S T R U C T U R A T I O N : AN EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS IN COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS

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A theoretical model for the development and testing of research issues in the comprehensive school is proposed. It draws upon the work of Giddens (structuration hypothesis) and Knorr-Cetina (representation hypothesis) in an attempt to assess an appropriate way of understanding how teachers with different posts in school draw upon the structuring properties of the school to achieve their objectives in the daily episodes of situated interaction.

Ethnography is selected as the relevant methodological technique because it permits a sequential and flexible approach to fieldwork. Theory may be both developed and tested in the course of the study. Triangulation, the collaboration of evidence from several sources, and reactive analysis, the adoption during the fieldwork of particular criteria or tests to examine the evidence, are used to search for the substantiation of emerging issues. The fieldwork was conducted in two comprehensive schools.

The issues that emerged substantiated in both schools in the course of this study were:

(a) Traditional headteacher authority is perceived by staff as having been delegated, due to school size, to administrative staff (from deputy-heads to year tutors). A supervisory staff career ladder was thus formed and daily maintained by human agency in episodes of situated interaction.

(b) Subject classroom staff and the heads of subjects perceived themselves and the job they were doing, as undervalued. Lack of consultation, lack of access to information, lack of support services and poor working conditions, combined to reduce their status and leave their efforts unacknowledged.

Speculative unintended consequences and recommendations are proposed.

Key words : STRUCTURATION, ETHNOGRAPHY, TEACHERS, COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

At the centre of this study lies a critical analysis of two small scale institutions, two comprehensive secondary schools in the English West Midlands area. They are small scale sites of human activity, selected arenas of situated episodes of interaction, embedded in the larger macro social environment. It may be anticipated that as such, they will both reflect broader social trends, and that the human actors within each institution will make relatively unique adjustments to both internal and external constraints. On the other hand, adjustment strategies of a similar kind may be identified in both schools. The size of the schools offers an opportunity to analyse empirically what teachers perceive as the crucial issues in their immediate world, how they plan to achieve their objectives, how their plans may be thwarted by the unintended consequences of their actions, and how they successively revise such plans to cope with these unintended consequences. There is an opportunity to search for the evidence to identify those structures, the rules and procedures that are set up and maintained. It is proposed that these structures, defined as the structuring properties of the site, are experienced daily by teachers and that it is through such structures that the objectives of schooling expected by society at large are either achieved or not. In terms of critical analysis, this study adopts a middle of the

road position. It neither seeks to ground any orthodox or critical theory nor to accept a purely theoretical critique. Rather it attempts to consider what emerges substantiated from an on-going dialogue between theory and empirical evidence. This analysis is carried out within a specified method of social analysis and an acknowledged method of collecting empirical evidence but its critical edge comes from its relentless search for some kind of penetrating elaboration or contradiction in what people's behaviour means to them. The ultimate justification lies in its aim to reflect upon and transcend observation to that point where by the sheer persuasive force of its emerging argumentation it can make recommendations for future planning and policy. It may be considered open ended analysis in so far as all social analysis may be regarded as inherently critical and stands in a critical relationship potentially to its subject matter (Giddens, 1982:77).

CHAPTER 2

SPECIFIED METHOD OF SOCIAL ANALYSIS

This chapter proposes a synthesizing social theory, drawing upon the work of a number of authors. The theory is offered as the explicit initial perspective adopted before the empirical study. It will be one side of the theoretical empirical dialogue which will be pursued throughout the analysis of the middle ground.

2.1 The macro-micro link.

2.2 The social theoretical perspective - an overview.

2.3 The social theoretical perspective - agency.

2.4 The social theoretical perspective - unintended consequences.

2.5 Concluding summary of theoretical position.

2.1 The macro-micro link

Overcoming the dualism between institution (in this case, the school) and action (teacher action), and seeking a genuinely synthesising social theory is the problem shared here with sociologists from many traditions. It may be argued that those who are 'strong on institutional analysis, weak on action theory' from Dunkheim to Merton, may now be seeking an explanation through general systems theory, morphogenesis (Buckley, 1967, Archer, 1982). Alternatively, those who are 'strong on action theory, weak on institutional analysis', from earlier Wittgensteinian to Mead, may have initially appeared satisfied, as Giddens claims (1979:50) with a partial accommodation between symbolic interactionism and functionalism, between a micro-sociology that dealt with small scale interpersonal relations and a macro-sociology that dealt with the embracing economic and political concerns. However, today they may be in the vanguard of a small number of sociologists seeking to bridge the macro-micro divide (Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, 1981; Collins, 1981; Giddens, 1979), all of whom show a preference for stressing entry to the middle ground from the micro-sociological end of the continuum. Adherents of micro-sociological perspectives, such as symbolic interactionism emanating from the work of Mead, Cooley and Blumer, or ethnomethodology from Wittgenstein, Heidegger, Garfinkel and Merleau-Ponty, or phenomenology with

its roots in Schutz and Husserl, have all challenged the rhetorical basis of macro-sociological traditions. The phenomenological approach pursued, for example, by Gray (1980, 1982), in his analysis of schools as organisations is an illustration of both this later approach itself and of its limitations. Phenomenology, he claims, is concerned with the personal and unique meaning that individuals give to situations and there is an assumption that what happens to be true for one individual may not be true for anyone else (Gray, 1982:5). It assumes that each individual makes his own sense of, and gives his own meaning to the organisations to which he belongs and to each interaction he takes part in (Gray, 1980:30). This emphasis upon the individual that may lead to an ultra-detailed analysis of what people do and say, perceive and believe in particular situations, may shift the focus from the determinism of the institution to the voluntarism of the individual, but it lacks a theory of how such understanding may contribute to an analysis of how institutional arrangements may be modified or sustained. To place the emphasis upon individuals without adequately taking account of the reciprocity and situated nature of their activities limits the usefulness of any type of methodological individualism as a method relevant to an analysis of teachers in their schools. The important aspect of human agency that is developed in this study lies not so much in 'meaning' but in

'capability' - to be a human agent is to be capable of making a difference to the world and to realise that capability as an on-going part of daily life (Giddens, 1982a:68).

Both the relatively determinist functionalist perspectives and the relatively voluntarist individualist perspectives are consequently rejected as starting points for this study and a theory based upon the work of Giddens and Knorr-Cetina is developed. Giddens' (1979) chosen enemy is determinism 'tout court', stigmatizing all those theoretical traditions that downgrade human choice at the individual level (Gane, 1983:372). Knorr-Cetina's (1981) chosen enemy is methodological individualism, rejecting all theoretical traditions that renounce any interest in explaining social order in preference to a search for individual meaning and lived experience. Both in their way identify a deep division between those major perspectives that have been preoccupied with action and found no way of coping with structural explanation (such concepts as institution, power structure, social class) and those perspectives that have concerned themselves with such concepts but treated the conduct of actors in society as determined to a greater or lesser extent by social institutionalised norms (Giddens, 1979:49). On the one hand, structuralist Marxism and normative functionalism virtually ignored agency - acting subjects become increasingly lifeless whilst the

structural or cultural components enjoyed a life of their own, self-propelling, and self-maintaining. On the other hand, interpretative sociology busily banished the structural to the realm of objectification and facticity - 'human agency became sovereign whilst social structure was reduced to supine plasticity' (Archer, 1982:455). The focus of the debate is not that a relationship may or may not exist between action and structure; this seems to be accepted fertile territory, at least for theorizing, if not also for empirical research on both sides, but precisely how can this middle ground be construed and the relationship submitted to empirical demonstration. Archer (1982) argues that one should start with a structure that may condition but not necessarily determine and study how it is modified and elaborated as a consequence of action. She proposes morphogenesis, general systems theory, as outlined by Buckley (1967). This accepts relative determination in so far as the constraints of the structure may, at times, despite 'actor power' be difficult to overcome. Accumulated expertise, specialized scholarship, exhausted resources and ruined environments are offered as illustrations of relatively less malleable structures. She argues that those who enter the middle ground from the action end, authors such as Giddens, underestimate the durability of constraints and fail to address fundamental questions such as when does action create change? What are the degrees of freedom? Giddens (1982:76) claims that all constraints are always also

opportunities. Determinism/Voluntarism is a dimension not a dichotomy and 'when' questions are specific to particular empirical research situations. The argument is more about the style of the social analysis that some people do compared to what other people do, than a debate about relative constraint and freedom. If you give some priority to the knowledgeable, capable human actor it reduces the significance of constraint and increases the capacity for opportunity inherent in human activity. Giddens is also accused by Archer (1982) of promoting both a hyperactive and a chronically recursive conception of human activity, where through episodes of situated interaction, 'all' is capable of change (hyperactivity) and 'all' is necessarily embroiled in reproduction (chronically recursive). However, as Knorr-Cetina and others comment, Giddens also proposes a hypothesis of unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences of human agency that places bounds upon the knowledge and capability of human agency. These 'cracks in' and 'slippage from' a totally inclusive explanation limit the hyperactive and chronically recursive critique offered by Archer (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:29). Giddens, on the other hand, boldly argues for the duality of structure and ignores to a large extent the emerging dualism hypothesis supported by Archer. This duality of structure seeks to link action and structure through an analysis of how human agency can be explained at both micro and macro levels. He seeks to explain how knowledgeable, capable actors

may draw upon the rules and resources in a process of structuration. Action and structure form a duality, logically entailing each other and structure is both the medium and the outcome of the social practices it recursively organizes. The middle ground becomes the arena where it all occurs. It involves a rejection of the convenient and sometimes dubious luxury of only examining either macro or micro levels of analysis, claiming that they interact with each other at all times (Cicourel, 1981:54). It confronts the lived experience of many social scientists, that macro and micro perspectives merely live like hostile neighbours mostly ignoring but occasionally picking at each other (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:25). The challenge is more than just sustaining one level of analysis, either macro or micro, and demonstrating that one is an integral part of the discussion of the other. It is more than merely encanting a theory such as structuration or morphogenesis; it is to argue a social theory of the middle ground, should one emerge relatively substantiated from an on-going theoretical and empirical dialogue of the kind attempted here. Such a dialogue must begin, however, with an explicit examination of both the theoretical and methodological blueprint that will guide initial steps into the middle ground. The exercise involved is similar to the requirement to be explicit about the foreshadowed problems (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983) in the small scale school arenas where the empirical data is actually collected.

2.2 The social theoretical perspective - Overview.

The middle ground where human action (teacher action) and institution (the rules and procedures embodied in the school) interact is the focus of this study. It is approached initially from a theoretical blueprint that enters from the micro-sociological end, incorporating the representation hypothesis (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:36), into the major social theoretical perspective proposed by Giddens (1979). Reference is also made to supporting perspectives and elaborations, in particular the work of Gray (1980, 1982) and Boudon (1981).

The representation hypothesis proposed by Knorr-Cetina claims that the macro may emerge not merely from the sum of intended and unintended consequences (Giddens, 1979), nor as merely the aggregate of many interactions (Collins, 1981) but also in part as a summary representation, actively construed and tried out for size within micro-situations. These representations are constructs which we impose upon the world in attempts to make sense of it. We try these constructs out by experimenting in micro episodes and come to be more knowledgeable and capable as a result of such approximate representations becoming successively more accurate. This hypothesis accepts that there are unintended consequences at many levels in a complex social network, that there are contradictions in the way aggregated episodes may occur and that some

actions may be independent or irrelevant (morphogenesis), but it does return such consequences to human agency, offering this optimistic prospect of effective social understanding by claiming that such summary representations are not only routinely and actively constructed but also invested with faith and interest.

> '..... to construe a certain representation of the world is in principle always at the same time a matter of truth (correspondence, equivalence) and a matter of political strategy; that is, of imposing one's say and of instituting certain consequences with or against others .....'
>
> (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:37)

This claim, that these representations are made in anticipation of events, on an action evaluation basis, echoes the work on 'fantasies' proposed by phenomenologists such as Gray (1982:39).

> 'Fantasy for each individual is the operational aspect of his interpretation of 'reality'. For each individual of course, his fantasy may be his 'reality' and I use the term to indicate the existence of a multiplicity of 'realities' ..... fantasy is the experience each of us has of the situation ..... fantasies are the expression of the perceptions of reality that each person experiences.'
>
> (Gray, 1980:39-40)

Most behaviour, he claims, is based upon assumptions about what is going to happen rather than what has actually occurred. He further claims that organisations, such as schools, are arenas for fantasy realisation and

the bargaining process may be explained as a process whereby individuals seek to support their fantasies, to bring them to realisation. The crucial supporting point is that human agents, in every episode of situated interaction, select and experiment with representations of the alleged relevance and correspondence of the consequences of other episodes for the one they now confront, in the broader context of their own intentions. This human activity implies a certain position about what human agents are like. They are not merely phenomenon open to analysis but phenomenon that are actively analysing throughout the many episodes of situated interaction that daily confront them in their attempts to become more knowledgeable and competent in the social world that surrounds them. The inadequacy of Grays position, like that of all phenomenologists, is that no attempt is made to bridge the gap between the individual and society, to show how interactions in the middle ground lead to the realisation of such fantasies.

An adequate account of human agency must not only be connected to a theory of the acting subject, but must be situated action in time and space, action perceived as a continuous flow of conduct. Every actor seeks to know more about the conditions of reproduction in the institutions of which he or she is a member. An actor learns to be a competent member by becoming more knowledgeable through what may be perceived as procedures familiar to scientific research

itself, by observation, experimentation, analysis, further observation, experimentation and analysis, and so on. Actors act in terms of the tacit knowledge and rules which they have learnt to apply in specific situations but which they may not be able to explicate (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:4). Giddens acknowedges this distinction between practical consciousness, that tacit knowledge which actors draw upon in encounters, and discursive consciousness, that knowledge which actors are able to discuss. All actors have some degree of discursive penetration of the social systems to whose constitution they contribute (Giddens, 1979:5). This discursive penetration is related to the dialectic of control in collectivities. Not only does 'competence' include what an actor has to implicitly know about the culture or subculture to be accepted but also it includes both degrees of capacity to make ones definition of the situation actually count (considerations related to power) and the degrees of discursive penetration necessary to avoid falling victim to the possible distortions of knowledge that may underpin oppresive sectional interest (considerations related to the ideological). A programmed society, claims Giddens (1982a:76) is probably a logical impossibility not just a factual unreality because of this conception of human agents as knowledgeable and competent, and because of the significance of both time-space analysis itself and the slippage towards unintended consequences to be discussed below.

Social activity is always constituted in three intersecting moments of 'difference': temporality, paradigmatically (invoking structure which is present only in its instantiation) and spacially. All social practices are situated practices in each of these senses (Giddens, 1979:54). Difference, in the sense used here, refers to Derrida's and to Wittgenstein's concept of differment to: 'difference is also always deferment' (Giddens, 1979:34). Human agency is not a series of discrete acts or episodes of situated interaction but it is a continuous flow of such acts that defers at all times to the vivid fringe of memory tinged with anticipation of the future (Whitehead, A.N. quoted by Giddens, 1979:55). Giddens considers this notion of time-space analysis as fundamental to his proposed notion of structuration. He acknowledges in particular, the work of Heidegger as the essential source of the ideas he puts forward (Giddens, 1982b: 109). To be a competent, knowledgeable and capable, recognized member of a situated social grouping, an agent must enter a stream of conduct that in time and space defers to the rules and resources made available by previous human agent activities and at the same instant or moment defers to an anticipation of the future state of those rules and resources as a consequence of this stream of activity. This stream flows through the middle ground, where human agents are significant for their reflexive monitoring, their rationalisation, their motivation and their relative

lack of awareness of some unacknowledged conditions and some unintended consequences of their actions. This route through the middle ground is guided by our understanding of the concepts of social system, structural properties and structuration as a process based upon this time-space notion.

SCHOOL AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM. DIAGRAM ONE

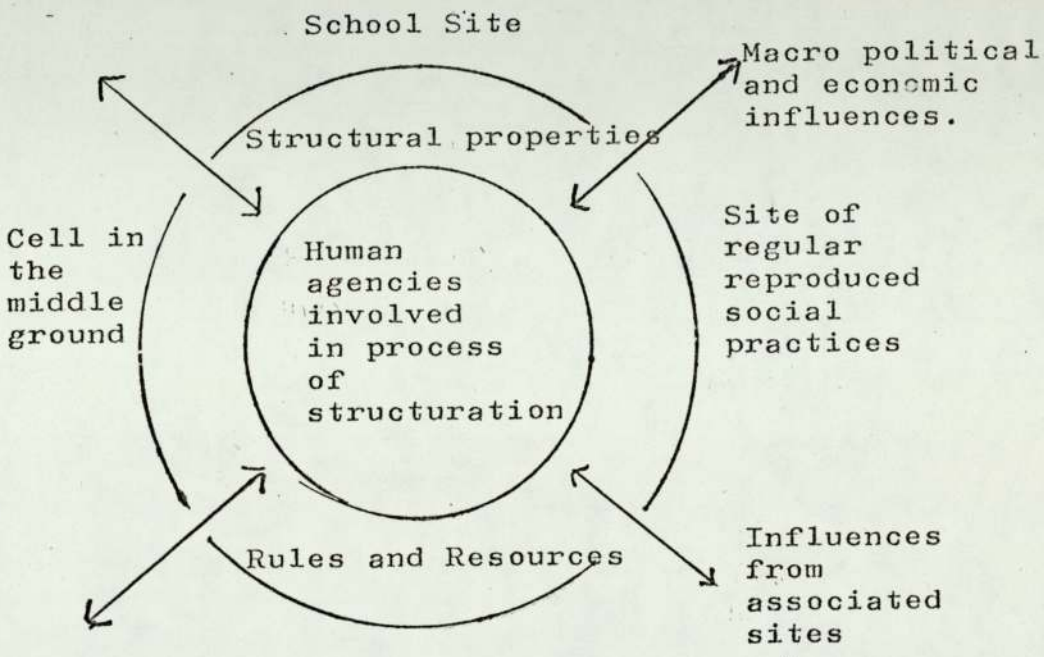


Diagram one illustrates a social system, in Giddens terms (1979:65) as a set of reproduced relations between actors or collectivities, organized as regular social practices. Relatively small 'locales' such as individual school sites are such social systems. They are the cells or arenas of activity in the middle ground where this study is located. The spaces in the boundary of the outer ring are designed to illustrate the embedded nature of the site, its links

with other sites and its reflection of macro influences. It is drawn in a circle to indicate the flow of time and space within which it represents a continuous process. Episodes are part of a continuous process of interactions, that acknowledge or 'defer to' other acts in time and in place. They are not single acts without a context. The social system like all such social systems has what are described as structural properties. These are those rules and resources that underpin how things are normally done that can have varying degrees of sedimentation but which are both the medium through which episodes of situated interaction occur and the outcomes of such episodes. They are how the past and the future, the here and the there, are involved in each moment of interaction. The human agents who inhabit this stream of time and space are involved in the process of structuration. This process is claimed to govern the continuity or transformation of the structuring properties of the social system through human agency. In each episode of situated interaction the human agent both draws upon these structural properties that he is aware of (knowledgeable about) and capable of using, and by such activity promotes, transforms or consolidates the degree to which those structural properties become more or less relatively sedimented practices (social systems). Structure (structuring properties) is thus the mode in which the relation between moment and totality, expresses itself in social reproduction. It involves a dialectic

of presence and absence which ties the most minor or trivial forms of social action to the structural properties of the overall society (Giddens, 1979:71).

DIAGRAM 2. MODALITIES OF STRUCTURATION.

Modality of Structuration	Interpretative Scheme	Facility	Norm
Modality at level of social integration (interaction)	Communication	Power	Sanction
Modality at level of system integration (structure)	Signification (Coding)	Domination (Authorization and allocation)	Legitimation (Normative Regulation)

(Adapted from Giddens, 1979:82)

(This diagram has been rearranged to facilitate a clearer indication of the interdependence of the modality levels).

Structuration occurs through what Giddens describes as the modalities of structuration. These modalities (illustrated in diagram 2) are interpretative scheme, facility and norm. At the level of social integration these are described as communication (an agents signification of what the situation is, due to his/her knowledge of it), power (an agents capacity to make his or her signification actually count) and sanction (an agents capacity to claim rights, resist obligations and absorb sanctions). Meanwhile, at the level of systems integration they would be described as the chronically

reproduced features of social systems, language codes (theories of coding), structures of domination (authorization and/or allocation) and normatively co-ordinated legitimate orders. Each is linked vertically and horizontally within the proposed model to indicate that the distinction between them is purely for analytical purposes. Interpretative schemes (communication at the level of social integration and signification at the level of system integration) are stocks of knowledge brought by actors to episodes of situated interaction together with their own ability to draw upon these stocks of knowledge. By the use of language to communicate knowledge, the interplay of meaning as communicative intent (what the actor means to say or do) and meaning as 'difference' (what his utterance means by deferment to established language), links social and systems integration in the duality of structure. Facility is the modality that places 'power' as a routine feature of all social integration encounters. The agents ability to make his/her definition of the situation (his or her communication of the state of affairs) actually count as the state of affairs is what is meant here. Power as transformative capacity can then be taken to refer to an agents capabilities to reach his intentions (Giddens, 1979:88). An actor draws upon the rules and resources (due to authorization and allocation structures) and in so doing he exercises his power to secure outcomes where their realization depends

on others. In the same moment, these authorization and allocation structures are sustained and modified. Norm, finally, is the modality that stresses, at the level of social integration, an agents claim to have certain rights and to accept certain obligations. At the level of systems integration they are the rules and resources embodied in the normatively co-ordinated legitimate order. This system of norms has to be sustained and reproduced in the flow of encounters. The operation of sanctions, like that of power, is a chronic feature of all social encounters, however subtle or pervasive the mutual process of adjustment and interaction may be (see Giddens, 1979:87). Further examination of these modalities at systems integration level will illustrate the elements of the duality of structure proposal and explain how it may accommodate a familiar sociological term such as contradiction.

