

or defence:

> *a well trained primary teacher is the salt of the earth who can really step into the breach in most parts of the school and take over ...*
>
> *I suppose ... the older primary school teachers could take over the Head of Maths without too many difficulties.*

and:

> *I applied for the Deputy's job here (after the incumbent became head of the school) - one still feels on could do the job anyway.*

He had spent many years teaching the top Juniors in primary schools, after being trained in what he called ' the three Rs way'. He used his experience under the former 11+ examination system to help him identify the level of work that children in his Year of the Middle school were capable of doing:

> *I would think that in some ways education has not changed as much as some people think it has. Take myself - I was probably trained at college in the old ways - the three Rs way - and back of our minds we still teach to that. At the back of our minds I still have a standard and I still use the 11+ standard as my standard of what I think a child is capable of doing. I think basically the older teachers still teach along narrow lines. They haven't got the gimmicks, shall we say, that the newer teacher coming out of college has.*

The Third Year

The first head had intended that the Second and Third Years would be organized and managed as one unit. His successor, the chief executive-familiar stated:

> *it must be in the 'thick sandwich' years that the 'true' middle school is to be found. This is certainly the belief at Quarrybank.*

Explicit in this remark was both criticism and acknowledgement that at least fifty per cent of his teaching staff, those working in Years One and Four, did not fully share the true values of the enterprise.

It is most unusual for the heads of educational institutions to accord highest esteem to a transitional sector of operations. It can yield little by way of results from which the enterprise can draw prestige and public acclaim. It is the fifth year of an 11-16 comprehensive school, the Upper Sixth of a grammar school and the final, Third, year of a college course that provides the externally examined product upon which reputations are based. From the products chief executives can draw sustenance for their personal, as well as their institutional, standing in the community.

What holds for headteachers, principals and directors also holds for their subordinates in this respect. Teachers and lecturers associated with the most advanced examinable educational activities are accorded the highest esteem.
On a national basis, teachers' striving for some personal association with examinable courses has, in many cases, been rampant and unchecked. The resistance which has built up recently to proposals for rationalising non-viable Sixth forms is based in part on teachers' fear that they will be denied access to Advanced level courses and students.

The situation at Quarrybank school, as viewed by the chief executive-familiar was, therefore, contrary to expectations. Far from conferring esteem on the teachers and children in the school's 'top' year, the Fourth, he appeared to resent them. He seemed to dislike the secondary orientation of the teachers and decried the fact that the children were 'growing away from the school'. He did no teaching in the Year and he feared that the secondary values-technology-structure framework would swamp the whole of Quarrybank Middle School. The officially sanctioned arrangements for the transfer of children out of the school were extremely rudimentary when compared with the meetings, teacher exchanges and parental contacts

associated with the transfer in from the feeder First schools.

Perhaps the crucial factor colouring his perspective was that the Chief executive actually gained little or nothing from the activities of the terminal, Fourth, Year programme. Regardless of a particular child's performance, the Middle school leaver moved on to the local comprehensive. No matter how well or how badly he worked, the pupil's secondary school place was claimed by right and granted automatically. No rites de passage ceremonies govern the transfer from on school to another.

It was difficult for the Middle School chief executive to prove that his organization produced excellent results. He could, and did, comb the annual list of Ordinary and Advanced level results for confirmation of his management of teaching operations. There was, however, a three year hiatus between his middle school course and the earliest of these external quality control tests.

The strong emphasis placed on the middle years of the middle school gave the impression that this period was associated with something special, of central worth. It seemed that, as far as the chief executive was

concerned, these years formed the distinctive core of his enterprise. It was a core to be protected from the values that had infiltrated Years One and Four. At the nucleus of this organized core was hidden the historic primary/secondary interface and the eleven-plus examination, which had lost currency.

Quarrybank Middle School owed its establishment to the abolition of this selection procedure for secondary schooling. It appeared vital to the chief executive's sense of purpose to bury traditional timing of this rite deep inside his organization. He needed to surround it by a homogeneous structure,designed to obliterate all traces of primary/secondary differences. To fail to do this would be to expose the historical interface and his citadel would be shown to have no real substance and be a mere castle in the air. He was therefore extremely sensitive to any proposals for change that might appear to create divisions between the two year groups concerned.

The First and Fourth Year groups at Quarrybank had already given the school a Janus perspective which resulted from an inchoate culture. The tensions so created were to be felt in the 'middle' years and the potential splitting was a very great cause for concern to the headteacher.

The Head of the Third Year group had joined Quarrybank on its establishment as a Middle school, in a junior position. Prior to this whe had taught in secondary schools, up to and including Ordinary level work. Promotion to Head of Third Year group followed in 1978. She was found to be completely unaware of Delta Grouping and therefore of the delegated decision making powers the innovation would have conferred on Year Heads with regard to pupil grouping, if it had in fact been implemented.

There was no doubt that the mixed ability base of the groups,passed to her across the former 11+ divide by the Head of Second Year, was not to her liking. She had pressed the chief executive to make a change to setting. His response was to insist on mixed ability grouping, but to distort it by providing additional teachers. These extra teachers took individual children or small groups out of the mixed ability classes for certain subjects. The HoY_3 discussed her concern over the current practices in some detail ;

Q One thing I understand you have in this school is Year by Year flexibility of pupil grouping. This is rather unusual. Do you understand this arrangement as Delta Grouping?

We don't understand it as that.

(Q) One of its practicalities is that each Year can group children according to decisions made by the Year Head.

I would say that this is an area of slight discontent in the Third Year I would say.

Q Would you like to enlarge on it?

Right. The flexibility is there. I would say that the head is giving us the flexibility he can in the way he sees it necessary. But it is a flexibility that is difficult to make full use of in practical terms. Unfortunately, we are in some disagreement about this at the moment because the head cannot see that it's difficult for us to use it to its full extent.

Q You could have mixed ability, banding, setting..?

Well, we can't subject set, because we haven't got enough teachers in the Year, you see.

Q You could 'import' some?

Well, in theory, yes.

Q You could also have streaming?

What we have are five mixed ability classes and we have inputs into the Year of other staff - not actually specialist staff. I have a teacher attached to me when I'm teaching French. In fact, for the first time we have dropped some children from French - only about one per class. They go out for one-to-one situation for remedial English.

Q You inherited the groups as they are now from previous Years?

Yes, almost entirely. We made one or two little judicious swaps.

Q On the basis of information passed to you?

Yes, that's right - on behavioural problems.

Q And they go on as mixed ability groups?

No, in the Fourth Year they will go into four bands.

Q What arguments are there against banding in your Year?

Only ... we haven't really gone into it, since the headteacher doesn't want it to happen. He doesn't want a banded situation in the Third Year. He's got it in the Fourth Year but he says that's the 'secondary' situation. The Second Year is the 'primary' situation and we don't want you to be too quickly into the secondary situation. So we are not having banding in the Third Year.

Q You are not having setting?

We are not having setting. Subject setting we can't do, but all we have at the moment are teachers attached to us at the moment coming in for various lessons which is only partially helpful, obviously.

So I have dropped a few remedial children from French. I'm not very keen on dropping

children from French, I'm afraid. But, still, that was instructions, you see, because it's a matter of understanding what is needed for each subject, you see.

In the maths we have - they have six lessons a work and in four of them another person is attached to the class. Sometimes it's another specialist maths teacher, sometimes it's a probationer, and that enables the maths teacher to extract according to - well, what she thinks best.

I know that one able girl goes out once a week and on the other times it's a matter of splitting the work load.

As far as English goes, the same sort of thing happens. They have five English lessons and for three of them there is somebody else there so that different groups can go out. I think it's mainly for reading.

But, as you can see, that helps, but it does not help completely in that for both maths and French I think it lacks continuity. I think if a teacher knows he's got five

lessons with this group a week, " I can do something - a project that lasts a week ". But on Monday you have one group and the next day it's double the size and the others have come back. And the next day, it's back to half size again and so on. I think that it's ...

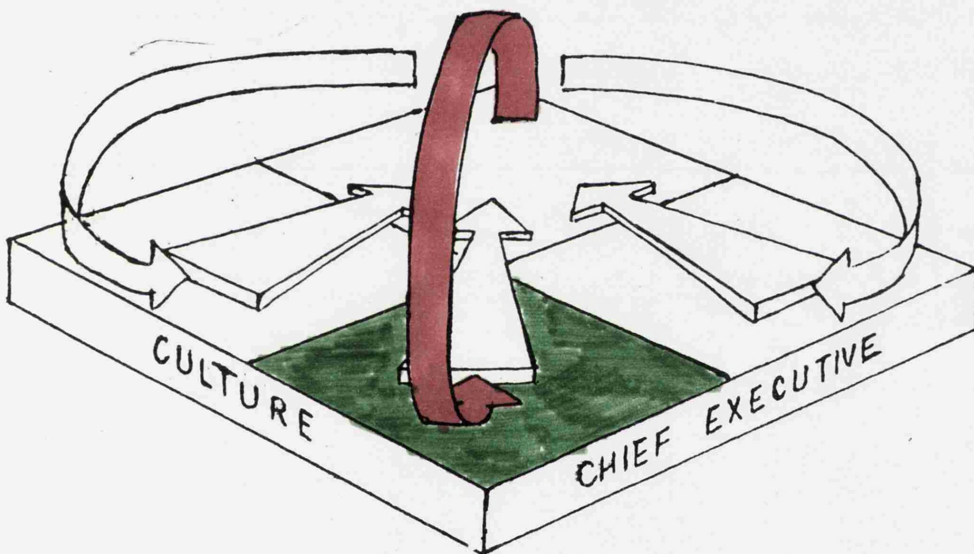
Q *Frustrating for the teacher?*

It is, yes, and I think this is our bone of contention at the moment. It's not really cohesive, I think.

Q *Would you go for setting if you could?*

This is what I think people would like, but the staffing doesn't enable us to do it. Certainly, unless the school is structured like a secondary school, I don't see how we can achieve that really, and I suppose this is what the conflict is.
We've got secondary teachers and we've got primary teachers.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE STRANGER - INCHOATE CULTURE



Case study

Cambire Elementary School USA

Chapter 9
Preface

The following case study is a reappraisal of the situation examined by Gross N, Giaquinta JB anc Bernstein M (1971) and reported in 'Implementing organizational innovations', New York, Harper and Row.

It is one of two reappraisals included in this survey of American experiences of attempts to completely restructure existing education institutions under the direction of a new chief executive.

The identification of this situation as a phase in institutional dynamics occurred as the English based fieldwork was being carried out. This phase equates with the pioneering or herioc stage of development.

Time constraints prevented the immediate investigation of an English institution in this phase and the literature survey did not produce any report based on communications with both the chief executive concerned and members of the working culture. The present work involves the reappraisal of this American experience in terms of the model of institutional dynamics introduced in Section D.

The Dissolution and Reformation phase

Introduction

Even well established enterprises possessing a chief executive-familiar who is managing a coherent culture are subject to changes which can be sudden and massive. Although the model of institutional dynamics proposed here may suggest that the state towards which all organizations tend to move is the Familiar-Coherent, it does not imply that this is the ultimate or even the most highly valued phase. The model, in fact, illustrates three general possibilities that may occur after the achievement of this state:

a) complete transformation and reformation, involving Chief Executive-Stranger and inchoate culture phase,

b) a Chief Executive-Stranger with a coherent culture,

c) a Chief Executive-Familiar with incoherent culture.

The reasons why the familiar-coherent enterprise may experience complete transformation and reformation are numerous, but examples of two situations in which this can take place are outlined below.

1. It is quite possible for an enterprise to be internally stable and coherent and yet at odds with its environment. Outmoded objectives, antiquated technology

and inflexible structures may exist which, although highly valued by the chief executive and the culture, no longer relate to the purposes for which the enterprise was designed and for which it is maintained by its environment. The internal coherence in such cases is based on the rejection by all concerned of external pressures which seek to change the values-technology-structure framework of the enterprise.

2 It is also quite possible for a familiar-coherent enterprise to be extremely successful and yet still be subject to sudden dissolution and reformation. Its very success can generate fear and jealousy among competing enterprises and other environmental pressure groups. Attempts can and are made to reduce the power, status and effectiveness of such an enterprise, Anti-monopolistic or cartel legislation in the industrial and commercial fields and corporate management in local authority administration may be cited as examples of some of the penalties that may be incurred by the successful.

Dissolution-Reformation operations

An enterprise which moves from the familiar-coherent state by dissolution and reformation changes both its chief executive and its personnel. The phase would normally be of relatively short duration and possess some or all the following characteristics:

a) a powerful chief executive with a plan involving quite radical innovations in terms of values-technology-structure.

a) a group of subordinates who are change-orientated although not neccessarily in agreement as to what changes should be made.

Norms, standards, routines all have to be negotiated but the very absence of these is likely to be viewed as advantageous by those concerned. Individuals are free to visualise their working environment in positive terms, perhaps even fantasising about the eventual coherent phase, Before that is reached, however, the model predicts that there will exist an initial pseudo-cohesion during which the organization gets off the ground and is propelled by initial enthusiasm, above average work rates and high tolerance of ambiguity. The burden of removing obstacles and resolving conflicts will lie squarely with the Chief Executive Stranger, who is the sole proprietor of the Plan. Only after some

time has elapsed will his assistants come to know exactly what is allowed or not allowed through formalization and routinization measures. Until then they must refer repeatedly to him for his judgement on even very minor issues.

The pseudo-coherent phase will be followed by inchoateness as conflicts over the values-technology-structure framework become embedded in sub-groups and cliques, each of which seeks to dominate the culture. Each group may draw support for its views from the words and actions of the chief executive. The noise in the communications network, plus the initial fantasising will contribute to the general level of frustration and tension.

Dissolution and Reformation case study 1: Cambire school

Neal Gross, professor of Education and Sociology, Harvard University, conducted research into the fate of an innovation in an elementary school which he called Cambire. His investigation provides a useful illustration of the dissolution-reformation phase of institutional dynamics postulated above.

Cambire school was established in an inner-city area at the turn of the century, It had always been roughly the equivalent of an English primary school and by the nineteen fifties it was serving a district characterised by many of the socio-economic ills of the time.

Coherent-Familiar phase

Despite the unattractive nature of the old school buildings and the general deprivation in the community

> *there was little turnover in the staff that taught its negro pupils during the 1950's and early 1960's.*

It had the same principal between 1950 and 1962, until her retirement. She stressed her belief in traditional approaches to education.

Dissolution-Reformation

Within three years of the principal's retirement, the whole of her staff group had left the school, the pupil roll had plummeted to a third of its previous number, the school buildings were declared unsafe by the parents and it was transferred to another

administrative district.

The director of the now Bureau of Educational Change in the district, funded by federal grants, declared Cambire a 'laboratory school'. It was to be a centre for developing and testing new programmes, materials and management approaches that could then be disseminated among other schools in the area. The director was the chief executive of the school and he exercised his powers through an assistant director who was actually based on the school premises. The chief executive was able to

a) staff the school well above the city norms,
b) pay the teachers a 15% bonus for extra work that innovating involved,
c) double the capitation allowance of the school.

At the time of the investigation by Gross the situation was therefore that the school had

a) a new chief executive,
b) a staff group of eleven, none of whom had been at the school for more than one year and in fact eight of whom had just been appointed that autumn term.

The director had a Plan, a scheme of action which he

considered to be

> *a solution to the problems of motivating lower-class children and of improving the academic achievement ... the first thing that we wanted to do is to create a kind of atmosphere, a kind of free and easy approach where the teachers weren't lording it over the kids all the time and telling them what to do.*

In explaining the source of his innovation he said

> *Oh, we sort of robbed Bruner; we robbed everybody ...*

He went on to refer to John Holt and Jean Piaget, but mainly Leicestershire, England. The core of his proposals, in terms of the values-technology-structure framework, was a replication of the English child-centred approach , so often advocated throughout the history of public education - on both sides of the Atlantic. This emphasis had been promoted by the Newcastle Report, 1861, the Cross Report, 1888, the Elementary schools Handbook, 1905 and the Hadow Report, 1931. The chief executive's plan was, therefore, in no way original.

He circulated his ideas-in-good-currency among his teachers at the beginning of the autumn term; a further document went out in January. Both included reference to desired teacher behaviour, provision of instructional materials and space utilization.

The teachers had been appointed specifically because of their expressed radical perpectives.

> *All had volunteered to teach at the school knowing that it was going to be experimental and they would be expected to do new things.*
>
> *Cambire was a place where change is the rule rather than the exception ... Cambire is a kind of a model of this in that the pressure there is for change rather than standing still, and you're criticised if you don't change rather than if you do.*
>
> *p 81*

In the light of subsequent events and the results from the investigators' application of the Edwards Personal Schedule (p 289) the director's selection of staff on this basis did not, in fact, result in the appointment of teachers who would conform to his desired norms of teacher behaviour.

Three quarters of the teachers were new to the school and to the district. They also had, on average, less than four years' teaching experience.

An unusual factor associated with the area of concern of Gross and his research team was that no specific calendar had been drawn up by the director for implementation of the child-centred teaching style. Neither of the two documents circulated by the chief executive made any reference to timing. The result was that during that first term all teachers carried out their functions along traditional lines. It appeared that not one of them had a clear idea of the operational aspects of the catalytic role model. By the end of January seventy five per cent were still very uncertain. The on-site assistant director could not answer the questions about the innovation that were raised by the teachers. On the infrequent occasions that the director himself visited Cambire he was reluctant to spell out, in the detail required, exactly what was involved.

The teachers were given one week's notice of the director's decision that he required them to implement the innovation in February. The teacher group showed no coherence in its response to the command.

Gross reported a range of application of the new system from two to forty percent of teacher time. Reported teacher comments included 'giving it a try' to 'I'll be damned if I'll do it'.

> *Our assessment of the overall quality of innovative effort thus revealed that it consisting primarily of teachers' insertion into traditionally scheduled, self-contained classrooms varying 'chunks' of free time for their pupils each week. During these periods we found little evidence of behaviour reflecting the basic notion of teachers serving as 'catalysts'. Most teachers used these periods essentially as 'free-play' sessions; periods when children were free to do as they wished short of harming each other: they did little more than see to it that their pupils did not get hurt and when 'activity time' ended, they resumed their traditional schedules.*
>
> *p 119*

Tension built up between teachers, particularly those paired to work in the same classroom, as allowed under the director's generous staffing provision.

Incompatibility led to frustration which was manifested in the punishment of children rather than by resolution between colleagues. Some teachers voiced their dis-illusionment and their decision to leave and find a 'regular' school in which to work. The assistant director, never happy with his task of putting into operation his superior's radical philosophy, left at the end of the second term.

The innovation had been disastrously handled. Many of the teachers were convinced that the director's prime purpose was not so much to improve the academic performance of the children as to enhance his own position.

> *their growing belief that the director was 'using them' in an unprofessional manner to promote 'his' innovation added to their mounting frustrations and feelings of dis-illusionment.*

> *... he only comes in when he wants to bring in a visitor and show off ...*

> *... in early April the administration asked teachers on several occarions to re-arrange their schedules so that they would be sure*

to be engaged in the 'activity period', that is making efforts to implement the innovation when the visitors arrived at the school.

... he's after a big job somewhere else; that's why he's 'kowtowing' to this guy.

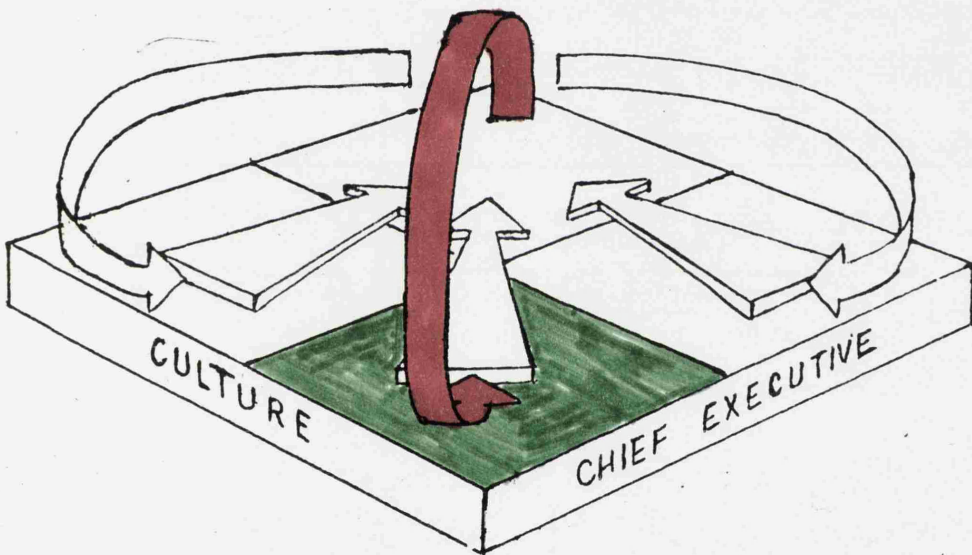
He wants a big name and doesn't care who he has to step on to get one.

The good will, fantasy and optimism of the pseudo-coherent phase had now given way to bitterness, disillusionment and bickering. The teachers blamed the director for lack of clarity in his operational plans, shortage of equipment and absenteeism, as well as of 'feathering his own nest'. In turn, he accused them of lack of professional expertise, intelligence and commitment.

Not one of the eleven teachers was reappointed for the following academic session. Thus, within a period of three years following the end of the coherent-familiar phase, the school had lost two complete staff groups, as well as two principals, an assistant director and his acting successor. The dissolution-reformation phase had still to be

worked through, but its major characteristics as predicted in the institutional dynamics model were exhibited at Cambire.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE STRANGER - INCHOATE CULTURE



Case study

University of New York at Buffalo

Preface

This case study reappraises the personal experiences of Warren G Bennis, as reported in his article 'Who sank the yellow submarine?' , pp 219-228 in Bennis W G, Benne K D, Chin R and Corey (1976) 'The planning of change',

As a newly appointed Head of a Faculty he was involved in attempts to transform an existing college of the State University of New York under a new president.

This investigation is considered as complementary to the Cambire school case study in terms of the magnitude, timing and fate of the innovation proposals.

The organizational perspective that Bennis brought to bear on the activities at Buffalo was valuable in highlighting the problems involved in converting a grand design into an enduring organization. The present reappraisal considers this situation in the context of the model of institutional dynamics proposed in Section D.

Dissolution and Reformation : case study 2

The decision to publish accounts of insuccessful organizational change is rarely taken. This is unfortunate, since it denies the discipline of management the recordings of events from which lessons may be learnt of considerable value. As a parallel, a textbook on the history of a nation which deliberately avoids any mention of lost battles, disastrous treaties and mistaken legislation would be rightly condemned as lacking in balance, content, and academic rigour.

As far as the management of educational organizations is concerned, this deficiency is slowly being corrected. That this is the case may be indicative of a more realistic approach to the analysis and description of institutional life. Certainly the two case studies presented here as illustrations of the dissolution and reformation phase of institutional dynamics highlight the tragedy of the fantasy and pseudo-coherence that have surrounded fresh starts and massive reorientation of endeavours.

Those with a morbid perspective can, of course, turn

to the reports of official enquiries that have reported on events at Risinghill, Tyndale and the polytechnics of Teeside and North London. Further information on 'failure' may be culled from public and confidential documents relating to individual principals, headteachers and staff who have appeared before disciplinary committees of various kinds. Such documents almost always lack the analysis and reflection that a trained management scholar, who is intimately associated with the events, can bring to bear on the situation.

The enquiries and the reports, although arising from activities signalling cultural incoherence and/or value conflict between a chief executive and subordinates, are conducted in such a fashion as to strip away and undervalue the complex daily interaction of individuals and groups in a social setting. The inquisitors prefer to concentrate on matters familiar to them, such as the legal basis of decision making and the documentation of routines and procedures.

One depressing result of such a legal-rational respective is the creation of a fear of change and innovation, since legislation frequently lags behind changes in social values, particularly when the climate for change is most favourable. A headteacher in the 1980's, for example, who passionately believes

in and practices a highly participatory style of decision making may well find himself deprived of support by his local education authority. It could insist that he functions according to the Education Act of 1944, which was promulgated before the parties concerned joined the service. This Act places sole responsibility for the internal organization, management and discipline upon the headteacher.

Another result is to provide anti-innovators with the ammunition they seek to preserve the status quo, for reasons associated with their own comfort, Such reports offer poor illustrations of institutional dynamics, since they deny the validity of the 'here and now', with all its richness and colour. Neither of the case studies used to illustrate the dissolution-reformation phase of institutional dynamics was associated with a public enquiry or disciplinary proceeding. They both stemmed from the personal acquaintance of expert organizational analysts working in the United States, in two well contrasted organizations - an elementary school and a university. One experience that they had in common was that of moving through a period of massive dissolution and reformation involving a new chief executive and new teachers. The second case study now analysed is that set in a university.

State University of New York at Buffalo

Warren Bennis describes in 'The sociology of institutions, or, Who sank the yellow submarine' how he became involved in an attempt completely to restructure and invigorate Buffalo University. He received an invitation from the new president, Martin Meyerson, to become involved in giving the university a new lease of life, in a venture which amounted to

> *an academic New Jerusalem of unlimited money, a new $650m campus, bold organization ideas, a visionary president, a supportive chancellor and governor, the number of new faculty and administration to be recruited, the romance of taking a mediocre upstate college and creating - well - the Berkeley of the East.*

The plan put forward by the new president involved the complete redesigning and reorientation of the endeavours of the institution. The conventional academic structure would be dissolved. His plan was sanctioned by the senate within two months of its presentation and the consequences included:

1 The formation of seven Faculties, each with a provost as chief academic and administrative officer. The ninety existing departments were combined under the provosts, who would be assured of funds and facilities to set up interdisciplinary courses. (Bennis himself would be the provost of the Social Science faculty which would incorporate the management, anthropology, social welfare, philosophy and history departments.)

2 The campus would comprise thirty colleges which would be the focus of all O and P activities. They would have some 400 residents and upwards of 600 day students.

3 Action-research centres would be set up to unite the whole campus and provide facilities for work on vital national and international issues.

Bennis accepted the invitation to join in the adventure as he was attracted by the concept of decentralization of authority, the 'multi-plug-in' points offered by Faculty, College and Centre structure for both staff and students and also by the drive for excellence that the plan advocated. He arrived in 1967 and during that academic year spent 75% of his time recruiting two faculty deans, nine new departmental

chairmen and forty five new teachers.

> *Buffalo raided Harvard, Yale and Princeton. Each new appointment increased enthusiasm, generated new ideas and escalated optimism. Intellectual communities formed and flourished.*

That year was shot through with enthusuasm and support for president Myer's Plan, as ratified by the senate. The college had possessed a record of 'uneven distinction' for most of its existence prior to its incorporation into the University of New York. It had now been given a new lease of life. The chief executive-stranger had infused the institution with new ideas and new internal structures which had attracted teachers from the most prestigious establishments in the Eastern States.

The inchoate culture

It was not too long before problems cropped up in connection with funding, accommodation and, above all the academic staff. The massive infusion of new teachers was not compatible with remnants of the

old-established group that remained. In fact, the new staff, although innovative and progressive, could not agree between themselves on exactly what changes should be made or on the order of priority. Disagreements among the departments about the new faculty structure soon surfaced and tensions developed between the newcomers and the old guard. Bennis identified the lack of sensitivity exhibited by the recently appointed teachers to the existing culture as a crucial error which contributed significantly to the eventual failure of the fresh start:

> *They were not asked for advice, they were not invited to social affairs. They suspected that we acted cooly towards them because we considered them to be second class academics who lacked intellectual chic and who could not cut it in Cambridge and New York.*

The innovators had to defend themselves against charges of devaluing the credit system in operation. Their attackers set themselves up as custodians of academic standards. The esteem and status of Buffalo could not be derived from its radical operations. The new organization would be judged, not on its processes, but by its product. Bennis acknowledged

that he had, along with others, allowed things to happen which gave the conservatives ammunition for their counter-offensive, which was to prove successful.