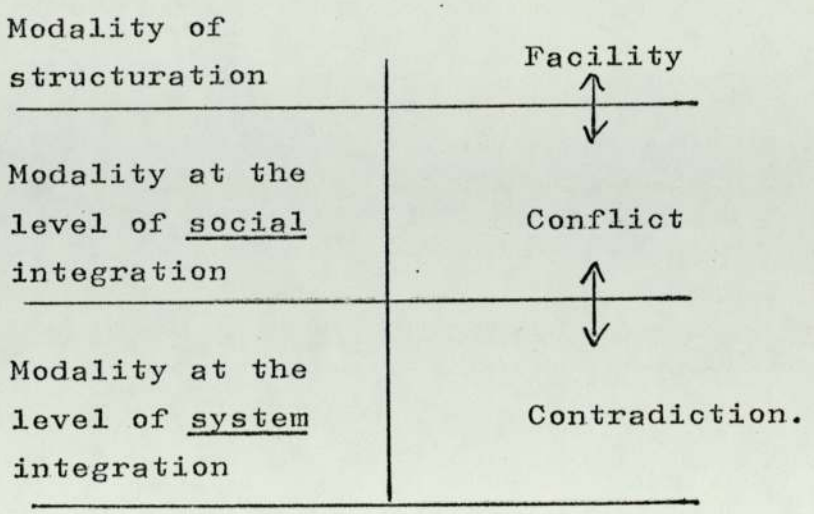
Signification refers to structural features of systems integration that are drawn upon and reproduced by actors in encounters. 'Every act of communication to or between human beings presupposes a signification system as its necessary condition' (Giddens, 1979:98). Domination, meanwhile, refers to structural features of systems integration that are recursively implicated in encounters either as capabilities due to or created by command over persons (authorization) or over objects (allocation). Giddens argues that the preference for

explanations of domination based upon allocation pervaded certain forms of Marxism and made the analysis of authorization difficult. On the other hand those who propose theories of industrial society (e.g. Dahrendorf) stress authorisation and overlook the continuing importance of allocation. Normative regulations, finally, are those structural features of systems integration that encapsulate what is normally accepted as legitimate rights, claims and sanctions in society. The important aspects of the distinction between signification, domination and legitimation are firstly that they are involved in reproduction as both the medium and the outcome, and secondly, that the distinctions are only analytic because each of them is necessarily involved in each other. Language codes for example include aspects of domination and have normative force. Action in situated episodes of interaction draws upon these structural properties to sustain or to change how things are normally done.

Contradictions, in Giddens terms, refer to disjunctions of structural properties of system organization and are subject to analysis at the system integration level. 'Don't look for the functions social practices fulfil, look for the contradictions' (Giddens, 1979:131). Unlike conflict, defined as struggles that occur at the level of social integration, contradiction has a history in systems theory. To Hegel, contradiction was at the root of logic and

reality alike. Marx, following Feuerbach, found contradiction 'a driving force' for change. The example of social class contradictions brought about by capitalist society that were to pave the way for transition to socialism were essential to the notion of historical materialism. However, the emphasis upon the evolutionary key to the inevitable progress of history towards a particular type of society lacks conviction today (see Giddens, 1982a). Contradiction is preferably defined by Giddens (1979:141) as an opposition or disjunction of structural properties of social systems, where those principles operate in terms of each other but at the same time contravene one another. Those that arise within the structuration process itself are referred to as 'Primary Contradictions', e.g. those identified with the model private appropriation or socialised production, and as 'Secondary Contradictions', those that result from unintended consequence, e.g. Urban Decay. The key point for the theory of structuration is that while contradiction and conflict have been distinguished to clarify them for analytic purposes, they are linked together in the duality of structure. Human agents may have a greater or a lesser degree of knowledge about the way society works, varying degrees of opacity of action. Where contradictions remain unexamined lies one source of ideological conditions. Diagram 3 attempts to summarize, within the notion of duality of structure, how conflict and contradiction are relevant at both levels of modality.

Diagram 3. Conflict and Contradiction/ Duality of structure.



2.3 The social theoretical perspective - agency.

Structuration theory as proposed and argued for by Giddens (1979) and adopted here begins with the claim that the social sciences have lacked a theory of action. It is to this central issue that attention is now focussed. Methodological individualism has been unable to accommodate the central issues of social science, such as institution, power and social transformation. By merely associating methodological individualism with voluntarism and methodological collectivism with determinism, and either accepting dualism or hoping that as they probe into the middle ground some answers to the questions 'how' and 'when' they affect each other may be solved, is inadequate. Social theory today can be adequate only on condition that it is adequately ambitious, genuinely totalising

(Gane, 1983:368). This adequate account must first be connected to a theory of the acting subject: and secondly must situate action in time and space as a continuous flow of conduct, rather than treating purposes, reasons, etc., as somehow aggregated together (Giddens, 1979:2). By rejecting 'dualism' in either the dichotomy between action and institution or between conscious and unconscious modes of cognition, Giddens proposes his structuration theory - the duality of structure - accepting the essentially recursive nature of social life, as constituted in social practices; structure as both medium and outcome of these reproductive practices (Giddens, 1979:5).

Diagram 4 seeks to summarize aspects of human agency, some of which have been referred to already, in arguing for the importance of human agency itself and for entering the middle ground from the micro-sociological end following Knorr-Cetina (1981) and acknowledging the centrality of human agency in Giddens (1979).

DIAGRAM 4. EPISODE OF SITUATED INTERACTION IN THE DUALITY OF STRUCTURE.

AGENT	MIDDLE GROUND	STRUCTURAL PROPERTIES
Human agency brings to every episode	Structuration Process	Structural properties that may be drawn upon
a) Relative knowledgeability. Ability to account for action.		a) Signification language codes.
b) Relative and routine capability. Competence in a situation.	Modalities of Structuration (re: diagram 2)	b) Domination authorization and allocation.
c) A need to take account of those present and absent.		c) Legitimation. Normative regulations.
d) Capability to make summary representations.		
e) Commitment to some interest.		
f) Unacknowledged conditions of action.		

Giddens (1982a:75) claims that he wants to develop an approach centred around the idea of structuration that allows adequate recognition of the fact that we are human agents. Relative knowledgeability, acknowledges the on-going learning process and Giddens concept of reflexive monitoring of action. Reflexive monitoring refers to the intentional or purposive character of agency and the accountability of it in Garfinkel's (1967) terms. An agent can give an account of the episode of situated interaction drawing upon but not exhausting the

relationship between his or her knowledge of the interaction. Discursive penetration may be limited where tacit knowledge leads to skilful action but from the actors point of view, it is only intuitive and practical. Competence in a setting of interaction is a second feature brought to each episode by an agent. To be recognized as a member of a group and to be considered relatively capable in some routine situation is the feature referred to here by relative and routine capability. Competent agents may, on the other hand, chronically rationalize or explain their interactions. The motivational element introduces some subconscious element into aspects of human agency, by referring to an actors wants that straddle conscious and unconscious aspects of cognition and emotion. Giddens, because of his preferred stance towards voluntary agency, has rejected the normative and coercive theories that allegedly determine by operating behind the back of individuals but claims that some unspecified unconscious motivational factors do operate. Unacknowledged conditions may well be part of the explanation but several psychologists who do not find Freud convincing, are concerned to belie the assumption that man is inert until motivated and reject those theories (classical Freudian views included) that seek to explain motivation in terms either of 'push' theories based upon stimuli from the environment or 'pull' theories based upon needs. Knorr-Cetina (1981:4) argues that some psychologists come quite close to 'competence' theory:

positing a knowing, active subject as the source of human conduct, when they claim that every man seeks to predict and to control the course of events in which he is involved (see Bannister, Mair, 1968:4 quoting Kelly, 1955). White (1959) proposed a motivational construct which he called 'effectance'. This notion, impels a person towards competence and is satisfied by a feeling of 'efficacy'. He claimed that there was widespread discontent with theories of motivation built upon primary drives because they were unable to account for processes where the child learns to interact effectively with his environment (Harter, 1980:24 quoting White, 1959:328). A theory of motivation that construes agency as activity in the direction of competence (Knorr-Cetina, 1981), fantasy realization (Gray, 1980, 1982), predictable order (Kelly, 1955) and effectance (White, 1959) is the preferred conceptualization, however ideological it may be, in this study. The 'determination' to do something is mainly grounded in the purposefulness of the agency rather than in some poorly defined unconscious process. This is not to reject 'tout court' any acknowledgement of unconscious motives outside of the range of discursive penetration but to reduce their significance in most of the complex episodes of situated interaction in social analysis. In the model in Diagram 4, such unconscious motives would be classified under unacknowledged conditions of human action. The cognitive turn gives primary consideration to the agents practical

reasoning and is unconcerned with causes that allegedly operate behind one's back, a move which posits a knowing, active subject as the source of human conduct. (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:4).

So far in this section, I have outlined what may be described as the structuration process based upon the work of Giddens (1979) and supported by Knorr-Cetina (1981). Fundamentally, the theory of structuration, including the notion of the 'duality of structure' and the principle of time-space analysis is taken to underpin a social theory that emphasises human agency. The addition of the representation hypothesis proposed by Knorr-Cetina is perceived as a necessary elaboration to the theory of structuration.

> 'The notion of the duality of structure, which I have accentuated as a leading theme of this book, involves recognising that the reflexive monitoring of action both draws upon and reconstitutes the institutional organisation of society. The recognition that to be a ('competent') member of society, every individual must know a great deal about the workings of that society, is precisely the main basis of the concept of the duality of structure.'
>
> Giddens, 1979:255.

However, the addition of the concept of unintended consequences to the model is crucial. Not only does it counter the argument that structuration is too chronically recursive (all is included), by allowing some slippage, some escape from the system, but it also

permits a critical theory perspective to be retained. Doing social research, claims Giddens (1982a:72), means having some kind of counterfactual conception of what people would know if they were in the circumstances that you are. This search for the contradiction at the systems integration level, explained earlier, is linked to the unintended consequences, frequently unseen by participants in episodes of situated interaction, but critically consequential for the way in which the capability and knowledgeability of social action is bounded. Possibly the worst scenario would be a perception of man acting from unacknowledged conditions in the direction of unintended consequences, continually embroiled in encounters that form a depressingly seamless web of activity that lacks a rational promise of eventual control and prediction. The competence theory of motivation, the representation hypothesis and the space-time notion introduced as the basis for structuration combine to break through this unacceptable scenario and to bring human agency back into the arena. Competence theories of motivation reduce the unconscious unacknowledged conditions of human activity; the representation hypothesis implies successive reassessment and revised anticipation of the complex consequences of human activity; this notion of space-time perceives of human activity not as single episodes but as a stream of continual structuration. All three of these processes, incorporated in the social theoretical

perspective prior to entry to the middle ground, offer a way to analyse critically the relationship between individual episodes and the boundaries placed upon their 'effectance' by the unintended consequences hypothesis. The crucial point is that human agents in every episode of situated interaction (including the research situation itself) select and experiment with representations of the alleged relevance and correspondence of the consequences of other episodes to the one they now confront.

> 'To construe a certain representation of the world is in principle always at the same time a matter of truth (correspondence, equivalence) and a matter of political strategy, that is of imposing one's say and of instituting certain consequences with or against others.'
>
> Knorr-Cetina, 1981:37)

In the flow of human conduct, agents seeking to try out for size their summary representation of what is possible in any single encounter, invest energy in the direction of effectance or competence, seeking to reduce the unpredictable nature of social life as the unintended consequences of present and absent events. The depressing direct relationship of unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences is therefore not dependent completely upon factors that operate behind the backs of actors. Actors and researchers alike search for the contradictions and reassess their representations of how things are in the stream of space-time activities. In reality, within the stream

of human conduct, it is possible to perceive of a continuum from relatively unacknowledged conditions (misread communications, fears, grudges, sectional interests) to relatively knowledgeable representations that are available to agents at different levels of competence. In brief, experience helps an agent to know what is on in a situation and how to manipulate it to his advantage. The crucial tasks for the researcher are to identify how much knowledge an actor has, how the actor can draw upon the structural properties to achieve objectives and where such processes have unintended consequences for the modification and maintenance of these same structural properties.

2.4 The social theoretical perspective - unintended consequences.

Boudon (1981:116) claims that there are several categories of unintended consequences that would require consideration in an analysis of the type pursued here. He identifies these categories as reproduction, innovation, increased repression, heightened contradiction, institutionalisation and heightened struggle. An example of each of these is offered here as they may appear and be substantiated in the small scale school situation. Where actors (teachers) struggle to gain a greater share of resources, time and money, for their subject area, one unintended consequence may be to reproduce, in a more substantial form, the normally accepted procedures for resource

distribution. In schools where pastoral/administrative staff have won less classroom based time in order to carry out their counselling role, the rest of the staff may have experienced increased repression as they lose most of their free time to cover for other colleagues. The unintended consequence of increasing the size and complexity of the school may mean that the single most significant innovation is the rise in the need for surveillance and control of the enterprise. By simply switching selection from the eleven-plus examination to the staff of the lower school in the modern comprehensive may have the unintended consequence of heightening the contradiction between what educational policy aspires to do and educational practices actually carry out. Demand for accountability may simply increase the complexity and elaborate nature of published records and have little real effect on pupil performance. The reporting and assessment procedures are merely institutionalized. Finally, where pastoral/administrative staff may have established work conditions for themselves that provide adequate professional satisfaction, such gains may have provided further grounds for future struggles and dissent. A battle won today may heighten the struggle by all teachers for better professional working conditions. The important elaboration of Giddens' concept of unintended consequence offered here by Boudon (1981:116) lies in the emphasis he gives to the need to search for contradictions as part of a critical analytic technique.

The identification of unintended consequences and the steps taken to reduce the worst effects of them, are fertile middle ground research objectives. Diagram 5 seeks to summarize to some extent the theoretical perspective.

DIAGRAM 5. A STREAM OF SPACE-TIME ACTIVITY.

1. A relatively knowledgeable and capable human agent plans to -
2. use the structuration process to -
3. draw upon structural properties to -
4. achieve intended consequences but sometimes actually achieves unintended consequences as well or instead.
5. In the flow of action-assessment-action-assessment the human agent revises his representations of how things are and plans to repeat the programme or adopt a modified programme.
6. The task of the critical investigator is to identify the extent of actor knowledge, to examine how an actor uses the structuration process and to identify the counterfactural point; the unintended consequence that forms a system contradiction and remains unacknowledged by the actor.

2.5 Conclusion and summary of theoretical position.

In conclusion to this section, it may be said that the duality of structure is defined by Giddens (1979:69) as the fundamentally recursive character of social life that expresses the mutual dependence of structure and

agency. It proposes that the rules and resources (structuring properties) are both constraining and enabling, offering an eventual answer to the questions 'when' are they constraining rather than enabling and 'how' are they transformed or sustained? While this appears to reject the idea that society works behind the back of social actors and to stress that every actor knows a great deal about the workings of the society, it does allow for some slippage from a totally inclusive explanation by including the unacknowledged conditions and unintended consequences clause. The challenge appears to lie in improving our knowledge by experience and by analysis in an attempt to reduce this slippage. It also implies that we must accept that even the most ignorant person, has some degree of knowledge penetration of the rules and resources available, has some power in the structuration process and is always capable, to some extent, to resist any exploitation of greater knowledge and capability in the hands of a dominant group. The greater knowledge dimension may be more assumed than real, by those in dominant group positions. Every actor has some knowledge at the level of practical consciousness (how to do it) and some at the level of discursive consciousness (how to talk about it), but competence and knowledge are limited by real experience and tend to be vulnerable whenever we enter a new situation. The further we are away from the familiar, the more we may need to work the representation hypothesis in our attempts to construe the internal dynamics of the

situation. Systems are reproduced by the duality of structure process. The term 'systems integration' is used to describe regularised relations of relative autonomy and dependence between groups or collectivities. The term 'social integration' is used to describe similar relations between actors. Giddens is eager to emphasise that social integration is fundamental to systems integration (see Diagram 2) but not exclusively so. There is an escape clause, an area of 'slippage' due to absent events and cumulative unintended consequences. In addition, there is also what is described as reflexive self-regulation at systems integration level that appears to be an increasingly pervasive contemporary influence in the education system. Political intervention is an example of reflexive self-regulation when it is used to reduce available financial resources or to introduce new criteria for validation or accreditation procedures prior to granting licences. Such interventions are designed to cause substantial reassessment of regularised relations of autonomy and dependence at the system integration level. Such interventions can not be directly attributed to social integration at the level of the actor or group member. It is at this point only that Giddens admits to bracketing some events as 'macro' or system level events and some as 'micro' or social level events. Even though he says they are linked to some extent by the duality of structure process, he goes on to speak of institutional

analysis and strategic conduct analysis as methodologically more appropriate to one or other level of events.

> 'To examine the constitution of social systems as strategic conduct is to study the mode in which actors draw upon structural elements - rules and resources - in their social relations. Institutional analysis, on the other hand, places an epoche upon strategic conduct, treating rules and resources as chronically reproduced features of social systems.'
>
> Giddens,(1979:80)

This distinction that is encapsulated in the terms epoche and bracketing as it is stressed here by Giddens does not go as far as 'dualism' but indicates that while there is a direct link between agency and structure, from social integration to systems integration, it is not a totally inclusive linkage because systems integration can also be analysed in terms of systems mismatch, unintended consequences and self-regulatory consequences, at a level where it is neither necessary nor easily possible to trace the analysis back to a single or a series of episodes of situated interaction. Certainly, there is no causation implied here, nor does the bracketing merely permit the analysis of strategic conduct to proceed without reference to intra institutional or system integration rules and resources. What it does permit is some support for a perception of the middle ground that is not so much hierarchical

or stratified, as populated by relatively independent sites of human activity. An epoche may be placed around a single site (educational institutions, families, commercial institutions) and the word 'locale' adopted to identify one particular example of a site, such as one comprehensive school in a comprehensive educational system.

CHAPTER 3

SELECTED METHODOLOGICAL TECHNIQUE.

This chapter offers an explicit statement about the technique of investigation selected for the study and about the foreshadowed problems arising from reading and previous experience.

3.1 Ethnography - the appropriate methodological technique.

3.2 Foreshadowed problems in the pastoral/academic field.

3.3 Initial hermeneutic experiences - the process explained.

3.4 Initial hermeneutic experiences - the results analysed.

3.5 Conclusion and summary.

3.1 Ethnography - the appropriate methodological technique.

Giddens (1982a:73) claims that there are two moments of social research; the hermeneutic grasping of the form of life that one is analysing and a somewhat deeper analysis of the reasons that people are capable of giving for their activities. These reasons include not only what they offer as such when asked but the rationalisation of peoples conduct that the researcher can impute from observation.

> 'Probably much more profound than what people can actually say is what, as an analyst, you can infer from seeing what they do.'
>
> (Giddens, 1982a:73)

For this study of the two comprehensive schools and the exploration of the elaborated structuration theory, ethnography was selected as the appropriate research method because it involved participation in the lived experience of those under study. It was not selected as an alternative to experimental or survey techniques. It was selected because it had characteristic advantages for the exercise in question. In an open ended, critical way it was claimed that it had a distinctive function in so far as it could seek out the kind of evidence needed to permit substantive issues to emerge from the field work. The researcher was asked to recognize the reflexive character of the research and to watch, listen and record activities.

The definition of ethnography, preferred here, was the broad definition that included a wide range of sources of information - in fact collected whatever data were available to throw light upon the issues involved (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:2). This study included both interview and participant observation, and it explicitly recognised that all social research had a reflexive character. We can neither escape the world in order to study it nor avoid having an effect upon it in the study process. No data may be regarded as 'pure' data and consequently a more realistic aim, adopted here, was to seek to interpret the data obtained, acknowledge the foreshadowed problems, anxieties and bias's, the surrounding developing theory and the limitations implicit in the interview interaction and in the recording of observed episodes of situated interaction. The origin of the concept foreshadowed problems is acknowledged to Malinowski (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:28).

> 'Good training in theory, and acquaintance with its latest results is not identical with being burdened with "preconceived ideas". If a man sets out on an expedition, determined to prove certain hypotheses, if he is incapable of changing his views constantly and casting them off ungrudgingly under the pressure of evidence, needless to say his work will be worthless. But the more problems he brings with him into the field, the more he is in the habit of moulding his theories

> according to facts, and of seeing facts in their bearing upon theory, the better he is equipped for the work. Preconceived ideas are pernicious in any scientific work, but foreshadowed problems are the main endowment of a scientific thinker, and these problems are first revealed to the observer by his theoretical studies.'
>
> (Malinowski, 1922:8-9)

As suggested by Giddens (1979:210) the concept of 'region', Goffman's front and back regions, is pertinent to small scale institutional analysis of the kind employed here. The researcher must be aware that the setting of encounters (in the front room) may be purposively arranged to hide the potentially compromising or dangerous features of such encounters. The penetration of such time/space settings becomes a fundamental part of the adopted methodology. Foreshadowed problems; those issues anticipated on the basis of reading and experience may emerge as real issues or as merely part of a carefully sustained legend. The objective here is neither to collect relevant data to test an hypothesis, nor to confirm assumptions by imposing ideas on the data, but to seek to remain anthropologically strange. This is sought by acknowledging aspects of the reflexive character of the research while searching for that penetrating collaboration or contradiction, the issues that emerge substantiated during the process. A beginning is made by making an explicit statement about the foreshadowed problems and substantiating

this somewhat by carrying out and later analysing a set of interviews with a random sample of head-teachers drawn from a midland education authority.

3.2 Foreshadowed problems in the pastoral/academic field.

Published material on the comprehensive school claims that its arrival demanded some rethinking especially about organisational factors associated with size (Burgess, 1983:10). There was and still is, little research in this area (Gray, 1980:20). What appears common practice in comprehensive schools is to consider that beyond a certain number of pupils a headteacher must delegate or disintegrate (Watts, J. in Peters, R.S. 1976:127), that pastoral posts were created to delegate the heads concern for pupils in the broader than 'subject performance' sense (Chetwynd, 1969:27) (Burgess, 1983:17), and that a certain type of person was sought to fill these pastoral vacancies. Several authors warn against this division of responsibility between the pastoral and the academic because it could lead to confusion about school objectives. John (1980:97) for example, argued that since comprehensive reorganisation particularly in merged institutions, the cohesion of the school had been adversely affected by the gulf which grew between the curricular and the pastoral system. Richardson (1975:69) claimed that these two areas of work pulled in opposite directions and encouraged teachers to wear

either an academic or a pastoral hat and to subsequently abdicate responsibility for the other. Further, there is the danger that pastoral care systems may drift into becoming mainly disciplinary agencies. The reality of pastoral care may differ sharply from the high aspirations held out for it in the early comprehensive years. Not only may the priority given to it detract from the essential teaching function but many teachers not directly involved in it feel that it is merely a nuisance, a thrashing bore, an impossible, impractical and largely unnecessary diversion from the real job of teaching (see, for example, Best, Jarvis and Robbins, 1980). It is argued by Hamblin (1978) and Marland (1974) that pastoral work is better conceived as an integral part of all teaching. Few schools, however, seem to have rejected the pastoral care ideology as a legitimate explanation for the awarding of promotion to relatively non-teaching staff.

The roots of this foreshadowed problem lie in the emergence of the large school for all from the two previously somewhat distinct systems of grammar and secondary modern schools. Teachers were trained for and experienced in either selective schools where high expectations were held by all interested parties for their pupils, or they were trained for and experienced in non-selective schools where quite different expectations normally existed. It is generally accepted that non-selective school teachers better

understood and were more accustomed to coping with less parental support, with pupils who had learning and behavioural difficulties and in situations where schooling had to be legitimated in terms broader than examination success. They frequently perceived themselves as more competent in terms of knowledge and capability in this respect than ex-grammar school teachers. Grammar school staff, meanwhile, were acknowledged to be more competent in terms of subject knowledge. Given the opportunities for teachers with these different lived experiences and different perceptions about school objectives, these two groups of staff tended to move into two distinct career patterns within the comprehensive school. The simple convenience of fitting staff to the perceived needs of the larger school, giving some staff appropriate subject work and others more pastoral care work, was never fully endorsed by teachers or by educationalists, but within the legend of pastoral needs and the reality of controlling large numbers its existence emerged as legitimate. John (1980:90) however, examines what teachers in pastoral posts actually do and concludes that 'guidance' would better describe their activities. It would seem a short step from collating information about pupil learning, assessing pupil strengths and weaknesses, proposing remedies, to 'the supervision' of the work of other teachers. The extent to which 'pastoral' is now perceived as both 'supervisory' and 'dominant', and how such an unintended consequence of

early staff placement decisions has been developed and sustained by the action of teachers in daily episodes of situated interaction is one issue examined here.

Currently, a number of local education authorities have sought to revive grammar school education without waiting for the first thoroughly comprehensive intake to leave the schools. Public anxiety about standards combined with a belief that many talented and able pupils have either deserted the State system or been neglected within it, appear to underlie this concern. The need for a substantive evaluation of comprehensive schooling must accept the challenge posed by the dichotomy between classroom and supervisory staff in large schools. Comprehensive schooling, accountability, and the reduction in resources available for schools have been three significant issues for the generation of teachers now in mid-career. While the historical dimension may, as Macuse (1964:98) claims, give rise to dangerous insights and any established institution may be apprehensive about its subversive content, its examination is an essential prerequisite. Since the critical sense is considered by some sociologists to be inextricably rooted in the historical sense (Giroux, 1981:39) a brief review of these three issues is attempted. In the first place the creation of large comprehensive schools, in particular where this involved the merger of grammar and secondary modern schools at the same time as the school leaving age

was raised and scale posts in the salary structure emphasised, created staffing problems. The qualities (subject knowledge, class control and efficient organisation) regarded as the personal attributes of all teachers were allocated as the financially rewarded responsibilities of some members of staff rather than others. It often transpired that the assumed preference of ex-grammar school staff for subject centred work and that of ex-secondary modern school staff for pastoral care and organization led to the allocation of posts for technical/academic work (heads of subject department) and for organisation and pastoral care (heads of year groups) to different types of teachers. In the absence of any real guide-lines from employers, the organisation and pastoral care posts were expected to tackle those administrative tasks placed under stress by both changes in society and the sheer size and complexity of the schools. Their identification with attempts to solve this central nest of problems may also have been one root of the current situation that helped the pastoral/ administrative career line to become the dominant career line. In the second place 'accountability' led to stress being laid upon the classroom teacher to produce results and upon the head of subject for chasing his subject staff to produce them. The relatively non-classroom subject teachers may have been able to both sidestep this requirement and to align themselves with those who were requesting the evidence. By relatively non-classroom subject teachers

I refer to those who have accepted to a smaller or larger extent administrative or pastoral responsibilities that substantially reduce their major commitment to teaching basic subjects. They include year tutors, heads of school and their assistants, senior teachers, deputy heads and the head. All these staff had less timetabled-classroom teaching commitments than subject teachers at all levels. A closer look at what these commitments actually were also revealed some distancing from readily accountable examination courses or basic literacy/numeracy courses.

Diagram 6. Programmed timetable periods (max. 40)

Head	6
Deputy heads	14
Senior Teachers Head of schools	16 - 20
Deputy head of schools	30
Year Tutors	30
Subject classroom teachers	34
Heads of subjects Scale 4.	32
Heads of subjects Scale 3.	33
Librarians	27

This process of distancing themselves from 'real' teaching quantitatively and qualitatively may well have contributed to the speed at which they began to adopt

supervisory and surveillance functions. To organize may have included not only programming where subjects will be taught, by whom and when, but also the design, planning and frequency of evaluation procedures. After all, they needed such results too, to draw up a full profile of pupil attainment and potential for parents and employers as well as local education authorities and school governors. In the third place, the education cuts, those finance led decisions, decisions of administrative convenience, that were in pursuit of economically viable procedures, gave little priority to educational arguments. The needs of society and the development of subjects that exploit modern technological progress are the criteria preferred in the 1980's in contrast to the needs of the pupil as a person. Aspects of education regarded as mere 'frills' may only be retained if parents invest money and teachers time on a voluntary basis. The management of decline in these conditions appears to demand efficiency rather than innovation, preferring the swift dictated solution and the most cost effective staff-pupil ratios. Meanwhile, basic literacy, basic numeracy and appropriate attitudes to work and activity are to be achieved. The anticipated consequence may be crucial for an evaluation of the quality and disposition of the individual teacher who is programmed to interact in the classroom. Certainly the importance of such quality and disposition has been a relatively unexamined aspect of the distribution of educational

opportunity. If teachers are either 'sidetracked' into merely pastoral/administrative roles, or find that teaching roles are devalued the forecast expected increase in educational opportunity through comprehensive education may be thwarted.

To be competent, it was claimed in chapter one, was to be accepted and recognized as a 'qualified' member of an institution because the teacher knows implicitly perhaps, enough about the culture of the school to be able to function adequately within it. It may be anticipated as one of the foreshadowed issues arising from these arguments that a dominant staff group, able to define what is more valued, sacred and worthwhile educational activity, in a position to draw more freely upon structural property resources, should be able to make their definition of the situation actually count. This may be assisted, should they also be able to circumscribe and marginalize the daily routines of the classroom/subject teacher, by excluding them from confidential information, by refusing access to decision making processes and thus eventually disqualifying such staff from 'competence in professional terms'. Any process, rational or merely convenient that splits the personal attributes and focusses attention and responsibility for one or other of them relatively exclusively in the hands of one type of teacher may be a dangerous dichotomy because it provides the conditions for two competing groups of staff; two competing career

structures. Whether such a split exists, as the literature and teacher folk-lore suggests, and whether its existence does lead to the denegration of academic work (including the status and disposition of those staff mainly associated with it) and to the establishment of a dominant surveillance staff group is an important dimension of the foreshadowed problems advanced here.

3.3 Initial hermeneutic experience - the process explained.

To seek some support for the importance of these foreshadowed problems and to sharpen the focus of the methodology selected it was decided to formally interview a random sample of thirteen headteachers in middle and secondary schools, drawn from a West Midland local education authority. The purpose here was to interview a random sample of headteachers from both large schools (c 1000 pupils) and smaller schools (c 500 pupils). The random sampling procedure gave five heads of large and six heads of small schools. Their age and experience varied from a young thirty-five year old head in his first year to an experienced sixty year old nearing the end of a twenty year career as a head. My intention was to obtain a substantial grasp of management perceptions prior to spending the major study with teachers in the schools. To identify too closely with the heads of the major fieldwork schools would hopefully be less necessary as

a consequence of this initial exercise. Two extended interviews were held in the schools over a period of two months. Permission to approach these headteachers was achieved by asking a colleague to approach the local authority official responsible for staffing who had played for a staff soccer team as a guest player on several occasions and shown considerable interest in the work being done in the college of education in which I am employed. It is likely that approval was given more on the basis of who was going to carry out the interviews than on the basis of what the interviews were to be about. Unfortunately, this official was promoted out of the area before the research began and his successor handled the formal application. Although he had been acquainted with the fieldwork proposal and made aware of the provisional approval granted by his predecessor he did not know me and requested more details of the actual research itself - precisely what questions it was intended to ask the interviewees. Prepared direct questions were the very items the technique adopted sought to avoid. The approach involved creating an interview situation where the headteacher would introduce issues they perceived as important rather than respond to questions linked to my perception of what were important issues. The plan was to give the headteacher a report of an incident (Appendix 1) and to note the comments the incident solicited. These comments would consequently be followed up with probing questions in order to elaborate

the issues they selected. I hoped that they would raise issues such as school size, teacher qualities and disposition, teacher roles, the need for teacher surveillance, and the qualities sought in appointments and promotions. This interviewing technique was explained to the local authority official and he seemed to doubt that such a technique would elicit any useful information. There was some evidence that his scepticism about the technique itself (it was unlikely in his opinion to produce any sound evidence that would embarrass the local authority), combined with the private nature of its funding and my status as a teacher trainer, led to his decision to approve the fieldwork. However, such approval was granted subject to some degree of surveillance and control. A list of heads involved in the sample, a copy of my letter of introduction to the heads (Appendix 2) and at a later stage a report of the fieldwork, was to be sent to him. Permission granted, a letter introducing the interviewer indicating local authority approval for the approach, explaining in broadest terms the purpose of the study, sponsorship source, method of selecting respondents, method of recording interviews and the crucial confidentiality and anonymity that was guaranteed, was despatched to the random sample of heads. The letter mentioned an imminent telephone call that would be following to arrange the initial interview. Eleven of the thirteen headteachers agreed to assist with the research fieldwork. The two refusals came from one

head who claimed to be too busy with his/her own studies and another who claimed to always refuse such requests on principle. Some time was spent arranging a mutually convenient time for each initial interview. This arrangement was made through the school secretary and I made a point of arriving promptly, dressing formally and leaving at the end of the prescribed hour, however interested the head may have been in prolonging the interview. This acknowledged how valuable I considered their time to be but also recognised my need to copy up my field notes. The use of a tape recorder may have eased this aspect of the situation but it may also have been recognised by the heads as too accurate and permanent a record of our conversation. Without a tape recorder they could always deny that they made a particular controversial point. On balance it was thus decided not to use a tape recorder and notes were taken in all the interviews and copied up immediately afterwards. Each initial interview began slightly differently, as the time from greeting to giving a copy of the incident varied according to the proximity of the place where the greeting occurred to the place of interview and the quantity of small talk that occupied the time. I tried to use this time to raise some initial observation about the school that showed I was no stranger to teaching or to the classroom but an observation that did not imply criticism of the school. In four of these initial interviews the headteachers were particularly keen to talk about some

of the problems I was interested in. They began immediately to talk about changes in school size and the qualities of teachers we were now training for the profession. It was judged inappropriate to break into the natural flow of the conversation in order to tackle the specific typed incident (Appendix 1). They were, after all, discussing the issues hoped for without direct questions being asked and a good rapport was developing. The probing and elaborating process was therefore started immediately. In the other seven cases, however, I began the initial interview, after the initial pleasantries, by introducing the incident as planned. My overall objectives in addition to eliciting information pertinent to the foreshadowed issues, were to observe, listen and record, to establish a good rapport so that they would think about our conversation afterwards. The impact of the first interview was considered a vital determinant of the value of the information that further probing would achieve on the second occasion. In each case I entered the second interview which was held four weeks later, seeking to link it with the issues elicited in the first one and seeking to notice any inconsistencies, contradictions or developments. This second interview included a number of non-directed questions designed as triggers to stimulate the interviewee to talk further about particular broad areas of the initial interview discussion (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:113).

While a distinction was made in the analysis between solicited and unsolicited accounts, all accounts were examined as phenomena occurring in a specific episode of situated interaction, that of a relatively influential, prominent and informed headteacher in conversation with the fieldworker who was a college lecturer concerned with teacher education. The aim was to interpret the data obtained within these parameters - acknowledging the reflexive character of this type of data collection. It was acknowledged that the heads may well have given different accounts of the situation to others or to the fieldworker on other occasions. The attempt to reassure them of absolute discretion and confidentiality appears crucial here.

The data collected in these interviews and the foreshadowed problems discussed earlier were analysed in a manner designed to echo the more substantive analysis in the main study schools. A process of dismantling the data and re-ordering it was pursued. This implies a rejection of the alternative forms of analysis; the natural history (Atkinson, 1981), the chronological (Goffman, 1961), narrowing and expanding the focus (Lacey, 1970) and the separation of narrative and analysis (Willis, 1977). It involves focussing attention upon a number of issues, bringing together those raised in the foreshadowed problems, and the interviews themselves. This strategy, while

it involves an attempt to substantiate and illustrate the issues that have been broadly raised elsewhere, follows no established form of theories that may restrict its creative potential (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:215) but at this stage in the exercise it is acknowledged that it may merely substantiate the legend in 'the front room' rather than penetrate through to the reality of 'the back room'. Inseeking to remain faithful to the ethnographic principles of fidelity to the phenomena under study it stresses the importance of identifying and using interviewees own categories and vocabularies in seeking to make sense of their culture in the words they used. It may be reasonably claimed that those issues that emerge here as important from the headteachers perspective (this random sample from one local education authority) do sharpen the focus provided there is collaborative evidence from published material on similar schools. They are important issues for discussion, debate and action, for competent and knowledgeable members of the school as an institution. The following ethnographic description is one method of processing observed phenomena such that we can inductively construct a theory of how our interviewees have organised the same phenomena (see Knorr-Cetina, 1981:4).

3.4 Initial hermeneutic experience - the results analysed.

My proposal is that these headteachers organised their perceptions (using their vocabularies and categories) around four issues, 'small is beautiful', 'teachers need close supervision', 'teaching is no spectator sport' and 'pastoral eclipses the academic'.

i. 'Small is beautiful'.

The precise stage at which a school ceases to be small and takes on the organisational problems of a large school was perceived by these headteachers as somewhere between five hundred and eight hundred pupils (twentyfive to thirtyfive staff). Small schools were unanimously appreciated by all six heads of smaller schools. It was felt that communication could be human and intimate. There was less need to delegate and written job descriptions were generally unnecessary. One head could control the whole exercise. A head with thirtyfive years school experience said:

> 'My school - I am responsible but I can be responsible because it is not too large. I can do my own thing despite pressure from outside. I can keep my fingers on what is going on. If there is a problem I can deal with it myself. There is no need to write down school aims and objectives: I embody them.'

Another head in his fifties put it this way:

> 'Small means using everyone 100%. The larger you get the less you need them all. It doesn't matter if teacher 'A' or pupil 'A' fails to get good results in the large school because teachers 'B' and 'C', or pupils 'B' and 'C' will. There is always someone whose success is good enough to justify the whole enterprise, to boast about to parents and to divert attention from the schools fault to that of the individual pupil.'

The first head here perceives 'control' as the major advantage of small schools and the second head 'achievement'. In small schools there may be a more direct influence of the head over the quality of the education offered. Delegation certainly worried headteachers of smaller schools because of the perceived need to trust those to whom responsibilities were delegated. They said that their colleagues in larger schools regularly mentioned how lucky they were not to have to delegate. Bureaucracy tends to increase as attempts are made to overcome lack of trust. 'The status of the written word increases inversely proportionate to the lack of trust.' Job descriptions, agreed school procedures and explicit statements of school aims, school reports and internal memoranda, all take up valuable teaching time and distance the bureaucrat from the situation. A newly appointed head aware of the need to reduce his bureaucratic image and his distance from the staff, claimed that 'bureaucrats can't be easily approached personally, professionals can - that is why I

maintain an open door approach, available to any member of staff, pupil or parent as far as possible.' Delegation, meanwhile, was a fact of life for head-teachers of larger schools. All five, however, decried job descriptions, were very anxious about increasing bureaucracy and the way this distracted so many of their staff from teaching. Job descriptions invariably stressed the administrative, pastoral and supervisory, at the expense of the professional. They discouraged initiative and created situations where jobs were left to specified individuals. On the other hand it was agreed that you could not reduce teaching jobs, whatever the size of the school, to suit administrative descriptions; teaching was a process of unpredictable human interaction. All five heads had some form of management team to cope with size. This management team included deputy heads and heads of lower, middle and upper school, but not a single head of subject department. Two of these heads mentioned the lack of respect some heads of academic departments had for some heads of year and heads of school.

> 'I am well aware that a definite danger can be said to lie in situations where my academic staff can't have respect for my administrators and where these administrators begin to stress their supervisory capacity.'
>
> 'My heads of year sometimes go too far and actually try to over-rule academic staff decisions about pupils'.

Heads supervision of their own administrative staff was carried out by regular 'senior management staff meetings'. These took place in school time and were regarded as the unit of collegiate management for the larger school. Delegation appeared to mean delegation of some working responsibility to administrative staff who acted as surrogate head-teachers for identifiable areas of the head of smaller schools total responsibility. In all five schools no academic subject head attended any of these meetings. Regular 'senior management staff meetings' provided some coherence and control, but in all five cases, despite protestations about the increase in bureaucracy, agreed school procedures, job descriptions and statements of school objectives, generated a great deal of argument and paperwork for team members. Size, however, was justified in three of the five cases because it meant a substantial sixth form, a better range of subject choice and because it attracted a better qualified graduate that gave the school academic style. Size, however, was a key dimension in the way all eleven headteachers conceptualized the phenomena of school organisation.

2. 'Teachers need close supervision'.

Three heads of smaller schools considered that their teachers were not as professional, in their opinion, as they ought to be or used to be. Only a minority would make good headteachers. Even one newly

appointed head who began by claiming that he treated all teachers as potential heads, joined in the condemnation of those teachers trained in the late 60's and early 70's. This is a selection of their relevant comments:

> 'Dress, manners, courtesy, marking books, etc., are not as high a standard as they used to be.'
>
> 'Ritual and attention to detail in the classroom is declining.'
>
> 'They don't even address each other formally.'
>
> 'Lower standards are now accepted ..... no pattern, just generally about one third of staff are simply careless.'

Here we have echoes of the traditional paternalism of the English headteacher (see Coulson, 1976, Nias, 1980). It is typically argued that as the headteacher has identified with his school and overemphasised his responsibilities for all that goes on in it, he has become less confident of the ability of many teachers to perform their jobs adequately without supervision (see Caspari, 1965, Cook and Mack, 1971). It is further claimed elsewhere that the status of the head permits him to control the activities of teachers in a manner more appropriate to workers performing routine skills than to relatively autonomous professionals (see Hoyle, 1969). Heads believed that society expected them to embody implicitly the aims of the school, to determine curriculum, to control

timetable, to distribute finance, to select staff and to dominate communication networks. Only decisions endorsed by the head survived. He was expected to protect his staff from parental criticism and consequently supervised their work closely to avoid such criticism in the first place. In brief, he seeks teacher commitment to aims determined by him and teacher loyalty to his school. Heads of smaller schools, in particular, appeared to spend a lot of time bringing pressure to bear on their teachers to do their job properly. Heads used parental pressure (X's father has complained -) and the allocation of equipment to bring this pressure to bear. One young headteacher described how he dealt with substantive parental complaints. He began by protecting the teacher initially, accepting the complaint and the responsibility for doing something about it. The teacher was fully informed of the complaint and of the fact that the parent had been invited to return a month later to see how well the fault had been remedied. It was difficult, however, to achieve much success in this or any other way if the teacher was one sent to him by the local authority as 'a body to stand in front of the class'. Another head who had had teaching experience in schools abroad exploited parental pressure by inviting parents to meet their children's teacher before the planned annual course of work began. Teacher and parent

discussed targets for the year and parents were subsequently invited back at the end of the year to examine progress. This technique, he claimed, combined with monthly progress reports to parents, tended 'to keep the teacher on his toes!' A dimension of teacher failure as they saw it was a lack of technical proficiency.

> 'Willingness and concern must be combined with capacity. By capacity I mean thoroughly structured courses in reading, mathematics and science in particular. These courses must stress awareness, observation, evidence, reasoning, questioning, tentative conclusions and not be just random, repetitive and unstructured.'