> *Now, four years after the dream was born, the campus mood is dismal. Many of the visionaries are gone - those left must live with the wreckage. The spirit of change has been stamped out.*

The chief executive-stranger had, in fact, moved on, after only a brief period at Buffalo. As Bennis wryly states, 'the average tenure of an American university president is now 4.4 years and decreasing.

Dissolution-Reformation: Case study summary

At both Buffalo and Cambire chief executive-strangers had appeared with radical plans of action which were visions of a future desired state. The plans allowed individuals to fantasise, to collude and to combine with each other in a pseudo-coherent phase.

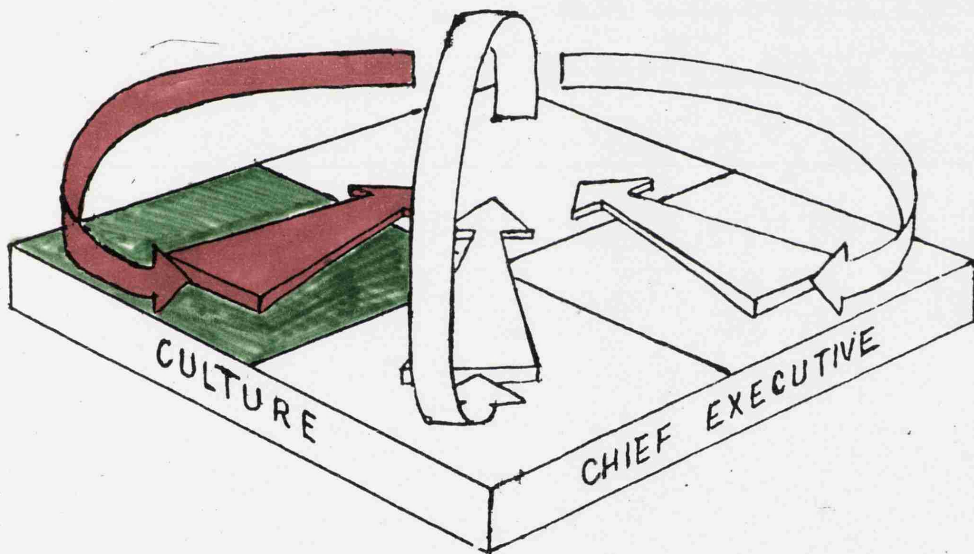
At both institutionsm the normal blockages to reformation appeared to have been overcome with promises of very generous funding, new equipment and building. Above all, the chief executives were both in a position to replace seventy five percent of the staff.

The Cambire and the Buffalo plans incorporated a very large number of desirable and fashionable features which had been culled from several discrete sources and cultures. Both were, therefore, a mixture of components, each of which - in isolation - appeared to have been successfully produced somewhere. In combination, however, within one setting, they produced a level of cultural incoherence that became intolerable to the point that the innovation was deemed a 'failure'.

The chief executives concerned had brought with them on their travels an organization package of things that they had accummulated and rearranged. They had succeeded in identifying themselves and their proposals with ideas-in-good-currency and in gaining the support of experienced practitioners. But the Buffalo president had moved on after three years and the Cambire principal after only two terms.

They had launched rockets but then, in effect, had taken away the main propulsion and guidance systems before orbital height had been achieved. The crews were in disarray, having no access to flight plans and a fast-receding knowledge of the ultimate expected destinations.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE FAMILIAR - INCHOATE CULTURE



Case study

Nailsea School Somerset

Preface

This case study was based on a reappraisal of the situation examined by Elizabeth Richardson in 'The teacher, the school and the task of management' (1973), in the context of the model of institutional dynamics introduced in Chapter 3.

Personal interviews with the chief executive, Denys John, several members of his standing committee and a number of assistant teachers were also undertaken as part of this follow-up research. During the period of investigation Denys John retired and his successor was interviewed shortly after his appointment.

Elizabeth Richardson's period of consultancy occurred two years after Nailsea Grammar School had been converted into a comprehensive school under the same headteacher.

The case study concentrated on this phase, which was characterised by developing inchoateness, conflict and confusion and splitting. Innovatory attempts were at their peak but lacked careful preparation and coordination. The follow up research therefore probed the effects of the interrelationship between the chief executive and the teacher culture of his operations.

Introduction

Chief Executive Familiar - Inchoate Culture

It has taken more than two decades to reorganize eighty per cent of the maintained schools into comprehensive institutions. Only towards the end of the nineteen seventies was legislative force used in an attempt to integrate secondary education. The Act of Parliament was rescinded by the new conservative administration in 1979.

One factor which extended the period of reorganization was that decision making power is vested in local education authorities. These numbered some one hundred and fifty in the 1960s but have been reduced to just over on hundred through local government reorganization.

The net result of the integrative process has been the reduction of the number of secondary schools by twenty per cent. This means that nearly one thousand headteacher posts have disappeared. School reorganization took three main forms:

1 Grammar or modern schools became free-standing comprehensives on their existing sites and staffed

largely by existing teachers drawn from the existing staff.

2 Two or more schools were amalgamated to form a split-site institution with the staff team being drawn from all the schools concerned.

3 Brand new buildings were erected, particularly in areas of expanding population and here new staff groups were appointed specifically for the new institutions.

Nailsea School opened as a grammar school in 1959 with fewer than one hundred pupils and four teachers including the headteacher Denys John. Seven years later, in 1966, it enrolled its first comprehensive intake. Its first headteacher remained, as did his grammar school staff, by then totalling forty three.

Eight of the first thirteen teachers were on the staff twelve years after the school had opened; one of the founding teachers had been away and returned. Teacher stability was undoubtably encouraged by the school's pleasent location, southwest of Bristol. Internal promotion opportunities occurred as the school expanded and reorganization from grammar to

comprehensive on the same site offered a wider range of experiences. Additional staff were appointed as the school roll steadily increased.

Ten years after Nailsea School first opened, Elizabeth Richardson became a consultant to the headteacher and staff. Out of this association came her account 'The teacher, the school and the task of management'(1973). When the events of the 1968-1971 period at Nailsea are investigated in terms of the model of institutional dynamics, they illustrate that the working culture passed through an inchoate phase under a Chief Executive Familiar.

The tension, confusion and self-doubt redolent of this phase is discussed below, with reference to

1 Interdepartmental conflict
2 Pastoral-curricular tensions
3 The chief executive's management style.

Interdepartmental conflict

In the autumn term 1968 an experimental Humanities course was timetabled for the first forms. It replaced all the geography, history and religious education periods, plus approximately twenty percent of the time hitherto allocated to English. The four teachers concerned were the head of RE, the new deputy headteacher and two junior history and geography teachers. As Richardson stated

> *it was the first clear attempt to break with the tradition of discrete courses based on conventional subjects.*

Not only were changes made in the traditional fields of enquiry but also in the modes of enquiry. The humanities team encouraged a more heuristic approach to learning and a consequent loosening of classroom discipline and control over pupil movement and inter-personal contact.

There had been a number of previous attempts throughout twentieth century schooling to integrate studies that had recently become discrete and the subject of newly founded university chairs. This applied to geography and history which have been taught as 'social studies',

'environmental studies' and 'humanities'. None of the movements have been completely successful in abolishing history or geography at school level. To do so would necessitate the abolition of historians and geographers and their extremely strong attachment to their special fields of enquiry, amounting in many cases to the most basic source of identity in the occupation of teaching, has ensured that successive attempts have failed at school examination level. Integration has, of course, occurred at postgraduate/university level, where certain components of courses have been labelled as 'historical geography', for example. It has also taken place in the first years of secondary schooling which are not crucial to the maintenance of the 'federation of special schools'. The introduction of integrated studies for these junior groups is usually monitored closely and at Nailsea it was not long before the headteacher received a number of complaints from departmental heads about the new humanities course. It appeared that the values of the teachers associated with it were in conflict with those of several established departmental heads.

There was considerable uncertainty about the legitimacy of the course as it did not appear to have been the result of the headteacher's established consultation procedures. Nor did it seem to be backed by those in

charge of the lower school. It raised questions about the location of the boundaries of geography and history and the future extent of encroachment into their respective territories.

In a meeting with Denys John, the history and geography departmental heads were the vanguard of growing opposition to the course. They were

> *it seemed condemninghumanities as a lunatic fringe that was endangering the curriculum.*
>
> *p 77*

They complained about the inevitable discontinuity that would occur when the pupils took up history and geography as discrete externally examined studies. In fact the five year 'O' level programmes would have to be condensed into four or three years since there was no evidence that the humanities course would produce a valid basis for either subject.

The head of English saw little in the course which appealed to 'the imagination and the emotional development' of children. Another complaint was that the course team, and hence the syllabus, lacked a science perspective - a remarkable deficiency in a programme concentrating on the activities and conditions of the human race.

During several meetings throughout the first year of the course considerable antagonism was shown towards the course and, inevitably, towards its teachers, one of whom was the deputy head. He had just been appointed to that post, having moved from another local comprehensive school. Before that, however, he had in fact helped Denys John establish Nailsea as a grammar school nearly ten years previously. He had had two years more experience of comprehensive schooling than the other team members but what was more important was that he was the second in command at the school and, as such, could not be too closely associated with a prime cause of growing cultural inchoateness. The strength of the opposition was such that he withdrew from the course team the following year and its proposed extension into the second form curriculum was shelved.

The programme was repeated for the new first year children in 1969, but its teaching team was now dominated by those with 'P' activity responsibilities, such as the head of the lower school, the head of remedial work, strongly associated with the younger and less able children, and a housemaster, with the help of several newly appointed general arts subject teachers.

As an innovation the humanities course introduced values in conflict with those of the existing and well-established culture.

> *It was inevitable that confusion and uncertainty should be part of the experience of redefining objectives and of modifying the procedures for working towards new objectives, even that such confusion and uncertainty could at times spark off anger and disillusionment and distrust.*
>
> *p 69*

This distrust was created between the course leaders and departmental heads and between them and the head-teacher. The course had, according to some, been slid surreptitiously into the curriculum and its implications had certainly not been worked out through the consultative processes of which Denys John was so proud. His deputy's link with the new course led some staff to believe that the chief executive's steam roller was flattening collegial discussion out of existence.

The values which had acted as the 'social glue' of the coherent grammar school phase of Nailsea's existence and which had been challenged by the innovation can be summarised as follows:

1 The legitimation of fields of study was sanctioned by authorities outside the territory of any one school.

2 Certification and/or graduation in a field of study conferred territorial 'rights' which were to be expected.

3 Following these two points there existed a territory, and therefore a boundary, which it was both legitimate and necessary to maintain.

4 There was a temporal dimension to the territory of a field of study. It had claims on the learning times of acolytes during the early stages of formal education, during which the necessary socialization into the values and modes of thought and working could be established.

In connection with the second of these characteristics, it has to be commented that teachers are particularly vulnerable among the professional and aspirant professional group of occupations in that they can lay personal claim to very few of the requisites of their activity. They own neither the premises nor the equipment needed to carry out their functions. They do not even own the very pieces of chalk they use. Indeed, if the headteacher so decrees, they can be forbidden such use.

Their expertise is borrowed from the concepts and operations formulated and designed by university lecturers,

authors and experimenters past and present. When one fashionable school of thought is succeeded by another within their field of expertise then even their authority of expertise is devalued and, by association, their status in the academic world is undermined.

Very few school teachers can claim original contribution to the sum total of knowledge or pedagogy. They are, in general, spreaders of other people's butter. (Geer, 1966) Such activity is hardly conducive to professionalism and the present researcher has frequently heard from headteachers about the importance of the 'special' characteristics or the 'particularness' of their schools, children, environment, size, history and so on. At both Quarrybank and All Saints it was the catchment which the headteacher felt was peculiar. At Wintervale it was 'the children'. In each case the particularness perceived by the headteacher enhanced his own status, as far as he was concerned and as far as anyone he was able to convince of the correctness of his diagnosis was concerned. In this way some teachers can increase their apparent professionalism. That certain qualities are deemed 'unique' within the experience of a particular head does not , of course, preclude their actual operation and replication among the rest of the 99% of schools with which he has not been associated.

Conflicts between Operational and Pilotage activities

As a grammar school, Nailsea had depended on a simple conventional pastoral system based on registration forms. The first two Years comprised the Lower school, with its own section head, but, with the exception of the welfare activities of the male and female deputy heads, no other staff role was dominated by pastoral care functions. After the school enrolled its first comprehensive intake the following developments took place:

1966 Four House heads were designated to handle the P activities of the third and fourth years.

1967 The fifth year was incorporated onto the House system.

1969 New designations were created for a Head of Middle school (third, fourth and fifth years) and a Head of Upper school (the sixth forms).

1971 The Houses were abolished. All the P activities throughout the school were reorganized on a Year basis.

The above brief calendar of chief executive decisions over a five year period may present an impression of a carefully phased programme of pastoral provision for the comprehensive intake of children which by 1971 dominated the school. These decisions were, however, not made as part of a grand strategy. The situation in 1971 was, as far as the children were concerned, precisely that which operated on 1965, before any internal changes were made. The intervening disorientation period for the teachers who experienced it was one of considerable confusion, conflict and tension. This inchoate cultural phase included a number of incidents and developments which possessed no identifiable pattern except that of confusion.

Pastoral-Curricular tensions

Hutton's model of the institutionalized educational task incorporates two main activities, operational ,'O' and pilotage 'P'. These components achieve their full symbiotic relationship in the context of extended courses of learning, generally of three years or more duration. These activities, plus that of the management of the total enterprise encompass practically all the official endeavours of the staff of any school or college.

At both ends of the full education process, the infant and university stages, the O and P functions are generally incorporated in the same role. The class teacher and the degree course tutor, although working at such different levels , advance the learning of their students and, at the same time, help them to relate to the institutional life as a whole.

Until comparatively recently, this had also been the case within secondary education. The growing division between the two erstwhile symbiotic activities in secondary schools and the official sanction of this division in terms of roles continues to be the source of much conflict and tension among secondary school teachers. In some schools the curricular (O) and pastoral (P) split is so pronounced as to create dysfunctional effects, to the disadvantage of the pupils for whom they were designed. The supportive pilotage function has, in some schools, taken on the panoply of a full-blown social welfare activity, owing little to, and on occation seeming to conflict with, the teaching or operational activities.

From its beginning as an activity designed to help the student through an educational institution, the pastoral function has, in recent years, been directed towards compensation for the numerous socio-economic problems associated with the individual domestic and community

environment of the pupils. In this respect it has gone beyond the psychotherapeutic aims of bringing an individual to terms with his environment. The contemporary push is towards changing the environment to fit the individual - a hopeless task, given the expertise and power of the average teacher. Such deveopments, taking teachers across the school boundary into the homes of pupils has raised a number of issues for the teachers, their territory of concern and the interaction of teachers, welfare workers and politicians in the field of community affairs. Eggleston (1977) described how general approbation for community work by teachers turned to strong disapproval when they sought to widen the field of action.

> One example ... occurred in a secondary school serving a large inter-war housing estate. The estate was neglected; the adolescent population had a reputation for vandalism and near delinquency. A small group of newly appointed teachers initiated a Community Service Project wherein the teachers, with the senior pupils, conducted an impressive programme of socially approved activity whereby the boys and girls dug old peoples' gardens, painted their walls, cleared the local brook of debris and generally brought acceptable material improvements to

a somewhat deprived housing estate. There was widespread local approval for the project and the pupils were praised by the mayor and the local newspaper. There was local relief that the school through its project had 'transformed' the pupils. The local authority voted extra earmarked resources to the school to further the project.

The next phase of the project was based on a realization that the old people had greater problems than weedy gardens. They had difficulty in obtaining their rate rebates, the local council was tardy in the repair of roofs and other maintenance of a kind that was beyond the scope of the pupils. With the teacher the pupils decided that some further action was needed and wrote to the local newspaper and to the local housing committee about the problems, urging immediate action. The response was quite different in nature from that which they had enjoyed previously. This time the local paper was distinctly unenthusiastic about their 'interference', defining the pupils as 'young troublemakers' and the teachers as 'politically

> motivated'. The coincidence that the chairman of the Local Housing Committee was also a member of the Local Education Committee appeared to lead to several problems within the school. Certainly the teacher was encouraged not to continue with this particular line of action and the additional resources ceased to be available.
>
> The ecology of the school, p 102

At certain critical moments in the passage of a student through his course, it may be necessary to suspend the prime operational task in order to deal with pastoral issues. In general, however, P activities are subordinate and supportive and it is unusual for time to be allocated officially to such work in the normal business day. A competent tutor will be aware of the nature and range of likely issues and their resolution. For him the timing of the call on his pilotage skills could be the biggest problem. Routinization by designation of official set time for this activity is therefore of little practical help.

The situation in secondary schools since reorganization along comprehensive lines has developed as follows:

a) Pilotage activities have been organized on the hierarchical principle, thus mirroring the operational

activities, as epitomised by subject departments.

b) The 'slack' time required for pilotage has been withdrawn from the form teacher or tutor and incorporated in the roles of head of House, Year or school section, or Counsellor.

From these developments two consequences have arisen :

a) Pilotage activities have become divorced from operational activities.Different teachers deal with operational and pilotage issues in any particular situation.

b) Pilotage actvities form a career line with its own hierarchy of positions and salary increments, which frequently equal or exceed those attached to the primary operational activities.

In the context of Richardson's role at Nailsea and her strong personal association with the work of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations the following incident, while indicative of the conflict of values that arose during the inchoate phase, is not without humour. At the time of her period of consultacy there existed four 'study groups' or 'working parties'. Another three were set up later. Although these groups as a whole are discussed in more detail in the next section, it is the Human Relations (HR) study group that is of present particular interest. It appeared that many of the staff of Nailsea school felt that the conventional teacher 'front' and 'performance' inhibited the devel-

-opment of real interpersonal relationships between pupil and teacher. They had therefore come together to

> *study the problem of how to work with children, in the area of personal relationships, through the medium of discussion based on the actual experiences of children as they coped with the business of growing up and coming to terms with the adult world.*
>
> *p 48*

In other words, the group felt that there was a need to abandon both the didactic approach and the boundary between school knowledge and everyday knowledge and experience. To help them in their task they enlisted as HR group members some marriage guidance counsellors. This decision was undoubtedly based on the headteacher's suggestion. Not only was he the chairman of the local marriage guidance council but his brother was the London-based head of training for the Council and took part in the meetings of the study group.

It soon became clear that the group's deliberations were penetrating the functional territories of the religious education and drama teachers, as well as on that of the form tutors. The attempts to dissolve the boundary between school and everyday knowledge

and the preference for informal pupil-teacher relationships was disturbing to some staff who, by implication, became labelled as traditional and anti-progressive.

Even while the HR group discussed how best to convert its values into concrete operations the headteacher unilaterally appointed a full time counsellor to his staff. The person concerned did not have any conventional teaching function at all. The incumbent was strongly of the opinion that such work would get in the way of warm and frank relationships with pupils who were expected to ask for advice and help with personal problems.

At one stroke the head had

a) unwittingly pre-empted the HR working group's recommendations

b) debased the pastoral responsibilities of two deputy heads, three school section heads, four house heads and forty two form tutors

c) officially devalued the considerable 'informal' network of pupil-teacher relationships which all schools possess as a result of mutual attraction and respect rather than as a consequence of formal identified roles

d) brought into disrepute his established close consultative decision making process that had hitherto been highly valued by his subordinates

e) ironically created a situation for the new counsellor, whose function was to enhance desirable human relationships, in which she became the focus of considerable animosity from members of staff.

The HR group was placed in an ambivalent position. It had succeeded in claiming an hour a month in the timetable up to the fourth year but even this was withdrawn the following year. The group closed its ranks against the two people who could be said to have most expertise in its area of concern. One was the senior mistress, who was

> *a natural claimant for the leadership role in this area, partly because she had been involved in it from the beginning, and partly because of the role of senior mistress.*

Her view was that pastoral care must be rooted in a work relationship and therefore feared the development of

> *a mystique in connection with this (HR) work, not to say the formation of an elite in the staff group.*

The other person who was now excluded was Richardson herself. The Human Relations group, it seemed, no longer

welcomed her as consultant and she

> *experienced considerable difficulty in coming to terms with the loss of the role ... I had previously taken in relation to the group.*

She was to attend no more meetings and she and the headteacher completely lost contact with the HR group. It seemed that in order to nurture the new values and attitudes that it commended it isolated itself from other individuals who possessed either authority of office or authority of expertise. For the remainder of its existence the HR group became what was most feared, a clique known for its support of radical values which were to be propagated even at the expense of harmonious relationships between the school's teachers.

The management style of the chief executive

The analysis of the inchoate phase of Nailsea School's culture has so far indicated the conflicts and tensions associated with the evident disagreements connected with operational and pilotage activities of secondary comprehensive schooling. The attempts by some staff to breach the subject department boundaries through

the establishment of an integrated humanities programme was resisted by those holding the values of the 'federation of special schools'. The human relationships study group advocated attitudes and beliefs which were in conflict with accepted pupil-teacher pilotage activities.

There were many other examples of operational and pilotage activities becoming the focus of conflicting thought and action. The development of a sixth form General Studies programme, for instance, was regarded as 'almost a private area' and Richardson concluded that innovations appeared to take place without any real guidance by the Chief Executive. The commerce and drama teachers pressed for a place in the sun, the scientists appeared to become an isolated sub-group with their insistence on regular annual examinations and fine setting of pupil groups. A working party set up to study organization and assessment was viewed with mixed feelings by staff

> *either as a group set up by the headmaster to work 'informally' in support of his policies or as a kind of revolutionary group or peoples' government thrown up by those factions within the staff group that were opposed to the head's policies. In both cases its members were in danger of being*

perceived either as a monolithic power group or as a weak puppet group acting under orders. If they had colluded with those who wanted to elevate them as a power group they would have found themselves fighting for the head against the staff or for the staff against the head, irrespective of their need to examine more closely - as responsible teachers - their own beliefs and attitudes about the policies being evolved.

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This summary of attitudes towards what was, seemingly, just another example of the Chief Executive's management style, can only be described as a loss of confidence by subordinates. Having been enculturated by the head-teacher into a decision making structure which placed very great emphasis on consultation, representation and pooling of views and perspectives, the staff group sensed a breakdown of the Chief Executive's management style. This view is supported by Richardson's comment that

Between the beginning of the Spring Term and the end of the 1968-9 session, the staff went through a period of considerable unrest and dissatisfaction. .. the hostility towards

> *the headmaster, as the person who had to accept the ultimate responsibility for the changes he was trying to bring about, had been expressed only in indirect ways. There were rumours that people were looking for new posts elsewhere, that disillusionment with the processes of consultation was spreading.*
>
> *p 177*

In the context of the Chief Executive - Culture model of institutional dynamics introduced as a framework for the current investigation, Denys John was the 'headteacher familiar'. He did, in fact, establish the school ten years before the inchoate period described above. The staff group increased steadily during this decade, each new appointment being strongly influenced by the head-teacher. His teachers came to expect a consultative, if not participatory, management style. Little of consequence was decided outside the alternate monthly meetings of departmental heads and pastoral heads. Two or three study groups or working parties functioned with high expectations that their recommendations would be accepted and incorporated into the operational and pilotage activities. It was, in fact, the breakdown of this customary expectation that triggered off a wave of distrust and suspicion. A number of changes

were made unilaterally by the headteacher, others by small unrepresentative groups or by individuals. At this stage the endeavours of the working parties were generally ignored or neutralised by subsequent ad hoc decisions.

The situation was aggravated by the creation of several more working parties, often with conflicting and overlapping terms of reference. It seemed that every new problem spawned another study group which appeared designed to bury the issue rather than to bring a carefully researched resolution to the attention of the whole staff group. Richardson could not identify any positive pattern in organizational decision making. The traditional departmental and pastoral heads meetings no longer appeared to provide the mechanism for analysis and solution of problems. Each group, in fact, met the headteacher separately and not only did they decline to accept the head's invitation to define their roles but they carefully avoided discussing a common agenda.

The lack of coherence at the most senior level was reflected in the day to day perceptions of assistant teachers. Shortly after the beginning of one term the whole group of newly appointed teachers sought a meeting with the head to complain about the distrust,

dissension and contradictory sets of values now evident. Another group, university students on teaching practice who, more that most of the permanent staff, taught across a number of departments, complained about the conflicting demands being made upon them arising from the lack of coherence in teaching styles and discipline expectations.

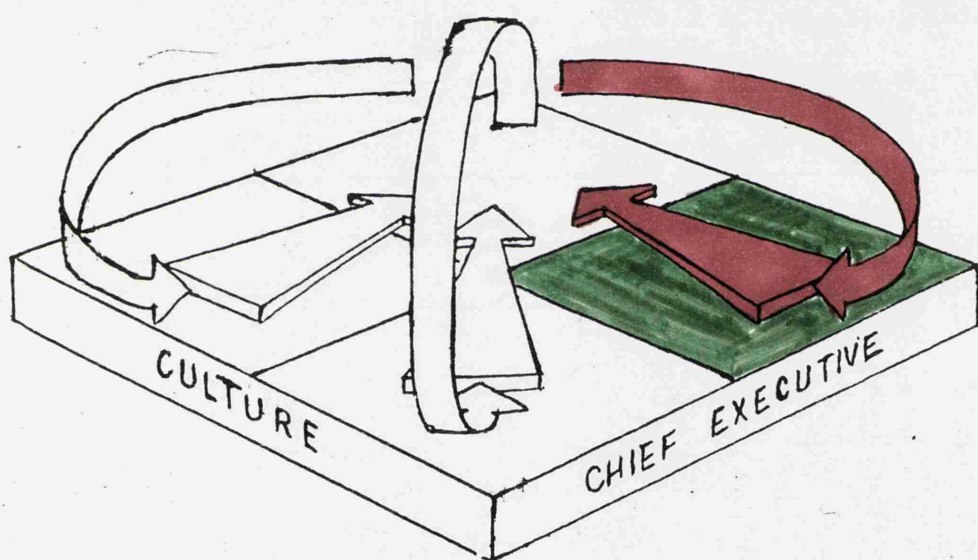
Richardson was to conclude that the consultative management style of the headteacher broke down when a number of issues became polarised. Conflicts between departments, pastoral sections and senior management as well as between the long established and newly appointed teachers had reached the point where intervention by the chief executive would split the teaching group. He was immobilized, seeking respite in working parties set up outside the well established senior staff meetings which tackled disconnected bits of school life with considerably less enthusiasm than hitherto. The primary task of the new school remained unexplored, almost as if it were a taboo area.

Such an inchoate situation could not be endured for very long. The headteacher took perhaps the only action open to him by establishing a permanent standing committee comprising himself, two deputies and the heads of the Lower, Middle and Upper school sections. Only the head of

the middle section was drawn from outside the ranks of those who, many years previously, had helped the head-teacher to establish the grammar school.