This same head argued that all courses must be for real, no dabbling, everything done thoroughly. A recently appointed head of a smaller school claimed that, 'all good teachers build pupil confidence by identifying and encouraging real talent ..... each child has something ..... find it and use it.' Heads complained that besides this lack of technical ability teachers had low aspiration levels for their own performance. They did not perceive the need for more ambitious and inspiring work. Heads were clear, however, that their own job was to supervise, to give professional example, to raise aspiration levels, but at the same time to provide support and technical training.

'The heads job is to widen horizons within a secure context ..... to take teachers beyond apprehension. Teachers may not be as professional as they used to be but it may be good leadership that is required.'

A crucial factor is that such comments were exclusively made by the heads of smaller schools. Such heads were in a position to directly supervise and to elicit innovation. It was clearly accepted by them as their responsibility and as one they could carry out. In addition, their proximity to the teaching/learning situation made them immediately conscious of the problems They talked about it at some length during the interviews and felt that they could make confident statements about it. The heads of larger schools meanwhile, had a different task. They had been forced by the sheer size of the school to delegate and consequently to live at least one stage removed from reality. There were at least two sides to this coin. On the one hand, 'teachers were more likely to get away with shoddy work in the larger school because the head couldn't keep an eye on them and his deputies lacked the status to really interfere .....' but on the other hand, 'good teachers may not be acknowledged simply because no one is really aware of their quality'. One head of a large school admitted that he knew he ought to be letting his staff know when he was pleased with their successes but he didn't have enough information and certainly not enough time to do it properly. The head,

alone, can no longer efficiently survey all in the larger school. It may be concluded from the evidence that there was little doubt about the tradition of head teacher surveillance of teacher work, some concensus about the continuing need for it, and simply a lack of experience of how to make such surveillance efficient in the larger school. The need for surveillance appears beyond question. How to do it effectively in the larger school is problematic. An opportunity exists for some group of staff to step in and assist the head with his surveillance role. It is proposed that the new breed of pastoral, administrative staff may be doing just that.

3. 'Teaching is no spectator sport'.

Six of the smaller school heads stressed the security preferred by the teacher in the classroom. There was apprehension attached to innovation, open plan classrooms and in the control of disruptive pupils. The headteachers located the cause jointly in the lack of technical expertise and in the constant threat to their self-confidence posed by pupil misbehaviour.

> 'My main problem in introducing change or any new idea lies in the anxiety teachers have that someone will be watching them.'

An experienced head of a smaller school noted that

> 'Both children and teacher require the security of the traditional

> classroom for most of the day. Open plan led to insecurity. The teachers responded by building their own walls with filing cabinets, visual aids, blackboards ..... They can only explore and experiment from a secure home ..... their own classroom. Teaching is not a spectator sport ..... performance can be very personal.'

The same head elaborated further by claiming that

> 'Where technical expertise is obvious or not so easily measured, teachers don't mind going public. Music, drama, dance, art, and even taking the football team, is O.K., but when it comes to handling disruptive pupils or objectionable parents they rush for the small room and close the door.'

The combined effects of raising the school leaving age, the arrival of ethnic minority groups, in particular those from the West Indies, and the sheer size of the schools, may mean that disruptive pupils have a disproportionate effect upon time and personel allocation. 'Not only', claimed one head, 'is there more demand for less public places to deal with disruptive pupils but few of the techniques available leave the teacher with much dignity'. The experienced head of the largest school visited stated that:

> 'There were escalating problems for children, increasingly we must take into account their troubled backgrounds. They are disturbed by social problems beyond the control of the school. A disproportionate amount of time is given to them at the expense of the majority.'

The evidence presented here, and similar statements from other heads, pointed to an increase in the number of disruptive pupil incidents and the difficulties most teachers experienced trying to handle such incidents with dignity in public places. Real teaching was recognised as requiring proper conditions, secure classrooms, teachers in the 'right' disposition to inspire learning ..... not harrassed by disruptive pupils ..... and teachers beyond apprehension in terms of subject knowledge and technical capacity. This later point about subject technical knowledge was mentioned regularly. In-service teachers courses did not appear to stress further subject knowledge sufficiently. Many teachers simply did not have enough grasp of their subject to inspire pupils to enjoy the learning experience. Disruption was frequently as much a product of poor teaching from this point of view, as it was a product of social problems imported into the school. In summary, the headteachers perceived teachers preference for working behind closed doors as due to lack of subject knowledge, and technical teaching ability. Improve these aspects and they would be beyond apprehension. However, teachers themselves may have quite different perceptions of the state of affairs. They may be rejecting surveillance in the only way available to them. The major analysis may help to throw some light on this issue.

4. 'Pastoral eclipses the academic'

One head of a smaller school claimed that he sought teachers who cared, who thought about the purpose of education and who were technically competent but he had these attributes in an order of priority. 'I agree,' he said, 'that we have to compensate for hostile home relationships but we must be aware of the big pitfall ..... to become a mere social worker who is not offering the special school contribution to society - that of knowledge and skill.'

> 'In all schools,' another head commented, 'there is a danger that teachers become too emotionally involved in pastoral work. They often delight to be involved. It takes time out of the classroom and it provides an escape from the detailed account-ability for curriculum progress. Teachers have low levels of technical knowledge anyway. Non-classroom based pastoral work may lead to loss of sight of the real purpose. Genuine pastoral work means getting involved, dealing with learning related problems and passing on the extreme cases to the support services (educational psychologists, etc.). The creation of a special pastoral post in a smaller school would be regarded as an affront to the real teacher.'

It is interesting, if relevant, to note that pastoral posts were initially unique to larger schools and to posts created on the basis of points awarded for salary purposes.

> 'While pastoral work structures may be quite justifiable in their own right, they may well be an unintended consequence of having to offer additional points to get teachers to do pastoral/administrative work.'
>
> (Head of larger school)

All five heads of the larger schools claimed that the pastoral system grew in status as heads used it to provide careers for non-academic certificated teachers from the secondary modern schools. Those who could not make it academically soon saw this interesting opportunity to advance their careers. 'Pastoral posts', claimed one head, 'were taken by the career orientated who often could not make it academically in the reorganization of the 1970's.'

> 'Applicants for pastoral posts should be successful classroom teachers, but generally there has been a tendency for them to be teachers who saw subject based promotion blocked and who were less well qualified academically.'

The heads appeared unanimous about the nature of these pastoral posts and they made a number of statements that gave the impression that they did not fully endorse what had happened and were fully aware of the dangers that could ensue. They saw that the staff had drifted into two career ladders and such a structure was at best unwise. They pointed out that 'heads of academic subjects could find promotion blocked due to a lack of adequate or recognized pastoral experience.'

'Pastoral staff can colonize pastoral work, taking away the 'care' from the classroom subject teacher. They can act as a counsellor to whom pupils may complain, a sympathetic ear that gets a distorted view and not infrequently acts accordingly.'

'Teachers who see the pastoral/administrative career ladder as an attractive alternative may emphasise welfare and control at the expense of talent development, knowledge and/or skill.'

'Pastoral care as these teachers begin to see it, is increasingly becoming synonymous with administration, supervision and even surveillance.'

3.5 Conclusion and Summary.

In summary, on the basis of both the evidence from the reviewed published material and the data summarized from the interview procedures, a number of foreshadowed problems may be confidently listed. The sheer size and complexity of the new comprehensive site of secondary school education for all pupils, irrespective of ability, has created organisational demands that may imperil the quality and the disposition of those teachers who are programmed to interact inspirationally with a class of pupils through a thoroughly structured syllabus. The roots of this problem is perceived to lie in the emergence of two competing career ladders, one for classroom subject staff and another for pastoral administrative staff. Both the literature survey and the initial hermeneutic

experience acknowledge this situation but no-one appears to be in favour of it. Size itself is perceived to have generated a group of staff who spend considerable time away from the classroom. If pastoral staff may be claimed to have colonized social welfare and broader educational concerns, subject classroom staff have emerged as the only ones responsible for assisting pupils to reach acceptable standards of performance. However, pastoral staff appear to have drifted into, being responsible for disruptive pupils, being the guardians of confidential information and the source of administrative reports required by external agencies. Since the supervision of teacher activity has always been a headteacher responsibility, once they are forced to delegate due to the sheer size of the schools, the surveillance of the work done by other teachers has drifted in many cases into the hands of the delegated headteachers, the pastoral administrative staff. Whether, in reality, the pastoral staff are now the 'supervisors' and academic/technical staff the 'doers', is yet to be substantiated. The following chapters will attempt to analyse issues of this kind through the theory-data dialogue. It is important to remember that this issue is still merely a tentative foreshadowed problem and the object of the further theory/empirical analysis is to pursue the matter to see if this or other issues emerge as substantiated during the process of the study.

In terms of the social theory introduced earlier it is also necessary to begin the major study by explicitly stating the above foreshadowed problems and those equally explicit blueprints set out by the social theory argued for in Chapter Two. The specific tasks are identified as:

a) the extent to which teachers as human agents in the schools are knowledgeable at the level of discursive consciousness, e.g. about these two career ladders, and the implications of such perceptions for the quality and disposition of the classroom subject teacher.

b) the competence and capability of staff groups to draw upon the structural properties (rules and resources) available to them in the school to make their definition of the situation actually count.

c) the effects of the escape of activity from the intentions of the initiators; the extent to which the unintended consequences of action taken by various groups of staff contribute to the identification of critical counterfactual points.

CHAPTER 4

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT OF THE THEORY/DATA DIALOGUE

PART I - The issues that emerge substantiated in the interview situation.

4.1 The fieldwork schools.

4.2 Access to the fieldwork schools and initial organisation of the interviews.

4.3 The participant observation - context and preparation.

4.4 The issues that emerged substantiated in the interview situation:

(a) Promotion for pastoral staff.

(b) Pastoral staff are rarely qualified to teach 'real' subjects and possess delegated headteacher authority.

(c) Supervisory staff interactions with other teachers are predominantly of a 'commanding nature' and rarely involve 'consultation'.

(d) Supervisory staff take steps to devalue the subject department heads and the work they co-ordinate and carry out.

(e) The range of ability across the fully comprehensive intake.

4.5 A summary of the issues that emerged substantiated mainly from the interview situation.

4.1 The fieldwork schools.

Two midland comprehensive schools were selected for the collection of ethnographic data. Both schools were comprehensive schools, created by the amalgamation of existing schools and had accepted a comprehensive intake for seven years at the time this fieldwork began in 1981. They were mixed with approximately 1000 pupils and 50 staff in each school. School A was created by the merger of three established schools, a girls grammar school, a girls secondary modern school and a boys secondary modern school. From the day they merged it took a fully comprehensive intake and was located on two sites, lower and upper school sites. School B was created by the merger of two established Grammar schools, one boys and one girls. From the day it merged, it took a fully comprehensive intake and was located entirely on one site. Appendices four to ten give details of staff as they were in the final year of the fieldwork period, including posts held, gender, qualifications, origin in merged schools or prior appointments, with particular reference to where pastoral and academic staff came from, their qualifications and the nature of internal promotions and external appointments during the fieldwork period.

In both schools the number of new appointments over the seven years after amalgamation exceeded the number of staff that remained from the merged establishments.

Table 4.1 - Original Staff and New Appointments.

	Original	New
School A	22	29
School B	22	28

Newly appointed staff were more numerous in the Scale 2 and Scale 1 posts than in the Scale 3 and above posts in both schools.

Table 4.2 - Scale posts held by original and by new staff.

	Original		New	
	Scales 1 and 2	Scales 3 and 4 and above	Scales 1 and 2	Scales 3 and 4 and above
School A	9	13	16	13
School B	8	14	18	10

The total number of surviving staff from the merged schools was roughly equivalent in each school. The smaller number from the girls secondary modern school in School A reflects the smaller original size of that school. Newly appointed staff were almost entirely from other comprehensive schools, initial training or industry.

Table 4.3 - Origins of newly appointed staff.

	Comp.	Coll./ Univ.	Industry	Grammar School
School A	14	13	2	0
School B	13	11	1	3

The two schools differed in the origins of their pastoral staff post holders. In School B there were less post holders - eleven instead of fourteen - and 72% of these posts were held by surviving staff of the two merged grammar schools. Six of the eleven pastoral posts here were held by surviving staff of the girls grammar school in contrast to none of the similar posts at School A. The policy to stress pastoral posts was acknowledged by the relatively new head of School B (two years in post at the start of the field work) as a recent phenomenon. He saw heads of year as more senior post holders than the head of School A. His heads of year (School B) included a head of department (practical subject Scale 4), a science teacher who combined responsibility for careers with head of year Scale 3, a maths teacher who held a Scale 3 for his year tutor post and two staff on Scale 2 year tutor posts. This was in sharp contrast to the Scale 2 posts held by all year tutors in School A. In addition, in School A, only 30% of the pastoral posts were held by staff from the merged schools and the rest held by new appointments from either other

comprehensive schools or direct from initial training. The heads of subjects, meanwhile, at both schools appeared evenly distributed between surviving merged staff and newly appointed staff (see Appendix eight).

Table 4.4 - Origins of heads of subjects in both Schools. (Summary of Appendix eight).

	Merged	Appointed from Comprehensive	Elsewhere
School A	8	5	0
School B	7	5	1 (grammar)

The distribution of qualifications in subjects and in education was not strikingly different for the various subject head and pastoral post holders in School B. A number of the merged grammar school staff had remained because the selected intake had been combined grammar schools up to the year before the fieldwork occurred and staff of the girls grammar school, in particular, had taken pastoral posts. However, both the origins of School A's merger, its inclusion of two secondary modern schools, its failure of the girls grammar school staff to survive significantly and its deliberate policy of promoting young staff qualified in education (teachers certificate in particular) to pastoral posts at Scale 2 level has

led to a difference in the balance of qualifications between post holders in the two schools.

Table 4.5 - Qualifications of pastoral and academic post holders.

Pastoral Post holders.	Degree in subject or degree equivalent	Degrees or Certificate in education
School A	5	9
School B	9	2
Heads of subjects		
School A	8	5
School B	10	3

It may be expected that the staff in School A would be more aware of the two career ladders and of the competition for influence between them. Their staff included secondary modern school survivors and there had been a deliberate policy to use Scale 2 promotions for pastoral responsibilities. Pastoral post holders here (in School A) were more numerous and less well qualified in subject areas. Throughout the fieldwork the speculative proposal that there would be a difference between these two schools in the incidence and intensity of expressed opinions and in the nature of the episodes of situated interaction was an acknowledged foreshadowed problem. However, the significance of the internal

promotions and external appointments that occurred during the fieldwork period (issues discussed fully later), were an important contemporary influence upon staff perceptions of the situation (see Appendix ten). The number of internal promotions that were for pastoral responsibilities, the fact that these became available due to both retirement and the further promotion of pastoral staff to more senior pastoral posts elsewhere and the high percentage of such posts that went to staff who already had pastoral experience, had not gone unnoticed by the staff of either school. Appendix ten gives the details of promotions and appointments in the fieldwork period, illustrating clearly the dynamic nature of promotion opportunities for pastoral staff and the relatively static alternative for subject classroom staff.

4.2 Access to the fieldwork schools and the initial organisation of the interviews.

Both headteachers were known to the researcher and had agreed informally to the fieldwork before the formal requests were made. A formal letter requesting permission to carry out the fieldwork was sent to the Chairman of Governors of both schools (see Appendix three). The letter was copied to the headteachers. It was honest but vague reflecting the potentially delicate nature of the activities and to some extent the open ended

nature of the anticipated emergent issues. The first paragraph included a request for help, an indication of the status of the research and some explanation of what I would be doing. The second paragraph set out to be more informative, indicating the general area of the issue under investigation, an appeal to teacher expertise and a brief statement that honestly stated the focus of the research. The final paragraph offered reciprocal benefits, emphasized strictest confidence and made a final request for assistance.

In both cases, the application was carefully discussed and agreed by the governors after each headteacher had confirmed their full support for the exercise. Access obtained, the key person in the next stage in this operation could not be the headteacher. As gate-keepers, they had both been largely responsible for the smooth running of the access procedures but it was now the time to limit identification with them and to consult effectively with the persons who controlled teacher timetables and teacher availability. Several preliminary visits were made to assess the best time of year to be in school and to bring the deputy heads responsible for timetabling into the picture. Spring term was selected as the interviewing term in both schools because of the relatively settled nature of school activities. The school year, courses and class arrangements have achieved a

degree of routine but have not yet become involved in the anxieties that pervade the summer examination process. It was agreed that all formal staff interviews would be held during their free periods. While this may be initially seen as an imposition upon the scarce free time staff have available for planning and marking, it did guarantee that they would not have to 'cover' for other absent teachers during that period. The combined effects of a 'no cover' guarantee and a chance to air their views on matters about which they had expertise and about which most staff appeared to be rarely consulted, was judged to overcome their anxieties about missing time for marking and preparation. Arrangements to interview administrative staff were much easier because of their more flexible commitments. This free period interviewing procedure meant flexible visiting arrangements, booked in advance. The waiting time was the ideal time to carry out the participant observation. The planning, however, required the full and enthusiastic help of the timetable deputy and in both schools this assistance was generously and enthusiastically given. In the process of arranging these matters in the first school, I showed a special interest in a problem they were having in one area of the school teaching programme. This was part of my planned policy; to recognise that the school would expect me to reciprocate their help by giving advice and assistance in areas of my expertise that were not

related to the field research. I offered help and advice, and consequently found myself teaching a programme of work one morning a week throughout the spring term. This exercise did, no doubt help to make my presence in the school more welcome but limited the time I had available for observations and for interviews. It became apparent after only two weeks that relationships with the staff were such that my anxieties about being accepted sufficiently to be able to carry out my fieldwork were unfounded. The teaching programme, interesting and useful as it was in its own right, was merely distracting me from the major aspects of the field work and wasting valuable time. I did not repeat the offer at the second school. The time subsequently made available for more observation and informal discussion was judged preferable.

There were two clearly defined objectives. On the one hand, staff were to be interviewed formally and informally, and on the other, I was to observe and record incidents of situated interaction related to my areas of interest. In almost every case, teachers welcomed an opportunity to discuss their problems in a situation where confidentiality and trust had been established, where no consequences for future conditions of work or promotion prospects were involved and where a sympathetic but informed ear was available.

Confidentiality was stressed and the interview always took place in a private office, prep-room or work area. The object was to ensure that teachers felt relaxed on their own territory and safe from intrusion. In the introductory period in particular an attempt was made to:

a) establish rapport with all the staff, by being friendly even when their disposition or reputation might predispose their attitude to being interviewed,

b) avoid becoming identified with any group of staff, with gatekeeper or timetabler in particular,

c) avoid being drawn into public discussion about the purpose of fieldwork (in detail).

This final point was the most difficult because staff were naturally curious about this visitor who appeared regularly to be 'hanging about earnestly talking, just listening or watching'. The question was asked both publically in a group setting and privately at lunch or over coffee. The better the relationship established the more likely such questions were asked. It was considered crucial to avoid informal discussions, even on my terms, prior to the formal interview. The teaching programme in the first school did help here because it provided a topic to talk about. If asked, 'What exactly are you here for?', I was able to

discuss the teaching programme in detail and my fieldwork vaguely. In the second school, in the absence of a teaching programme, a deliberate attempt to avoid informal lunch and coffee discussion opportunities was made at the beginning of the fieldwork. Informal interaction was also purposefully sought with those who had already been interviewed formally. On a number of occasions pressure to discuss the fieldwork was unavoidable. This was only a serious problem when it occurred in public and endangered the confidentiality stressed in the interview situation. It was absolutely crucial not to refer, in any way, to anything anyone had said or may think they had said confidentially in a public setting. Consequently I had a pre-arranged script for such public 'attacks':

> 'I am collecting teachers views on what they think of their working conditions today, in the light of cuts in education and the rise in unemployment.'

If this statement was sufficient to elicit the right kind of 'macro' level discussion about decisions made outside of the school, it was normally safe to permit the conversation to drift. However, when the working conditions included a discussion about the internal dynamics of the school (i.e. distribution of resources and time within the school) I tried to move the conversation by saying:

'In my job I have noticed a drop in recruits. We are interested to know whether pupils are turning away from teaching because it is no longer perceived as an attractive job.'

Anticipating that most teachers would jump at the opportunity to offer a critique of teacher education, this normally transferred the subject of the conversation onto safe ground. In general, I adopted a policy of saying very little at all on these occasions, to listen and to record useful points as soon as possible afterwards. The statement, 'most of the staff I have talked to think' was never used. Only on one occasion was I actually pushed to the point where I was forced to say, "it's confidential really". I was aware of the fact that some staff may be testing my promise of confidentiality prior to offering real information at the interview stage. Unfortunately, I did not identify a clear example of this. Throughout, an attempt was made to minimise the inhibitors of communication, in particular the competing time demands, ego threatening or embarrassing questions or traumatic incidents (see Gordon, 1975). My reactions throughout the interviews sought to allow the interviewee to search for meaning in his or her own experience and to see the exercise as valuable for the future

of the profession and for the quality of the education available to their pupils.