This standing committee made itself available to discuss with any individual or group matters of current concern or proposals for development. In this way a direct link between all teachers and the chief executive was created, unencumbered by conventional departmental channels, monthly staff meetings or working party procedures. The headteacher had, in effect, withdrawn delegated powers back to the new committee. He had dismantled the established consultative procedures and the official and unofficial accretions that had developed since Nailsea became a comprehensive school in 1966. So, four years later, he began again, He had over forty meetings of his standing committee in its first year. The process was painful and arduous, but out of it came the decisions to replace Houses with seven Year organizations and to create nine Faculties comprising the twenty three subject departments. The net result of three years' inchoateness and its tensions, conflicts, distrust and teacher resignations was that the executive standing committee, the faculty system and the pilotage Year organization all became dominated by about a dozen teachers who had been the original members of staff who helped the headteacher establish Nailsea as a grammar school some eleven years previously.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE STRANGER - COHERENT CULTURE



Case study

Marchpane High School

The Chief Executive Stranger- introduction

Whatever the pace of innovation and change associated with long established enterprises, there is a recurring need to replace chief executives who have served out their career span. Given situations in which there is a customary minimum age of appointment and a statutory retirement age, then the turnover rate is likely to exceed that of the reformations of the working culture.

Appointing agencies in the education service are particularly busy with the annual replacement of some one thousand five hundred chief executives of schools, colleges, higher education institutions, teacher centres and local education authority administrative units. Each vacancy provides an opportunity for the appointing agencies to attempt to speed up, maintain or even slow down the rate of innovation and change and to make adjustments to the value-technology-structure framework of the institutions concerned.

The most common policy with respect to primary and secondary schools is to appoint a 'Stranger' to the vacancy. Promotion from within the school is rare

enough to excite comment. Some local authorities are large enough to have a policy, well supported by local branches of the teacher unions, of drawing new headteachers from their own manpower stock of deputy heads. One advantage of this approach, from the point of view of the appointing authority, is that aspirant chief executives have, to all intents and purposes, undergone an apprenticeship under the guidance of an established headteacher in one of that LEAs own institutions.

The appointment of headteachers falls within a very sensitive area which has scarcely been penetrated by researchers. Studies sanctioned by those concerned are very rare indeed. An indication of the ignorance surrounding this field is that, in spite of the fact that some 15,000 appointments to headships of publicly maintained schools have been made during the past decade, not one piece of published research has focussed on the policies, procedures and processes of local education authorities during these endeavours to appoint chief executives of their schools.

D M Smith (1975) attempted to piece together data from documents associated with appointment guidelines operating in an English midlands city. In so doing he identified some details of the 'home grown'

idea outlined above. Over a period of twenty years, seventy three headteachers appointed to the city's schools had previously held posts in its education authority area. Once appointed to a headship, they tended to stay in the city until retirement. Their first chief executive appointments were in the low status inner city schools but, after a few years, they then moved on to the more prestigious larger institutions in modern buildings serving one of the city's more salubrious suburbs. Smith suggested that the education authority's policy was based on the development of

> loyalty and consensus between heads and the education office and to maintain stability. The practice of internal appointments and the importance attributed to length of service with the Authority as a criterion for promotion were means of achieving this policy. It was further exemplified by the care taken to ensure that the amalgamations and closures of schools would not result in demotions and feelings of dissatisfaction among heads as had happened elsewhere. Finally the tendency to reward heads by enabling them to move sometime towards the end of their careers from the inner city schools to the newer

larger ones on the city outskirts again ensured the loyalty of these heads.

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Such a strategy fuses together two of the three discrete executive levels incorporated in the Education Act of 1944, although at some cost to the autonomy of individual headteachers, The emphasis on stability can reduce the innovative drive at institutional level as the policy effectively reaches down through the teacher hierarchy to both the current and the aspiring deputy headteachers who see their futures in terms of chief executive positions in the authority's schools.

Local authority reorganization in 1974, which entailed amalgamation of the city and its county education systems and the appointment of a new Director of Education effectively spelled the end of these ring fence arrangements for headteachers appointments.

Most education authorities, particularly those whose manpower resource are insufficient to provide the new headteachers required, appoint from among those who apply in response to nationwide advertising. Spiralism is inevitably a major characteristic of the teaching occupation. Watson (1964), who invented the term,

defined it as

> The progressive ascent of specialists of different kinds through a series of positions in one or more hierarchical structures, and the concomitant residential mobility through a number of communities at one or more steps in this ascent, forms a characteristic combination of social and spatial mobility which I propose to call spiralism.

It is not uncommon for headteachers to remain in post for up to twenty years. Four of the schools investigated in the case studies had known headteachers with ten, sixteen, nineteen and twenty years service as their chief executives. They clearly qualify as members of the chief executive-familiar group and their approach to innovation and change is discussed in terms of the institutional dynamics model under that heading.

It is quite possible that the combination of political values and educational ideas-in-good-currency which conditioned their appointment so many years age have undergone considerable modification, given the rate of change in education and the political oscillations at local and national level. It cannot be assumed, however, that the headteachers have continually updated the school's value-technology-structure framework in sympathy with these modifications. Indeed, the institutional dynamics model postulates that this assumption will, in general, not be correct.

With the exception of compulsory innovations imposed by legislation, such as the sex discrimination, employment and health and safety Acts, or those stemming from local authority decisions, there will be a rapid falling off in the number and type of

innovations implemented by a headteacher with length of tenure totally regardless of the general climate for change and without any reference to the nature of the innovations that become available.

As an illustration of this point it was noted in the discussion of the low take-up rate of Schools Council primary school projects that the headteachers exercised a considerable gate-keeping function in a manner which inhibited change. Almost without exception, the heads had received their initial teacher training some time before the publication of the projects. The headteachers' distinct preference for personal acquaintance through their own attendance on local courses devoted to the promotion of each particular curricular development, rather than drawing on the expertise of their subordinate teachers, had a significant braking effect on the rate of take-up of new ideas and practices. Only about a third of the headteachers sampled had been on more than two courses. The most important reason for the abandonment of an innovation given by teachers was a change of school, suggesting that the chief executive's personal familiarity with a project was the crucial test for its acceptance.

The present study is concerned with an investigation

of those factors which affect a chief executive's decisions to exercise his authority to maintain or change the values-technology-structure framework of his institution.

The institutional dynamics model incorporates the crucial variable of <u>duration of association</u> between the chief executive and the working culture. The situation under present consideration is the common one in the education service where a Chief Executive Stranger takes up post in an institution which has been managed for some considerable time by his predecessor. The former headteacher has left the legacy of a value-structure-technology framework with which he, at least, was moderately comfortable.

On appointment it is postulated that the Chief Executive Stranger will seek to modify this framework. His proposals could well be novel in terms of the experience of his new subordinates, but will almost certainly not be radical for the new headteacher. It is inconceivable that he will purposefully introduce an innovation relating to his work and responsibilities which, as far as he is concerned

> threatens valued steady states or threatens to increase unintelligibility, persecution and separation.

Hutton p 141

It is more realistic to favour the view that he will use his executive powers to reduce the potential threat and unease in his new working environment. He will seek, very early on, to bring the culture more into line with what is familiar and comfortable for him.

Since there are indeed no manifest criteria for educational disasters, it is extremely difficult for the chief executive stranger to justify his innovations on the basis of shortcomings in his predecessor's organizational arrangements. Yet this is exactly the line he conventionally adopts. What has been legitimate, in practice, obligatory, for many years, must now be branded by the new headteacher as ineffective, outmoded and not in the interests of the children. It is quite probable that the organizational arrangements that he denigrates are replicated in neighbouring schools. The new chief executive must not place himself in the position of criticizing fellow headteachers, a point made in connection with the establishment of the Quarrybank.

The general resolution of this problem involves the identification and laying of emphasis on one or more particular, and if possible 'unique', characteristics

of the school's location, historical development or pupil roll. The fact that such identified characteristics do not, in actuality, justify a particular proposed change in management style teaching/learning strategy or curriculum design is not as important as that they provide protection for neighbouring schools to persist with any organizational arrangement that the new head seeks to abandon. Examples of such attempts to justify changes in existing practices are

> This school has the largest catchment area in the county.
>
> This school was the first to be reorganized as a comprehensive.
>
> We have the greatest percentage of immigrant children (statistically insignificant, but still the greatest).
>
> We are now into our fifth year of comprehensive reorganization.
>
> Our children are very special.

Given that valid performance criteria for structures, routines and practices are highly subjective, then there appears to be no necessity for the Chief Executive-Stranger to follow the mechanistic approaches to innovation that have been advocated by some students of change (Rogers 1964, Miles 1964, Carlson 1965, Owens 1970). The painstaking and time consuming adherence to Rogers' five stages of awareness, interest, trial, evaluation and adoption could, in practice, almost guarantee that an innovation would certainly not be implemented.

A headteacher who is a stranger to the culture of a particular school can feel impelled to make use of the executive power of his office immediately on appointment. It is at this moment in his new relationship that such powers, including those that had been formerly delegated to others within the system by his predecessor, have been drawn back to the incumbent of the chief role. He will feel the need at this time to thrust upon the culture of the institution those organizational arrangements with which he is most comfortable. The early days of his new appointment are those in which he must make his mark. It is at this stage in his career in the new organization that he must be recognized as the new broom that sweeps clean.

There will be a general expectation by subordinates that this will be the period of maximum change and any long delay is likely to have serious consequences for headteacher-staff relationships. The tolerance towards cultural change is at its maximum in the early days and the headteacher must move quickly and decisively if he wishes to avoid smouldering resentment.

In his advice to Lorenzo de Medici , Niccolo Machiavelli put it thus:

> *So it should be noted that when he seizes a state the new ruler ought to determine all the injuries that he will need to inflict. He should inflict them once and for all,and not have to renew them everyday, and in that way he will be able to set men's minds at rest and win them over to him when he confers benefits. Whoever acts otherwise, either through timidity or bad advice, is always forced to have the knife ready in his hand and he can never depend on his subjects because they, suffering fresh and continuous violence can never feel secure with regard to him. Violence should be inflicted once and for all; then people will forget what it tastes like and so be less resentful. Benefits should be conferred gradually; and in that way they taste better.*
>
> *p66*

Innovatory attempts at Marchpane High School

Within eighteen months of taking up post at Marchpane High school, the new headteacher had made seven innovatory attempts covering management style, decision making, pupil grouping practices, resource co-ordination, senior school curriculum and dinner duties. These change proposals affected, therefore, practically all facets of school life. In terms of their breadth, number and timing they were an impressive example of the activities of the chief executive stranger in his initial contact with a coherent culture.

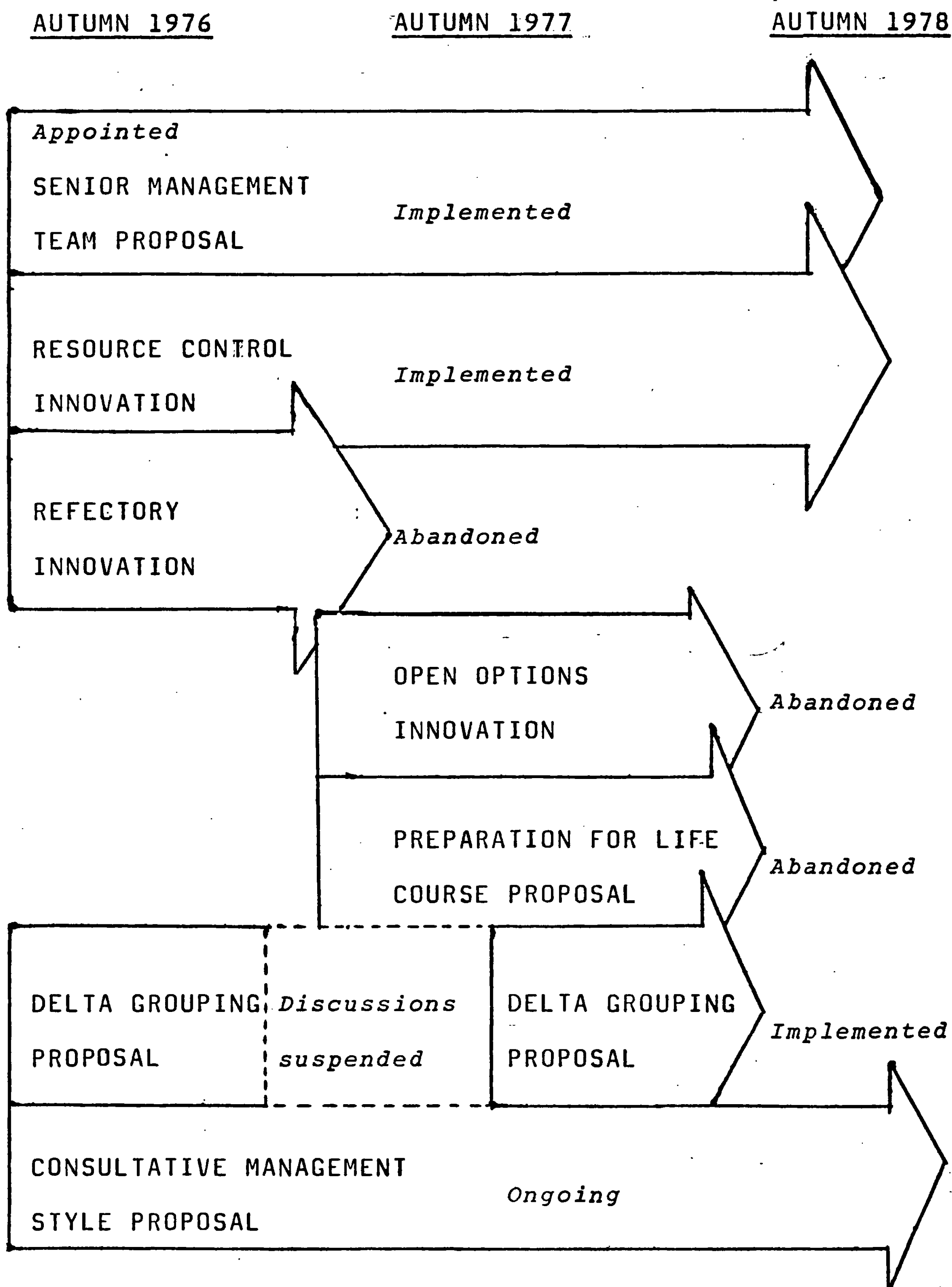
Figure 12 summarises the timing, fate and target area of the innovations. Each is discussed in detail below, using school documents, discussions and interviews with the headteacher and his staff group which took place during the first two years of the chief executive's tenure. An interesting feature of the chief executive's clutch of valued innovations was that when taken in association with his obvious desire to bring them in within a short period of taking up his post, the nature of at least one of them meant that it was very likely to be stillborn.

Figure 12

MARCHPANE HIGH SCHOOL

Chief Executive Stranger - Coherent Culture

Innovatory attempts of chief executive on appointment ;



The headteacher was very keen to create a consultative climate as an extremely high priority, in contrast to his predecessor's preferred management style. To do this, however, was likely to result in delay in implementation of other valued innovations and might even ensure that they would never be put into practice at all. During his efforts to change this style, the headteacher was forced into a temporary 'trading' situation, as described below. The attempt to change established management practices is traced through the new chief executive's approach to his other valued innovations.

Marchpane High School - its history, setting and culture

Marchpane began life as a secondary school in 1954. It served an area on the extreme edge of a county education authority but, twenty years later, following the reorganization of local authorities, it became absorbed into the LEA of the neighbouring city. Prior to this event it had enrolled its first comprehensive intake of pupils in 1970. The large number of single sex grammar and independent schools in the city, however, ensured that Marchpane's intake

did not include the most able children. It had, in fact, by virtue of its establishment as a secondary modern school, very few attributes other than being 'free' and 'just down the road' to tempt the local parents of intellectually gifted children.

The teachers at Marchpane had a relatively easy passage through the process of comprehensive reorganization. The school was not combined with local grammar or secondary modern institutions; there were no split-site problems to solve and its first headteacher continued in post. The incumbent eventually remained the school's chief executive during the initial twenty two years of Marchpane's existence.

The teacher group expanded steadily with the increase in pupil numbers. There was no dramatic expansion or turmoil to mar the even tenor of the working culture.

The present researcher, on his numerous visits to the school and in discussions and contacts with the teachers, was always very conscious of the calm, almost enervating climate that pervaded the campus. It was not a school to which one interested in exciting developments would be steered by education officers seeking to support and publicise their authority's claim to be

in the vanguard of educational reform and innovation. The climate of the school was in sympathy with its catchment area. Despite the fact that many of those living in the Marchpane area were employed in locally sited industries at the very frontier of transport and communications technology, it appeared that they wished their children to receive an education which was to be conducted in a conventional disciplinary atmosphere. Thus, while the City Fathers and their publicists were more than eager to seek what advantage they could from the ultra-modern products of their manufacturing enterprises, their educational administrators were not keen to direct innovative workers in education towards the schooling provided for their technologists' children.

The school's history of steady expansion and gradual reorganization provided its teachers with career possibilities and experience which could scarcely be bettered without the trouble of incurring the expenses and uncertainty associated with movement to other parts of the country. The teacher group was, therefore, very stable and it contained a number of staff who could boast of their long service at Marchpane. The school's first headteacher remained until his retirement twenty two years after appointment and the deputy head died after twenty three years in post.

<u>The Chief Executive-Stranger and his Plan</u>

The new headteacher arrived in 1976. The school's governing body which appointed him offered no suggestions for change. They were concerned, as he commented, that the school should keep its good public image and that

> *... it related well to the community; that there was going to be firm discipline control and being traditional they did not want to see new ideas for new ideas' sake. They wanted standards maintained.*

> *Q The governors and advisers were not too concerned about the means of achieving standards and discipline?*

> *I am very pleased that I do have governors who allow me to exercise my professional integrity and expertise. There have been situations which have arisen where the public and so on have wanted to challenge some of the judgements which the Head makes. I pointed out to my Chairmen - I have had*

two, of different political persuasions- the necessity at all points to rely on the professional's expertise. We are the experts.

It so happens that my present Chairman is a medical doctor and he knows what I mean by professionalism. When angry parents or others start doubting the integrity of the headmaster he says, "Well, he's the expert and I'm confident he id doing a good job." This kind of backing is essential, it's good. Providing I can keep the confidence of my governors, that they are sure that what I am doing is producing the goods, I don't think they are too worried about the means.

Q *Did any of your subordinates come along volunteering suggestions for organization changes?*

Well, when you say volunteered, I did say at the very first staff meeting that I was genuine in wanting to get staff support and was ready to listen to them and act upon worthwhile suggestions. I suppose the most effective means by which this happens is

through the organization of communications which is now different to that under my predecessot. Originally there was a regular pattern of head of department and head of house meetings. The most important people other than the headmaster and deputy were the four heads of houses. Now within a year of coming into office I was determined to have a management team.

I established this new management team. In a way the heads of house were overtaken ... they had had a baronial position. It was clear to them that they had been superseded by this management team. The management team meetings takes of the things which emerge from the heads of house and heads of department meetings. Action always follows. It may not be the action they want, but action follows.

Prior to his appointment at Marchpane, the chief executive had attended a senior management course of which the present investigator was the director. As part of his personal programme he bad developed and implemented a system for the centralising and coordinating of teaching materials and reprographic

facilities at his former school. This technical innovation became, therefore, part of his valued experiences. It was anticipated that he would seek to rearrange his new working environment along similar, familiar, lines. He did, indeed, make his attempt immediately and in a manner at odds with his avowed consultative management style:

> Q *In September 1976 you became head of this school. Did you find a Resource Centre already in existence?*
>
> *No. I found the opposite here. We were well behind the times. That was the one thing that I insisted on when I came to this school. There were certain things I thought I would bide my time with and wait and see what the staff felt but I was so confident about the value of a Resource Centre that I thought first of all we must get some pretty sophisticated reprographic machinery in here and we must appoint someone to be in charge of that and hopefully develop in the same way as I had at my last school. We had some space to expand into ...*

This innovation, imposed by the headteacher without

any serious attempt to identify staff needs or alternative proposals for which the money and manpower could be used, was very expensive. The creation of the Centre drew very heavily on the capital equipment, consumable items and parent-teacher budgets as well as absorbing scarce ancilliary manpower. It required the departments to yield up their customary possession of tape-recorders, cameras, tapes, films and slides and to accept a system of bookings and orders based on a longer planning time than they had become accustomed to.

The headteacher became aware, eventually, that his teachers had reduced their use of educational technology considerably since the innovation had 'complicated' their lesson preparation activities. He rationalised the situation thus:

> *Where I felt that the introduction of a Resource Centre was something which if staff didn't take advantage of it we might have wasted a fair amount of money - at least one hasn't done educational damage as it were to your curriculum.*

The school refectory

If school meals do not seem very 'educational', they are certainly emotive and of direct concern to a headteacher. Lacking any of the cultural aura and traditional purpose that surrounds dinner in a College of a university or an Inn of Court, they nevertheless hold a crucial place in the daily organization of schools. Until recently all teachers were required to oversee children during the dinner 'hour'. Under union pressure this duty has been withdrawn, although teachers may still handle payments and complete registers.

The headteacher, however, remains reponsible for what is possibly the only activity concerning children going on in the school for which he cannot demand the involvement of his teaching staff. Over the years headteachers have sought to raise the status of the task of watching children eat, by seeing in the situation opportunities to cultivate social graces such as small talk, House allegiance and acceptable table manners. Mixing six or eight boys and girls of different ages under the control of a teacher makes up a 'Family group'. Thus organized and conceptualised, the school dinner acquires status

as one of several pilotage activities which may reasonably be demanded of a teacher.

Burdened as he is with the sole responsibility for school dinners, it is to be expected that every new headteacher will look very closely at the established practice. This activity is potentially an early target for change. The new chief executive of Marchpane complied with this expectation. His attempts to bring in arrangements with which he was familiar and which he valued as a way of reducing 'unintelligibility and separation' failed, however, when his teacher volunteers withdrew their support:

> *I made changes in the dinner system, from family group to self-service, This worked very well at my previous school. There each House could check on tickets. But here the Houses do not eat in their separate areas. There were some staff who were more careful than others in controlling things, some staff didn't bother very much. The thing eventually came to a sad end. We reverted to our family group system, which is now very orderly, successful.*
> *There's a thing that was tried, didn't succeed; we are back where we started.*

<u>The Fourth and Fifth Year Curricular Innovations</u>

Within a few months of taking over Marchpane, the Chief Executive Stranger had attempted, successfully or otherwise, to change the management structure, control of teaching resources and the school meals procedure.

His urge to rearrange other facets of the working culture next found expression in the operational activities. As in the case of Nailses, the federation of special school characteristics were already well developed. Departments were based on traditional fields of enquiry and formed strongly maintained territories to which the teachers were strongly attached. They did not favour a faculty system at Marchpane:

> *There's a lot of feeling in this school against that. I must say I'm dead against it. I cannot see the logic of tying things together - er, girls' craft, boys' craft - er, I mustn't talk like that these days .. and all sorts of other odd subjects , and call them Creative-something. I wanted to retain the integrity of the departments.*

His target for curricular reform was an area which occupied an interstitial position between conventional operational and pilotage activities, rather than some conceptualised common core of two or more subject disciplines. This same area was the cause of tension and conflict at Nailsea and is discussed in the context of the Human Relations course problems in that school analysis. It is sufficient to summarise here the issues involved in that school as (a) whether or not a formal course of instruction was desirable, and (b) whether it should be part of the taught curriculum or the pilotage functions of the form tutors.

Traditionally, the inculcation of norms, values and beliefs considered desirable has been conducted through a clutch of school routines , rules and procedures which sought to influence the institutional culture. The monastic tradition of separation and seclusion of acolytes from the profane external world and their exposure to a single set of religious practices and precepts has been a model for schools, both in the public and private sectors.

Twentieth century law on education in this country still requires school headteachers to provide religious instruction and daily corporate assemblies.

In practice, however, the situation is that the increase in pupil rolls has outstripped the accommodation required for the corporate gathering and also religious studies for the older secondary school pupils has become merely one of the examinable options. Under the law, there is a right for a child not to attend religious assembly or periods of instruction. In the pluralistic society of today this right appears to be exercised at an increasing rate.

Such developments have forced headteachers to reconsider how best they can effect the socialization of the young in a way which, while reaching all children, does not cut across their freedom to withdraw on religious denomination grounds. The general response is to create compulsory course called Citizenship, Human Relations or Community studies. It is not just the children's freedom to opt out of enculturation processes that pose problems for heads of schools. The teachers' need to identify themselves with and protect their cognitive territorities and their derived status requires an extremely delicate touch on the tiller if a new course is to be successfully steered. This was the situation that confronted the Chief Executive-Stranger of Marchpane:

I said that I would like to introduce a Preparation for Life course in the Fourth and Fifth Years. I hadn't been terribly satisfied with the manner in which the kind of Social Education, Education for Personal Relationships and RE and so on, eg Education in Personal Relationships ... had been dealt with in this school. Sometimes we had fitted in a course during the latter half of the summer term when the Religious Education department had run out of steam, particularly then they tried to step on the toes of people teaching other subjects, eg Law and Order, which would be dealt with in Civics and a number of other areas, possibly. The Third World problems which have social, moral and political implications would be dealt with in Geography, History, Social Studies, and so on. I was very dissatisfied with this. Nor did I want to see in my Fourth and Fifth Year a course which was going ro take up too much of the timetable in competition with examination subjects which would find them struggling in terms of time before the examinations. Nor did I want it to become a subject for 'Noddies' as I call them - you know - we

will give them plenty of these things to talk about and discuss - those who are not good enough for the GCE and CSE examinations. So I got down on paper, together with the persons responsible for those areas of the curriculum in the school, a course called Preparation for Life, which involves citizenship, making good citizens, making of good personal relationships and RE. And I said "We'll try and put that on ths timetable at the same time next year". But, of course, it didn't work out. Staff weren't ready for so many changes and we haven't got our Preparation for Life course off this year.

Q You mentioned that you were attempting to make two or three changes at the same time as the Preparation for Life programme?

Yes. Another was a change from the grouped options system to an open options system in the Fourth and Fifth Years. At the moment we have a two banded system - the 4E band comprises children who are going to take Ordinary level and CSE. The 4S band comprises children who are going to take CSE or no exams

at all. They were derived from the three banded system that existed in the First to Third Years. The top band automatically went into 4E, the bottom band into 4S, but the middle band was split between the two. I didn't think it was very satisfactory. Intersting that we talked earlier about pressures from the public: this was one area that did give rise to a lot of reaction from the public. "Why is it that my child had been relegated to 4S? I want my child to take Ordinary levels." Of course, you get this from middle class parents , who have high hopes for their children, have little idea what an 'O' level is all about.

The 4E options were more academic. The 4S options were more practical. We have never had at this school what I call Noddy subjects - one thing that is anathema to me. Those subjects which are called Integrated something or Combined something. Alright, Combined Science is a valid, well-proven Nuffield course. But there are a number of other things which exist which in my view are

just sops for children who who are not very able. They are not very satisfactory things. So all the 4S children have never had the opportunity of doing the odd academic subject. So I said, "Let's have an open options system" but we were not able to put that on the timetable.

Q *I suppose when the common examination at 16 plus comes in ...*

Well that will help us enormously. I can't wait for the day. I feel that we'll have to get rid of our 4E/4S set-up.

The roots of teacher resistance to these two curricular measures were grounded in their reluctance to adopt innovations which could adversely affect their examination results and valued collegiate relationships.

In spite of the headteacher's declared intent of not wanting to take time from examination subjects for his Preparation for Life course, it would have had to be the case if he were to enrol all the Fourth and Fifth Year pupils. There are a number of timetabling strategies available to meet the pressures from those

who wish to elaborate the curriculum. The demands to incorporate additional studies and experiences has increased over recent years, while the length of the school day and teaching term have remained fixed for more than a generation. Few subjects are completely jettisoned, Latin and Greek being unusual in this respect in many schools.

One strategy employed and derided by the Marchpane headteacher is to integrate two or more subjects and then give the subsequent studies less than the total time previously accorded to the discrete disciplines. Another method is to increase the number of periods in a school week, with each a few minutes shorter than the former arrangement. This was, in fact, adopted at Nailsea for the whole school, in order to accommodate the pressures from the drama teacher. Yet another technique is to organize the teaching sessions on a two -weekly basis, the ten day timetable. Most of these resolutions are, in practice, buffer mechanisms utilized by headteachers who cannot say yes to radical surgery on the curriculum or no to demands for its elaboration.

The curricular proposal involving open options would theoretically have allowed all the Fourth

Year pupils to put together courses à la carte, instead of being directed into dominantly academic or practical subject based programmes. The existing Marchpane High school practice divided the year group at the worst possible position on the normal curve of ability distribution - at the mean with the maximum clustering of cases being placed on the decision making boundary. This situation reflected, on a smaller scale, the problems arising from local authority selection procedures.

The Marchpane teachers resisted the open options proposal, since they saw it as conflicting with a number of values and aspects of operational activities familiar to their working culture. To offer a completely free choice of subjects to children could create groups of such a wide ability range that the teachers could not cope. It would, they felt, have resulted in the introduction of mixed ability classes in the external examination years of the course. In their choices the parents and children could well go against the broad general curriculum concept of secondary schooling. One result would be that some teachers would have found their subjects abandoned, or at least left without their traditional share of the more able children. The existing balance

between departments in terms of size, status amd esteem could be disrupted by free choice among pupils. Teachers might well have to sharpen up their entrepreneurial skills if they were to ensure a proportion of able Fourth Year children who would be their future Sixth form linguists, historians and similar specialist students.

The Marchpane teachers preferred their existing practice, whatever its shortcoming as far as the children was concerned. Parental complaints went to the chief executive on the external boundary of the intstitution. His attempt to reduce these by proposing that subject choices were actually made by parents through their children may have rid him of a problem but at the expense of creating several others for those lower down in the hierarchy. If the chief executive had unilaterally insisted on these two curricular innovation proposals as he had insisted on changes in the senior management hierarchy and the teaching resource control he would have placed in jeopardy yet another innovation - that of encouraging his teachers to support a consultative decision making procedure.

Delta Grouping Practice

As stated earlier, the new headteacher of Marchpane had been a student on a senior management course. The present investigator, as director of these programmes, had introduced a pupil grouping arrangement termed Delta grouping. An outline of the basic organizational principles is given in Appendix 5. A more detailed treatment formed the basis of his unpublished MSc thesis, School of Management, University of Bath.

In brief, the practice required that pupil grouping decisions be delegated to departmental heads, thus allowing potential variation according to perceived course demands, level of work, teaching/learning strategies and teachers' own valued experiences. Prior to the development of Delta grouping, head-teachers imposed a uniform system on all teaching groups over large sections of the school, more for sociological reasons than for pedagogic effectiveness.

Delta grouping allowed a large measure of flexibility in a school's internal organization , which is particularly helpful during periods of reorganization

and changes in the values of the working culture.
The Chief Executive Stranger studied the practice as part of his senior management training programme and was a member of the course director's group which visited a neighbouring school where the Delta grouping scheme had just been implemented. Immediately on appointment to Marchpane he invited the present investigator to conduct a one day symposium for all his seventy teachers on the innovation - one of several , as it transpired, that the chief executive wished to introduce.

During subsequent interviews in the course of the present analysis, the headteacher described his attitudes towards Delta grouping as part of his Plan:

> *Q What attracted you to it as a pupil grouping practice?*
>
> *We had a banded system here which certainly satisfied the needs of a secondary modern school going comprehensive, but in my view wasn't adequate for a wholly comprehensive school which it was when I arrived on the scene. I was very dissatisfied with the constraints imposed by the original system.*

Q *The banding system?*

Yes. So that it is a question of those youngsters who are at the top of the middle band tending to miss out or being held back because of numbers. The complications that the languages always bring to bear - you know - you let the top band have the second language, but numbers won't permit a bright child in the middle band. So you have problems on the margins or the division point between the top and the middle or the middle and the bottom. So I wanted to get over that major problem. Well, there are various methods, but I felt that the ideal would be total independence between subjects.

The chief executive's admitted dissatisfaction with the effectiveness of the existing grouping practice somewhat undermines his insistence to his governing body that he and his staff were 'the professionals' whose decisions should not be interfered with by parents,who were merely concerned with their own children's allocation to courses. Their complaints appear well justified by the headteacher's own admission, made in a different context.

Q *At the time, you felt that Delta grouping stood a chance of resolving some of the problems that you had identified?*

Yes. Now this was something we took step by step, because I felt that before implementing this change I had to get not all the staff with me, but at least a feeling that what was going

to be done was to be better than what had prevailed.

So we had meetings, we had an in-service training day. You yourself came along and spoke about the Delta system, which involved departments having much more freedom to determine the means and methods of teaching. I have always maintained that it's very important that you don't give total freedom, not even to heads of departments; that the thing is carefully controlled.

Q *You chose to bring in people who were not on your staff to create interest and awareness. Why did you choose this strategy?*

We had talked about it and we decided that, rather than promote it from within, it would be best to get people from outside who were more likely, because of their wider experience. to know the implications. Now I think that was a good way of going about it.

Q *You used the in-service day as part of your planned approach; was it implemented in 1976?*

No.

Q Why wasn't it?

Basically, because I thought it was such a revolutionary idea. We have got a number of staff in this school,who have been here for many years, who generally resist change. I felt they thought this headmaster was a young whizz kid, inexperienced.

Because of the reaction, and I had some complaints, for example, one couldn't teach a whole half-year group if there were only two staff in the department, so you had to tie up with another subject. Did that mean we had to have a faculty system?

I thought, I won't introduce it yet. I hadn't had previous experience of this as I had with the Resource Centre. All I knew of it was such as you had indicated in the sessions on the course and what I had seen at another school. I thought this was something that must take its time.

Q You weren't despondent?

I was not despondent, nor was I adamant,

which I think is an importamt point. What I did say to my staff was that I wasn't pleased with the banding system; that I felt it had a number of drawbacks, that there was inevitably a need for some change, the nature of this change I wasn't sure about but I would that they help me to arrive at a conclusion.

Now, the staff on the whole felt I was genuine. Some thought - he's going to go for Delta - he's going to steamroller us into accepting it. I know that was the view of one or two. The fact that I didn't do it for that year - it's taken me two years to do it - I think, has taught them the lesson that I don't steamroller on regardless.

Q *So, something of value did come out at that stage, that their view of your decision making ..*

Yes. I think one of the things that has some out is this; I have said that I believe in Consultation. Lots of heads say it. But I also believe that you cannot have a democracy in school. Ultimately the head has to make

a decision which could be an unpopular one. I think I have got my staff with me because they do realise that I meant what I said then and I mean it in other contexts as well. Now they can freely discuss things with me, knowing that I will listen, together with my management team. We can make changes as and when necessary.

Q *You didn't actually take a vote on whether Delta Grouping should be introduced at that stage?*

No.

Q *Was it a question of sounding out people you thought were the opinion leaders?*

Yes.

The chief executive suspended further discussion on the Delta Grouping proposals for the rest of his first year as headteacher. He had been successful in pushing through two major innovations - the senior management team concept and resource centralization. However, he was eager to be seen as a consulting manager and this modification to cultural expectations

and experience was now having to be traded off against four other innovations which he sought to introduce in order to make his own position more intelligible, less threatened and more comfortable. He was to abandon the open options innovation, the Preparation for Life course proposal and the Refectory changes during his first two years. His wish to alter the way in which pupil grouping was organized was strong and he reopened the issue in his second year of office.

> *What I did was, when it came to a head of departments' meeting, I said it was my intention to introduce Delta to reorganize the school next September-is there anyone here who is violently opposed to it and feels that this hasn't been given adequate time for mulling over. No one came out with answers that were unhelpful. In fact the comments were, let's get on with it, don't let's linger any longer.*

Q *So you decided to implement Delta Grouping in the First to Third Years all at once?*

Delta Grouping is in the first three years. While in the First Year there are two House groups in each half, they are grouped for all their subjects on an intellectual basis on the VRQs from the primary schools for six months. In the middle of the school year the departments will determine who they want where.

What did surprise me is that I thought that in subjects like Art and PE that they would have wanted a social grouping, but they want setting. They haven't gone for mixed ability. At the same time, this hasn't given rise to a sink. Now that's the great fear, isn't it, once you start setting all the time there are going to be some people so poor at everything that they are going to end up in a sink. But there isn't a sink. Well, I say there isn't, and I'm the headmaster.

Q *Have you at any stage said to your staff that if it doesn't work we will go back to the previous system?*

No. I was quite adamant on that one and I said to the staff - once we move to Delta, we keep with it. What I can say is that

there were a number of reservations at the end of last term and when they saw the timetable they said - how's it going to work out? In fact, this term the staff feel almost to a man that it has been very worthwhile.

Attitude to change

The Marchpane Chief Executive Stranger had spent seventeen years in teaching prior to his appointment. He had held a succession of secondary school positions in several parts of the country and was a model spiralist. His views on change in education are of value in the context of his actual behaviour as described above.

Q *Looking back over your teaching career, what, in your view has been the attitude of teacher colleagues to the rate of change in education?*

I would feel this way. I recall coming into the profession and my first head was a fairly autocratic man. He issued the orders. I did what I was told. There was a great sense of conforming. You didn't have much freedom. I enjoyed that. I got a sense of security out of it.

Q *The rate of change was not great?*

No. There was very little change. Then

all things accelerated until the last decade. It's been absolutely crazy, at least, that's been my impression of the sixties and seventies.

Q *As far as change was concerned, you identified an acceleration in the rate beginning in the sixties. Would it be too crude to say that 'all hell was let loose'?*

No really. That was the impression of some staff in particular. I have no doubt in my mind that there is a reaction to that. I think a lot of Green Paper talk is in some way reflected in this.

Q *You feel that this view is shared by most of the teachers that you have personally known?*

Well, I think there are a number who are fairly liberal and philosophic in their thinking and perhaps like the freedom - or at least say they do!

Q *Some changes may in fact constrain freedom of action?*

Yes, that's very true. I tend to think

there's a swing of the pendulum, and I must say that I find in this school, since I've been here, that people have said 'come on, let's not have too much change. Let's be very careful before we go from the status quo'.

I would say that a lot of the Schools Council's ideas, schemes and projects that they have been fed with by way of curriculum innovation; that teachers have said 'come on, let's get back to basics and what we feel is traditional'.

The establishment of the London based Schools Council and over six hundred regional teachers' centres formed part of a massive drive towards change. The effectiveness of the strategies of change adopted by this new agency is discussed in the section on the take-up of innovation. Its very creation, and its continued existence fuelled the imagination of those involved in teaching and contributed significantly towards a climate for change.

The one hundred and seventy Schools Council projects covered between them practically all school activities. Recommendations for the reorganization and expansion of the curriculum, new teaching/learning strategies,

school organization and examination. Proposals were profuse and also conflicting. The result was confusion at operational level in individual schools.

Schools Council proposals frequently formed the basis of teacher training courses in Colleges of Education and university Schools. They therefore became part of the clutch of valued experiences that young teachers brought with them to their first appointments. This movement created something of a generation gap between them and the headteachers who had been in post before the Schools Council was formed. The young teachers had the expertise in the new approaches but the headteachers held the executive power to decide what would be sanctioned. They were the gatekeepers. The Marchpane chief executive's attitude to this situation was quite typical.

> *There are some young staff who come in with ideas from Colleges of Education or University and they have got bright ideas and it's interesting to observe after one or two years they seem to see the sense of not trying to run before they can walk. There's a great difference between them and*

> *staff with at least seven or eight years' experience, who decide they want to do something different and, hopefully, there will always be plenty of people who want to. By that time they have established rapport with their classes; they can maintain order, they can innovate and change and it most often works.*
>
> *But sometimes young teachers will try the same thing and they can't manage it. They have just got to wait until they have that amount of experience under their belts in my view. I am not against new ideas, I listen to my younger staff, but I do warn them against that sort of thing. I do believe that we have got to establish order first of all.*

It is very noticeable that the Chief Executive Stranger's own behaviour on appointment to his first headship was quite the reverse of his advice to those taking up their first teaching post. He made immediate changes and disrupted the order of the coherent culture. He could insist that his young teachers prove their mastery of the traditional pedagogic style over several years before they venture to introduce changes -

a lead time not usually built into, say, Schools Council innovation strategies, and at the same time intoróduce his own proposals for changing the school organization established by a man with over twenty years' experience of headship of that school.

The link between the young teacher and the chief executive stranger is that both wished to implement valued experiences in order to reduce threat and increase comfort. Despite the seeming novelty of the young teacher's preferred teaching/learning strategies as far as the school culture is concerned, to the teacher himself they are perhaps all that he has been trained to do. He is, in fact, being conservative in holding to them as the headteacher is to the 'innovations', familiar to himself to varying degrees, that he inserted into the Marchpane culture.

The new headteacher's initial thrust was dramatic and wide ranging. He became aware, however, of mounting resistance to innovation as his first two years as chief executive unrolled and he was compelled to acknowledge the opposing forces and to rationalize the situation:

There were one or two other minor changes that I was hoping to effect on the timetable when I said "Now, I ddn't want to be still doing this in five years' time, I don't want to see a lot of changes. Let's try and get everything organized this year. But of course it didn't work out. Staff weren't ready for so many changes.

I feel that I have now got to change my line and graduate it so that it will come in the future. So there has got to be a progression. and furthermore, this also falls into line with the dynamic concept of one's educational policy. Schools do change, regardless of the fact that the calendar is going from 1978 to 1979 and 1979 to 1980; we have got to bear that in mind.

So there's - not compromise- but there's marching with the times; trying to keep pace with it, not going too fast, not going too slowly, and keeping within the coping by staff and even by children. What *can they cope with? How much can they cope with? These are very important factors.*

Q *So anyone considering making changes ought to be aware of the number of changes going on simultaneously. Teachers can reject a change, not because of its inherent weakness but simply because they have too much on their plate already?*

Yes.

Summary:

The Chief Executive Stranger and the Coherent Culture

As the new headteacher commented, the school governors

> *being traditional, did not want to see new ideas for new ideas' sake. They wanted standards maintained ...*
>
> *I must say I fell in line with that. I felt that a jolly good job had been done by the previous head. I came into a school where there were standards and it wasn't too difficult for me to think of ways in which we could maintain and advance and progress in directions where I feel we have a greater sense of order, a tremendous sense of drive and enthusiasm anong the staff and children.*

The new headteacher certainly proved, by the number and breadth of his innovations, that he was not short of ideas. It is a reasonable assumption, however, that if his predecessor had returned to the school as chief executive two years after his retirement he would have been confronted with an unintelligible situation, with a new management structure and

style, different resource control procedures, increased departmental autonomy and the Delta grouping practice.

The Chief Executive Stranger's stated reasons for the innovation inevitably had to be couched in the generally acceptable terms of the correction of deficiencies in the value-structure-technology framework set up by his predecessor and maintained by him and his teachers, many of whom could claim long service at the school.

There is, however, little evidence that the new head conducted any extensive enquiries into the norms, values and beliefs of the working culture that he inherited, before pressing on with his innovation proposals. In the short time between appointment and implementation of changes he could not have become fully aware of the intricacies of the culture or of the full implications and consequences that would follow his schemes. Nor could he expect any such degree of awareness. This lack of sensitivity to the working environment is underlined by the speed with which he attempted to make wide-ranging modifications. Some were forced through on the tsunami of executive power following the convulsions of his appointment. Others were suspended or abandoned as the individuals and groups gained time and breathing space to regroup and exert counter-pressures.

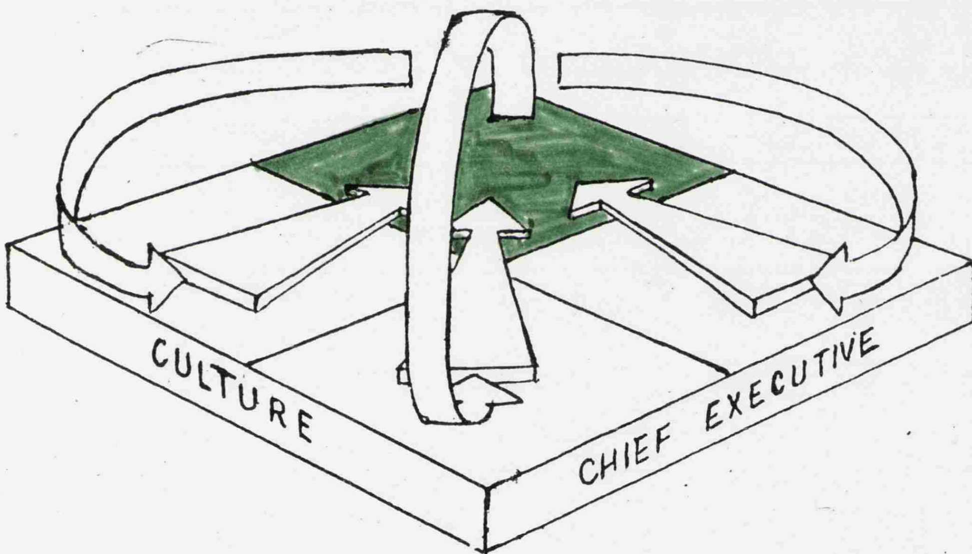
It is the <u>timing</u> of the innovatory attempts that calls for some consideration. The new Marchpane chief executive exhibited considerable preference for the advice to Lorenzo de Medici - immediate and massive action on takeover, rather than that of some contemporary management analysts and writers. The rational, 'scientific' step-by-step approach to innovation, heavily buttressed by democratic values, is extremely time-consuming, and time may well be the one commodity the stranger can ill-afford to squander if he is to make use of the hiatus created by the change of chief executive.

The executive power incorporated in the role of headteacher overides all the formal power associated with subordinate positions as far as the internal organization, management and discipline of the school is concerned. The authority of office wielded by those lower in the hierarchy is delegated power, distributed at the discretion of the headteacher. The appointment of a new executive is accompanied by a brief period when this power is returned to the holder of the post.

A headteacher's power can be seen as legitimated permission to create and maintain a living space within the new culture according to his own valued

experiences. The degree of freedom enjoyed in this respect is given to very few other employed personnel, inside or outside the education service.

CHIEF EXECUTIVE FAMILIAR - COHERENT CULTURE



Case study

All Saints School

Chapter 12

Preface

Recorded interviews, both structured and open, were personally conducted with members of the teaching staff, including the chief executive. The records of over sixty teacher meetings and several internal memoranda and working papers were also used as sources. As in the other case study reports, recorded conversation extracts have been shown in italic type.

The two main features of this case study are the clarification of the rhythm of receptivity to innovation that was identified with the help of the model of institutional dynamics introduced in Chapter 3 and the abortive attempt by a senior member of tne teaching staff to upset that rhythm.

All Saints is a secondary comprehensive school spanning the 11- 18 year age range with 700+ pupils.

Chief Executive Familiar - Coherent Culture

The model of institutional dymamics predicts that, in general, innovatory attempts will be at their maximum very soon after changes in

a) the chief executive

b) the recomposition of the work force

c) a combination of a) and b).

The overt rational explanations for change will be based on acceptable concepts such as greater effectiveness, increased efficiency, keeping up to date, eradication of injustices and, of course, improved service to the customer or client.

While the model does not identify any of the four phases as the Nirvana of organized working relationships or innovation, it does indicate the existence of a Nexus. This phase, which forms the bond or link with all the other states is characterised by a chief executive familiar associated with a coherent culture

For many affected by innovation the loss of 'valued steady states' may be tolerated if there is a prospect of a new equilibrium at the desired level of activity.

The nexus holds out the possibility that this would be maintained for a considerable period.

A very wide variation in receptivity towards innovation can be found between enterprises in this phase of institutional dynamics. At one end of the spectrum would be the organization characterised by great openness between members operating in an invigorating climate. Readiness to search for continual modifications in working relationships and procedures would be customary - only change itself would be constant. As Argyris states:

> These conditions .. require individuals who
>
> 1 Do not fear stating their complete views
> 2 Are capable of creating groups that maximise the unique contributions of each individual
> 3 Value and seek to integrate their contributions into a creative total, final contribution
> 4 Rather than needing to be individually rewarded for their contributions, thus
> 5 Finding the search for valid knowledge and the development of the best possible solution intrinsically satisfying.
>
> Unfortunately these conditions are difficult to create ... the traditional pyramidal structure and managerial controls tend to place individuals

> and departments in constant interdepartmental warfare, where win-lose competition creates polarized stances that tend to get resolved by the superior making the decisions, thereby creating a dependence upon him. Also there is a tendency toward conformity, mistrust, and lack of risk-taking among the peers that results in focusing upon individual survival, requiring the seeking out of scarce rewards, identifying with successful ventures,(be a hero), and being careful to avoid being blamed for or identified with a failure, thereby becoming a bum. All these adaptive behaviours tend to induce low interpersonal competence and can lead the organization, over the long run, to become rigid, sticky, less innovative...
>
> Today's problems with
> tomorrow's organizations (1967)

A study of the radicles of schooling does <u>not</u> show that risk taking and high receptivity to innovation are dominant characteristics running as golden threads through the fabric of the culture.

The monastic model, with its prime tasks of protecting and transmitting valued precepts and practices in

conditions of isolation from environmental pressures is readily recognized in contemporary institutions. In times when customs and conventions governing social behaviour are being rapidly changed, schools may appear as museums of the traditional virtues, or may wish to appear as such:

> ' to make the school the centre of the surrounding community; and through social service and cultural activities to forge links with the environment. The aim is to get the School's standards to be accepted as the community's standards; '
>
> Middleton School's Aims and Objectives (Appendix 3)

> .. we are basically trying to beat Society. We are trying to say the standards we demand are different from Society.
>
> All Saints School: Chief Executive

The growth of nationally applied staffing norms and working conditions and the standardization of resource

provision have imposed limitations on the potential range of teaching/learning strategies that can be practised. The rate of amortization of teaching materials and equipment is also severely restricted.

Other problems arise from the fact that innovators often fail to give sufficient weighting to the interdependent nature of infant, primary and secondary schools and the training establishments. The Hadow Committee's call in the 1930s for progressive child-centred primary education, for instance, met with little response, due mainly to the existence of the eleven-plus quality control measures which governed entry to the grammar schools. The crucial importance placed on this examination of primary educational operations by parents made it very difficult indeed for those teachers who wished to reorientate their activities on Hadow lines to do so.

In the period following the second world war, innovators interested in the secondary curriculum, subject syllabuses and teaching/learning techniques faced a similar problem during the existence of the matriculation examinations. The need for a student to pass five subjects at one and the same sitting acted as a brake on experimentation and the adoption of novel methods. Failure in one subject was sufficient to negate the work

of several colleagues in other subject areas, and few teachers were willing to take the risk of being blamed for ruining both the endeavours of their colleagues and the pupil's chances of entry into higher level courses.

With the introduction of 'one subject' examinations, the increase in opportunities for accumulation of additional subjects in later years and the eventual abandonment of the concept of failure (or passing, therefore,) the climate for change warmed up dramatically.

The interconnections between subsystems were not accorded the emphasis they merited in the post-war official enquiries and reports (Percy, Barlow, Gurney-Dixon, Crowther, Newsom, Robbins, Plowden). Each committee focussed on a specific phase in the total educational system from infant to university. The general neglect of the consequences of proposals made for one phase on the adjacent sectors meant that many of their recommendations were impractical and often conflicting. Repeat enquiries had to go over the same ground a few years later in order to remedy this deficiency. These lateral studies tended to focus on the problems shared by a group of similar enterprises in the same sector of the educational process.

The general effect is to reinforce a perspective which is restricted to a particular sector of the whole educational process.

The increased opportunities created during the past twenty years have largely been used to elaborate operations, roles and routines, almost regardless of conditions pertaining in adjacent areas of occupational concern. This lack of regard is based on ignorance, to a very large extent. The total education system, from infant schooling to university maturity is now so elaborated as to defy comprehension , even by those who have spent all their working life in the education service. This state of affairs is aggravated by staff appointment policies and practices, which tend to demand proven 'allegiance' to a particular age-band or area of concern within the system.

Very few individuals are prepared to run the risk of seeking experience in a number of different sectors. Teacher mobility is inhibited by the conventional wisdom of the culture which warns against spreading for example, fifteen years' teaching across three sectors. If this should be the case, it would be most probable that the teacher concerned would be regarded as lacking in sufficient 'depth' in any of the sectors to qualify for a senior position in one of them.

The total lack of longitudinal studies, official government enquiries and national policies ensures that the level of occupational ignorance and unconcern is maintained. Executive powers will continue to be used discretely, without adequate knowledge of consequences for them to benefit the system as a whole. The somewhat extraordinary result is that, in practice, the burden of making sense of the total education process is left to the acolyte who is compelled by law to endure eleven years of schooling.

Traditions of the working culture, standardization of resource and manpower provision all combine to reduce the probability of a school sustaining a very high level of receptivity to new processes and structures.

> Given the large measure of self-determination which schools enjoy, they appear remarkably similar in their broad characteristics. Despite differences of type and size and age range, patterns of curriculum and organization have much in common. The establishment of comprehensive schools, now providing for more than 80% of the pupils, and the raising of the school

> leaving age have not led to any radical reshaping of the curriculum, which essentially continues the practice of the selective schools with some added features taken from the modern schools.
>
> Aspects of secondary education in England, p 260. DES (1979)

Even if the infrastructure of organized existence were conducive to the maintainance of an 'excitable state' well above the normative, the psychological needs of most of those in teaching would, according to Schön, preclude the existence of more than a handful of enterprises capable of great openness to change. Schön identifies the basic psychological need for stability which goes way beyond the particular characteristics of occupational cultures as follows:

> Belief in the stable state is belief in the the unchangeability, the constancy of central aspects of our lives, or belief that we can attain such constancy. Belief in the stable state is strong and deep in us. We institutionalize it in every social domain. We do this in spite of our talk about change,

> our apparent acceptance of change and our approval of dynamism. Language about change is for the most part talk about very small change, trivial in relation to a massive inquestioned stability...
>
> Beyond the stable state
> p 9, Pelican (1973)

Whether pressure for change originates on the periphery (Schön) or much nearer to the heart of the system (Emery and Trist), the response in the Nexus phase is more likely to be resistance than receptivity. Schön defines this resistance

> as a form of dynamic conservatism - that is to say, a tendency to fight to remain the same.
>
> p 31, Beyond the stable state

The tactics used by a chief executive-familiar in a coherent culture are likely to include the following measures with respect to innovative pressures:

1 Containment and isolation of individual agents

2 Transformation and dilution of innovations

3 Counter-attack

4 The ignoring of calls for change

5 Response in some marginal or minimal way, such as the adoption of the terminology of the innovation but not the practice itself.

The ambiguities, hazy conceptual definitions and illogicalities that are embedded in both precept and practice of schooling often drive the chief executive to resist even small changes proposed on apparently neutral rational grounds. The working culture is such that if he fails to resist such innovations, introduced by subordinates, he is likely to expose the irrational nature of the ideology that he uses to justify his day-to-day exercise of executive authority.