4.3 The participant observation - context and preparation.

My second objective was to observe, record and analyse a selection of routine or unusual incidents of situated interactions. As I argued earlier, following Giddens (1982a:73), what the analyst can actually infer from what he sees people do is at least as important as what they say. Together, the interviews and the participant observation analysis contribute to 'capturing the meaning of everyday life as seen by those under study' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:2). The aim is to contribute to developing social theory through a dialogue between such theory and the emerging evidence. While it may be stated that the development and testing of social theory is the distinctive feature of the dialogue (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:2) this is achieved by the relentless search for the counterfactural point. This attempt to remain anthropologically strange is a major challenge. In the first place, it is necessary to recognise the reflexive character of social research; we are part of the world we study; we cannot escape from the world we study; we cannot

avoid having an effect upon it. The challenge to the ethnographer is to remain at some social and intellectual distance. Being explicit about the foreshadowed problems and the preferred social theory perspective is an essential first stage in this exercise that has already been pursued, but the search for contradictions between what people say is their knowledge about the events that surround them and what are the consequences of what they do, as inferred by the researcher, may be the clearest sign of reflexive activity in the context of critical analysis. The researcher must be explicit about all his relevant anxieties, biases, initial propositions and theoretical preferences.

> 'The impairment of observational ability brought about by anxiety permeates all phases of the observational process, the registering, interpreting and recording of incidents of situated interaction.'
>
> (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955:352).

It was important to be accepted in the school and not to be treated as an absolute outsider. Visiting many schools every year as a teaching practice tutor was advantageous insofar as it had taught me how to become "lost" in a crowded staffroom. It is important not to act over-confidently, to criticise or to become identified with any subset of the staff, to over-dress, or to speak your mind. As far as my biases were concerned, there is no doubt that I have a certain sympathy for the good classroom teacher. My declared interest in structuration

as a social analytic technique and its surrounding social theory as a perspective on society has been explicit. However, I had no vested interest in being right, an alternative plausible explanation emerging from the dialogue between theory and empirical data would have been acceptable.

Participant observers study both the interactions of staff in routine or in unusual episodes, and their own interaction with staff. The observer is part of the context being observed: he is influenced by it and he modifies it (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955:344). The process, itself, has three distinct parts which may be described as the registering, interpreting and recording of episodes. The actual recording inevitably takes place retrospectively. In this significant time gap - normally three hours or more, the observer recreates the event and assesses the various participant attitudes and behaviours. There is the search for collaborative evidence, the checking of his own perceptions with those of others. The final account for analysis is consequently a collection of what was registered and what became more apparent during the interpretation and recording process (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955:345). We, therefore, only reach an approximate 'reality', the event is potentially distorted and misinterpreted. The presence of the observer means that movements are made and orientations are developed towards him which would not otherwise have occurred (Schwartz and Schwartz, 1955:346). There was

some evidence that time helped to reduce these distortions The challenge, however, is to be fully aware of reflexivity, to share the lived experience of the staff, but to observe and record their behaviour as objectively as possible.

As the fieldwork progressed it emerged from both the dialogue between foreshadowed theory and the analysis of both interview data and episodes of situated interaction that the teachers were aware of the reality of so-called pastoral staff activities, of the increasing carcer opportunities, increasing power and influence of such post holders, and of their drift into supervisory staff roles. The legend may be that so-called pastoral posts are filled by staff who are more concerned with teaching in the broadest sense, but in reality, their occupants drift from petty administration, discipline and control, to the supervision of both pupils and staff in the pursuit of overall school objectives. The challenge was to present an argument arising from the juxtaposition of theory and empirical evidence that would substantiate this emergent issue. Sufficient evidence may include a demonstration that the split between these teachers who 'manage' and those who 'do' is not only a teacher perception (part of their knowledge of how things are) but also the teacher representation (Knorr-Cetina) of how things are anticipated, or expected because they are perceived as embedded in the structural properties (the normal rules and

procedures) of the school as a site of social activity in society. Teachers both anticipate that this is the reality of the backroom that they have to contend with and actually behave in recognition of it. In addition, an attempt will be made, using the data collected from both the interviews and the incidents of situated interaction, to show that those who carry out traditional management tasks, use management strategies. Managers in any organization plan, organize, arrange staffing, direct staff, co-ordinate, report and budget (Martin, 1983:17). Managers take precautions to distance themselves from accountability for 'doing', taking steps to separate conception from execution. They seek to interact with staff in a manner that promotes their superiority, that consolidates their position as capable of legitimately telling others what to do, even or especially, in areas where they obviously can not do it themselves and in occupations where the autonomy of the teacher in the classroom is high.

4.4 The issues that emerged substantiated in the interview situations.

This section sets out the evidence on which the drift to two career ladders is claimed to have moved from a foreshadowed problem to a substantiated emerging issue in these two large schools. First, teachers are demonstrated to be aware of the fact of promotion opportunities for supervisory positions and to be aware

that such positions are supervisory and designed to assist the head with the administration of the school on a day to day basis. Secondly, it is sought to demonstrate that supervisory staff actually use management strategies in their daily interactions with relatively classroom subject staff. Thirdly, it is evident that a crucial problem for management staff is school size and for relatively subject classroom staff, the range of ability across the fully comprehensive intake.

4.4(a) Promotion for 'pastoral' staff.

It is obviously important to know the teaching backgrounds of pastoral staff even though it is seven years since the schools became comprehensive and made the initial appointment to fit staff from grammar and secondary modern to the new larger institution. During the two years 1981-83 covered by the field research in these two schools there were fifteen internal promotions and six appointments from external applicants. Thirteen of these internal promotions were attached to pastoral and administrative responsibilities. Ten of the total staff promotions and appointments were restricted to staff who already held administrative staff posts and five were for young staff making their initial move from scale one. Only five staff were appointed and one promoted for classroom subject teaching. One of the staff described the reason for his decision to apply for a year tutor's post:

> 'I did grab a pastoral post because I really needed to have a scale two but it means that I teach my subject less well. To some extent I haven't time to do justice to my pastoral job either. A lot of it is routine administration. The really interesting problems do not conveniently arise when I have my free periods.'

Not only did his promotion lead to a perceived reduction in his teaching effectiveness but there is a hint not only that the two 'jobs' are incompatible, but also that you need more 'free periods' to cope. It is apparent also that it is not the pastoral care that Marland (1974) considers an integral part of teaching that is perceived as the new role requirement. The reluctance to leave the real job of teaching was further emphasised by another new year tutor:

> 'I enjoy my teaching ..... but to get on here, you have to sell your soul to the administration ..... I don't think I would have got any promotion unless I had accepted an administrative job.'

Senior staff, too, were aware of the need to "sell your soul" to the administration:

> 'It is a pity scale four or sometimes senior teacher is the limit for a teacher who really wants to make the connection, subject knowledge-pupil talent-psychic reward.'
>
> Head of Department, Scale 4.

Even a deputy head stated that to get beyond a scale four a subject teacher must offer to take on some administrative task. However, it may well be too late for a scale four head to switch career ladders.

There may simply be too few subject specialists left or more likely the 'pastoral staff' career ladder may have already been colonized by teachers who lack good subject knowledge qualifications. At one of the schools only two of the seven senior administrative staff had graduate qualifications in curriculum subject areas and all seven had teacher certificates plus additional education degree qualifications. In addition, four of the five young staff making their initial move from scale one were teachers without graduate qualifications of any kind. Rewarding the qualified subject teacher did not appear to be a major feature of either the salary structure or the promotion procedures at either school. Good administrators, not good teachers, were the models (Richardson, 1973, 1975). The system encouraged low, short term commitment to classroom teaching.

4.4(b) Pastoral staff are rarely qualified to teach 'real' subjects and possess delegated headteacher authority.

Staffing procedures and comments made by staff lend support to the proposition that the rise in supervisory staff numbers was a response to the need to control the complexity of the process (Ozga and Lawn, 1981). Size and demands for accountability appeared crucial factors in legitimizing the process but if those promoted were those who have been less well qualified to inspire pupil learning, classroom

failures could be found supervising the work of classroom successes. As the field work progressed I became increasingly aware that classroom staff perceived supervisory staff as both unqualified to do 'real' subject teaching and required to carry out delegated headteacher activities. One head of subject, for example, asked, 'How can you respect those who are supposed to be superior but who can't do anything real? It is not as if they were all really good classroom teachers either. Some of them, I know, couldn't control pupils when they had them in a classroom, so how are they going to do it now?' A subject teacher with a scale three post echoed these sentiments:

> 'So called pastoral staff have the right to call in pupils books and staff record books for inspection, but they could not do the job themselves, they don't know how to do it. They are not qualified in my subject ..... do they just call them in to prove that they can do it? ..... just to see if I'm giving homework and marking it?'

Such supervision was seen as worse than no supervision at all. It provided no opportunity for constructive help, allowed really good work to pass unacknowledged and emphasised conformity to routine requirements rather than the creative, spontaneous and innovative aspects of real learning. There was evidence in both schools, despite derisory comments made about pastoral staff competence in subject areas, that some

pastoral staff had been successful subject teachers. It may be argued as John (1980:87) did, that teaching 'real' subject courses is now as much the protected preserve of the classroom teacher as pastoral care is of the supervisory staff. Supervision by the head of subject department was not perceived as a realistic alternative.

If the qualifications held by some staff disqualified them from actually doing many of the structured and progressive courses on the curriculum, what can they actually do? Their main teaching commitment was with non-examination classes. To be seen to teach lower status classes may encourage them to glorify the demands of such remedial and non-examination work. It may lead to their search for recognition in extra-curricular drama, music and sporting activities. However, the adoption of certain delegated headteacher administrative and supervisory activities may have most appeal. A preoccupation with 'control' may be discerned in the traditional paternalistic attitude of the English headteacher (Coulson, 1979, Caspari, 1965). Heads identified with their schools and over-emphasised their responsibility for all that went on in them. There is a way in which heads were expected to manage a school. They alone embodied its aims, determined the curriculum, controlled the timetable, distributed finance, selected staff and dominated the communication networks. In industrial management

terms, they directed, controlled, planned, co-ordinated and evaluated activities. The head did not actually teach, except in emergency situations. The dichotomy between controlling and executing was maintained by distancing himself from the classroom work, by directing and by inspecting the work of the staff. As this authority was delegated to various grades of pastoral/administrative staff, such staff received management trappings; more periods free from actual teaching, more access to confidential information, and a private or shared office to deal with pupils and parents as professional clients. All thirteen senior administrative staff in these two schools had their own private office and some year tutors had found a private space where such consultation would be facilitated. A brief look at the principles of scientific management (Braveman quoted in Martin, 1983) suggests some useful comparisons. Managers (headteachers and their delegates):

a) give all 'teachers' only partial processes to perform - teaching mere subjects while they retain responsibility for the total education of the child;

b) concentrate information exclusively in the hands of the management group - only members of senior conference and pastoral staff have access to the full range of confidential information about pupils;

c) use their monopoly of resources to control privileges, promotions and working conditions.

A newly appointed head of year was pleased to point out that:

> 'Promotion to my current head of year post has meant that I am now told more confidential information, information not even given to my head of subject ..... about kids generally.'

Such access to confidential information, plus attendance at the senior management meetings where 'problems' are sorted out is part of a whole nexus of strategies designed to consolidate the supervisory staff groups dominant position. An analysis of how they normally deal with their subject colleagues and how they seek to devalue the classroom subject teacher's role is now attempted.

4.4(c) Supervisory staff interactions with other teachers are predominantly of a 'commanding nature' and rarely involve 'consultation'.

Martin (1983:63) suggests 'contacts with subordinates' within industry are most likely to have the following flavour. They are rarely of a collegial nature in which work problems are discussed, mutual input into the decision making process encouraged, or long range strategic plans generated. They are occasionally for the purpose of evaluating the performance of the subordinate

and frequently to give orders or instructions, or to reprimand the subordinate for some deficiency or delinquency in carrying out past directives. Martin (1983:63) quotes some evidence supporting this position claiming that they found managers contacts with subordinates were largely for the purpose of making requests, sending or receiving information and occasionally strategy making. During a period of two months I noted every interaction between supervisory staff (the thirteen senior administrative staff) and the teaching staff that occurred where I could observe it, in the staff room, corridors, and classroom. I noted thirty-seven such interactions in a random way. Sixteen of these were clearly 'one way' interactions, giving instructions about new arrangements for class movements and about duties that needed doing, including leaving the staff room promptly when the bell goes. Twelve were eliciting information about required petty administrative tasks such as collecting money, completing reports, collecting permission slips, relatively public announcements about 'school wide' activities, plays and exhibitions. The other nine were significant because they were accompanied by either giving out typed forms which required some action by the teacher or they involved interactions of a humorous kind that accompanied posting substitution lists or revised duty rotas from the staff room notice board. The contents of these duty lists

could dramatically affect a teachers plans for the day. He could find himself losing preparation or marking periods, doing duties in his lunch break, or covering for absent colleagues. The humour, somewhat 'in group', was only addressed to certain members of staff, and referred to activities outside of school, e.g. local soccer team results, holiday plans, car problems, incidents at staff socials, etc. There was also a large quantity of instructions or commands that appeared in writing, memos, notes, weekly events, newsletters, and general information. Staff also spent some time talking to supervisory staffin private offices. When I asked about these private meetings I was told that when such interviews were held at the request of supervisory staff they were regularly intended for the discussion of individual pupil problems. When they were requested by classroom staff they were more frequently to resolve conflicts between staff or between staff and pupils. By far the majority of staff interactions in private offices took place between those who had private offices themselves. They were places, away from the staff room and out of the corridor, where discussions regarding planning, staffing, organising and budgeting, administrative staff 'doing' activities, could take place. Those I did obtain access to were predominantly about circumventing tension or anticipating opposition to plans they intended to introduce. Coffee and

tea were frequently available and such encounters could be described as 'places of association' where supervisory staff belonged and others definitely did not. They were not as open as other 'hideaways' such as the science prep-rooms, CDT offices and HE kitchens, where staff associated in cliques, away from the isolation of the classroom and the crowded staff room.

Although supervisory staff were rarely qualified to advise on subject matters (schemes, plans, resources required .....) it is clear that to have sought advice from subject staff would also have risked the exposure of some inadequacy. No member of the subject classroom staff could easily remember when their opinion had been sought. One head of subject, for example, put it this way:

> 'Career is 'fame' not 'fortune' - fame from being 'worthy to be consulted' instead of being consulted merely because of your position. If the head would only consult us, he would reduce that craving to get promoted so that someone listens to you. To have a say is to be respected.'

This lack of consultation was a major insult to the pride and integrity of those classroom subject teachers who were doing a good job. Lack of consultation was perceived as lack of respect, appreciation and positive criticism.

'Teachers', said another head of subject, 'are frustrated by having to work in conditions where they see how classes could be better arranged but do not have access to the decision making that could bring about these changes.'

'We are unable', added an experienced subject teacher, 'to persuade management of our priorities - they never ask - if we raise it they refuse to listen to complaints.'

4.4(d) Supervisory staff take steps to devalue the subject department heads and the work they co-ordinate and carry out.

The delegation of traditional headteacher authority to a group of senior administrative staff has not occurred without struggle and it is a situation that has to be continually sustained. While the head's authority may be sufficiently acknowledged that it is not vulnerable to threat from simple association with staff, supervisory staff generally have to employ strategies to limit the power of the major opposition group, the heads of subjects, their subject knowledge and the autonomy of the teacher in the classroom. The heads of subjects may be regarded as the only group that seriously challenges supervisory staff positions. They are normally experienced and well qualified in their subjects. Twentyfour of the thirtyfour subject heads in the two schools held first degrees in their subjects and a further nine were heads of subjects where degree qualifications were not available till recently (i.e. P.E., H.E., C.D.T.). Only one head

of subject was only a certificated teacher in a subject area where graduate qualifications would normally have been available. Heads of subject may be perceived as the leaders of the 'doers'. They have the capacity to provide academic leadership rather than administrative management. There was no evidence that any steps were taken in either school to support or to promote the influence of these leaders. The lack of innovation and the poor examination results were more popular supervisory staff comments. Meanwhile, the isolation and lack of support was echoed by all the heads of subjects interviewed.

> 'Heads of subjects, like myself, are not consulted about appointments or about promotions of our own subject staff. Members of my department are given points of responsibility for administrative reasons and it is not clear for what and to whom they are now really responsible. Scale promotions and appointments reduce my 'hold' over staff. Why should they listen to me? Doing a little 'leg' work for the administration brightens their career prospects while working for me gets them nowhere.'

If supervisory staff had set out deliberately to reduce the power of heads of subject their success was overwhelming. Heads of subjects were denied office space, indeed any secure working area, timetabled in excess of the junior staff in their own subject area who had year tutor posts, and

scheduled to perform the general duties from which supervisory staff on lower grades were exempt. In addition, they were regularly called upon to cover for absent colleagues in their own subject areas because lower grade supervisory staff were not qualified enough to teach pupils. Even a probationary teacher had noticed that:

> 'Heads of subject do not have a room of their own - they must leave their classroom and go to the staff room during their free periods, just as we do, because their rooms are timetabled for the use of other members of staff.'

To consolidate the decline in status of the head of subject it appears that the supervisory staff had to devalue subject knowledge itself and to reduce psychic rewards gained from classroom success for these teachers. In the latter case it was better to risk poorer results than to have classroom subject teachers with a powerful base recognised by pupils and parents alike. The 'comprehensive intake' appeared to imply that much of the subject based expertise and concentration upon examinations was irrelevant. Several teachers commented that many pupils were simply suited to alternative courses. However, there was little evidence that staff, resources and finance were provided to create and sustain alternative courses. Those teachers who did initiate new courses in the

early days of comprehensive education were quickly promoted out of the classroom and often out of the school itself. Once external supporting agencies left the schools to carry on with innovations after the initial injection of resources the programmes faded. In place of sustained efforts to create viable alternative courses we discern the labelling of ex-grammar school subject staff as too narrowly subject orientated to cope, while ex-secondary modern school staff fled the classroom. The grammar school ethos, that link between the challenging subject, the talented pupil and highly appreciated achievement, was rejected 'tout court'. On the contrary, it was claimed that education was a process of personal education through the medium of subject knowledge rather than a glorification of the acquisition of subject knowledge. The task of the new comprehensive school was much bigger than mere subject knowledge and beyond the resources providers were prepared to lavish upon it. A senior teacher said that:

> 'Ex-grammar school staff have been sensitive to a decline in privilege. We began by being sensitive about elitism but soon gathered from what new staff were saying that we were somehow not appropriate, not needed by the new school - many, who could do so, left of course.

Another head of subject referred to the perceived decline in standards:

> 'Doing really well by hard work is not appreciated, not even expected by upper echelons of staff. To get promoted you need to get out of your subject.'

Lortie (1975:168-175) argues that what makes a good day for teachers is when psychic rewards gained in the classroom situation are high. 'Good things' are always linked to classroom matters. Negative events include any incursions on teaching time for petty administrative or clerical tasks. They resent interruptions. Programmed lessons should take priority over other activities.

> 'I regret', said one subject teacher, 'any interruptions of the classroom lesson, however important. The sanctity of the lesson is interrupted too easily and eroded daily.'

A head of subject identified a relationship between examination failure and the number of interruptions:

> 'When I was asked why there had been so many examination failures, I replied at length, stating how many lessons had been missed or cancelled without request or advanced notice .....'

Supervisory staff in both schools appear to have established, by practice, the right to interrupt lessons to give non-essential messages, to withdraw pupils for trips, drama, sport or religious activities that are rarely timetabled in advance - just reported in weekly newsletters. A subject teacher on a Scale 2 summarised by claiming that:

> 'Little priority is given to loss of lesson time ..... pupils are withdrawn, lessons are cancelled at the drop of a hat .....'

Weekly newsletters are just one example of the exploding quantity of paperwork. Keeping classroom subject staff at a distance and increasing their inert time may be helped by producing and demanding paperwork.

> 'There is no doubt', claimed one member of staff, 'that more administrative work is created by having special people with responsibility for it. This is because they create work for others rather than serve the teachers working at the chalk face.'

Both the larger school and the allocation of responsibility for certain delegated administrative jobs is recognised as a cause of the paperwork explosion but some question the depersonalisation and distancing effects of this. Subject staff commented that, 'as paper work explodes, personal contacts die.' Another said:

> 'What there is is too much bureaucracy - even staff are given numbers. The paper work reduces you to a cog in a wheel and divides you from the people

you are working with. The personal touch is missing.'

Many staff considered the required administrative tasks menial and a serious distraction from the real job. A head of year admitted that:

'Staff are asked to do too many menial tasks, a great deal of paperwork should be done by a good secretary or teachers assistant. I don't need all the training I have had to do these tasks.'

A newly qualified teacher observed that:

'Paperwork is just one more way of misusing teacher time ..... others include doing extra detentions, missing lunch breaks, searching for trouble makers, collecting absence slips, registers, etc.,'.

4.4(e) The range of ability across the fully comprehensive intake.

If the major problem from the management side may be conceived in terms of issues raised by the management of size, the major problem for subject classroom staff is the range of pupil ability in the comprehensive school itself and in individual mixed ability classes.

'All teachers should be able to teach mixed ability classes.'

This claim by a head of middle school reflects to some extent an attitude echoed by other administrative

staff in their expressed opinions and in their behaviour in pupil allocation and staff time-tabling.

> 'Any teacher should be able to take remedial classes; they should all take their turn with the lower ability bands.'

Ex-grammar school staff found this expectation difficult to comprehend. One first class honours graduate complained that he was expected to teach final 'A' level classes and bottom band fifth form leavers in successive periods on three half days during the week.

> 'The sheer difference in the requirements was one thing but the effect bottom fifth had on my state of mind was something else. First, I was expected to entertain a reluctant and unruly group that exhausted my emotional reserves and left me drained and distraught. Second, it took me most of the 'A' level class time to recover my enthusiasm and concentration for the really challenging work I used to enjoy.'