All Saints School

This case study was based on personal fieldwork involving individual discussions and recorded interviews with the headteacher and assistant teachers including the deputy head. Documents including the school handbook and minutes of sixty eight staff meetings which had taken place in the two and a half years prior to the interviews were also made available. Material incorporated in the case study from discussions and recorded interviews is shown in italics.

The school and its setting

All Saints School was established twenty five years ago as a church secondary school with partial local authority control. Initially it enrolled pupils who had failed to gain entry to the two local direct grant grammar schools. Even after its reorganization as a comprehensive school (without amalgamation with any other institution) its yearly intake was affected by the continued existence of the established grammar schools. The first Advanced level examination entries were only achieved seventeen years after the school opened.

At the time of the investigation the school's third

chief executive was in his ninth year of office. The staff group was forty strong and there were eight hundred boys and girls on roll. There existed a relatively low level of staff turnover, The present chief executive took up his post in 1971. At that time nearly forty per cent of the teachers had been at the school since it opened, seventeen years previously. Its change from secondary modern to comprehensive in 1962 without any combination with another school meant that the staff group increased steadily with the general increase in the secondary school population, including the raising of the school leaving age to sixteen in 1973, and with the improvement in the teacher-pupil ratios.

In 1971, therefore, All Saints school was, in terms of the model of institutional dynamics underlying the current research, in the same phase as Marchpane High School in 1976, as described in that case study.

In a recorded interview the chief executive described his lack of training and experience for headship and the nature of the school and its setting. His subsequent remarks about his initial period of

association with the coherent culture illustrate the adoption of an innovatory stance similar to that of the new headteacher at Marchpane:

Q *Would you say something about your appointment a headmaster?*

The point that immediately comes to mind is that I had no training whatsoever for the role.

Q *That was not unusual at the time was it?*

NO, not unusual, but nevertheless rather sad. There wasn't an opportunity for me to look at the problems of headship, so I just took over this comprehensive school without having any deep insight into the needs of the job and the responsibilities that I would be taking on.

Q *At the time you felt confident in taking the step?*

I felt more than confident for several reasons. Firstly I was moving from a

school of over 2000 pupils in a very difficult area to a school of this size (700). Secondly, I had managed my role of deputy head extremely well I think. Thirdly I happened to be one of those animals who, if he doubts his own ability to cope with a situation certainly doesn't convey that to other people. My guess is that people who were on the staff at the time, and there are many who are still here, would share the view that here was a head in the making. I don't think anyone questioned at the time my ability. I hope not many question it now.

Q *When did you become head of this school?*

I became head on May 1 1971 after being appointed in December 1970.

Q *What were the main characteristics of this school at that time in terms of size, catchment area and so on?*

Well, this school is unique in so far as it has the biggest catchment area of any school around here and that includes schools of 1800 or more. Many of our children have to leave home long before 8 am. So we have a

massive catchment area.

Q *What about the standards of the school, academic and behavioural , at the time of your appointment?*

I now realise that when the governors made the appointment they were in fact looking for someone who could bring disciplinary standards into the school. This school at the time did not have a particularly good reputation. I am certainly not blaming my predecessot (who had been the head for nine years). The fact is that for the last twenty five years the school has been heavily creamed by the two direct grant schools.

The chief executive had referred to his own lack of insight and training on appointment. Immediately after he took office he had

a) to identify problem areas
b) to believe that structural solutions existed for resolution
c) to avoid charging his experienced predecessor with responsibility for (a) and ignorance of (b).

He had taken control of a school staff which included

several very long-serving members who had been with the previous headteacher for the whole of his tenure. To change the internal organization could be construed as criticism of their work and of the managerial skills of their former head of organization.

The solution was to find that the cause of problems was 'out there' in the environment, in the form of the two direct grant schools which were denying All Saints the chance of including very able children. The implication was 'if only these children could be sent to All Saints then there would be no problems, but as it is .....' .

In fact, three years after taking up his post the chief executive was informed by his governors that because of the raising of the school-leaving age and the restricted school site, the pupil intake would be reduced.

> *They changed the catchment area to exclude three (primary) schools. Rather sad from the school's point of view because this upset the social balance because those three particular schools are in fact in fairly affluent areas with supportive homes.*

Q What aspects of this school did you feel required your very early attention with a view to making changes? I am sorry to press you to go back such a long way.

No, no, I am enjoying looking back because it gives one a yardstick to look at the present day. First of all I had to change the image of the school somehow. To change that image I had to do something for the children and the staff because many of the staff, consciously or unconsciously, accepted that they were working in a secondary modern school. Because of the creaming process the name comprehensive didn't wash. Many of the children who came here regarded themselves as failures and worse still so did their parents. In fact the more caring the home which the eleven-plus failure came from, the more he felt it. I saw this in so many ways as opposed to the fully comprehensive school I had left.

I think the most important contribution - which would not have been easily seen by the pupils - was that I changed the curriculum so that there was a meaningful option scheme.

Q Did this entail altering the pupil grouping that you inherited?

Yes it did. When I arrived in the school it was a five form entry with about a hundred and forty in each year. It was streamed A B C D and E .. within a year we adopted the system which applies today (eight years later). It seems to work very well, namely a top band of two classes, a middle band of two classes and a remedial stream. I am often asked why do I keep my remedial stream and there's only one answer - I have got a superb bunch of remedial teachers who provide the security.

In the early years I accepted my role as being the one who had to make unpopular decisions, in other words, I demanded standards from the word go.

I had parents' evenings for each year and I adopted an arrangement which continues today. We have a flourishing Parent-Teacher association and there are two representatives from each parish.

Q *Did this reflect your experience at your previous school?*

It was a continuation of what went on there.

Up to this stage in the analysis of innovation and change at All Saints, events at the school replicate those which took place at Marchpane. Both chief executives, immediately on appointment, carried through changes in the internal organization, having identified 'problems' requiring swift attention and resolution.

In the case of the All Saints headteacher, he was aware from his experience in his previous school that it was crucial to make use of the hiatus and disturbed period caused by the change in chief executive. There was a very limited time during which he could attempt to rearrange his working environment along familiar and valued lines.

Now in my last school, the staff, certainly in the early years , welcomed a forceful leader, you might say a forceful dictator, and were willing to close ranks behind him. The lesson I learned was a dictator can win most of the time in difficult circumstances, but as the circumstances improve so the staff are less inclined to accept autocratic

rule. I came down here aware of this.

Q *You are suggesting that the autocratic head made a large number of changes?*

I'm making the point that he made a large number of changes, but more important still he initiated all the changes.

In difficult times, with difficult pupils, I realise that staff are only too willing to support this kind of leader even though they may not agree one hundred per cent with his methods. But as things began to improve the more staff were saying "Surely we ought to have some say?" or "Why weren't we consulted?"

So when I took over here I think I realised that if I wanted to jump on that bandwagon of getting autocratic changes through, it had to be in the early years when the staff were looking at me.

I think one mistake I did make was that I tried to continue like this for longer than I should have done. As it happens, we have now got a very democratic system working

> *within the school. I think I managed to swing to it before I encountered strong opposition which I would have done had I continued to rule as I did in the first two years.*

The chief executive's acknowledgement of the build-up of resistance to his thrust towards organizational modifications signalled the end of one phase and the beginning of another in his relationships with members of the culture.

Just as he could not offer evidence that his predecessor's value-structure-technology framework was not congruent with pupil abilities and teacher skills, so he could not provide proof that his own solutions to the problems he identified would be more effective. Charges of attempting to run a well-established suburban school as if it were the massive northern institution from which he had come were likely to surface. It was about this time that his caning a boy for bullying resulted in his feeling isolated when support from his governing body failed to materialise in the face of court proceedings.

This particular incident shook his self-confidence and highlighted some of the problems inherent in the

role of headteacher.

> *There are times when I get depressed temporarily. I occasionally go home thinking that everything is going wrong, that you can't beat society, and that's what we are trying to do in school; we are basically trying to beat society. We are trying to say the standards we demand are different from society.*

Imperceptibly the organization moved into the quieter waters of the Nexus.

Q *What in your view are the factors which make for successful change?*

> *I have no doubt about the answer. My view is that the most important element in effecting real change which lasts is involving as many staff as possible. This inevitably slows up the process and occasionally leads to frustration. But the long-term benefits far outweigh that.*

Q *You have been head of this school now for nine years. We have discussed aspects of school life that you tackled very early on. Have you made any major changes in the past five years?*

I think most of the past four or five years have been spent oiling the machine.

<u>The new deputy headteacher</u>

In 1976 a piece of grit, in the form of a new deputy headteacher, became lodged in the 'machine' His rank, qualifications, expertise and activities provided an opportunity for the degree of receptivity to innovation of the culture to be put to the test.

Although the newcomer derived his authority of office by delegation from the chief executive, his personal expertise and experience was formidable in the context of the church school. Like the headteacher, he was a graduate with experience in a very large school. In addition, he had been admitted into holy orders and had recently attended a university-based course in Curriculum Studies. He brought with him a conviction that:

> ..*every member of staff , deep within himself, has a wanting or a kind of desire to influence the way in which the organization is run and the way in which the conditions of the organization affect his own working.*
>
> *I believe cynicism very often arises because people feel that they are not involved*

> *sufficiently. So, starting with that premise, you must try and get through to the individuals- as many as possible - the fact that their point of view and what they see or have felt about situations is valid. In other words, that everyone has a contribution of some kind or another to make.*

The new deputy wanted a complete reappraisal of the school's corporate strategy by the teachers themselves. From a fresh analysis of operational and pilotage activities there could develop proposals for change. He was inviting the teachers to engage with him in an extended series of personal and organizational introspections and whatever embers of the innovatory urge existed in the culture could be fanned into a bright flame as a consequence of that process.

> *I wanted to initiate a programme of curriculum development which was to be pretty radical in the sense that I wanted to start from rock bottom.*

> *I felt it important to, in a way, re-educate the staff, or to train the staff to think along these lines. I thought a voluntary committee was the way to tackle it, so*

shortly after I was appointed I put a notice on the staffroom board - I was looking for volunteers. I'd hoped that the membership would be pretty representative department-wise and in terms of senior/junior members of staff. So we had, I suppose, a committee of fourteen people meeting every week after school.

Q *Did you at that initial stage say whether it was to be a consultative committee or one with decision making powers?*

Yes, that came up at the first meeting. People said "What exactly would be the force of what we say here?"

Q *How did you respond?*

The way I responded was to say that I had already discussed this with the head. He holds ultimate responsibility for all decision making in the school, that's the way we saw it, the head and myself.

Because we were approaching a pretty detailed evaluation of the school curriculum, and

the committee having a great deal of insight and experience among its membership; that the head would have to find very very strong reasons indeed for going against what we recommended.

We established a weekly curriculum bulletin to report the discussions, to report the people who attended and so on. A copy of this was given to every member of staff. The second thing was that in order to achieve, if you like, a management balance we have a sort of - well it's a pretty well - a weekly senior management meeting. The head and deputies, the head of Lower School and Senior Teacher and the idea was that the report of the previous meeting would be discussed at this weekly meeting of the management team. So I would be in a position, or the head would be - would have a way if you like of giving a regular feedback through me to the curriculum committee. It would not be a matter of -We are going one way, meeting after meeting, deciding things, then the head saying - " Oh! If I had realised this, this is not along the lines of my thinking!" So we felt that we were keeping a fairly regular monitorial system going.

The new deputy head had circulated a document to all staff in which he described the task of curriculum reappraisal. The ultimate aim was a corporate strategy for All Saints to be derived from the specific characteristics of its teachers, pupils, resources and contextual factors.

He considered the guidelines published in the school handbook for staff as too general to be of value. The Philosophy of the School as printed is set out below:

Philosophy of the School

A church comprehensive school has a two fold responsibility:-

(1) To provide a truly Christian atmosphere among staff and pupils alike

(2) To provide for the full development of each child irrespective of his ability.

I felt that if we were going to get down to detailed change and detailed consideration of what the curriculum was all about and to try and to develop a curriculum from first principles then obviously we had to go into what the school was trying to achieve in the first place in some detail. And to really work hard at this and not be content with a few generalities.

The curriculum committee met regularly throughout the first half of the academic year under the chairmanship of the new deputy head. He also wrote up the discussions in the bulletin which was then circulated throughout the school. At the end of six months' committee work the deputy head arranged an in-service training day on the school site for the whole teaching staff as an opportunity to take stock of the fourteen meetings devoted to School Objectives.

The thirty two words of the statement of the Philosophy of the School had been by then expanded by the deputy head into a 2500 word document. This was distributed 'as a coherent statement of the objectives which we saw as forming the basis of everything we do in this school' to all the teachers prior to the in-service training day at the end of May. It is offered as a working paper for our in-service conference on May 25, designed to give the staff as a whole the opportunity to discuss the committee's findings so far'. The deputy head described what happened:

> *We had a major upheaval. It had taken us from the previous October until May really to get through discussing the objectives of the school because this was the area in which most of the staff felt a little bit out of their*

depth and hadn't really done any thinking previously on that sort of area. Therefore it was quite slow going.

The nature of the discussions had been fairly diffuse and wide ranging and so I restructured the whole thing into a faily coherent report after each meeting. Now I ran into trouble at the in-service day about this because suddenly there surfaced a great deal of criticism about the way in which the reports were written. Now this was something that had not been mentioned beforehand. (He had circulated fourteen reports during the previous six months.)
Certain people were saying "A lot of people feel that they are not truly reflective of the discussion at all". People said they don't sound like members of staff discussing - they are much too fluent. So this set us back.

The day ended badly for the deputy head. The curriculum committee met five days later and a post mortem was held. The report of the meeting included the following points quoted below:

1 The public soul-searching at the Wednesday afternoon session points to a need for us to think through our positions as members more thoroughly.

2 Several explanations were offered for the high feelings displayed:-

(a) Staff were feeling insecure and threatened by the programme of objectives, which seemed to require a major change in their style of teaching.

(b) There was deepseated annoyance about local authority proposals for redeployment and staff were 'sounding off'.

(c) Staff had stored up criticism and the lid had blown off.

(d) Frustration at the length of time taken on objectives.

3 Curriculum development is an area where few staff have experience and the technical language is off-putting.

The May paper on Objectives, submitted to the whole staff group as the fruits of fourteen meetings came back to the committee. Its re-examination formed the agenda of another fourteen meetings over the next six months. In November the chief executive accepted the committee's proposals as the official policy of All Saints School. The final document was three times as long as that which had been rejected. Apart from the omission of brief extracts from Schools Council publications on the curriculum there was very little

real difference between them. Set out below is the amended summary of objectives which was finally accepted, with the rejected wording put in italics. The replacement words/added statements are underlined.

Summary of the objectives.

Everything we do in this school is done with the intention that each pupil will develop along the following lines:-

The Pupil as an individual

1 Acquire *(have)* a positive sense of his own identity and unique value as a person;

2 Develop a growing *(mature)* relationship with God;

3 Have a clear sense of personal responsibility for his actions, based on consideration *(sensitivity)* for others;

4 Acquire *(develop)* a sense of idealism, a willingness to look beyond merely selfish considerations *(rephrased)*;

5 Learn to think clearly for himself, *(by)* seeking the truth at all times;

6 Become adaptable *(be flexible)* to change;

7 Achieve depth and sincerity of *(sincere deep)* feeling;

8 Have a positive attitude towards his physical and mental health *(well-being)*.

The Pupil in society

9 Have a coherent view of life, a grasp of the essentials of his world;

10 Develop a proper <u>appreciation</u> *(understanding)* of <u>our traditional way of life - our culture in the broad sense</u> *(our cultural tradition)*;

11 <u>Be tolerant in his outlook and able</u> *(develop the ability)* to relate *(easily)* to other people;

12 <u>Appreciate the importance of family life and the responsibilities of parenthood</u>

13 <u>Develop a proper respect for law and order</u>

14 <u>Understanding the responsibilities of citizenship and</u> involve himself <u>voluntarily</u> *(positively)* in the community;

15 <u>Be prepared for the world of work</u>

These marginal changes in the statement of objectives and the elaboration of the notes on them which followed in the document had taken a further six months of weekly meetings of the curriculum committee. In toto it had taken the deputy head more than a year to produce the document. Staff complained that the curriculum committee was just a 'talking shop' - going on and on.

When viewed in terms of the tactics of dynamic conservatism as outlined by Schön, however, the whole sequence of events was one of action rather than inaction. The impetus for change had come from the

chief executive's new deputy. He was possibly misguided in attempting to engage the culture in a radical reappraisal of its values-structure-technology immediately on taking up his own appointment, which occurred several years after the end of the headteacher's own initial thrust.

The deputy became isolated. The curriculum concepts, terminology, university research (Hirst, Richmond, Bruner) and Schools Council papers that he offered to members of the culture were rejected by them except as a means of building a containing wall around him. When he came out from behind this barrier he was shocked to find his own committee members in the audience, among others, stating that the bulletins and working paper on objectives did not reflect their values.

The deputy headteacher had stated previously that the bulletins were monitored by a weekly management meeting (the headteacher, deputies and the head of Lower School and the Senior Teacher). In the light of the comments about his reception at the in-service day, this investigator explored the nature of these weekly links with his most senior colleagues. The deputy's response appeared to indicate that the reappraisal of the corporate strategy of All Saints did not merit

the highest priority:

> *That's how it began but in fact that is not how it continued. It was much more sort of informal. I think probably the head just simply felt that he could rely on me to keep him aware and so we sort of got out of the habit really of formally discussing. Very often I think simply from the point of view that at the meetings there was so much pressure on - sort of urgent things - that we never got down to the discussions of the curriculum bulletin.*

His rejected May summary of objectives, with the minor modifications noted above, was eventually sanctioned by the chief executive when he temporarily joined the curriculum committee in November. The deputy head followed this up with a request to each department for

> *a clear but brief submission of the contributions it can make, ie which objectives it proposes to cover with what subject matter.*

He was never to receive any such 'submissions'. Reflecting on the attitude of teacher colleagues to change, both the chief executive and his deputy

made similar points:

> *I think most heads would agree that the strongest opponents to change are the long-standing members of staff who would claim they have seen it all before. For example, on this staff then I took over in 1971, I had I think thirteen staff who had been here since the school opened in 1954 and I have still got six today. Now the fact that a teacherr has been on a particular staff for several years, or that he is of a particular age does not necessaruly mean that he's going to be an opponent of change. Nevertheless, they are the kind of people who initially find it very difficult to accept change.*

Q *Could you suggest why?*

> *Yes, let's talk about the 50-65 age group. Their formative years as teachers were years when things went by the book, things were black and white, It was a society quite different from today where there is so much fluidity, so much change. Therefore in their formative years they were not*

subject to the rate of change that we have today. You know, it's inevitable that they will say "What was good enough when we were...!"

Chief Executive

I think I suppose the general attitude is that "Oh! Here we go again - more change. We've seen it all before". Certainly older colleagues say " We used to do that twenty or thirty years ago and we are now coming back to it". I suppose in summarising it briefly would be the sense that it's a kind of a circle of things - a fashion. Changes go round and round.

Deputy headteacher

All Saints School: Postscript

Shortly after the recorded interviews took place, the deputy head left All Saints. He had gained promotion to headteacher status. His task was to be that of guiding a new institution through the transformation-reformation phase. It involved the amalgamation of two well-established church schools, a fee-paying girls' grammar and a mixed secondary modern.

His new position as chief executive-stranger working with an inchoate culture would be in great contrast to the deputy head role he played out at All Saints.

The All Saints chief executive filled the vacancy by promoting one of the long serving members of the school - the Senior Teacher. This appointment did not have the specific curricular reponsibilities given to the previous incumbent and the corresponding curriculum committee was of no further significance.

Internal promotion thus repaired the gap in the coherent culture which the previous deputy had created as an outsider.

After the Nexus:
The future of All Saints School

The predictive qualities of the model of institutional dynamics can be utilized to identify a range of possible future states for an institution at the nexus. This in turn provides an indicator of the degree of receptivity to innovation and change.

1 All Saints could be held in the nexus phase for some time to come. Its present chief executive has already been in post for longer than either of his two predecessors, yet he still has more than a decade of his teaching careeer to run. Should he resign, then the possibility is there for his successor to be promoted from the culture - to become a new chief executive familiar.

2 Theoretically, the culture could be suddenly dissolved and reformed as a result of external administrative decisions. However, there are no proposals to reorganize comprehensive institutions such as All Saints. It is more likely that the size of the teaching staff will shrink gradually with the decline in schoolchild population and

possible reduction in Sixth form course provision.

3 Similar considerations rule out a combination of an inchoate culture and a chief executive stranger. Without a massive reorganization no overturning of the coherent culture would be possible.

4 A likely development is the departure of the present head and his replacement by a chief executive stranger working with the coherent culture. This could happen anytime between next term and 1990, when the present headteacher's career ends. It is, perhaps more likely tc be the case if he should leave in the immediate future, since at this stage his newly appointed deputy would not be a front runner - from lack of experience - to succeed him. With the passage of a few years this deputy could emerge as favoured candidate and hence ensure a continuation of the chief executive familiar- coherent culture phase as described above.

CONCLUSIONS

The investigations, which were conducted over a four year period beginning in 1976, were concerned with the identification and analysis of factors affecting receptivity to innovation at the level of individual educational institutions. The choice of this field of enquiry had, to a large extent, been determined by my interest, shared by a growing number of individuals and parental, political and professional groups, in the fact that the massive increase in the funding and staffing of schools, the establishment of research , dissemination and in-service training facilities as well as large-scale institutional reorganization had apparently not led to the looked-for improvements in the process of schooling.

During the concluding stages of these investigations a team of Her Majesty's Inspectors reported after a survey of nearly four hundred secondary schools. They commented (My italics) that:

> Given the large measure of self determination which schools enjoy, they appear remarkably similar in their broad characteristics. Despite differences of type and size and age range, patterns of curriculum and

> organization have much in common. The establishment of comprehensive schools, now providing for more that eighty per cent of the pupils, and the raising of the school leaving age *have not led to any radical reshaping of the curriculum, which essentially continues the practice of the selective (grammar) schools with some added features taken from the modern schools.*
>
> Aspects of Secondary Education (December 1979) p 260

My own investigations, which included a survey of the working experiences of long-serving teachers, fieldwork in three schools and a reappraisal of published case studies, were conducted within the framework of the model of institutional dynamics introduced in the thesis and described in Chapter 3.

The conclusions that I have reached, concerning the factors affecting receptivity to innovation, are stated below in terms of the model and illustrated within the range of examined cases, shown in brackets.

1 *School chief executives used their authority of office to preserve their own personal valued experiences.*

A Chief Executive Stranger, newly appointed to an existing coherent culture *(Marchpane, All Saints)*; which is a very common situation in maintained schooling, used his powers to restructure existing working conditions along lines familiar and comfortable to himself. This restructuring takes place immediately on appointment and without any serious assessment of those aspects of the culture which he replaces with his own valued arrangements.

The desirability or otherwise of the need for changes in the internal organization and management of the school, as expressed by the appointing committee, was not a consideration in this initial thrust. *(Marchpane, All Saints).*

A chief executive who remained in post during local authority reorganization of its institutions sought to return the subsequent inchoate culture to the situation that he himself created as quickly as possible. *(All Saints, Marchpane, Nailsea).*

2 *Chief executives' control over the type and timing of innovations was used to maintain the traditional power dichotomy that exists in state schooling*

Most of the innovations that were investigated were novel in terms of the experiences of the working culture, but in every case they formed valued aspects of the experiences of the chief executives who enforced their implementation *(Quarrybank, All Saints, Marchpane)*. The type of 'innovation' and the precipitate exercise of executive power used to secure implementation support the postulation that such valued experiences gained top priority over existing arrangements because these were unfamiliar to the headteacher rather than that they could be proved to be inefficient, costly or ineffective.

Several of the innovations imposed by chief executives *(Marchpane, Quarrybank, Nailsea)* were in fact more costly and less effective relative to the aspects of the working culture than the practices they replaced. All the chief executives interviewed stated their explicit support for consultative decision making arrangements in their schools but these were not used or introduced until after the existing culture had been unilaterally rearranged along lines familiar and comfortable to themselves.

3 *Chief executives exhibited a high level of intolerance towards innovative proposals or modifications to their own plans which emanated frommembers of the working culture*.

Where a radical and wide ranging innovation was introduced by a chief executive *(Cambire, Buffalo, Quarrybank)* his intolerance towards assistants who pointed out operational difficulties and who proposed modifications was high.
In the extreme case of Cambire, the whole school staff were made redundant after being accused of lack of professionalism and expertise in their failure to make the chief executive's plan work. While the conditions of hiring and firing are very different in the English maintained schooling system from the American example just quoted, I was well aware that the future prospects of some of the assistant teachers who agreed to be interviewed in the context of my own investigations was problematic.
If they continued to press their viewpoints, even when based on expertise and experience beyond that of their current chief executives, they would run serious personal risks in the context of their career advancement.
Authority of office is automatically accorded supremacy over expertise and experience in the maintained sector

of schooling. To challenge this bureaucratic aspect of school life requires a level of commitment to an educational ideology considered quite abnormal among those who join the occupation of teaching. Any teacher who does have such commitment runs the risk of being labelled as uncooperative, difficult to get on with or abrasive, which are all the most horrendous traits characterising misdemeanours in organised working life and which therefore effectively bring the career of one labelled in such a fashion to a halt.

In contrast to the chief executive's strategy of innovation by directive, proposals from members of the working culture were required to be formulated in terms of likely increase in organizational effectiveness, efficiency, minimal disturbance to the status quo and recognition of the power of incompetance of both children and teachers *(All Saints, Marchpane, Nailsea)*. Such proposals had to run the gauntlet of the staff consultation procedures established after the chief executive had unilaterally imposed his own clutch of valued experiences. Without chief executive support none of these proposals was found to succeed.

4 *Determination to maintain valued experiences is not a function of age or seniority*

Young assistant teachers *(Cambire, Quarrybank, Nailsea, Marchpane, All Saints)* are just as conservative as chief executives in wanting to maintain their own valued experiences. Newly trained teachers *(Marchpane)* and those who had recently attended in-service courses *(Marchpane, All Saints, Quarrybank, Nailsea)* sought to rearrange the working culture according to the teaching/learning strategies, pupil-teacher relationships and curricular approaches along the lines they themselves had been previously enculturated and occupationally socialised.

Because young teachers are likely to bring with them the latest developments drawn from university School of Education programmes, they are generally considered to be less conservative than the long serving members of the working culture. I found, however, that they are just as much attached to the contents of their training programmes as the older teachers are to theirs.
In practice, because their training programmes are limited to the currently fashionable modus operandi and their working experience is so very limited, the neonate are likely to be more attached to their

particular valued experiences than are the longer serving teachers. However, since they lack executive authority to implement changes derived from these experiences and unless their chief executive has specific knowledge and personal acquaintance with their valued experiences, neonate teachers must make any adjustments needed so as to fit into the working culture.

Attendance at senior in-service training courses were also a source of new ideas and techniques *(Marchpane, Quarrybank, All Saints)* but innovative attempts failed unless the transmitter had chief executive status.

5 *A rhythm of innovation and maintenance was identified in schools which was independent of the vigour and duration of external innovative forces*.

The initial period of association between a chief executive and a coherent culture *(Marchpane, All Saints)* was characterised by a burst of directive innovation which was followed by a long quiescent

interlude *(All Saints)*. A subsequent Chief Executive Stranger appointment *(All Saints)* repeated the sequence.

Chief Executives Familiar *(Nailsea, Quarrybank)* who were associated with inchoate cultural phases sought to maintain the prior state which they had helped to establish and with which they felt most comfortable.

Because chief executives are effectively appointed for life - the average tenure of those associated with the case study schools was twenty years - then the innovative bursts referred to above were many many years apart in any given institution.

The overall conclusion is that the enormous potential for change that exists at school level, epitomised by

1. The high degree of freedom to define school goals,
2. The lack of gererally accepted educational criteria by which internal organization and management can be assessed and
3. The ephemeral, evanescent nature of the processes

as well as the futuristic nature of stated objectives

and encouraged in recent years by

4 The doubling in the percentage of the Gross National Product allocated for educational purposes,

5 The thirty per cent increase in school staffing levels on a student count basis,

6 The creation of national and regional research, dissemination and in-service training facilities,

7 The massive institutional reorganization, with its associated opportunities to make changes in school chief executive appointments

has not been realized due to

8 The general policy of appointing chief executives from the ranks of very long-serving members of the teaching culture without reference to any formal management training requirement,

9 The selection of such people to chief executive positions for, in effect, the remainder of their teaching career span and

10 The continued existence of the concentration of statutory executive authority in the headteacher role, which has remained unchanged for nearly forty years.

APPENDIX 1

Pilot survey

Item glossary

Considered in rank order of total frequency changes from pilot survey responses.

Item number shown (n)

1 Mixed ability grouping (15)

Class composition based on deliberate cross-section of ability range in school. Introduced on social grounds to remove internal selection from a non-selective intake.

2 CSE/O level Mode 3 courses (49)

a) Certificate of Secondary Education designed for the 40% ability range below the 20% for whom 'O' level intended.

b) Mode 3 is distinguished from other 'O' level modes of examining in that it is both set and marked by the school staff who teach the groups.

3 Setting (13)

Pupil grouping according to ability in each subject. The most finely divided grouping practice.

4 Team teaching (10)

Simultaneous charge of a whole class by two or more teachers.

5= Regular use of school foreign visits (2)

Generally organized on LEA or school basis, as commercial cruises or other holidays, for children from 9 years.

5= Regular use of fieldwork (3)

Heuristic base for learning situations, encouraged by spread of cross-discipline 'environmental' studies.

5= Remedial groups (11)

Lower ability pupils withdrawn for tuition at lower level, e g in reading.

5= House system (28)

Imitation of traditional public school vertical pilotage divisions. In practice usually confined to sports/ behaviour marks.

9= Regular use of schools broadcasts (1)

Radio and television programmes, previously mainly used in primary work, now increasingly used across whole range.

9= Banding (12)

Grouping of pupil intake into three coarse blocks on basis of ability, subdivided into class-sized groups.

9= School Speech days (33)

Traditional annual prize days, as a link between school and environment, tended to disappear on comprehensivisation.

12 Year system (29)

Annual pupil peer group maintained as unit of organization, mainly for operational activities.

13= Nuffield science (18)

Heuristically based schemes for general or specialist sciences; various packages for ages 5-13 upwards.

13= Parent Teacher Association (30)

Frequently used as fund-raising body to supplement LEA allowances. Members normally discouraged from interfering in their children's schooling.

15= Streaming (14)

Grouping of pupils by general ability. The grouping is maintained across a number of operational activities, hence its base is not as fine as setting, although more fine than banding.

15= Humanities curriculum project (17)

Integrated package produced by the Schools Council to include elements such as history, geography, RE.

15= Use of class textbooks from Year One

As grammar schools disappeared, textbooks for 11 year olds were often replaced by primary materials, such as teachers' work sheets.

15= <u>School uniform</u> (35)

Used to encourage a sense of school identity, frequently with modifications to help identification by staff of subgroups within the school.

19= <u>Project based learning</u> (7)

Part of trend towards child-centred education. In practice success depends on module resources available to teachers and parents.

19= <u>Homework for all pupils</u> (34)

Has value in giving parents a sense of children's purposeful activity and current progress and also enables headteachers to check staff operations.

19= <u>Internal annual examinations</u>(37)

Associated with competitiveness and demands of syllabus and hence likely to be abandoned on implementation of 'progressive' ideals.

22= <u>Link courses School/FE</u> (4)

External courses to provide vocational element in upper school work, particularly for non-academic pupils.

22= <u>Language laboratories (5)</u>

Systems of individual taperecorders and programmes, may be used to counter effects of mixed ability grouping or non-specialist teachers.

22= School resource centre (9)

Centralisation of audio-visual machines and software, library materials and reprographic facilities.

22= SMP and/or Maths for the Majority (20)

Packaged secondary courses aimed at coping with mixed ability classes and 'modern' maths for non-specialists.

22= Use of job description and staff specifications (52)

Procedures introduced into staff appointment processes based on practices in the industrial, commercial and other public sectors.

27= Prefect system (31)

On traditional public/grammar school model the senior pupils have responsibility for pilotage care of younger ones.

28= Continuous assessment credits (39)

Introduced to remove stress of sudden infrequent examinations, on American model. Effectiveness depends on rigour and frequency of assessment.

28= Probationer induction scheme (44)

Former covert induction by Head or Head of Department during a teacher's first, qualifying, year of teaching now canalised and formally incorporated by school/LEA.

30= Self-paced learning (8)

Teacher regarded as facilitator, exposing pupils to learning situations; individual work throughout.

30= Compulsory VI form General Studies (24)

Formerly regarded as 'balance' for (say) science specialists, now frequently used to fill timetables of 'O' level retake students or CSE-to-O upgraders.

30= Periodic form/tutor group rankings (39)

Operational assist to assessment of teaching and learning. Now frequently discontinued on 'progressive' basis of non-competition and open-ended schooling.

30= School based in-service training (43)

'Occasional days' holidays used for staff training programmes, by LEA or outside agents, or series of out-of-school-hours seminars or 'workshops'.

30= School parliament (47)

Representative discussion body drawn from all levels of school, without executive powers.

35= Programmed learning (6)

Individual schemes for each pupil, with in-built reinforcement/correction devices; used as part of self-paced learning schemes.

35= <u>Community work schemes</u> (25)

Involvement with local community, seen as part of education, especially for less able pupils.

35= <u>Unisex combined crafts course</u> (26)

Legislation concerning sexual equality is reflected in 'non-stereotyping' school courses, e g as half-term units of each craft, for all pupils.

35= <u>Corporal punishment</u> (32)

Caning is the most common 'last resort' punishment, normally restricted to boys and administered only by the headteacher or deputy.

35= <u>External exam results in Press</u> (42)

Traditional grammar school press coverage of 'O'/'A' level passes declined as the %age of the school intake to which they refer decreased with comprehensive reorganization. The trend was enhanced by the absence of a pass/fail concept for CSE/GCE examinations.

40= <u>Express groups</u> (16)

Classes of more able pupils, frequently working a year ahead of their age-peers.

40= <u>Teacher counsellor for pupils</u> (45)

Pilotage activities concentrated in the hands of a non-teaching member of staff, who may have prior claim on a pupils time, over operational functionaries.

42 Teacher counsellor for staff (46)

Introduced as staff development guidance mechanism. May have therapeutic or tension-reducing effects.

43= Nuffield French (19)

Packaged course material.

43= Classical studies (22)

Study of ancient Greece and Rome, with minimal demands on language skills.

43= Common curriculum in middle years (23)

Arose out of mixed ability grouping, where no distinction made between learning groups. 'Minority' subjects of interest to the more able may not be included, e g Spanish, Physics, Latin.

43= Regular testing: use of English (41)

Periodic checks on attainment of operational objectives.

43= School sanctuary (48)

Withdrawal base for pupils apparently unable to conform to expected pupil behaviour patterns.

48= Use of Davies Curriculum Notation (50)

Mathematical approach to manpower allocation for construction of school timetable.

48= <u>Delta grouping</u> (51)

A means of delegating grouping practice decisions to heads of departments so that one school can exercise a range of grouping schemes.

50= <u>Pupil self-assessed profiles</u> (36)

A scheme for internal motivation of non-examinable pupils by documentation of their activities in and out of school.

50= <u>Regular testing: mental arithmetic</u> (40)

Periodic checks on attainment of operational objectives.

52 <u>Latin in lower school</u> (21)

Included in a traditional 5-year 'O' level grammar school course but not so likely in a comprehensive programme where it would, typically, be introduced as a 4th year option.

Appendix 2

Educational Decision Making at Three Levels

TASKS	DES DECISIONS	LEA DECISIONS	INSTITUTION DECISIONS
1 Decisions on structure of education - age of entry, age of compulsory retention	1 DES proposes laws and controls major resources through building programmes etc	1 Able to vary age of transfer between primary and secondary, lower and upper, secondary and further education institutions (1963 Act)	1 (a) No discretion on overall structure (b) Discretion on individual allocations, eg vertical and other groupings
2 Decisions on finance of education	2 DES negotiates elements of rate support grants through Department of Environment (some 54 per cent of Local Government finance in 1965)	2 LEA decides proportion of income (grants, rates etc) to devote to education generally. And decides all individual projects and rates of capitation funds for books and equipment	2 Decide how to spend capitation funds for books and equipment. Little other discretion.
3 Building	3 DES decides, within Treasury constraints, total amount of major and minor building projects. DES decides lists of major projects on basis of LEA proposals. Does not propose projects	3 LEA decides which major projects to propose, and which minor projects to build	3 School decides which projects to bid for or points out need

Continued ....

From County Hall, M KOGAN and W VAN DER EYKEN (Eds) pp 34-35.

TASKS	DES DECISIONS	LEA DECISIONS	INSTITUTION DECISIONS
4 Teaching and learning processes	4 (a) Statutory controls over length and number of school days (b) statutory controls over acts of worship and RE (c) control, through Schools Council, of patterns of secondary school examinations. Ditto through joint committees and other FE examining bodies (d) advice of HMIs (control is weakening)	4 (a) Decides style of education through appointments of heads (b) advisory services (c) in-service training (d) decides overall organizational patterns through choice of selection and secondary school examinations (e) local inspectors may make quality judgements affecting, for example, teachers' promotions and flow of resources	4 Free to set internal organization, choice of subjects taught, style of education - formal as against informal, and so on
5 Provision of teachers	5 (a) control of total numbers reaching and leaving colleges (b) party to salary and conditions-of-service negotiations (c) operates 'voluntary' quota system (d) has no part in teacher employment, or in appointments	5 (a) settles establishments for each institution (b) controls appointments of heads and deputies (c) runs promotion system. (d) in-service education	5 (a) sometimes help decide recruitment (b) allocates teachers' duties (c) gives special responsibility allowances (formerly recommended to LEA) (d) can participate in the rewards system, through references and so on
6 Development system	6 (a) establishment of objectives (but not explicit) (b) decisions on length of school and training life (c) decisions on, for example, degree of selectivity throughout the system	6 Makes decisions on general response of education service in area to the needs, by providing institutional frameworks, methods of improving service, through in-service training, nature of relationships with community + other services and parents	6 Responsible for deciding many of the objectives of the institution - through decisions on formality or informality, relationships with pupils, relationships with community + relationships with parents

APPENDIX 3

MIDDLETON COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL

Philosophy and Aims

1 PHILOSOPHY

Instruction, the imparting of knowledge, is a part, and only a part of education. A school should be an organization of conditions and circumstances in which a child may develop as an individual and as a useful member of society. When we speak of the development of the individual we mean not only intellectual and physical growth but also the development of a personality with some independence of thought, capacity for action, and emotional stability. Education is as much concerned with emotional maturity as with intellectual maturity. We should strive for some resistance to the current commercial pressure in press and television to conform; at the same time working for a sympathy, tolerance and understanding that will lead a good citizen to prefer the good of his fellow man to his own. We must take every care to allow children to grow into adults who are able to think AND FEEL for themselves, developing the ability to distinguish between the true and the false, the sincere and the insincere, that will enable them to resist a dictated

mode of life and a pattern of responses plotted by commercial or debasing interests.

In the curriculum, the schemes of work and the teaching, the stress should be upon personal experience and on creativity wherever possible. Creation is the expression of personality in a given medium. We shall have as wide a range as possible of subjects in which every pupil, at one time or another, can find emotional and intellectual satisfaction: one of the social tasks of education is to provide either current satisfactions of the means of later satisfactions. English must be treated as a creative function, a personal expression of imagination, thoughts and feelings. For many of our pupils, however, creative drama, wood or metalwork, art and pottery, needlework, building and housecraft will be practical and more satisfying means of expression - and not mere crafts and skills. Just as in English we shall demand sincerity - the right words in forms to express precisely what we think and feel - so in crafts we shall encourage to develop a sense of what is right and gunctionally proper. Art, metal and woodwork, needlework and housecraft will work together to encourage good taste and design. Physical education permits other forms of expression and I would like to see for the girls an imaginative approach through dance-drama and gymnastic

programmes related to the work they will be doing in the drama lessons.

One would wish to educate for happiness; certainly we educate to generate happiness. Much of our happiness comes from the cultivation of right relationships - between individuals or between the individual and the institutions of society. Right relationships depend on the sincerity and emotional balance talked of earlier, and on reason, sympathy, imagination and understanding. A citizen, a world citizen, must have these qualities. In a school, as one might expect, practice in citizenship will be far more effective than mere instruction. We shall have a school parliament with delegates elected by every group; have intensive programme of visits to all kinds of places to see how other people live and work, study history and geography to extend this; study literature to 'get the other fellow's point of view'; have drama lessons where children can rehearse the situations of real life; study modern languages; have as the theme of the school, international fellowship, corresponding with children from a score of other countries, exchanging magazines and school work with them. Even the skills and crafts that we pursue have a social inference for they lead to a greater appreciation of what the other man's job involves.

It is especially important to make sure that the relationship between pupils of differing abilities and from differing backgrounds is right. In all these activities, pupils of all abilities and ages will have an opportunity to mix. We shall have many clubs and societies meeting after school which will provide an opportunity for social mixing upon equal terms, though their objective is the development of worthwhile leisure interests. Sporting fixtures and dramatic productions are other occasions for the sort of fruitful exchange that we have in mind. There will be also social meetings in the evening: fancy dress parties, dances, and, I hope, formal meals. If we are to have the unified society that is hoped for it is imperative that all children develop a sense of community, of belonging, of having much in common. All pupils must feel that they have an equal claim on our attention and affection.

2 AIMS

The curriculum and activities of the school will be dictated by the following aims:

A Personal Development:

(a) of the intellectual powers so that the pupil may understand the society and natural world in which he finds himself;

(b) towards emotional maturity and balance. In the creative and imaginative studies especially we shall have a programme for an education involving the emotions;

(c) of various skills and interests that the pupil may find satisfaction in life and work;

(d) physically. Not only development and fitness, but also grace attractiveness and self-confidence;

(e) morally, that the pupil may be imbued with a spirit of right conduct and may take a meaningful view of life;

(f) of a sense of responsibility arising from a knowledge of himself and a sympathy for the needs of others.

B Social Development:

(a) arising from (b) and (f) above, the development of a capacity for good relationships;

(b) to make every pupil socially adequate in confidence, expression and comprehension;

(c) through drama and the humanities to encourage the development of sympathy and understanding. Industrial release, and social work, will teach pupils to comprehend another's point of view;

(d) through the school parliament to develop an inderstanding of the rights and responsibilities in a democratic community;

(e) through links with schools abroad, involving exchanges of work and mount projects, to move towards international understanding.

C <u>Economic Capacity</u>

(a) the development of the ability and skill needed to maintain one's self in independence;

(b) the development of industriousness by an appeal to interest and conscience, that the pupil and adult can find satisfaction in his work;

(c) the development of an understanding of the contribution made by various occupations to the well-being of society;

(d) by giving careers advice thoroughly so that in the Upper School a pupil may tackle his work with seriousness, choosing studies that lead to the career he desires.

D The Development of Engaging Leisure Interests:

(a) aiming to allow the pupil to develop worthwhile interests that will persist into adult life. To this end, pupils will be able to exercise choices over athletic pursuits from the fourth year upwards. House periods every day will be given over to the Duke of Edinburgh Award Scheme and leisure and cultural interests;

(b) I hope that the school will become a centre for youth work.

E The Development of a Unified Society:

(a) to create a real community within the school so that the pupil may know the pleasure of living and working in a community where

relationships are right. Forms, Houses Clubs - all have a part to play in this. Many of the school's activities will be co-operative and not competitive, especially in the lower School;

(b) to make the school the centre of the surrounding community; and through social service and cultural activities to forge links with the environment. The aim is to get the School's standards to be accepted as the community's standards;

(c) my aim is to make the school a Community College - offering a 'home' and resources to the interests of the community. The Adult Education Tutor ought to have an office in the school.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH IN ENGLAND AND WALES

PRIMARY VERBAL TEST 3

by

Neville Postlethwaite B.A.

Ages: 9.6—12.0 **Time: 50 minutes approx.**

DO NOT OPEN THIS BOOKLET UNTIL YOU ARE TOLD TO DO SO

FILL IN THE FOLLOWING PARTICULARS:

FULL NAME ....

SCHOOL ....

AGE .... YEARS .... MONTHS

DATE OF BIRTH ....

TODAY'S DATE ....

PAGE	ITEM Nos.	SCORE	
		Right	Wrong
1	1–14		
2	15–28		
3	29–42		
4	43–56		
5	57–70		
6	71–84		
TOTAL			
Standardised Score			

READ THE FOLLOWING CAREFULLY:

When you are told to begin, turn over the page and begin at once. Begin at the beginning and go straight through.

Work as quickly and as carefully as you can. Make any alterations in your answers CAREFULLY.

No one is expected to do everything. Just do as much as you can. If you cannot do any question, don't spend too much time on it, but go on to the next.

When you finish one page, go on to the next. You will have 40 minutes to do the test.

When you are told to stop, STOP WORKING AT ONCE.

Ask no questions at all.

PAGE ONE

437

1. Write **ONE** letter in the brackets to finish the first word and start the last:

   MIGH (..............) IGHT

2. Write the correct answer in the brackets, beginning with the letter given.

   mayor, mayoress; prince, princess; duke, (d.......................................)

3. Write a word in the empty brackets so that three words on the right go together like the three words on the left:

   sun (yellow) buttercup : : tar (...) night

4. Underline **TWO** words which mean something different from the rest:

   (house / river / dwelling / stream / hut)

5. Fill in the missing number to make the sum correct:

   9 × 8 = 70 + (.............................)

6. Underline **TWO** words in the brackets that **ALWAYS** go with the word outside:

   SUITCASE (handle / clothes / leather / lid / wheels)

7. Here is a code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets:

   If DAGGER in code is BAFF6P, what is FPAB6B? (...)

8. Underline the **TWO** words, **ONE** from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the opposite of each other:

   (old / ancient / elderly) (youth / few / modern)

9. Three numbers on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as the three numbers on the left. Write the missing number in the brackets:

   2 (7) 12 : : 3 (.............................) 13

10. Fill in the missing number to make the sum correct:

    8 × 3 = 26 − (.............................)

11. Underline the right answer in the brackets:

    Wrist is to elbow as ankle is to (foot / limb / knee / thigh / arm)

12. Here is a code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets:

    If NUMBER in code is 412897, what does 79292897 mean? (...)

13. Write the correct answer in the brackets, beginning with the letter given:

    dog, bark; donkey, bray; lion, (r.............................)

14. Underline **TWO** words, **ONE** from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the opposite of each other:

    (sweet / tasty / nice) (cold / sour / queer)

GO STRAIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

Do not write in this column	
1	....
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6	....
7	....
8	....
9	....
10	....
11	....
12	....
13	....
14	....
TOTAL R	
TOTAL W	

(14)

Do not write in this column

15. Three words on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as the three words on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets:

    countries (geography) towns : : dates (..........) kings — 15 ....

16. Here is an alphabetical code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets: If SERVICE in code is TFSWJDF, what does DSFWJDF mean? (..........) — 16 ....

17. Write the correct answer in the brackets beginning with the letter given:

    calf, veal; cow, beef; sheep, (m..........) — 17 ....

18. Write **ONE** letter in the brackets to finish the first word and start the last:

    RAT (..........) STATE — 18 ....

19. Fill in the missing number to make the sum correct:

    $6 \times 7 = 50 - (..........)$ — 19 ....

20. Here is a code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets: If TEDDY BEAR in code is 02446 7259, what does 492596 mean? (..........) — 20 ....

21. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:

    C F I L O (..........) (..........) — 21 ....

22. Here is an alphabetical code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets: If SAINT in code is TBJOU, what does UJOT mean? (..........) — 22 ....

23. Write the correct answer in the brackets, beginning with the letter given:

    Eye is to sight as hand is to (t..........) — 23 ....

24. One of the words in the brackets includes the meaning of all the others. Underline it:

    (house / hut / dwelling / flat / mansion) — 24 ....

25. Three numbers on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as the three on the left. Write the missing number in the brackets:

    1 (5) 9 : : 3 (..........) 11 — 25 ....

26. Here is a code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets: If MECHANICAL in code is 4237980396, what is CHEMICAL in the same code?

    (..........) — 26 ....

27. Underline the right answer in the brackets: Money is to purse as handkerchief is to (nose / hand / pocket / cold / cotton) — 27 ....

28. Fill in the missing number to make the sum correct:

    $20 \times 20 = 600 - (..........)$ — 28 ....

TURN OVER WITHOUT WAITING TO BE TOLD

TOTAL — OR — TAW

Do not write in this column

29. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:

D J E K F L (..........................) (..........................)

29 ....

30. The words in this line form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets:

fire, rife; rime, mire; sure, (..)

30 ....

31. Three things on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as the three on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets:

et (mate) am : : lr (..........................) ig

31 ....

32. Underline **TWO** words in the brackets that **ALWAYS** go with the word outside:

TEACHER (chalk / hand / hat / desk / eyes)

32 ....

33. Underline **TWO** words which are different from the rest:

(telephone / number / receiver / hear / speak)

33 ....

34. The words in this line form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets:

carrot, cart; fodder, for; solo, (..)

34 ....

35. Fill in the missing number to make the sum correct:

$5 \times 6 = 27 +$ (..........................)

35 ....

36. Here is a code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets:
If DESPERATE in code is ZYADYCFMY, what does DCYAA mean?

(..)

36 ....

37. Make sense of this sentence by underlining the **TWO** words which should change places:

The musician proudly treasured his showed prize.

37 ....

38. Underline **TWO** words, **ONE** from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the opposite of each other:

(brave / tough / strong) (cowardly / silly / unintelligent)

38 ....

39. Three numbers on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as the three on the left. Write the missing number in the brackets:

3 (9) 27 : : 2 (..........................) 8

39 ....

40. Make sense of this sentence by underlining the **TWO** words which should change places:

The bus bumped with the car into a loud crash.

40 ....

41. Fill in the missing number to complete this series:

2, 4, 7, 11 (..........................), 22, 29, 37

41 ....

42. Make sense of this sentence by underlining the **TWO** words which should change places:

The girl fell her wrist when she twisted.

42 ....

GO STRAIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TOTAL R ——— W

Do not write in this column

43. Underline **TWO** words, **ONE** from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the opposite of each other:
(add / total / divide) (plus / answer / subtract) 43 ....

44. The words in this line form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets:
are, era; Elba, able; Madam, (..........) 44 ....

45. Fill in the missing number to make this sum correct:
$50 \times 12 = 740 - ($..........$)$ 45 ....

46. Make sense of this sentence by underlining the **TWO** words which should change places:
They climbed the window softly and opened in. 46 ....

47. Write the correct answer in the brackets, beginning with the letter given:
husband, wife; bull, cow; horse, (m..........) 47 ....

48. Write **ONE** letter in the brackets to finish the first word and start the last:
HEL (..........) EEL 48 ....

49. Underline **TWO** words in the brackets that **ALWAYS** go with the word outside:
DOG (lead / collar / tail / fur / kennel) 49 ....

50. Underline **TWO** words which mean something different from the rest:
(want / need / give / enjoy / require) 50 ....

51. Fill in the missing number to make the sum correct:
$80 \times 5 = 800 \div ($..........$)$ 51 ....

52. Here is a code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets:
If PERIODICAL in code is AFM6PY6BNS, what does MFNYFM mean?
(..........) 52 ....

53. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:
C H D I E J (..........) (..........) 53 ....

54. The words in this line form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets:
share, she; forever, for; honourable, (..........) 54 ....

55. Three words on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as the three on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets:
engine (train) carriage : : wings (..........) fuselage 55 ....

56. Write **ONE** letter in the brackets to finish the first word and start the last:
FIL (..........) IX 56 ....

TURN OVER WITHOUT WAITING TO BE TOLD

TOTAL

OR

TAWL

(14)

Do not write in this column

57. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:
C X D W E V (..................) (..................) — 57 ....

58. Here is an alphabetical code question. Write the correct answers in the brackets:
If BASEMENT in code is AZRDLDMS, what does SZAKD mean?
(..) — 58 ....

59. Write the correct answer in the brackets, beginning with the letter given:
matches, cigarettes, smoking; water, glass, (d..) — 59 ....

60. The words in this line form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets:
care, dare; send, tend; last, (..) — 60 ....

61. Three numbers on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as the three on the left. Write the missing number in the brackets:
4 (16) 64 : : 5 (..............................) 125 — 61 ....

62. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:
Z D X E V F T (..................) (..................) — 62 ....

63. Three things on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as those on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets:
WDR (BIRD) IBF : : VEE (..) RTO — 63 ....

64. Fill in the missing number to make the sum correct:
$40 \div 8 = 2 + (\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots\ldots)$ — 64 ....

65. Here is a code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets:
If DECORATOR in code is STRANDEAN, what does ENDREAN mean?
(..) — 65 ....

66. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:
J M P S V (..............................) (..............) — 66 ....

67. Here is an alphabetical code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets:
If MANUFACTURE in code is LZMTEZBSTQD, what does ETQMHSTQD mean?
(..) — 67 ....

68. The words in this line form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets:
rake, are; case, ace; noise, (..) — 68 ....

69. Write **TWO** letters in the brackets to finish the first word and start the last:
T (..............................) SY — 69 ....

70. Here is an aphabetical code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets:
If WASHINGTON in code is XBTIJOHUPO, what does HSBTT mean?
(..) — 70 ....

GO STRAIGHT ON TO THE NEXT PAGE

TOTAL	OR	TAWL

Do not write in this column	
71	....
72	....
73	....
74	....
75	....
76	....
77	....
78	....
79	....
80	....
81	....
82	....
83	....
84	....
TOTAL	
OR	
TOTAL W	
(14)	

71. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:

    F M G N H O (..................) (..................)

72. Three things on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as the three on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets:

    et (gate) ag : : sy (..) ob

73. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:

    C Z E Y G X (..................) (..................)

74. The words in the line below form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets:

    askance, ace; rapture, rare; purchase, (..)

75. Write the correct answer in the brackets, beginning with the letter given:

    one, solo; two, duet; three, (t..)

76. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:

    B Y C X D W (..................) (..................)

77. Three things on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as those on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets:

    ma (team) et : : et (..) ar

78. Write **ONE** letter in the brackets to finish the first word and start the last:

    FIL (............................) ARTH

79. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:

    B Z D Y F X (..................) (..................)

80. The words in this line form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets:

    note, tone; label, ball; fillet, (..)

81. Three things on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as those on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets:

    RHS (FISH) IFA : : AMI (..) WSG

82. Write **TWO** letters in the brackets to finish the first word and start the last:

    SK (..................) K

83. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below:

    N L O J P H (..................) (..................)