He went on to claim that he was expected to do more than any ex-secondary modern school staff. They could not take his 'A' level group so why was it so important that he demonstrated his ability to take the lower fifth? Not only did such policy waste his talent but also distracted him from his real work. Another subject classroom teacher claimed that mixed ability classes created difficulties

for the better teachers and made effective teaching almost impossible for the majority. Pupils did not like work cards or individual learning packages. To be confined to learning on your own in a group situation appeared a contradiction in terms. Many pupils were bored by it all. It was difficult to know how to inspire the group when they were at such different stages in their understanding.

> 'In a busy daily schedule, it is difficult enough to follow a range of syllabuses for each class, without adjusting each one to suit the individual. You tend to aim at the middle and reject the best and the worst.'

As the fieldwork progressed this range of ability problem was seen as an important reason why the task of the subject classroom teacher was perceived by them as increasingly difficult. They were sensitive to the indictment of their professional ability implied in criticism of their ability to effectively perform over the required comprehensive range. The decline in 'A' level success in certain subjects in both schools was attributed by subject staff to managements reluctance to band or to stream pupils more tightly and to place 'square staff in square holes'.

> 'Talented pupils require well qualified staff as a minimum condition for inspiring interest and effort. Giving us large

doses of poorer ability classes merely encourage us to search for another job.'

4.5 A summary of those issues emerging relatively substantiated mainly from the interview-theory dialogue.

The word 'hierarchy' was used by staff generally to refer to those staff carrying salary recognized posts of heads of lower, middle and upper school, senior teacher, deputy head and headteacher. Supervisory staff, however, were perceived to include both this group and those on the fringe of it, deputy heads of lower, middle and upper schools, and heads of year groups. These latter were on the pastoral care career ladder and formally admitted to a wide range of confidential information about pupils denied to other staff. They also carried a considerable administrative and co-ordinating work load. Staff were aware of the promotion and career prospects open to those who were selected and were prepared to pay the administrative price for location on this career ladder. They were crucially aware, however, that such a competing career ladder was there to reduce the effects of or to cope with the complexities of school size.

'To control the exercise in such a large place demanded smaller units to supervise adequately the work of teachers.'

The fact that such cutting down to size had not been pursued through the creation of important subject departments may indeed have been an opportunity missed in the initial mergers but it was certainly an option that the pastoral staff, in particular, ridiculed at this stage. They claimed:

> 'Some subject staff were too concerned with their subjects and too little concerned with the education of children in the broader sense.'

These pastoral staff were, in contrast, totally concerned with the welfare of children in the broadest sense, but generally neither well qualified nor timetabled to teach any substantial subject work. To reduce the larger school to make it more like the grammar and secondary schools that went before it meant that teacher supervision could be effective. This supervision (delegated headteacher activity) was vested in the 'pastoral' 'administrative' career ladder.

The issue that pastoral concerns eclipse academic and technical concerns is also substantiated to some extent from the interview data. Pastoral staff appear to be promoted and good administrators appear to be the better models for young teachers to imitate. Good classroom subject teaching is not appreciated and such dedication is a short term commitment. Even the smallest contribution to administrative activity not only gains administrative approval but

can lead to a salary increase. Meanwhile, really effective and sound subject teaching can go by relatively unnoticed. The heads of year who are also still teachers in some subject department threaten the authority of the head of subject because they are often consulted about and aware of more confidential information about pupils and school arrangements that they are. Heads of lower, middle and upper, meanwhile, confidently over-rule the decisions of heads of subjects, as the second episode of situated interaction analysed below seeks to further substantiate.

In the third place, the interview data lends some support for the argument that pastoral and administrative staff are actually perceived by teachers as carrying out management tasks. They plan, without consultation with subject heads or subject staff; they organize activities that cut across structured learning programmes; they allocate staff to classes and to cover periods; they supervise the moment of staff around the school; they co-ordinate, report and budget. They also take steps to distance themselves from responsibility for structured teaching programmes that may lead to parental accountability or peer commentary. They promote an ideology of concern for the pupil in the broadest sense that eclipses the concern any single subject teacher could have for achievement in a specified task. Subject studies and those who

organize and lead them are thus devalued and perceived to be so by those teachers interviewed here.

Finally, the management staff appeared determined to avoid any kind of streaming that would question the comprehensive ideal. Banding in major subjects (literacy, numeracy and science) was as far as they were prepared to go in both schools. All staff were expected to take their share of the lower band classes. This policy was perceived by well qualified subject staff as a distraction and in practice as a constant source of failure. It illustrated, to them, one crucial way in which the management staff avoided providing them with the conditions perceived as necessary for successful teaching.

CHAPTER 5

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT OF THE THEORY/DATA DIALOGUE - PART II

5.1 The episodes described.

To study an incident is to study one incident in a series of incidents in search of some interpretation of how institutions normally run and transform themselves in the terms outlined in Chapter One. One criteria for selecting to analyse an incident was staff recognition that this particular incident was a typical incident that illustrated a broader set of normal procedures. It is necessary, as claimed earlier, to demonstrate how structuration occurs in the middle ground where human actors draw upon and consolidate the rules and procedures available to them. The model for analysis is that outlined in diagram 4 on page 24 , and elaborated in part in diagram 2, page 17 . In the middle ground, a process at the level of social integration occurs where the teacher, at whatever level of conditions of service, is able to draw upon the structuring properties embedded in the institution as he communicates, uses his authority and appeals to his legitimate rights. However, before using the model to analyse episodes it is necessary to describe them.

> 'According to Schutz's two stage model of sociological methodology actions must first be described and understood in terms of actor's meanings after which they can be explained by concepts meaningful to the analyst and the audience.'
>
> Knorr-Cetina (1981:18)

The focus here is upon episodes of situated interaction which may be considered as the micro-sociological phenomena most relevant to linking the micro-macro divide within these sites of human activity.

5.1(a) Episode One. 'Early morning reprimand' - School A.

This incident occurred in the staff room before school began on my first programmed teaching, observing and interviewing day at the first school. The head of lower school had introduced me to the teacher whose programme I was to take over for the morning. I think the head of lower school thought that I had walked off down the corridor with this teacher but in fact we had gone into the staff room and were busy making coffee in an annexe area, somewhat screened from the main body of the staffroom, when the briefing began. I found out later that presence at this meeting was regarded as compulsory. On these grounds alone the head of lower school might have anticipated that the teacher would take me into the meeting. It is possible that he checked but did not notice either of us in the crowded annexe area. As described below, the staff received a reprimand on two counts. They took the whole episode in absolute silence. I was immediately struck by the assertive, military, authoritative tone of the statements - 'the teacher was telling the class off'. The staff were failing to keep attendance records adequate for the purposes required by the local school attendance officer.

'Most registers are not completed properly ..... this really won't do you know ..... I have to insist, again, that you fill in the registers carefully and at the proper time. Absence notes must be followed up. If pupils are not at school you must make every effort to find out why ..... the attendance officer needs to know which cases are worth following up. I will be checking registers and absence notes every day from now on.'

The staff were also grumbling about the 'substitution list', the list of staff posted daily to indicate cover required for absent colleagues. The reprimand in this case was more a re-establishment of the correct attitude to the procedures. It came across as:

'Stop grumbling, I know you are doing it, it is part of your job to cover and I do not want any more discussion on the matter.'

I discovered later that no-one had formally complained but the head of lower school had become aware of their discontent from the drift of staff casual conversations going on within earshot. It was debatable whether he was meant to actually hear each complaint but I experienced similar activity from time to time in both staff rooms. The head of lower school continued,

'You are required to cover when your name appears on the list. If you have free periods on your timetable that is good but all classes must be covered and when staff are absent I allocate cover fairly. You may examine the records in my office. So ..... less grumbling and more co-operation please. If we work together in these matters it will be easier for us all.'

The staff had listened in silence and rose quietly to leave the staffroom. This 'briefing', as it was referred to by the staff, was followed by registration and assembly. Consequently, I was left alone with my coffee for approximately twenty minutes. A useful record of the incident was made during this time. Members of staff claimed that they were familiar with such an authoritarian response to crisis situations. In the terms that followed I did not witness quite such a formal reprimand situation again, despite attending every morning briefing on the programmed days. Five members of staff mentioned the incident and were embarrassed and ashamed of what I had witnessed, as was understood by their comments:

> 'You saw what we have to put up with.'
>
> 'How do people like that get into positions of authority?'
>
> 'He speaks to us like kids.'
>
> 'Isn't it a pity they don't have training for personnel management.'

and

> 'That performance this morning wasn't just put on for you, you know; it is quite a regular event. One of the ladies rushed out in tears during one 'briefing' last term.'

Whether I had any effect upon the head of lower school's decision to say what he did, in the way he did, was debatable. Ruminating about the incident, both at the recording stage and since, I think he was capable of behaving in exactly that way, whoever was present.

There was no indication, at the time, nor has there been since, that he knew I was there and behaved in that way to impress me; to show me that he could reprimand staff, like a class of pupils, and that he deserved to be a head of school because of this ability and because of his concern for standards in these areas. A closer look at the senior staff present, deputy head of lower school, and year tutors, indicated a more supportive than submissive silence. They were standing, rather than sitting like most of the staff, quite close to the head of school and tended to be watching the rest of the staff rather than the head of school during the reprimand. Most of the rest of the staff were either looking down at the floor or at the head of lower school. If I have any bias at all that I have to be explicit about it was that a clear case of 'them and us' appeared relevant. All junior staff, whether they diligently kept registration details or not, whether they grumbled about cover periods or not, were subject to the reprimand because they were one identifiable group. Senior staff, in a similar way, attempted to disassociate themselves by stance and gesture from the reprimand.

5.1(b) Episode Two - Pupil re-allocation without consultation - School B.

Mark, a fourth form pupil, had recently received a succession of poor reports in a particular subject but his parents had discovered at a careers convention that he needed a G.C.E. pass in that subject at 'O' Level in order to pursue the career they had in mind for him.

Mark had been assigned to a C.S.E. class in the subject and according to the head of that subject, this was a generous allocation because his progress barely merited this and he had a reputation for disruptive behaviour due in part to lack of interest in completing work assignments. The parents sought an interview with the head of middle school, explained the situation, and asked for Mark to be reassigned to an 'O' Level class. The head of middle school reviewed Marks' grade profile in all subjects and decided that in Marks best interests he should be assigned to an 'O' Level class. The parents were promised that this would be done immediately on the clear understanding that Mark would work hard and behave exceptionally well. The parents were invited to visit the school again next term for a progress report.

At this stage, no consultation with the head of subject had taken place. The head of middle school was not qualified to teach this subject at all. A memo was sent to the teachers concerned, not to the head of subject, noting the decision to reassign Mark to the 'O' Level group with effect from the following Monday morning. Mark was told of the arrangement and of the conditions attached to it. He agreed to his side of the bargain.

The head of subject, who is responsible for producing the lists of pupils in their appropriate grades for examination preparation in his subject, found out about the arrangement on the Monday morning when the 'receiving' class teacher asked why the reassignment had taken place

because Mark had demonstrated his lack of ability to cope with this standard of work. This happened in the crowded staff room at break time and I was fortunate to be there as it happened.

> 'Why did you transfer Mark to my G.C.E. class, I thought we had agreed he couldn't cope!'.
>
> 'I didn't know anything about it - when did this happen? Who did it? Not the head of middle school again?'

The head of subject was obviously very annoyed and left his coffee to go in pursuit of the head of middle school. I followed at a discrete distance hoping to find out first hand what had happened but aware that I would probably have to follow it up in conversation with the relative staff later. The conversation I caught before the matter was followed up behind closed doors went as follows:

Head of subject X : 'Who's idea was it to transfer Mark to the G.C.E. class, no one consulted me about one of these moves again.'

Head of middle school : 'I meant to see you about that. His parents have asked for the change. I've looked at his grades profile and your subject is the odd one out. He is doing G.C.E. in other subjects. They insisted, so I decided to give him a trial run ..... I hope you don't mind ..... ?'

Head of subject X : 'I put him in a C.S.E. class because I know he couldn't cope with G.C.E. work ..... my staff

agreed. He disrupts the class and will be lucky to get a C.S.E. pass never mind a G.C.E. What is the point of me placing them in the proper class if you change them at the whim of a parent? What do they know about the subject? ..... What do you know about it, for that matter?.....'

At this point the head of middle school got the message and began to direct the head of subject into his private room out of the earshot of myself and several others in the corridor. The last thing I heard was the head of middle school saying, 'I thought you would support my decision ..... its just for a trial period after all .....'

The head of subject was not with the head of middle school for long. He later told me that he had gone straight to the school headmaster but got no satisfaction. The head supported the right of the head of middle school to make such a decision provided he had studied the grade profile for the pupil and decided that it was in the best interests of the pupil as a whole to be assigned, for a trial period, to a G.C.E. class. After all, if he is G.C.E. quality in other subjects, maybe all he needs is encouragement, a fresh start, and a bit of co-operation between parents and the staff to produce the right attitude. The head of subject X said that he told the head that without proper consultation he could not see how his subject staff could be expected to co-operate in this situation. In their opinion, in this subject, he was simply not G.C.E. material. A fail grade was

inevitable and his presence in the group would simply distract the pupils and disturb their concentration. The head had agreed to ask the head of middle school to consult with the head of subject before making similar assignments and to review Mark's position in four weeks time rather than wait till next term.

In conversation with the head of middle school, I sought his view of the situation. He disagreed with ability banded classes in the fourth year anyway. All teachers should be able to teach mixed ability classes. There had been a lot of complaints about the subject teachers in subject X and these referred to their lack of ability to control classes. It may not be all the fault of the pupils. The head of middle school also complained that books were not marked on a regular basis and parents would not be pleased should such information come to light. The trouble, he claimed, with some subject teachers was that they had too narrow a perspective on their job and failed to see the pupils education as a wholistic exercise.

5.1(c) Episode Three - Fieldwork and mock 'A' Level examinations. - School A.

One of the deputy heads with responsibility for pastoral care and some administrative matters (finance, transport, etc.,) arranged a field course (living and walking in a National Park) for the week-end immediately prior to the programmed mock 'A' Level

examination week. This field course had purely social and leisure objectives and was related in no way to the students academic programmes. He recruited a number of sixth formers involved in these examinations for the week-end. The heads of two of the subjects concerned had raised strong objections because they felt the pupils needed the week-end for final revision and general preparation to put them in the right frame of mind to approach these examinations. These examinations were important because of the practice they gave for the real thing and because references for higher education courses were often based on their results. The deputy head argued (since he had already made all the arrangements and paid deposits) that they wouldn't use the week-end for revision, it was too late now if they hadn't done the work, and anyway the mock examinations did not begin until Tuesday and they would be back by lunch time on Monday. The sixth formers were not compelled to go and he suggested the subject staff advised them not too. The sixth formers, themselves, said that they did want to go and also said that they intended to really work hard the previous week to compensate for this week-end.

It is important to note that subject lessons in both the subject's concerned took place on Mondays, Thursdays and Fridays, in the mornings. This episode came to my notice when a heated discussion was taking place on the Thursday morning coffee break. Apparently, both heads of subjects had discovered that none of their sixth form

pupils going on the field trip had turned up for lessons that morning and in fact the field trip had been brought forward without their knowledge and the pupils had left school at eight o'clock that morning. It was considered little consolation to find out that it would now be returning on Sunday instead of Monday. The rearrangement had been necessitated by a double booking at the hostel for the Sunday evening and the offer of accommodation on the Thursday evening instead. The pupils had, therefore, missed the two programmed revision sessions on the Thursday and the Friday but would now be available - 'in some frame of mind', as one of the heads of subject put it - for the programmed lesson on Monday morning. However, both heads of subject complained that this was, 'the last straw', because over the last term identified pupils in these groups had been withdrawn from lessons for drama, career discussions, school hospitality duties, interviews, etc., and they agreed that it was difficult to see how a structured course leading to 'A' Level success could be pursued under those circumstances.

5.1(d) Episode Four - Surveillance of homework books - School A.

On this occasion I was accompanying a senior subject teacher (not a head of subject but a very experienced and well qualified person) down a corridor towards his classroom where we were about to begin a pre-arranged interview. This incident postponed the interview for several weeks but it isselected for analysis because it

is typical of several similar incidents that I was told about by other teachers and actually witnessed in part. A pupil was approaching us carrying a pile of homework books. The teacher recognized the pupil as one of his and the pile of books as his set of homework books that he had finished marking in the previous free period. When asked where he was going and why he was taking the homework books, the pupil replied that the head of middle school had sent him to ask the teacher if he could have a look at them and since he (the teacher) wasn't there and the pupil knew the pile in question, he had used his initiative and was on his way to deliver them to the head of middle school. The teacher took the pile of books from the pupil and told him to go off to his lesson. Once the pupil was out of earshot, the teacher, obviously very agitated, told me that ..... the head of middle school was interfering again. This was not the first time he had asked for an examination of the class's homework books and it was not the first time this teacher simply refused to let the head of middle school have them. The pupils were getting their allocated homeworks, the books were being diligently marked, and the class was on target for good 'O' Level grades. This teacher was acknowledged to have achieved very good results for more than ten years. He resented the head of middle schools interference. The head of middle school was not qualified in the subject and could make no academic judgement on the material. When he (the teacher) had written quite blunt reports on the progress of some pupils in the class, the

head of middle school had actually returned the reports and requested that he toned down his comments because parents may get the idea that the school is picking on their children. Meanwhile, the head of middle school appeared to find every excuse to send for pupils during his lessons. The teacher constantly refused to let pupils leave his lessons and instead said that they would be available at the end of the lesson. The teacher told me that he wanted to tackle the head of middle school about this latest request for homework books and promised to let me know what happened at a future interview. I agreed that the opportunity to sort out this matter was more important than my interview and he left to visit the head of middle school.

5.2 The Analysis.

5.2(a) Human agency and relative knowledgeability.

Human agency brings to every episode relative knowledgeability, an ability to account for the action taken.

By knowledgeability Giddens refers to the fact that members of a society know a great deal about the workings of that society and must do so if that society is recognizably human (Giddens, 1981:163). This relative knowledgeability, acknowledges the ongoing learning process; action is not a series of discrete acts combined together, but a continuous flow of conduct (Giddens, 1979:55). Action is reflexive in so far as it has an

intentional and purposive character and it can be accounted for in Garfinkels terms. Actors, as argued by Knorr-Cetina (1981:4), act in terms of the tacit knowledge and rules which they have learnt how to apply in specific situations but which they may not be able to explicate. Giddens agrees that the 'giving of accounts' of action that he refers to as 'discursive penetration' does not exhaust the connection between knowledge and action. Actors also have tacit knowledge which permits skilful conduct but which the actor is not able to explicate (see Giddens, 1979:57). However, all actors have some degree of discursive penetration of the episodes of situated interaction in which they are involved. The head of lower school in episode one demonstrated what was 'on' in this situation. His conduct and those of his listeners, senior and junior staff, was part of a continuous flow of conduct recognized as normal by all who discussed it. He demonstrated that a public reprimand of this kind could be given in a morning briefing and that no member of staff would publically or openly object. As far as I could ascertain, no-one actually did openly object to the public and generally indiscriminate nature of the reprimand at a later stage. It may be regarded as a central part of the conditions of service of all staff to do cover and to keep accurate records of attendance and the head of school was, therefore, on sound ground. Had he been giving a reprimand about dress (no jeans or trousers for women) or about smoking areas or about language in the staffroom, he may have received some public objections

or certainly some private objections after the event. In addition, the head of lower school knew his audience well. Teachers do find substitution lessons a 'massive irritation' because they normally mean not only loss of preparation and marking time but also taking a class where the emphasis is upon child minding and class entertainment rather than on taking a class as part of a structured course for which they are responsible and which the pupils see as purposeful and relevant. Yet, the head of lower school is saying that not only is the 'cover' system fairly managed but free periods are discretionary anyway and not an entitlement. The staff are in no position to challenge his right to ask them to carry out their legitimate conditions of service in both these areas. Few teachers like to spend time registering pupils and fewer still appreciate the additional paperwork required for the pursuit of absentees. The issues themselves, therefore, are endemic to staff administration and the crucial factor may be the manner in which the issues were raised.

In episode two, the head of middle school perceives himself to be senior to any head of subject in the staff hierarchy. In terms of tacit or explicit knowledge, it appears from the incident itself and from subsequent interviews that he was aware that:

i) he will obtain the heads support for his action despite his failure to consult;

ii) the parents will support his action;

iii) he is paid a higher salary to make controversial decisions of this kind;

iv) even if the head of subject complained, he lacked the power to make his complaint stick;

v) he may appeal to staff loyalty to administrative decisions to protect staff from direct confrontation with parents;

vi) he has to demonstrate his competence to make a decision in the face of potential opposition from the head of subject.

The head of subject meanwhile only made a feeble complaint because he knew that:

i) the head of middle school considered him so unimportant that he had not even received notification of the reassignment, never mind been consulted;

ii) he had no supporting peer group; heads of subjects did not form a body that could collectively embody their leadership potential or protect their interests;

iii) another spectating member of staff commented that he would probably not have complained at all had his subject staff member not raised the subject in a public place (the staff room) and appeared to be making as much of a point about the powerlessness of the head of subject as about the cause of the pupil concerned.

Episode three was selected for analysis because it was identified as one incident in a stream of similar incidents that had as their focus the interference of administrative or pastoral staff in the programmed work of subject staff, without consultation. The deputy head acts in terms of the tacit or explicit knowledge he has learnt about the limits of his authority. He can make decisions of this kind without consultation and with impunity. To remove the pupils from their classes was 'on' in this situation. Realistically the pupils themselves would hardly complain and since it was part of his normal behaviour to take pupils away from lessons when he needed them, he was used to handling the tension such actions may create later. After all, the original complaint by the heads of subjects had concerned the loss of a week-ends revision and the earlier return would, in his opinion, help to reduce the recovery period. Despite the heads of subjects objections he had been able to organize the week-end in the first place.