84. Three things on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as those on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets:

    RHZ (SIX) WL : : SVY (............................) NR

END OF TEST

LOOK OVER YOUR WORK UNTIL TIME IS UP

PRACTICE EXAMPLES

Read each question carefully before you answer it.

	Do not write in this column	
1. Underline the right answer in the brackets: Five is to six as nine is to (seven, eleven, nineteen, ten, a hundred)	1	....
2. Write **ONE** letter in the brackets to finish the first word and start the last: HA (..................) URE	2	....
3. Write **ONE** letter in each bracket to continue the order of the letters in the line below: A B D E G H (..................) (..................)	3	....
4. Underline **TWO** words in the brackets that **ALWAYS** go with the word outside: HORSE (birds / ears / hay / legs / collar)	4	....
5. Fill in the missing number to complete the series: 3, 6, 9 (..................) 15, 18, 21	5	....
6. Underline the **TWO** words which mean something different from the rest: (ocean / fish / ship / sea / lake)	6	....
7. Here is a code question. Write the correct answer in the brackets: If FRUIT in code is spelt GSVJU, what does GJU mean? (..)	7	....
8. Write the correct answer in the brackets, beginning with the letter given: Finger is to hand as toe is to (f..)	8	....
9. Make sense of this sentence by underlining the **TWO** words which should change places: The books were laden with heavy shelves.	9	....
10. The words in this line form a series. Complete the line by writing the missing word in the brackets: monkey, key; fair, air; that, (..)	10	....
11. Underline **TWO** words, **ONE** from each set of brackets, which mean most nearly the opposite of each other: (kind / poor / rich) (nice / polite / cruel)	11	....
12. One of the words in the brackets includes the meaning of all the others. Underline it: (French / English / nationality / Swedish / German)	12	....
13. Three things on the right of the sign : : should go together in the same way as those on the left. Write the missing word in the brackets: d (day) y : : c (..........................) t	13	....
DO NOT TURN OVER UNTIL YOU ARE TOLD TO DO SO	**TOTAL** **OR** **TAW**	
	(13)	

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Test No. 158/17 585M : 655M/2/70

Secondary School Grouping Practices

INTERNAL STRUCTURING OF SCHOOLS

Differentiation.

> 'The problem that faces anyone concerned with developing organizations is how to structure human groupings that are as rational as possible and which, at the same time, produce a minimum of undesirable side effects ...' Frank(1971)

Miller also made reference to the unanticipated consequences that may arise from task-orientated approaches to organizational structuring;

> 'Among persons manning the roles of a production system, other groupings may occur based on propinquity,sex,age,religion,race and many other principles of association,and,on occasion, these groupings and related cleavages,perhaps by their coincidence with task-orientated groupings,may accelerate differentiation...'p86

A number of features characteristic of schools may be seen in this light and examples can include;

Differentiation

1) Of pupils by ability may also differentiate by social class.
2) Of knowledge by subjects may create differentiation by sex, eg. Physics for boys and English for girls (see figure 6) and by teacher status eg. Woodwork nongraduate and French graduate.

Figure 6

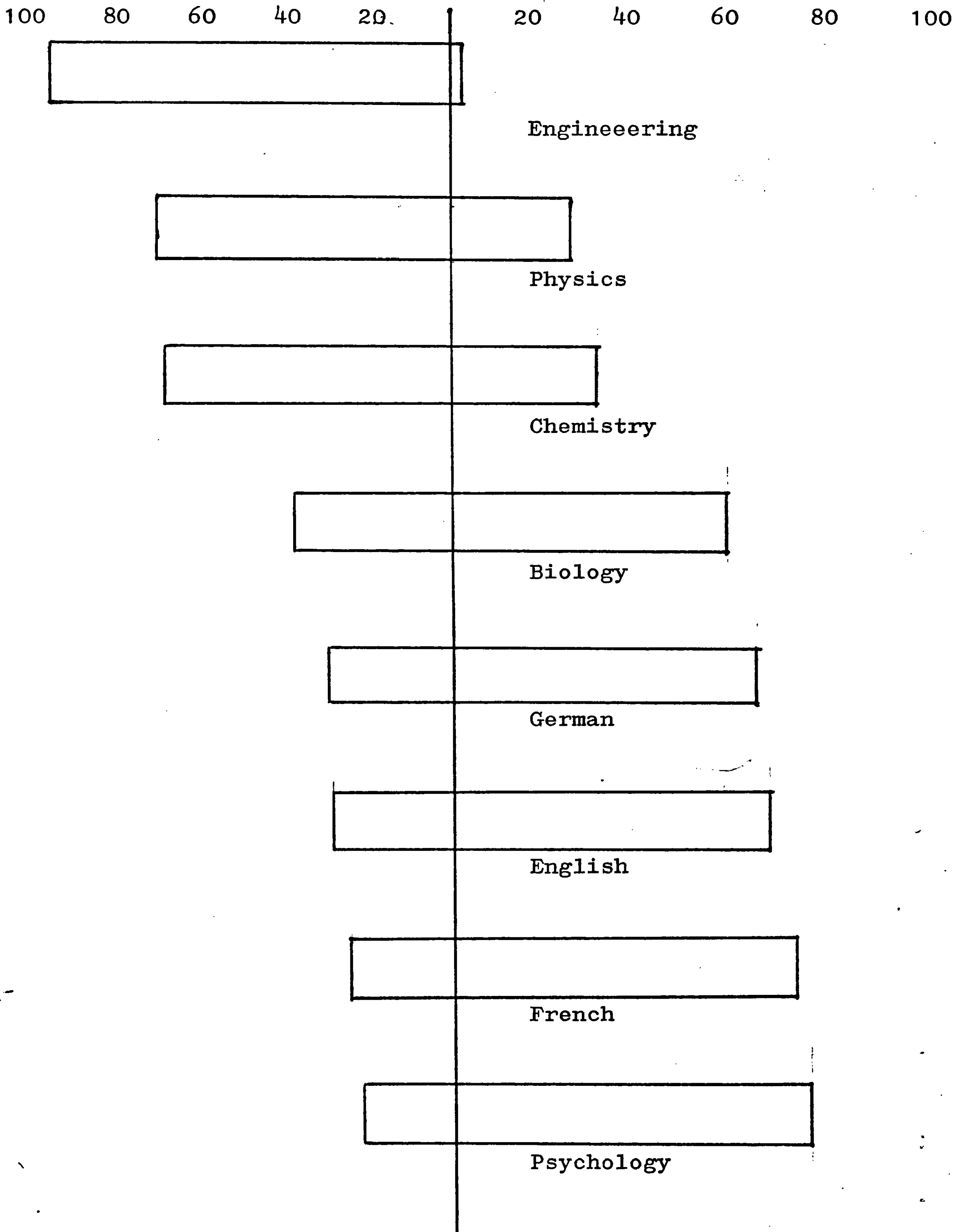
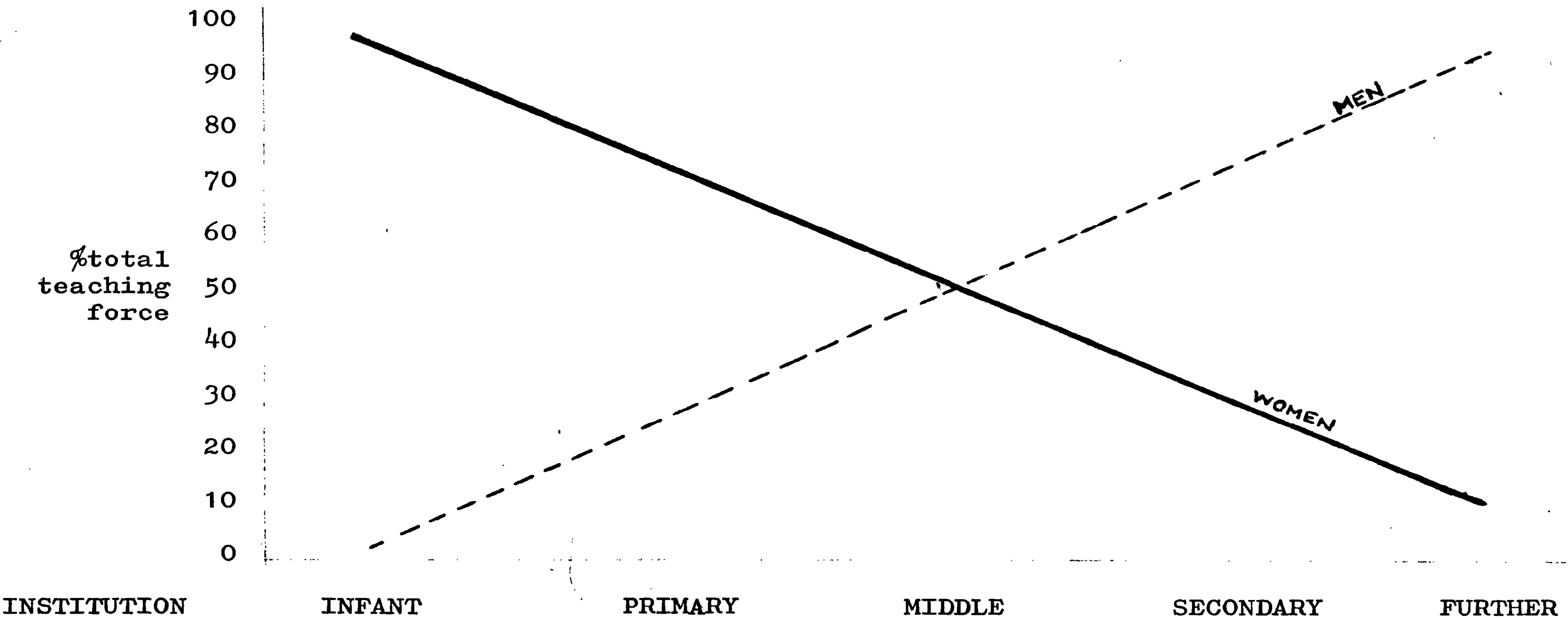


Figure 7

MEN AND WOMEN AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL TEACHING FORCE AT DIFFERENT STAGES OF EDUCATION



3) by stage; this yields differentiation by sex (see figure 7).

School activities.

Features of the education system as described above have often needed some considerable time in which to mature as consequences of structuring. Changes in environmental factors may have brought to light consequences which were only latent in the initial stages of a structure's existence. Changes in social values and beliefs have had such effects in the schools which were organized for the achievement of objectives no longer held in the highest esteem by either society or the teaching occupation. What was acceptable in the nineteen twenties and embodied in reports such as those produced by Hadow has come under attack because of the perceived disfunctional effects which have been summarised by the educational sociologists of the mid-century.

Hutton(1971) saw school activities as being basically of three kinds, operational(O), pilotage(P) and extension(Q). He defines them as follows;

> operational(O) 'are the instructional or teaching activities, fairly rigidly defined as being concerned between the teacher and the pupil with the pupil's learning of the subject matter in hand. They could in principle be carried out by machines.
>
> pilotage (P) activities are concerned with the position of the child as a whole in the social system of the school. In some educational circles

the idea of 'pastoral' activies is similar..

extension(Q) activities are the extramural and non-curricular. p25.

School structures.

The school structure should be so designed that O and P activities can be achieved. There are however real problems to be faced if the school attempts to structure in such a fashion. A cross-cutting situation often develops and conflict becomes part of the structure and inevitably an integral part of the roles played out by members of the organization.

Some structures in schools are seen to emphasise 'courses' or 'tracks' and 'streams' which tend to give a vertical or hierarchical character, not only to the O activities but to the P activities as indicated below;

Figure 8(a). Horizontal and vertical school relationships.

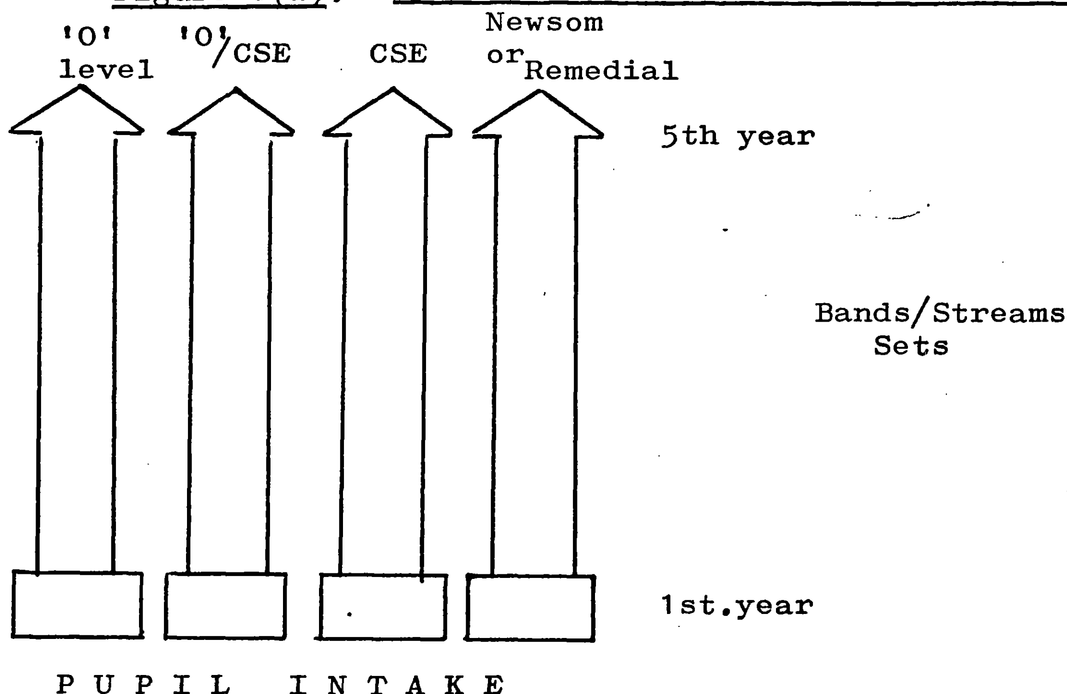


Figure 8(b).

SUBJECT DEPARTMENTS

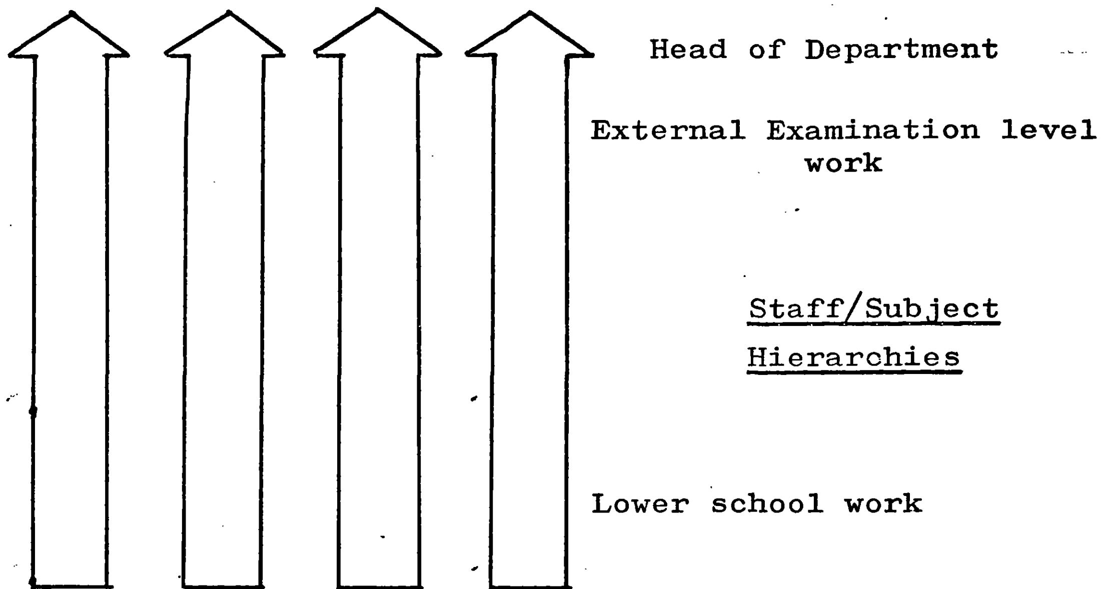
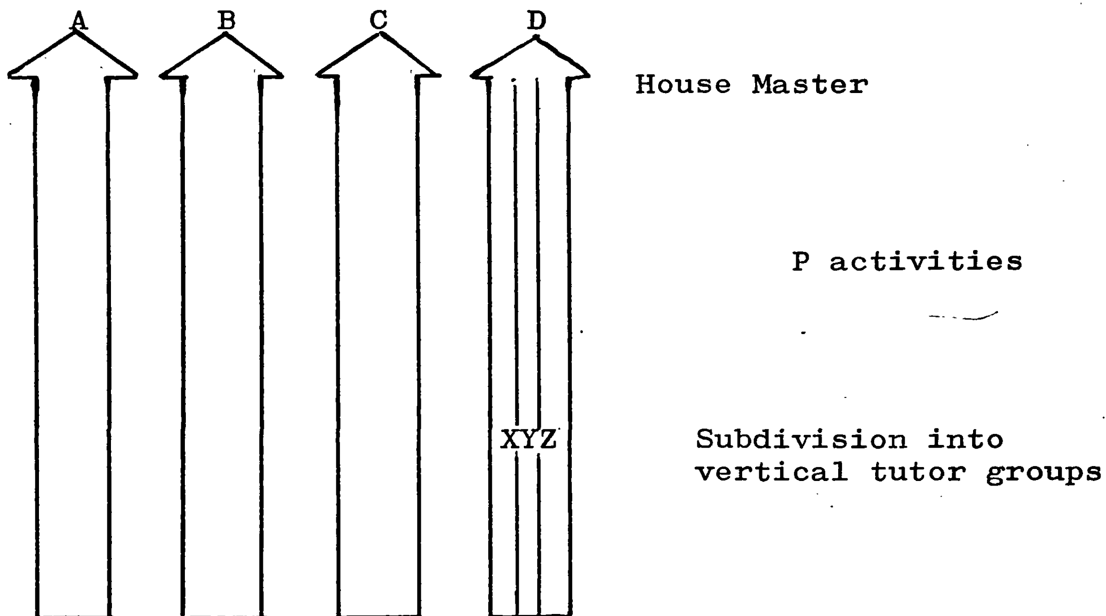


Figure 8(c).

H O U S E S



Another structural dimension is termed horizontal since it attempts to emphasise lateral relationships between children of a given age band, the format and content of their work and the teachers concerned. At the secondary school level it is most commonly found in the lower school years for both O and P activities. In almost all cases it gives way to the vertical structures in the upper school where O activities are considered dominant. This is shown in the figures below;

Figure 8(d).

O level | O/CSE | CSE | Newsom or Remedial

O Activities

Homogeneous groups following courses

3 Common curriculum

2 mixed ability groups

1 This horizontal structure can be emphasised by project or thematic work

PUPIL INTAKE

Figure 8(e).

7

UPPER SCHOOL 6 SchoolHead

P Activities

MIDDLE SCHOOL 5

4 SchoolHead

LOWER SCHOOL 3 SchoolHead

2 +year Heads

1 +Form Tutors

The models indicate the inevitability of the vertical O activity orientation of secondary school structures.In areas where the selection procedures at eleven are still maintained, vertical structures are still favoured for the examination years.The key to the meshing or dominance of perspectives seems to lie in the resolution of the situation at the level of the classroom. One is consciously creating a teaching or a learning situation. If it is the former then one must consider questions of span of control and graded courses. Factors concerned with the former are dealt with elswhere. If it is the latter then group composition, the pacing of work,the 'noise' in the communications networks,the sequential nature of schoolwork are sub--ordinated to P activities.

School structures are expected to accommodate educational,social and pastoral objectives.The relative importance of these has changed with the evolution of secondary and primary schools so that today one may find 'special'schools where one objective is clearly dominant and comprehensive schools in which groups of children are to be found making conflicting demands on the resources available.

The Hadow Report of 1926 put forward the idea of a secondary education system based on academic, practical and technical courses.Each would have its own institution. Differentiation was to allow the development,within the grammar schools, of pupil grouping practices which

suited the pupil's task of mastering the academic curriculum of such schools.Problems have arisen with the creation of all-purpose schools;schools serving a heterogeneous pupil population viewed from the social, intellectual and pastoral perspectives,which have sought to transfer structures suitable perhaps for situations designed to cater differentiated institutions.

Selection for appropiate courses in the comprehensive schools becomes an internal matter for the heads of these organizations,in other words,a decision which previously rested with the LEA management has been delegated to the level of the institution.This has had extremely important effects on pupil grouping practices adopted by the new type of school.Shortcomings have been exposed in grouping practices, evolved for particular sections of the school population, when attempts have been made to implement them in the new organizations.A practice designed to cater for individual needs and interests has been pronounced unsuitable for groups whose primary need is seen as social. The desire to promote individual growth commensurate with the talents possessed clashes with the need to avoid social divisiveness which is alleged to accrue from certain practices.

The enlargement of the curriculum of the curriculum was seen as beneficial by some but as divisive by others. Grouping practices developed with the pupil's needs, teacher preferences,classroom management, effective use of equipment and social and economic pressures in mind. It is not surprising that given such important variables

that no one grouping practice appears to realise all the O and P activity objectives.

Analysis of grouping practices.

Each commonly used practice is discussed below and the perceived problems associated with each type are analysed.It is rightly said that every type of grouping tends to give the advantage to certain student needs and to place the achievement of others at a disadvantage. What suits an individual may not be to the liking of those who purport to speak from a societal standpoint. The conflict between the satisfaction of academic objectives and social-emotional needs is found to be differentialy distributed taking the period of compulsory education as a whole. It will be suggested below that the strains are maximal in the middle years because the education system as a whole has not had sufficient time and practical experience to come to terms with the extension of the timescale of operations and the changed nature of the links between the stages.

It is folly to imagine that one grouping practice imposed on a school will suit all the objectives:

> 'It seems reasonable to speak of grouping as a device for achieving a better fit, congruence,or relationship between students and'something else'.This something else could be the teacher,the peer group,some task, common purpose or a generalised social role'
>
> Yates(1966)

Since every child has a whole range of needs and since schools are more and more looked on by groups in society as the social institutions which should help to satisfy those needs, any school management which imposes a single grouping practice must ask itself what should be done to compensate the child for the experiences and satisfactions which are being denied by the implementation of a single practice.

Costs and benefits there will be but no decision should be made without taking into consideration the abilities and aptitudes of the pupils, the expertise and experiences of the teaching force, the special requirments of the task and the physical facilities available.It is not proposed to discuss grouping at the level of the institution, that is the placement of children under a tri-partite system. It will concentrate on the internal grouping practices used in the first three years of a secondary school before the onset of the options systems commonly taken up in the fourth year. As the models used above indicate there is a tendency for structures based on specific ability in connection with O activities to become almost universal and it does seem that the higher the level of educational programme the more homogeneous the work group becomes in terms of general and special aptitudes and expertise.

GROUPING PRACTICES

Four main practices will illustrate well enoough the problems encountered in attempting to meet what are often conflicting objectives. Streaming,Banding, Setting and Mixed Ability grouping will be taken in turn.It is rare to find a school with a completely pure system because, among other reasons the examination courses in the upper school demand a 'course' approach whatever practice is implemented in the lower school.

The basic approach to the analysis is that within the school system are to be found a number of subsystems which are interelated and grouping practices must be considered therefore in the light of;

1.Ease of initial placement
2.Ease of transfer of children from group to group
3.Ease of transfer of teachers from group to group
4.Variety of curriculum patterns which can be implemented
5.Evaluation of progress made by pupils
6.Physical space and material requirements
7.Staffing costs in terms of teacher time and utilization of specialist expertise
8.Ease of variation in pupil group size
9.Applicability to different age and ability groups
10. Use of existing teacher skills and retraining needs.
11.Recognition of the requirements of different subjects
12.Ease in implementation of various teaching/learning techniques.
13.Scheduling
14.Effectiveness inreaching objectives as defined

Points 2,3,8,10 and 12 are of particular interest once the school year has begun.The degree of flexibility in any school organization may be tested by the analysis of these characteristics of the grouping and scheduling practices.

STREAMING

Jackson(1964) stated that streaming emerged as a technique to reduce the special problems facing state education in the 1920's and 1930's. The Hadow report on primary education in 1931 recommended streaming and said;

> 'The break at the age of eleven has rendered possible a more thorough classification of children.It is important that this opportunity should be turned to the fullest account....
> In very large primary schools,wherever possible, (there should be) a triple track system of organization,viz,a series of 'A'classes or groups for the bright children,and a series of 'C' classes or groups to include the retarded children,both groups being parallel to the ordinary series of 'B'classes.'

It is said that this grouping practice led to highly teachable groups of bright children and threw into illuminating prominence the huge problem of backwardness in schools- bigger by far than many capable teachers had realised. Streaming helped teachers to see the problems of the 'B' and 'C' groups separately and it was possible to create special techniques for handling backwardness.

Although the basis for this grouping practice was general ability, the streamed form also served as a very stable coherent social and pastoral unit.In Davies(1969)

terms, the stream was an example of a high grade primary group which was maintained in existence throughout most of the working week.

Example of a four form entry school

11	11	11	11	11	- subjects offered
30	30	30	30	30	- form groups of 30 children
9	9	9	9	9	- subject classes taken

The form teacher may well have taken the group for half their subject lessons, particularly in the lower school. The subjects offered would take into account boys' and girls' craft.

The streamed form was then serving educational, social and pastoral needs as interpreted by the staff in those time.Advantages which are often claimed by supporters of this grouping practice are;

1. Homogeneous groups based on general ability allow the school to implement several work programmes which are appropiate to the abilities and aptitudes of each stream.
2. Assessment is based on the class.
3. Teaching methods chosen can suit all the children in one class and a whole range of techniques are possible

4. The practice can be applied to all age groups and external examinations require streaming or even something more fine such as setting.
5.Given that a secondary school teacher meets some two hundred and fifty pupils a week for O activities, it is demanding the impossible that he maintain a mental image of the state of progress of each child particularly when the progressive steps are small. By streaming the teacher can'aggregate' progress and concentrate on an overall image of the group.He would then only have seven or eight 'points of reference' for work planning instead of two hundred and fifty.
6. Scheduling is moderately easy since the use of the smallest building brick(one teacher-one class-one subject) gives the timetabler some room for manoevre.

It is clear from the points made that emphasis is placed on the span of control both in terms of teacher--pupil relationships, instructional techniques,work content and pacing, as well as evaluation. Over the years the evolution of the specialist subject teacher has weakened the case made for streaming as a means of catering for the P activities of the pupils. The specialist's expertise has increasingly been spread over more and more pupils. The device of setting developed over a greater and greater range of subjects and therefore teachers and in extreme cases the situation can well look like this;

	40			- pupils select eight of these set options
1	1	1	1	- one subject taught to form as a form
30	30	30	30	
1	1	1	1	- possibly form teacher's only contact outside registration
	8			

The form has become a low grade unit,meeting for only one subject class a week.

Objections to Streaming

Objections to streaming have grown over recent years and they basically centre on two points;

1. The fact that initial placement in groups on the basis of intelligence tests can ignore other possibly more influential factors on a child's productivity. Transfer between groups becomes a difficult problem since it often entails finding a place in say a higher group by demoting someone, in order to keep group numbers reasonable.