Once again, episode four was selected because it was acknowledged to be one in a stream of similar incidents and it illustrates well the intentional character of agency and its accountability. The teacher was well aware of the attempts being made by the head of middle school to supervise his work. The head of middle school was taking the same steps with everyone else but this particular teacher, who had the confidence that he knew his subject well and acquired very good examination results from his pupils,

was equally determined not to submit to such surveillance procedures. Not only did the teacher have considerable discursive penetration of what was going on, but he also was aware of the power available to him in the situation. It was a new dimension of his teaching career to be subject to such surveillance by a mere head of middle school. In the smaller grammar school, the head himself had occasionally requested a single boys book but never collected in a whole set with the obvious intention of supervising the teachers work as well as the pupils. The teacher had noted that the head of middle school regularly sent a pupil to make the relevant requests and did not either come himself or send a written note.

In terms of teacher knowledgeability it may be inferred from these episodes that teachers were aware of the fact that:

i) consultation was not necessary before administrative staff made decisions that affected the working arrangements for subject/classroom staff. There was support here for the interview data which suggested that administrative staff could interfere with impunity.

ii) The traditional authority of the head teacher has been delegated almost intact to the senior administrative staff. They can address staff in an authoritative manner and carry out surveillance procedures to ensure conformity to agreed procedure, for example, cover periods, registration and homeworks. The teachers

need to be supervised (referred to by the sample of heads, as an important issue) appears supported here by the behaviour of supervisory staff.

iii) Fieldwork, like other examples of 'social' education (clubs, societies for drama, etc.,) that promote the achievement of broader, if less measurable, 'educational' aims, is seen as both pastoral / administrative staff activity area and as superior activity to subject/classroom learning.

5.2(b) Human agency and relative and routine capability.

> Human agency brings to every episode relative and routine capability - a certain degree of competence in the situation.

To be recognized as a competent member of a group and to be considered relatively capable in some routine situation is the feature referred to here by relative and routine capability. Actors demonstrate relative degrees of freedom to act as they see fit. By 'capability', Giddens means that the agent could have acted otherwise. The vast bulk of day to day social activity is predicated upon the capability, the possibility of doing otherwise (1981:163). Issues raised by the head of lower school, in episode one, could have been handled differently. Some staff were not guilty and, therefore, he could have isolated those who were and seen them individually, but he did not select this option. The issues themselves were endemic and opportunities to make individual

reprimands or inducements to improve performance were numerous. Such a choice of 'acting style' appeared from the staff comment to be routine. It was one in a series of similar episodes, a routine professional practice, that he could competently carry out. The fact that it temperamentally reflects methods of handling classes of pupils rather than a group of professional colleagues, may indeed have unintended consequences for the disposition of the teachers facing classes of pupils later in the day. In both these two aspects of human agency the underlying rationale is that of competence.

> 'Like the rules of syntax identified in transformational grammar, the rules of conduct sought after in some micro-sociologies are analogous to a level of deep structure of human behaviour, acquired by the individual through socialization. They are not socially codified in a public sense like legal rules or culturally entrenched value-orientations, and their disregard will result in questioning a persons competence or his or her disqualification as a knowledgeable member of society rather than in legal or moral retaliation. The theory of action relevant here is a competence theory.'
>
> (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:4)

The head of school certainly appears to embody the responsibility for these endemic administrative issues, cover and records. Teachers must be supervised and these issues provide good grounds for emphasizing and even increasing the surveillance procedures. The administrative requirements appear to eclipse the academic or technical. This was further emphasised by the content

of other 'briefings' attended. They were for the issue of instructions about, for example, school reports, arrangements for parents evenings, school special functions (sport, drama, etc.,) and the collection of money. No issue related to academic or technical work, nor the professional task of teaching, was raised at these meetings.

In episode two, the head of middle school could also have acted differently. Consulting the head of subject was an option open to him but he saw it as a routine professional expectation of supervisory staff to be able to make routine decisions of this kind. To handle the subsequent tension was part of his conditions of service as a middle management supervisor. To have consulted would have delayed action and he would have had to take the decision eventually. He told me that he preferred to defend a decision he believed he had every right to take, rather than risk consultation where such a right may be questioned and lose the advantages of a quick solution to a potentially dangerous parent school confrontation.

Episode three illustrates how actors demonstrate relative degrees of freedom to act as they see fit. To consult with and to win the agreement of the heads of subject to the need to re-arrange the fieldwork (let alone to arrange it in the first place) was not seen as a necessary competence. The deputy head actually admitted to me later that he had not realised the mock

examinations were so close when he initially arranged the fieldwork. He said that he was confident that his decision would not bring criticism in his direction from other members of the senior management team. Another deputy head commenting on the situation said:

> 'You will never satisfy these subject specialists. They are always asking for more time to prepare pupils for examinations. It will do them good to get out into the hills and away from it all.'

However, as the heads of subjects pointed out, it was only one incident in many similar incidents. They were rarely consulted and did not form a viable interest group. There were meetings of senior pastoral and administrative staff during school hours and meetings of individual subject departments after school, in the evenings (poorly attended) but there were no meetings of heads of subjects.

In episode four the head of middle school was obviously vulnerable to senior staff criticism because of his inability, his lack of competence to carry out the expected surveillance in the case of this teacher. When I mentioned the incident to the head of middle school, he condemned the teacher for lack of professionalism, for being unrealistic in his isolation, for being totally unco-operative. He did not mention anything about the good results (better by far than most other subjects) or that, in fact, the bobks were properly marked and the quantity of homework precisely as recommended by the school.

The teachers choice of 'acting style', to simply be totally uncooperative, was rationalised by the teacher as an indication of his general annoyance at the lack of consultation and respect shown by the head of middle school for subject classroom staff and their work. He was drawing upon the resources available to him (good results, nothing to hide) in order to resist the drift towards supervision.

In terms of teacher capability, it may be inferred from these episodes that the teachers involved were capable of acting otherwise but in their decisions to act in the way they did, either tacitly or explicitly, they were pursuing capability in so far as their perceptions of what was expected of them was concerned. They were seeking competence. The preferred routine style in episode one was authoritarian, the preferred topics administrative and pastoral concern. The head of middle school could have selected a more individual style of consultation and acknowledged the priority concern of teachers for teaching but sympathized with them that certain administrative and pastoral tasks nevertheless have to be completed. In episodes two and three the preferred style was to ignore consultation and to take decisions as if there were no academic department concerns. At least, they could be ignored with impunity. In episode four the teacher was alone in his resistance to the surveillance routine being developed. His resistance was based upon his competence as a classroom subject teacher. He could have acted otherwise and demonstrated his competence to the head of

middle school but he chose to resist. Meanwhile, his resistance challenged the head of middle school's capability to be a member of the administrative staff team.

5.2(c) Human agency and those present and those absent.

> Human agency brings to every episode a need to take account of those present and those absent.

'The social totality cannot be best understood, as in functionalist conception of the whole, as a given 'presence', but as relations of presence and absence recursively ordered' (Giddens, 1979:255). Social systems must be understood as stretching over time and space, or better, "embedded" in time and space. Reproduction deals not with an original act but with its subsequent replication over time, that is, with recursive behaviour which is far more common (Gross, 1981:83). This study of episodes of situated interaction must consequently mean analysing how acts tend to be repeated and thereby sustaining and normalising the routines of everyday life. Time-space relations in so far as they conceptualize how things are in terms of continuous reproducibility over time is central to structuration theory. The head of lower school in episode one, takes account of those present, their conditions of service and their capacity to resist or challenge his authoritative statement now with one eye on the consequences such a challenge may have for future

allocation of cover periods themselves and for resources generally that depend upon his discretion. He is also aware of those who are absent, the head and deputy heads of the school, local authority officers, H.M.I. and Union officials who would generally approve of his right to demand high standards, although they may be less enthusiastic about his style of making such demands. It may be inferred from this head of schools behaviour and that of others that have been given delegated headteacher authority, that they must demonstrate their capability to carry out delegated headteacher activities in the heads absence. The act, itself, stretches over time and space and is crucially concerned with the way the act is repeated and becomes accepted as normal routine. In episode two the head of middle school has had to take account of the interests and expectations of the head, the parents, the pupil and the teachers concerned. The head would expect him to make the kind of decision a head would make in that situation, the parents would expect the school to arrange the best provision for their pupil and the pupil himself would be expected to keep his contract to be well behaved and industrious as a result of the decision. There was no doubt that the head of subject or class teachers right to be consulted was a very low priority. Of those who were absent from the original decision making episode, the head of subjects challenge could easily be resisted and the head of middle school saw reciprocity more in terms of those above him in the

hierarchy combined with parental approval of school procedures than in terms of his relationship with the head of subject. He had made a management style decision and handling the consequent resistance was merely routine.

In episode three, the head had agreed that the field-work could be brought forward and the pupils were not complaining so opposition from the head of subject was the major absent factor he needed to take account of. However, on the evidence of previous confrontations with subject heads and with a clear understanding of the resources he had at his disposal there was little cause for concern. After all, he was responsible for finance and beyond the statutory minimum that the local authority would support against a formula they recommend, there was substantial additional school fund money that was available for distribution largely as he recommended. Reciprocity was therefore, an important aspect of the problem. He was also responsible for transport and this could facilitate or hinder sixth form fieldwork connected with academic studies in most examination subjects. He could anticipate therefore, that challenge to his decision would at the most involve 'complaint' and this would not question his competence or capability. In fact, handling such complaints was part of his job.

In episode four, the classroom subject teacher demonstrated considerable resistance to the surveillance challenge of the head of middle school. He demonstrated

that where the teachers power base was strong, an experienced person, well qualified and successful, it was possible to resist such surveillance. He knew that his work would stand up well to the closest scrutiny. It always had in the past. However, he said, 'I don't think I have very much support on the staff for the stand I take on these matters. Most of the staff are younger than I, have less convincing qualifications in some cases, and appear to accept the head of middle schools authority to do these things'. It may be argued that he was part of a passing resistance in this school to the growing administration group that carried delegated head-teacher authority. Generally, he preferred to be left alone to get on with his programme. Interestingly, he did not see any role for the head of his subject and claimed that he would also resist any attempts at interference from him too. However, he did say that a lack of recognition, by anyone above him in the school hierarchy, for the results he did get, was depressing.

In terms of the need to take account of those present and those absent it may be inferred from these episodes that actors do see these episodes as part of a stream of similar episodes where they have learnt to anticipate on the basis of experience the relative need to take into consideration those absent in time and place as well as those physically present. The right to take management decisions without consultation and the right to surveillance over teachers work are rights that must 'defer' in time and

place to similar exercised rights in the course of daily events. In episodes two and four the administrative staff are aware that any challenge or resistance to such rights would echo across time and space, making their working conditions more hazardous.

5.2(d) Human agency and summary representations.

Human agency brings to every episode a capability to make summary representations.

This aspect recognizes that events are not only a continuous flow or stream of similar events but also, 'chained together by mutual expectations, imputations of interests, misread communications, fears, grudges and finally by concrete projects of parties involved with or against each other' (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:33). Actors select and experiment with representations of what is the best course of action to take in any interaction situation. They weigh up the consequences of previous similar events, anticipate the reactions of others involved and actively construct a plan which they try out for size. They only arrive at relatively competent behaviour by successive approximations. They seek to anticipate the consequences of their actions by reviewing the 'current state of the act' and select the appropriate action to help them achieve their objectives. It is important for our position regarding the limitations of a phenomenological position (see Gray, 1980, 1982) to recognize that:

> '..... the correspondence or non-correspondence between the representing and the represented is not only a matter of epistemological reflection, but also an issue of everyday contestation among participants.'
>
> (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:36)

It is not mere 'fantasy' but a commitment to successively bring representations nearer to reality. An actor not only draws upon the rules and resources available to him but selects such structural properties with greater degrees of accuracy and sustains and modifies them in the process. In episode one, the head of lower school, after reviewing his previous experiences, and those of others, in an attempt to achieve compliance with administrative requests, selected this method of behaviour. After the event, and consequent upon the degree of staff compliance with his demands, he may select the same or alternative methods of seeking his objectives. Subsequent to every episode, actors, like researchers, review their representations of what may be regarded as appropriate and competent behaviour in the direction of their chosen objectives.

Episode two is one in a series of similar ones and the head of middle school is able to review the way he acted, to anticipate the way he will act next time, and to adjust his fantasy about such practices. Parental complaints can be dealt with in this way. Decisions can be taken with impunity without consultation. He is

capable of taking them and of handling the subsequent tension. To manage implies no less. The head of subject, meanwhile, reviews the same situation in terms of what he can anticipate will happen next time and adjusts his fantasy about such practices. His professional and academic judgement has been ignored. Subject studies and subject teachers have been devalued. His authority to lead his subject classroom teachers has been eroded by their perception of his lack of power to make his definition of the situation actually count. There will be difficulties next time he requests staff assistance to place pupils in appropriate ability groups or bands because they will question the value of an exercise that can be overturned as easily as the one Mark was involved in.

In episode three the deputy heads representation of what was his appropriate course of action further substantiates the lack of necessity to consult or inform subject staff of his decision. His best course of action was simply to bring the starting day forward and leave early in the morning without either consulting subject staff or communicating his decision to them. In his summary representation of how things actually are in his school, there is simply no need to consult or inform. It is not part of the routinely accepted procedure. The heads of subject also know that from their summary representation of how things are, they can complain but they have no way of bringing sanctions to bear on the deputy head to consult in future. They too, have to

'defer' to other episodes where they will have to rely upon the discretion of the deputy head. Their summary representation of the balance of power that exists in situations of this kind is that they themselves have very little.

Episode four was also linked to a number of similar episodes and to the teachers expectations about the likely consequences of his action. In the absence of any realistic consultation procedures, he has chosen this form of action. He anticipates that the consequences will be that the head of school will not press the point once he has been challenged. The teacher also realises that should the head of middle school insist on examining the books, the teacher will continue to refuse until the headteacher himself is brought into the dispute. He anticipates that the head of middle school would not wish to expose his failure to carry out this administrative task to his senior colleagues especially where there are no grounds to question the quality of the work, either in the books themselves or in the examination results. The raising of the issue to this level of discussion and challenge may even dispute the supervisory staffs right to carry out such procedures at all.

It may be inferred from these episodes that members of staff do make summary representations of the kind proposed by Knorr-Cetina (1981:30). The episodes always in principle transcend the immediate situation or more

radically speaking, appear to exist only in virtue of other situations (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:31). They involve several layers of interpretation and selection. Teachers anticipate what course of action would be appropriate by defering in time and space to the events of a similar nature they have already experienced, to the anticipated expectations of absent colleagues, and to the anticipated consequences of their action. Authoritarian modes of addressing staff are anticipated to work, consultation is not anticipated as necessary, and clear decision making is a necessary management skill. The potential sources of resistance to surveillance procedures is limited to those who can demonstrate confidence in the classroom situation.

5.2(e) Human agency and commitment to some interest.

> Human agency brings to every episode a commitment to some interest.

Summary representations, however, are not only actively construed in everyday life, they are also routinely invested with faith and interests, they are fought over and manipulated (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:36). As the study of science has shown, to construe a certain representation of the world is in principle always at the same time a matter of truth (correspondence, or equivalence) and a matter of political strategy, that is of imposing ones say and of instituting certain consequences with or against others. Such a construction, in the social sciences, may of course be ideological, in the interests of some dominant group. This aspect will be dealt with

in the next section. This section attempts to emphasize the intentional commitment to pursue a particular conception of how things are or ought to be. Teachers have frequently been perceived as 'mission orientated', seeking to bring about a particular kind of worth-while education and environment. Schooling, for example, is seen as a good thing and absent pupils should be encouraged to attend, orderly school activities, discipline, etc., are also perceived as a good thing. Disruptive, lazy children are not appreciated. In episode one, for example, it is in the sectional interest of heads of school and senior management teams in general to have staff who support a disciplined and orderly school (no classes left without a teacher, concern for pupils who are absent). In episode two, the head of middle school invests considerable interest in the legend that comprehensive schools should provide opportunities open to all and that selection based upon performance is somehow undesirable. To tell a parent that a pupil has no more right to sit for an examination now than he would have had before comprehensive education, is merely to shift selection from the 11+ to teacher judgement. To demonstrate that such judgement can be overruled may be better than to accept the reality, that the system has not really changed very much in the direction of opportunities for all. However, parental pressure has had an effect and the rights of parents, as an interest group, to bring pressure to bear and to do so successfully,

has been a feature that may now be repeated. There was no forum for the discussion of school objectives in either of the two schools. The objectives embedded in the senior staff ideology were written down and published for staff to read. In a similar way, senior staff conferences were restricted to staff holding administrative responsibilities and specifically excluded heads of subjects. A sectional interest in the continuation of management in the absence of consultation and consensus appears to be matters invested with some faith by the senior staff.

In episode three the deputy head may be claimed to have represented the interests of the dominant administrative group. There are certain 'activities' that are not linked clearly to subject teacher responsibilities but may be defined as educationally valuable in the broader interpretation of the term. These activities include a number of sporting activities (these deputy heads take soccer and cricket teams), drama (all the senior staff were principal characters in one of the school's drama performances), and fieldwork of the more social kind referred to here. To be associated with such social and leisure activities emphasises educational rather than administrative competence but retains a clear distinction between this kind of education and the more purposeful, structured learning programmes that are an essential component of examination preparation. They are the popular 'frills' that make school attendance more acceptable and assist administrative staff to be perceived as less of an

irritation to the pupils. Such 'educational' activity is perceived as more professional than 'training' in the main school subject areas. It is more altruistic, and less instrumental.

In episode four the subject teacher has a deep interest in retaining the autonomy of his professional status. He is prepared to fight for this interest. The individualized nature of his stance means that he not only appears to be a reactionary who is defending a dying tradition but is subject to continual uncomplimentary criticism from administrative staff in general, for his lack of co-operation in social and staff room affairs. These later affairs may be irrelevant to his teaching or to the pupil's learning, but they tend to neutralize his opposition by making him appear unusual. He is quite right in claiming that he has little support but this may be because he has little personal support due to his criticism rather than support for what he stands for. The absence of any objective consultative procedures make this supervisory staff strategy to neutralize opposition relatively easy.

It may be inferred from these episodes that staff do not merely have fantasies (Gray, 1980, 82) about how schools ought to be from their particular point of view (conditions of service included), but that they actively pursue these in episodes of situated interaction. The large and complex school must be organized to promote a disciplined and purposeful pursuit of senior staff determined objectives.

Since they are responsible to external agencies they invest faith in bringing about their perceived objectives. To consult with staff generally and to permit work without surveillance would make their task more difficult. Therefore, they have a vested interest in both defining the schools objectives and defining the logistical arrangements best suited to their achievement. Teachers, meanwhile, with the exception of the kind described in episode four, appear to accept that classroom subject teaching is a perilous art and are quite happy to pass on much of the responsibility for partial success and partial failure to the pastoral/administrative staff. The head of school can protect them from the anxious parent, provide a long stop for the disruptive pupil, and permit them to incur only partial responsibilities for the whole educational experience of the child. A certain amount of surveillance appears a small price to pay for exemption from those awesome responsibilities.

5.2(f) Human agency and unacknowledged conditions.

> Human agency brings to every episode some unacknowledged condition of human action.

In the discussion of motivation (page 25) it was concluded that a theory of motivation that construes agency as activity in the direction of competence (Knorr-Cetina, 1981), fantasy realization (Gray, 1980, 1982), predictable order (Kelly, 1955) and effectance (White, 1959), would ground the determination to do something in

the purposefulness of the agency rather than in some poorly defined unconscious process. It locates the unacknowledged conditions of human action firmly in the 'ideological'. Giddens argues that the sectional interest/polarity rather than the science/ideology polarity is basic to his theory of ideology and as such locates its chief usefulness, to a critique of domination (1979:186-7). He further argues, following Habermas, that there is no such thing as an ideology, only ideological aspects of symbol-systems. Any idea-system may be ideological. Linking this to the structuration process, I am examining, means analysing how structures of signification are drawn upon or mobilized to legitimate the sectional interests of hegemonic groups (1979:188). In this study, once it can be reasonably assumed from the dialogue between theory and empirical data that two groups of staff are perceived to exist and that one is more dominant than the other, this means examining how the structuring properties of the school are mobilised to legitimate the sectional interests of the dominant group. Such sectional interest may be assumed to include maintaining the existing order of domination where it is possible to make decisions, in line with their perception of schooling objectives, without consultation, and where they arrange staff, facilities and time in such a way that they have preferred working conditions, despite the demand for accountability and the reduction in financial support. The drift towards proletarianisation and routinization of teacher activity is made to be a feature of classroom

subject staff working conditions but not those of the administrative staff. Ideological aspects would range on a continuum from those at the social integration end which would be easily subject to discursive penetration (e.g. perfectly adequate work needs unqualified surveillance in episode four) to those at the systems integration end that would be more deeply buried (subject achievement is necessary for job opportunities). Those that connect unconscious sources of conduct with structural asymetries of resources may be the most difficult to locate and argue that the evidence is there to substantiate them. For example, a fear of being ridiculed for a lack of ability to control large numbers of pupils may be an unconscious source of conduct that leads to excessive structural rules for pupil location and movement. These consequent procedures may be asymetrical to some of the claimed objectives of education, creativity, innovation, reliability, flexibility and responsibleness. Giddens (1979:193) suggests three ways in which attempts may be made to operationalize this concept of the ideological. Basically, we are looking for modes in which domination is concealed as domination at the systems integration level and modes in which power is harnessed to conceal sectional interests at the social integration level.