2. The socially divisive effect and the self-fulfilling prophecy syndrome;

> 'Children are continually being allocated by teachers through marking,reporting,streaming, prompting,relegating and selecting.Each placement affects a child's perspective of himself in the education system.Allocation to the 'D'stream produces a 'D'stream mentality....being in the

'A' stream raises levels of aspiration'.
Shipman (1968)

He does not comment on the implications for motivation if the groups are all of the same standing. Advocates of streaming are accused of basing their group selection on intelligence tests which measure general scholastic ability rather than a capacity for learning. Environmental factors are allegedly ignored and, in general, opponents of streaming accept the view that the practice is detrimental to society and in contravention of the 'equality for all' principle. Research has been quoted;

> 'In the unstreamed first year popularity went with academic achievement...but after streaming in the second year academic success and striving was no longer the basis for popularity in the third 'C' stream. The new leaders in this form were those holding sub-cultural anti-school values.' Lacey(1966)

It must be accepted however that there existed in the unstreamed first year classes a fairly large number of votes for the sub-cultural anti-school candidates whose constituencies were fragmented. They came together with reorganization in the second year. In Lacey's study the staff were seen as agents of the polarization of pro-school and anti-school values. Lacey did not state that these feelings were deliberately fostered by the

staff,or indeed the degree to which they were reinforced by the grouping practice.

The initial placement of children in streams is exacerbated by one of the quoted strong points of streaming which is that there can exist a variation in curriculum patterns between groups. Transfer between groups gives rise to adjustment problems and difficulties in beginning new studies part way through the year.Many opponents of the practice have criticised it on the grounds that the most able streams have the best teachers,or more accurately the most senior ones and the best working conditions. This has been seen then as a system for streaming teachers as much as pupils.

There is the question of status which often goes with work levels. Musgrove and Taylor(1965)investigated status rankings of ten types of teaching by primary and secondary school teachers.They found a clear division of status, as summarised in Figure 9.

Figure 9.

Ranking of status of different types of teaching, from Musgrove and Taylor(1965)

Type of teaching	Mean rank	Status
a.University	1.3	Very High
b.Grammar school 6th.form maths	2.5	High
c.Grammar school Modern languages	3.5	
		Medium
d.Modern school General subjects	5.4	
e.All secondary schools R.E.	6.3	
f.All secondary schools Commerce	6.3	
g.All secondary schools Woodwork	6.4	Low
h.All secondary schools P.E.	6.5	
i.Junior school	6.7	
j.Infant school	7.7	Very low

Over the association of status with level of institution is superimposed another hierarchical system connected with the nature of the teaching content and hence the ascribed characteristics of the groups taught.In the case of streaming this association has been taken further so that given the same institution,the same year group and the same subject area, seniority in the department has been related to the ability level of the group.

Other problems associated with streaming relate to the difficulty of teacher transfer between groups. The structural unit of one teacher-one class- one subject as scheduled generally divorces in time two adjacent streamed groups. Streaming is said to ignore particular strengths and weaknesses sometimes found in children. One final point is that with grouping decisions in comprehensive schools taking over from grouping by institution under selection-at-eleven situtations,parental interest focusses on the head teacher and if he has a streamed structure he may well pack the higher groups, thus aggravating the transfer problems and lowering the mean ability level within that group.Frustration and under-achievement may result if teaching and learning techniques are not modified.

SETTING

In setting, groups are based on particular strengths and weaknesses,rather than on general ability.It can be seen as an extreme form of streaming, since it can be applied subject by subject.The setting structure is very common in the upper sector of secondary school whatever the base used in the early years and it could be seen as a structure which is even more O activity orientated than streaming.

One advantage, as expressed by its supporters, is that,unlike streaming,it avoids the formation of a'bottom' coherent group such as those described by Lacey above. That is, regular meetings of the same pupils creates the conditions for the development of group identity which can act in many very important ways on the primary task and teacher control.

Setted groups are seen as homogeneous with respect to the particular ability or expertise required to master the subject.By timetabling say the whole year group to take a subject at a particular time, a potentially flexible situation is created in which pupils and teachers can be transferred almost at will.

Unfortunately this situation is rarely found outside the class four or five subjects(see appendix), and then only in the moderate to large schools.The main difficulty is that of mustering a large enough group of specialist teachers and rooms to accommodate the whole year entry at one point in the schedule for the week.It may be managed

for Mathematics,English and perhaps Science in most schools and often where subjects are'integrated' as in the case of geography and history.

As in streaming, if the setted subject classes are similar in size,or close to the upper limit of about thirty, then transfer between groups often entails a one-for-one exchange.The justification for such action is often less for the relegated pupil than for the one being moved up. It is generally recommended that there should be one more set than there are form groups in that year but this places an even greater demand on the staff resources and can exclude class two or three subjects from taking advantage of the setting practice.

Extensive setting subject by subject has its problems. In attempting to accommodate what in many cases are dubious distinctions in terms of special aptitudes, pupils could find themselves working with a different sample of their year cohort for upto eight subjects a week, depending on school size and setting policy. A group identity and culture is slow to establish itself under these circumstances.But it is probable that the pupil-teacher relationship is strengthened. Teachers may feel that the set lacks permanence and may press for another system of grouping for P activities.It may be that teachers are unconsciously seeking more regular and secure contacts with a definable group of pupils.

Sets create scheduling problems.Timetabling of such large aggregates of human and physical resources sets up strains in an organization trying to cope with even

more complex option arrangements in the upper school. The flexibility gained within a set by the provision of several teachers and a number of rooms seems to be at the cost of flexibility at the next higher level of integration. The units are not so much building bricks as prefabricated house walls.

BROAD BANDING

Given the whole range of ability, this practice groups children by general ability into three of four broader bands than are to be found in streaming.Each band comprises say ninety or one hundred and twenty children.This large group is then split into class-sized groups on the basis of a particular skill or facility in one or more subjects,or randomly as mixed-ability classes within the limits of the ability band.Although the initial placement problem is not so great for many of the pupils, those on the margin of two adjacent bands have great difficulty in transferring, particularly if the curriculum patterns differ which is in fact the raison d'etre for banding.

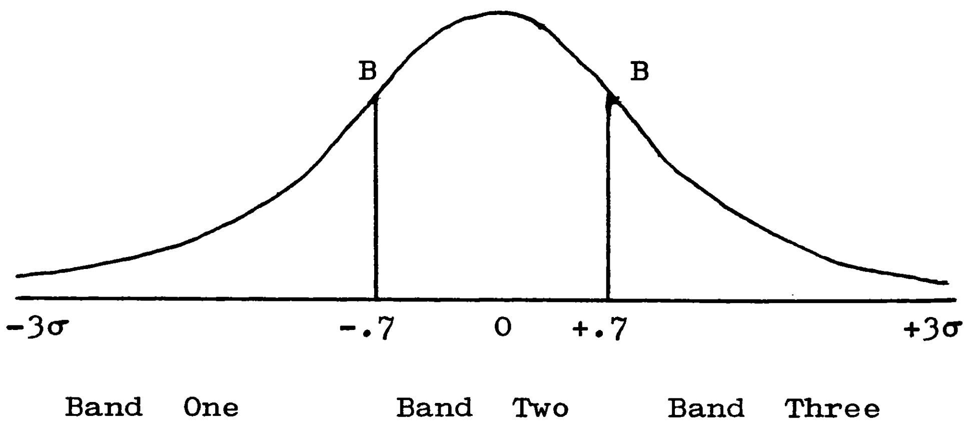
Supporters of the banding practice point to the mixing possible within a band and the fact that the broad nature of the bands allow for a curriculum suitable for general needs and also for different approaches in teaching and learning techniques to be implemented in different bands.Assessment and grading on a form basis however is complicated if recourse is had to setting within a subject across a band.

Great care needs to be taken in the placing of the boundaries of the bands within the school population ability range. Reference to the normal distribution graph illustrates the problem. To avoid the peak of the curve division may be made such that the boundaries are drawn in such a manner as to place some fifty per cent of the

pupil intake in the middle band leaving twenty five per cent in each of the two tails. The ability range within each of the two tails will be greater than the central band.

Figure 10.

Placement of band boundaries given the whole ability range



Band One	Band Two	Band Three	
24	52	24	% Pupil
>2.3	1.4	>2.3	Range of standard scores

MIXED ABILITY GROUPS

It has been the practice for primary schools to pass on to the receiving secondary school the results of a series of tests undertaken by the transferred childre.These and headteachers' reports plus the scores in the selection tests themselves have been the conventional bases upon which the streams,sets and bands have been created.

The basic principle of mixed ability grouping is that each class should have a representative cross--section of the ability range coming into the school. Initial placement is relatively simple; transfer between groups becomes unnecessary unless it transpires that friends or twins have been split or problems of incompatability arise.The working groups are the same as the social or pastoral units and timetabling is very similar to the streamed practice.

The argument for this system is that it is pointless having comprehensive as opposed to selective schools if one proceeds to select inside the organization.Selection by ability also differentiates by social class. Most schools have mixed ability classes in some form or other.When not imposed over the whole curriculum there is a tendency for them to be confined to music,games, and art.Many see the following as problems for which well-tried and tested solutions are awaited;

1. The necessity to restrict the curriculum to a uniform pattern for each of the classes, eg French taken by all or not at all.Subjects catering for the special interests of upto half the intake cannot be implemented,excluding policy decisions to make craft subjects sex based.
2. Reference is made elsewhere to the concept of span of control as applied to the classroom situation. With a streamed or setted group the teacher can instruct the thirty pupils as a unit or nearly so. With mixed ability groups verbal communication which is meaningful to all pupils becomes difficult and coupled with differential learning rates that come into operation within a few minutes of the start of a lesson the span of control problem is exacerbated. The reaction is to break the course up into small sections.These are then made up into work cardswhich include graded questions to extend the most able in the group.Problems arise of course with the children who cannot read very well.
3. Splintering of the work group may occur;

   'Concentration on individual learning increases the number of streams until there are as many streams as there are childre.Freeing the individual to work at his own pace tends to be not less but more divisive than the streamed class.Group work(mixed ability form) is a reversion to streaming since the pace of the programme must not be allied to the fastest or slowest' Taylor L.

4. The job of ensuring that fruitful cross-cultural relationships becomes something of a major problem for the teacher in the situation.To what extent should such relationships be deliberately engineered and others choked off? The enormous number present in a class size of thirty or so is perhaps beyond control and small class groups would stretch the staffing resources beyond their availability.

Other problems arise from the fact that mixed ability groups require a very high degree of group management skill. There is a tendency to relate to the least able on the part of the teacher who thus neglects the group task. Grading and assessment procedures cannot be related to the class bearing in mind the inevitablity of form placings. Effort rather than progress is often used as an index.

In practice one finds that certain subjects such as French and mathematics are setted and the least able are withdrawn on a clinical basis for remedial sessions. The conflicts between O and P activities are always present and implementation of this practice, as with any other, requires a careful analysis of staff expertise and experience;

> 'Non-streaming may be a desirable goal, but a decision about it should not be made without looking at the entire organization of the school,without considering and then making other consequential changes in curricula timetable and resources, and especially

without providing means of assistance
to,or training for,teachers accustomed
to some other system'.Taylor G.

Protaganists of mixed ability structures seek to avoid the perceived socially divisive consequences of more O orientated structures such as setting and streaming.It cannot,unfortunately,be seen in such simple terms;

'Attitudes of pupils to each other are
not necessarily modified by heterogeneous
grouping,the antagonism between academically
inclined pupils and those with a more
practical bent is prevalent and even more
exaggerated in these circumstances.'Rudberg(1964)

It has been suggested that a good group spirit develops when there exists

a. A common purpose
b. Common recognition of boundaries of group and relationships to other groups
c. A capacity to absorb new members and to lose members
d. Freedom from introspective cliques
e. The valuing of each individual for his contribution
f. Tolerance of ambiguity
g. Total membership of at least three.

Bion(1961)

The common purpose of the mixed ability group is

an externally imposed objective related to the avoidance of incipient social class divisions to be achieved through cooperation in educational tasks. But such tasks in the ultimate must seek to differentiate between the group members if each is to be educated according to his abilities.

Just as Shipman found levels of aspiration associated with level of stream so one must expect the group norms to influence individual performance in a mixed ability situation.It cannot always be assumed that the informal group leaders will exercise their influence in a way which is congruent with the overt objectives of the teacher or the school.

STRUCTURING OF SCHOOLS - A SUMMARY

The role of the adult in the classroom obviously changes with the grouping practice adopted.At one end of the continuum is the strongly teacher centred setted or streamed situation which has been a traditional part of the English scene and the more contemporary development at secondary level of the mixed ability class. In the latter situation the adult needs to adopt the stance of a manager of a learning process providing the packages of materials for pupils who then proceed at their own pace in an individual fashion. According to Taylor(1971) an indefinable attribute of a typical teacher is lost. It is that quality which prevents him from standing aside for very long when there is a class in front of him. The urge to guide,explain,hold up work as a good example,check and eventually assume a degree of class control is too strong for a learning system based on putting work first and the teacher second.It is often said that if a teacher stood aside the donkey would get a better view of the carrot,but often enough the teacher is the carrot, providing the class with motivation and an acceptable short term view of the task.

The conflict between O and P activities

Although there are many influences affecting grouping practices,streaming,banding and setting all seem to be

responses to the structuring for O activities.Attention has been drawn to the alleged social disfunction of such grouping practices.A sociological approach

> '...illustrates the usefulness of distinguishing between the intended and the unintended consequences of actions.The manifest intended functions of allocating to different schools may be to increase teaching efficiency.But its unintended,latent consequences can be to divide the pupils into pro- and anti-school factions and determine their attitude to authority generally.' Shipman.

The problem of ensuring loyalty in the disadvantaged groups under what he calls 'sponsored mobility'systems is discussed by Turner(1958) and strategies adopted include;

> '....training the 'masses' to regard themselves as relatively incompetent to manage society,by restricting access to the skills and manners of the elite.The earlier that selection of the elite recruits is made the sooner the others can be taught to accept their inferiority and to make 'realistic' rather than fantasy plans. Early selection prevents raising the hopes of large numbers of people who might otherwise become the discontented leaders of a class challeng--ing the sovereignty of the established elite.'
>
> p78.

Ironically, the Newsom Report of the early sixties dealing with the average and below average children, while stressing that the future pattern of employment would require a much larger pool of talent than is at present available, cast serious doubt on early differentiation to the extent that streaming lost some credibility and far from leading to a search for more refined methods of achieving instruction paved the way for the switch over to broader bands and mixed ability grouping.

The choice of grouping practice to some extent reflects the relative priority that schools place on O and P activities but of course their are other facets to the school organization that require attention and mention can be made of the curriculum patterns, management styles, authority systems and the physical layout of the premises.

A STRUCTURAL RESPONSE TO ACCOMMODATE O AND P ACTIVITIES IN THE MIDDLE YEARS OF SCHOOLING - DELTA STRUCTURE.

> 'This we must accept as a characteristic of present-day school organizations;a situation in which forms have been progressively eroded by the ever growing practice of setting, and in which streams have sprung so many leaks and cross channels that,today,they would often be much more aptly described as deltas.' Davies 1969

As schools become progressively larger and more complex so the difficulty increases of placing the right teacher in front of the right pupil at the right time. Organizational flexibility is required so that initial scheduling decisions may be altered in the light of later developments. A search has been made for increased flexibility to accommodate the structural strains of the middle years of schooling.The following criteria guided the search;

1. Flexibility in group composition to allow pupil groups to be homogeneous or heterogeneous as conditions required.
2. Flexibility in group size in sympathy with task requirements.
3. Flexibility in the transfer of teachers and pupils from group to group.

4. Flexibility in the size and composition of the teacher group connected with the task and pupil group.

It was important to avoid any forced concomitant changes in curricular patterns,staffing costs,space and material costs,teaching skills and objectives.The structure to be implemented should,in other words, be capable of serving the existing needs of the school and yet provide a framework in which changes can take place.

Delta structure does not imply then any particular grouping practice. It is best seen as an organizational framework in which the class group can be varied almost subject by subject if required.One of its greatest strengths is that allows a headmaster to avoid a 'blanket' decision with reference to a particular grouping practice. A planned change from one practice to another can be made gradually in line with changes in teaching skills and curriculum patterns.

A feasibility study was undertaken in considerable depth in Wintervale School. This school, because of its size and the proposals for its reorganization, was able to provide an indication of the limitations which may be encountered in the search for flexibility. The basic principles of the Delta structure and the characteristics deduced from the feasibility study are given below.

DELTA STRUCTURE - BASIC PRINCIPLES

1. The whole year entry is assessed by conventional intelligence tests.

2. The information gained is used to divide the entry group into two or three very large groups such that each contains sixty and ninety children representative of the whole ability range .

3. Each group is subdivided into registration forms which may be homogeneous or heterogenenous as far as ability is concerned.

4. All the forms comprising a (Delta) group would then be timetabled for a particular activity at the same time and the teachers in charge would group the pupils according to task,staff expertise and resources available.

Such a structure has the following characteristics;

Ease of initial placement of children

Ease of transfer of pupils frpm group to group

Ease of transfer of teachers from group to group

Utilization of existing teacher expertise

Facilities for the variation in curricular patterns between groups.

Implementation within existing constraints of space and resource provision

Variation in group size between two and maximum in the Delta group is possible

Recognition of the requirements of specific subject.

Variation in teaching/learning techniques is possible

Does not present any new scheduling difficulties.

Transfer of pupils and teachers.

The model provides the opportunity for transfers during the school year because of the use of the setting device in timetabling. It may be used, as far as the teachers are concerned in the following situations:

1. To cover the absence of one member of the teaching 'team' attached to the pupil group. (Any substitute teacher can be utilised to suit the department.)
2. To allow the introduction of team teaching techniques.
3. To allow the optimum placement of a member of staff joining the school part way through the year.

Currciculum variation.

As with streaming and setting, the Delta grouping technique allows variation in curriculum patterns. The same subjects must be provided for each Delta group, but not every class will necessarily take them. French, for example, can be timetabled, against General Studies.

Pupil assessment and evaluation.

This is hard to achieve on an objective basis if the registration group is used as a basic unit in any practice except streaming. This is because the base is not a stable unit for the working week. There are, of course, techniques available which can be used to standardise marks, but these are not

used to any significant extent in secondary schools.

What tends to happen is that marks are given set by set and the reports taken home by the pupils may have these marks on them, as well as a system of grades for attainment and effort. A total form position is of little value in these circumstances. Mixed ability classes are particularly prone to a series of subjective gradings because, even though they maintain their stability for most of the working week, the composition of the form is such that it would be invidious to allocate form placings.

Specialist spaces and materials.

Neither praise nor blame can be attached to Delta grouping per se as far as demands on specialist spaces and materials are concerned. It is a grouping practice and not a teaching techniques.Facilities required for setting will therefore be suitable. The problems of mixed ability classes in this respect will be solved by the exponents of this particular technique.

Staffing costs and specialists.

The extra staffing demand of Delta grouping depends on the advantages the school wishes to give the Lower school. The example worked out for Wintervale as a five form entry school made up into six groups illustrates that this would cost 2 thirds of a teacher for the first year. But this

is not absolutely necessary since clearly the number of specialists that a school can muster for a particular subject will determine to a large degree how many subjets can take advantage of the Delta practice. A rough guide as to the position of any school is given in Appendix G. As a five form entry selective school Wintervale could implement the grouping practice for all subjects except class 2 (Religious Education , Art, and Music). The subjects named are in fact the subjects which lend themselves to mixed ability groupings and so could be timetabled as a 'team'.

PERIODIC GROUP SIZE VARIATION

A valuable facility if a department uses audio--visual aids, demonstrations, team teaching, remedial withdrawal, and individual learning situations. It has not been possible to quantify the actual demand for such a facility at Wintervale for obvious reasons. All the above techniques are in actual use during the academic year and it is known that the streamed situation limits their application. The same film has to be shown upto five times to cover the first year forms.

APPLICATION TO DIFFERENT YEAR GROUPS

The use of Delta grouping is particularly valuable in what have come to be known as the diagnostic

years of a secondary school. Schools are becoming increasingly conscious of the alleged disfunctional effects of streaming and are seeking ways to avoid hard and fast segregation of children on the basis of ability. Delta grouping allows a variety of grouping bases to be used and yet is in general sympathy with subject requirements and existing teacher preferences. It can be used in the following ways for instance :-

1. As a grouping technique in the first year of a secondary school.
2. As a technique to be implemented in all the pre-option years.
3. As a technique for the whole of what are generally called Middle schools.

DEMANDS ON TEACHING SKILLS AND CLASSROOM MANAGEMENT

It needs only be said that the practice does not demand extra teaching qualities in the classroom. Standard well tried practices can be used side by side with higher order skills or those approaches requiring greater preparation and teamwork. A school wishing to implement mixed ability grouping can for instance develop the practice gradually, subject by subject, year by year. This gradual phasing in

facility is absolutely vital if serious conflicts are to be avoided. The problem of conflict is discussed by Taylor, Yates, Musgrove and Taylor, Hoyle, and Wallen and Travers who state :-

> " The practical school administrator commonly assumes that the patterns of teacher behaviour in the classroom can be controlled to some extent by the school situation itself. If the school establishes a policy requiring a particular pattern of teacher behaviour for its execution, the principal is likely to assume that the teacher within the school can manifest the required pattern of behaviour simply by manifesting cooperation.
>
> ".......psychologists know that behaviour patterns which are deeply engrained as those of teachers with many years of teaching experience cannot be changed overnight... ..... yet some educational researchers do expect Miss Jones, who has ruled her class with a rod of iron for the last thirty years, to change overnight into a relaxed permissive teacher who functions mainly as a consultant for the democratically run class" Wallen and Travers.

The effect of Delta grouping on the school's middle management is discussed in part 5 of this Appendix.

REQUIREMENTS OF DIFFERENT SUBJECTS

The subject forms within a particular Delta group can be provided with a curriculum pattern suited to their needs and abilities. As stated above the advantages of setting , which allows graded programmes of work, can be gained.

EASE OF TIMETABLING

Given the present priorities when timetabling, Delta grouping is as difficult as setting. Like setting the practice requires two or three staff and perhaps the appropiate specialist rooms to be made available at the same time. The conventional approach to timetabling is outlined in Appendix M. and a suggestion as to an approach which provides a more equitable distribution of resources as between the Lower and Upper school is given.

EFFECTIVENESS IN REACHING EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL OBJECTIVES

It has been said elsewhere that secondary schools are specialist agencies among the range of services provided by Society. It is reasonable to see

their key results areas as comprising the development of intellectual, physical, and manipulative skills. Obviously other objectives are claimed by schools and many more are wished onto them by outside interests :-

> " Whenever a new matter is recognised as a proper focus of general concern or public intervention the demand grows for its inclusion in the curriculum...
> ... Alas, the imperatives are simply now too many and too various, defying inclusion and coherence. Secondary education has become a bazaar for rival propositions" Taylor L.C.

It is in the provision of well planned programmes of studies backed up by specialist working facilities that the school's main strength lies. Social and pastoral objectives are becoming increasingly important in secondary school and rather complex sub-systems are developing with these objectives in mind. Each requires its own organization and specialist skills. At the same time organizations, on the lines of the Liverpool Social Education team comprising a Schhol Medical Officer, Educational Psychologist, three Education Welfare Officers, senior School Nurse, Psychiatric Social worker, a Welfare Worker from the Housing Department, the Area Chidren's Officer, and the Education Guidance Officer make an extremely powerful

team of enormous value to a school:

> "No one department of a local authority can meet the needs of deprived families. All departments must make a coordinated effort to make the approach to the problems more dynamic." Thompson H.

Far too many schools set up complex pastoral and social care systems without analysing the facilities already available, the shortfall and the expertise required. The pressures on the limited resources available to the school are aggravated and the interdependence of the sub-systems can lead to conflict. A practice overtly claiming success in one sphere may set up disfunctional influences in another which require the use of scarce resources to recreate a balance.

APPLICATION OF DELTA GROUPING TO SCHOOLS BY SIZE

INTAKE	FORM ENTRY	GRAMMAR/MODERN DELTA GROUPS	GRAMMAR/MODERN FORM GROUPS	COMPREHENSIVE DELTA GROUPS	COMPREHENSIVE FORM GROUPS
90	3	1	3	1	3
120	4	2	2	1	4
150	5	2	1 x 2,1 x 3	2	1 x 2, 1 x 3*
180	6	2 or 3	3 or 2	2	3
210	7	2	1 x 3,1 x 4	2	1 x 3, 1 x 4
240	8	3	1 x 2,2 x 3	2	4
270	9	3	3	3	3
300	10	3	2 x 3,1 x 4	3	2 x 3, 1 x 4
330	11	3	1 x 3,2 x 4	3	1 x 3, 2 x 4

* Another alternative costing 3 C.U.s per year extra would be 2 x 3

DELTA TEAMS BY SCHOOL SIZE

F.E.	CLASS	FIVE	SUBJECT		CLASS	FOOUR	SUBJECT		CLASS	THREE	SUBJECT		CLASS	TWO	SUBJECT	
	Lower	Upper	Total	T.	Lower	Upper	Total	T.	Lower	Upper	Total	T.	Lower	Upper	Total	T.
3	45	30	75	2.4	36	24	60	1.9	27	24	51	1.6	18	24	42	1.3
4	60	40	100	3.2	48	32	80	2.5	36	32	68	2.2	24	32	56	1.8
5	75	50	125	4.0	60	40	100	3.2	45	40	85	2.7	30	40	70	2.2
6	90	60	150	4.8	72	48	120	3.9	54	48	102	3.2	36	48	84	2.7
7	105	70	175	5.5	84	56	140	4.5	63	56	119	3.7	42	56	98	3.1
8	120	80	200	6.5	96	64	160	5.1	72	64	136	4.4	48	64	112	3.6
9	135	90	225	7.3	108	72	180	5.8	81	72	153	4.9	54	72	126	4.0
10	150	100	250	8.1	120	80	200	6.4	90	80	170	5.5	60	80	140	4.5
11	165	110	275	8.9	132	88	220	7.1	99	88	187	6.0	66	88	154	4.9

ASSUMPTIONS

The Lower School is the 1st./2nd./3rd. Years and the Upper School is 4th./5th. Years. An additional .5 of a teacher required to man two year courses in Sixth Forms for any subject.

The above figures based on a 35 period week and a 31 period teaching load.

Class Five - English , Maths. Class Four - Craft, Science, Languages, Games/P.E.

Class Three - Geography, History. Class Two - Art, Music, Religious Education.

VARIATIONS IN ORGANIZATION OF A DELTA GROUP OF 96 BOYS AND GIRLS AND 4 TEACHERS

GROUP SIZE

1 - 96 possible

GROUP COMPOSITION

Setting, Mixed Ability
Streaming

TEACHER EXCHANGE

Maximum exchange
between 4 named teachers

TEACHING MODULE

Variation possible
in time span allocated

TEACHING/LEARNING TECHNIQUES

Only limit is set by
length of period

DELTA GROUP

Whole Ability Range

A	B	C	D
24	24	24	24

96 children

T1 T2 T3 T4

FORMS - Mixed Ability
Teachers - Fixed or Exchanged

FORMS - Setted
Teachers - Fixed or Exchanged

FORMS - 3 Setted + 1 Remedial
27 each 15
Teachers - Fixed or Exchanged

FORMS - 2 Groups of 48 each for Team Teaching then setted/mixed ability for remainder of period
Teachers - 2 on 2 off then 4 on.

FORMS - 36 boys
36 girls + 24 mixed.

FORMS - 48 on visit + 2 Staff
2 Forms + 2 Staff in school.

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