(i) The representation of sectional interests as universal ones.

This refers to the need to sustain legitimacy through

the claim to represent the interests of the community as a whole. Pastoral and administrative staff claim to be interested in the education of pupils in the broadest sense, to be pupil centred, to have a priority concern for the needs of the pupil as a developing unique individual. At the same time, they claim that this is the universal purpose of education and criticize subject staff for, at best, being responsible for only part of the process, and, at worst, ignoring the individual in favour of subject development. Such concern for the whole pupils development is claimed to be the overall objective, easier achieved in the smaller schools where a single head could survey all that was happening to any one child in the course of his school career. Today, episodes perceived by subject classroom staff as significant because of their narrow and short term contact with a pupil, may be placed in perspective by a delegated head in the context of the pupils career in the whole school. It is promoted that it is in the best interests of all that administrative and pastoral staff determine worthwhile school objectives and carry out the surveillance and prescriptive function on behalf of the individual pupil as a person.

ii) The denial or transmutation of contradictions.

It is normally in the interests of the dominant group if the existence of contradictions is denied or their real locus is obscured (Giddens, 1979:194). One

of the contradictions that emerged substantiated from this fieldwork was that between 'education' and 'training'. Pastoral, administrative staff were significantly involved in 'educational' activities, drama, fieldwork, clubs, and societies of all kinds. When they did teach classes of pupils they were timetabled for career studies, religious studies, games and broad educational projects; third world studies, health education, first aid, sex education, community service, and the Duke of Edinburgh award scheme activities. They also acted to uphold standards of dress and manners, spent much of their time counselling pupils and consulting parents. In contrast, there was considerable evidence that 'training concerns' were the proper responsibilities of subject staff. Even the organisation of examinations, the roles of examination officer, in one school, was being handed back to the subject staff. In brief, the dominant group had colonized the educational curriculum and the more professional conditions of service (private offices, control of timetable, consultation procedures) and the 'training' aspects (those more easily measured and publicly evident) had been unequivocally made the areas of work for the subject classroom staff. The locus of the contradiction lies in the status and public display of the relatively unmeasurable educational side in the 'front room' for parents, media and public alike (note, mainly best pupils involved) while the subject classroom staff struggle to promote the realities (as parents and subject teachers perceive them) of career access

qualifications. What parents are encouraged to visit the school for, and pastoral staff are seen to be committed to, is the legend of the good educational establishment. 'Parents are welcome to visit the school but not the classroom in action'. In the final analysis, parents are interested in the instrumental purpose of the school - for their children to achieve the required access qualifications, but fail to realise that scarce resources (time, facilities, money, etc.,) have been diverted and status denied the staff who are concerned with this area. Both 'education' and 'training' may be necessary in a balanced programme. However, within the school, the devaluation of the subject teacher and subject knowledge,and the upgrading of surveillance and 'educational' activities may hide the reality of the new autonomy in education - the freedom of the supervisory and management staff to actually manage.

iii) The naturalization of the present; reification.

Here the interests of this dominant group are bound up with the preservation of the status quo. Schools may have always given high priority to training in social control. The individual needs to progress from being disciplined to internalizing social norms so that the schools may produce the kind of pupil industry and commerce would prefer, the co-operative conformist. The anticipation that the contract between the hardworking pupil and the rewarding job opportunity may no longer be tenable was commented upon by supervisory staff but not

by subject staff. There was some evidence (in terms of supervisory staff participation in sport, drama and fieldwork activities) that social control was now being sought through alternative, worthwhile social/leisure activities.

Episode four focuses upon a further deeply 'natural' aspect of teaching. The security of the classroom is a valued dimension of teacher competence. 'Teaching is not a spectator sport ..... performance is very personal'. The request to examine the homework books implicitly questioned the teachers subject knowledge and his technical capacities. Today the teacher competes with the media as a source of subject knowledge and is no longer accepted as the unquestioned authority in such matters. He is personally vulnerable. Therefore, despite the fact that his homework books would stand up to close scrutiny, he is defending, perhaps tacitly, his right to a secure professional environment in the classroom. Any questioning of his competence is perceived as a personal threat and he brings this relatively unacknowledged condition to the action he takes. It was interesting to also note that this teacher has no discipline problems. He could not remember ever sending a pupil to the head of middle school for being disruptive in class.

5.3 Structuration Process

It is important to note that all the aspects of human agency reviewed above were isolated for analytic purposes. They are involved simultaneously in the 'moment' of the interaction and can not be studied in isolation from the following section that now attempts to demonstrate how agents use the structuration process. It incorporates the modalities of structuration (Diagram 2, page 17) with the aspects of human agency (Diagram 4, page 24). An attempt is made to show how actors through the process of structuration, draw upon those structural properties relatively embedded in the institution to sustain positions or to bring about change in the middle ground.

5.3(a) Modality of interpretative scheme - communication and signification.

In episode one the head of lower school has communicated by drawing upon language codes 'what counts as proper teacher behaviour in terms of routine administrative tasks and cover periods'. This use of language draws upon established signification structuring properties (established language) and consolidates or modifies them for further use. This is where the 'duality of structure' concept describes how structuring properties are sustained or modified by the structuration process. It refers to 'what the head means to say and what his statement actually means'. To address the staff in this way is to signify

what counts as a staff briefing. It is to communicate through language codes what is proper administrative responsibility, what is the status of a free period and how such activities as registration and cover are part of a teachers conditions of service. For example, 'free period' does not just mean a recognized allocation of time for preparation, planning, administration and marking, but a time when staff are not timetabled but expected to join a reserve group of staff ready to substitute for absent colleagues. This is very different from the conception of free periods in grammar and independent schools where it was frequently regarded as a time when staff could leave the premises, time in lieu of marking and preparation. Only the administrative staff may now leave the building in their 'free' time.

In episode two, interpretative scheme refers to what the head of middle school intended to communicate (what he meant to say) and what his utterance actually meant (by deferment to established language). By drawing on established language (signification), the actors in an episode communicate and reproduce it. The head of middle school has drawn upon language codes to indicate what consultation, assignment procedures and parental concerns actually mean. 'I meant to see you about it', implies that consultation means to let you know about my decision. 'His parents have asked for the change', implies parental concerns that the head of middle school has to deal with and has to protect the teachers from. 'I've looked at

his grade profile, your subject is the odd one out .... I've decided to give him a trial run', implies that if all the other subjects have classified him as G.C.E. material, the fault may lie in the subject rather than with the pupil. 'I thought you would support my decision', implies a certain reciprocity: your loyalty in return for my protection.

In episode three, the deputy head has signified what actually counts as 'educationally valuable activity'. To do a week-end field course is of such educational value in itself that its location immediately before a mock examination programme is irrelevant. Members of the senior staff, by associating themselves with this type of activity and distancing themselves from subject classroom work, are involved in more educationally sound activity, in their opinion, and in less routine work. Their fieldwork, like their status in the school, is implicitly superior activity to that engaged in by subject staff.

In episode four, at the level of social integration, the teacher is communicating to the head of middle school (and to me) what the situation is in respect of the surveillance of homework allocations and marking. As far as the teachers knowledge of the chronically reproduced way things are normally done in schools, the head of middle school is interfering in his personal professional responsibility. Even if such procedures are becoming established as normal practice in the school

generally, it is not the position as he sees it. What he means to say may be, 'You have no right to interfere because it questions my personal competence', but what his utterance means by deferment to established language may be, 'You have neither the qualifications nor the authority as a head of middle school to request such surveillance'.

5.3(b) Modality of facility - power based upon domination the allocation and authorization of resources that may be drawn upon.

In episode one the head of lower school has drawn upon the authority and the allocation of resources that he has been given by governors, local education authorities and the department of education and science, to determine events. To these he has added those rules and resources embedded in professional conventions currently acknowledged in this school. As a head of lower school, his possession of authority is not as clearly accepted as that of the head of the whole school, but he can draw upon delegated aspects of such authority and by so doing successfully, he reproduces the right to dominate in this way for himself and to some degree, for other staff in his position. In brief, he draws upon his structural capabilities, his varying degrees of professional, legal and diffuse authority, to make his definition of the situation actually count. His signification, however legitimate, can actually count.

In episode two the modality of facility refers to the head of middle school's capacity to draw upon the rules and resources (due to authorisation and allocation) and in so doing to exercise his power to secure outcomes where their realisation depends upon others. In the same moment, these authorisation and allocation structures of domination are reproduced and modified. The traditional power of a headteacher, delegated somewhat to the head of middle school, is embodied in professional convention. The middle school head's success in making his definition of the situation actually count by drawing on domination resources stores this power to make such decisions for middle school and other delegated headteacher posts in general and for this middle school head in particular.

In episode three, the deputy head has drawn upon the authority vested in him to determine that his definition of the priority educational exercise in this episode actually counts as the way things are. Such successful definition means that it will be easier in future to draw upon this same authority to withdraw pupils for drama, sport and religious events, that are broadly educational rather than narrowly subject orientated. The education of the pupil as a whole, which is, in his opinion, the more worthwhile educational activity, is established as superior to the teaching of subjects. His signification, however legitimate, is seen to actually count. But power is a routine feature of both parties to all encounters and episode four illustrates an attempt

by both parties to make their definition of the situation actually count as the established state of affairs. The teacher draws upon his personal expertise, his reputation and his experience, the head of middle school on his expectation of delegated headteacher authority to bring to realisation the significations of the situation in the face of opposition from the other person. Both are trying to establish normal procedures. The head of middle school may be claimed to be seeking to change traditional procedures in favour of the establishing of his new role as surrogate headteacher.

5.3(c) Modality of norm - sanctions available due to normative regulations. Norms that are constantly subject to renegotiation in the flow of human encounters.

There is a time and a place, when and where, the head of school may legitimately expect staff co-operation. However, the boundaries of this legitimate expectation are constantly challenged. It may be argued that most episodes of situated interaction, including those described here, are 'frontier' incidents for someone. By this I mean that they are working at the limit of their authority as it is acknowledged by others. This is the frontier where normal practice is challenged. For example, a teacher may regularly overlook absentee registration procedures just to see how far he/she can go before the system reacts. It may be that someone

else will be employed to do such routine administrative work eventually. Power is a routine feature of all incidents. The head of middle school in episode one, appeals to what he has a legitimate right to appeal to, i.e. teachers duty to fulfil their contracts of service, and consequently reproduces and stores that right - normative structuring property - for future use. It is normal procedure for teaching staff (classroom subject staff) to take classes of pupils and to keep accurate attendance records. It is the role of these same teachers to cover for absent colleagues. Free periods are concessions, not rights. Administrative and pastoral staff, meanwhile, have no free periods at all, because their time free from classroom commitments is the time which is allocated for their administrative and pastoral duties. They have no cover periods because they have no free periods. This did not mean that they never did cover for absent colleagues, but it was a rare event. They were entitled, however, to leave school without reference to anyone during their non-timetabled time. The system of norms (claims to certain rights and the acceptance of certain obligations) has to be sustained in the flow of episodes of situated interaction. In episode two, the head of middle school implies that he has protected the head of subject and his staff from parental pressure, a sanction he should beware of because books are not regularly marked and the pupil appears to be making good progress everywhere else. Meanwhile, the head of middle school has the right to assign pupils

to classes and expect staff respect for his ability to make decisions of this kind on the basis of all the information available to him.

Power is a routine feature of all encounters and the right of the deputy head to proceed without consultation or even informing subject staff in advance is under some challenge. The heads of subject concerned in episode three, had already challenged his right to take the pupils away during the week-end prior to the mock examinations. He now went one stage further and took them away from their final revision lessons on Thursday and Friday. However, complaints from the subject heads and their staff were dealt with as 'merely complaints' and the deputy heads action stored the right to take such decisions in the best interests of the pupils and of the school, as he saw it. In the flow of episodes of situated interaction the deputy head has drawn upon all his resources, those sanctions he has at his disposal, to establish his right to act in this way. The heads of subjects will need his assistance in the areas of finance, transport, dealing with parents, and in the allocation of staffing and rooms in the ongoing stream of school activities. To challenge the deputy head in a sustained way would not be strategically advisable in the power relationships embedded in the structural properties of the school.

This system of norms has to be sustained and reproduced in the flow of encounters. The teacher in episode four claims to have certain professional rights and to accept certain obligations but refuses to have the execution of these submitted to surveillance of the kind being requested. This same teacher co-operated willingly with H.M.I. and frequently exposes his work to peer group scrutiny at conferences and regional subject staff meetings. However, he refuses to permit it to be established in principle that he permits surveillance by the head of middle school. The fact of his acknowledged expertise is the sanction he can use against the head of middle school. He is strong enough to challenge the head of middle school and when I asked him what the head of middle school did to help him with his daily tasks he had no recollection of any such help.

5.3(d) Unintended consequences.

The intended consequence as far as the head of school was concerned in episode one was to achieve more accurate registration, more submissive acceptance of 'cover' arrangements, and respect for his right to demand high standards in this way; the unintended consequence may well be outside of his discursive penetration of the encounter. Such tactics may reproduce the job description syndrome - that is what he gets paid extra for - and reduce the concern and

co-operation - willingness to help and be of service to your colleagues - that may be identified in less hierarchical units. The lack of appreciation for the extent of marking and preparation that goes on in free periods may lead to such increased repression that it is neglected. The style of the reprimand may further heighten the contradiction between the professional aspirations of teachers and the routine and mundane tasks that are becoming such significant parts of their daily experience. Members of staff who discussed the incident said that despite the fact that he had the right to ask for such tasks to be carried out, 'his method of asking' was not the style one ought to use to address professional colleagues. They were aware that the signals transmitted by the incident were:

> 'You are merely teachers, assistant teachers, who can be spoken to as if you were merely naughty children. I am to you as you are to children.'

A further unintended consequence was pointed out by a young female teacher:

> 'I will conform a little to his requests because basically he frightens me, but I have no real respect for him as a manager or person worthy of respect.'

In the long term, regular head of school behaviour of this kind may lead to teachers stressing administrative compliance and neglecting creative teaching, or to

their searching for weaknesses in the head of school and planning disruptive tactics to embarras him in public.

The head of school in episode two, may have intended to act in the best interests of the pupil, the parents and the school. The pupil should be given a final chance to show what he is capable of, the parents must see the school as considerate and concerned, the teachers must be protected from critical appraisal of their work. The unintended consequences, however, are claimed to include a further devaluation of the status of head of subject. He was not worth consulting before a decision was made nor even worthy of being informed that a pupil had been reallocated within his subject area. The argument that the pupils grade profile was good in every aspect except the subject in question could have been interpreted as pupil aptitude or pupil ability areas but it was immediately construed as teacher failure in that subject area. The unintended consequence may be identified as devaluation of the teacher - they need surveillance, they are not as diligent as they should be in marking and preparation. It may also heighten the contradiction between attitudes to the 'cover period' discussed earlier and a recognition of the time needed for this marking and preparation. A devaluation of the classroom subject teachers task may be the focus of this unintended

consequence. Such increased repression may lead to further struggle by classroom subject staff to obtain consultation and some control.

Again in episode three, the devaluation of the importance of the subject and the devaluation of the status of subject staff is an unintended consequence of an administration decision. The needs of the pupils as persons are more important than their needs as examination candidates. The pastoral, administrative eclipses the academic. They can quite easily make decisions without consultation that have academic consequences. A further unintended consequence is identified as heightened contradiction between school success in terms of externally recognized achievement and educational success in terms of broader educational objectives, the development of the person, etc. In addition, the struggle between the two groups of staff, the academic and the pastoral, is heightened and intensified by the polarization of their concerns through the way this incident was resolved.

A major unintended consequence in episode four, is the focus upon the heightened and intensified struggle between the subject teachers concern to retain the personal, professional security of the classroom and the head of schools concern to increase the surveillance of what goes on there. This is only one episode in a stream of activity and the structural position of the staff concerned has not been changed.

I speculate that the head of school will remain confident that he must continue to try and demonstrate his delegated headteacher authority and that the teacher in the classroom will continue to defend his classroom security. The lack of consultation and the continuation of the pursuit of different objectives by the two career ladders will assist with this process.

5.4 Summary of emerging issues.

In the previous chapter and in this one an attempt has been made to operationalize what Giddens refers to as the two moments of social research.

> 'One is the hermeneutic grasping of the form of life that one is analysing, but the other is as it were, a somewhat deeper analysis of reasons that people are capable of offering for their activities. By this I don't just mean the reasons that people will offer if asked, but the rationalisation of conduct that you can impute to people as part of the modality whereby they control what they do in their day-to-day life .....'
>
> Giddens, 1982:73.

The interview data referred to in the previous chapter concerned itself, in particular, with the degree of discursive penetration that teachers had of the social context of their daily activities. An attempt was made to identify what they saw as the issues that most concerned them. In this chapter, the focus has moved

to what the analyst can also infer from seeing what they do. The total insight includes, therefore,

> '..... what they say; the way they say it, the context in which they say it, and the form in which they say it .....'
>
> (Giddens, 1982:73)

and a thoroughly analytic inferential procedure that studies their behaviour. The emphasis in this chapter has been two-fold; a search for further evidence of the extent of human agency penetration of the social mileiu of the school by an analysis of such agency in the six aspects taken from diagram 4, page 24 , and an attempt to provide further substantiation for the way in which the dominant group actually sustains and consolidates its dominance through the structuration process in the daily episodes of situated interaction.

All four episodes were selected because teachers agreed that they were routine, typical episodes, one in a stream of similar episodes that they recognised immediately. The analysis provides substantiation for the following issues:

i) Administrative staff are perceived by teachers and see themselves as expected to behave with delegated headteacher management and supervisory authority. Such authority stretches from the deputy heads downwards through the senior teacher, the heads of upper, middle and lower schools and their assistants, to the year

tutors. By the style in which they regularly carry out their daily necessary administrative tasks in particular by giving instructions and taking decisions without consultation, they echo to some extent the traditional autocratic style of the small school headteacher. He or she does not need to delegate but embodies his or her schools objectives, supervised very closely the work of assistant teachers, and carried the public responsibility for the relative success or failure of the school in the eyes of the community. In three of the episodes, the administrative staff demonstrated that they knew what was recognized normal practice, that they could have acted otherwise, that their previous experience raised few doubts about its possible effectiveness, that they could anticipate a successful outcome to any challenge or resistance, and that their absent administrative colleagues expected such competence because it helped them all to meet the external pressures (parents, H.M.I., L.E.A., governors, etc.,) and to set up working conditions for themselves conducive to professional activity. Where 'normal practice' was challenged in episode four, on the other hand, it was certainly still repeatedly promoted.

ii) Administrative staff are perceived by teachers, and see themselves, as primarily concerned with broader educational and cultural objectives rather than with the measurable standards of performance that they expect

from the structured and progressive learning processes in the subject classroom teachers job description. Some of these broader objectives arise from the original 'pastoral care' label, the notions embodied in 'progressive education' and the 'extra-curricular' heritage of the independent schools. They claim to have a concern for the education of the pupil as a whole rather than in the partial subject way. This 'whole' education is linked to the childs interests (clubs and societies that cut across subject boundaries), the childs personal development as a person (confidence, self-esteem, initiative, service to the community) and the childs general social adjustment to the sites of human activity he or she is being prepared for (the family, the place of work, and a democratic society). Such administrative staff activity is perceived by administrative staff as inherently superior to subject teaching.

In episodes two and three, in particular, the concern for pupils in the broader sense and the superiority of administratively defined cultural activities (fieldwork in the Lake District) over subject department allocations and prescribed course work is clearly demonstrated. It was relevant to note that in both schools the majority of money (not received from public funds but collected as school fund) was allocated to these administratively defined educational and cultural activities. The minibus,

the field centre, the drama costumes, the class finances, etc., were largely maintained by the school fund for activities in these areas. Rarely did such money subsidize the requirements of subject areas for 'normal' routine work on agreed syllabuses. Meanwhile, overriding the decisions of subject department heads, failing to consider it necessary to consult or even inform, demonstrates the low priority given to the administration requirement, noted by Gray (1980), to provide staff with the facilities, time and encouragement to make their teaching easier. Instead, there is some substantiation here for the claim that administrative staff see themselves, and behave in a way to bring to fruition such a perception, as being involved in their own educational 'curriculum' programme, one that in fact involves the broader objectives claimed here. Their superior position means that they can give priority to it.

The question, how do they maintain this superior position, is now relevant. On the one hand, the case has been made in the foreshadowed problems that administrative staff appointments were made initially to reduce the large school to a more familiar size and that such large schools forced traditional headteachers to either delegate or in a few cases, set up elaborate consultative procedures (Watts, 1976). Where the delegation process proceeded with the reallocation of secondary modern school staff within the pastoral care

paradigm, a group of staff with experience, qualifications and fantasies about schools different to some extent, from subject teachers, began to occur. The superiority of this group is perceived as outlined in the previous paragraphs to be partly located in the nature of the tasks they have been allocated, to administer efficiently and to teach in broader educational and cultural areas. This position may, therefore, be seen as legitimated in these terms - their task is seen, and every effort is made to universalize this perception, as superior. It is this effort to universalize that appears a crucial dimension of the structuration process. By drawing on what they have been allocated, superior tasks, private professional working conditions, access to administrative consultative meetings (meetings that grew from simple pastoral care case conferences to the sole real consultative process in the school), greater freedom to associate and interact with administrative colleagues (due to more 'free' periods, less repetitive marking and preparation), they are able to define individually and as a group what is a 'free period', 'proper registration procedures', 'adequate homework', 'school objectives', 'staff work loads', 'valuable activities', etc. In all four episodes, the modality of interpretative scheme can be seen to be demonstrated. The heads of school and the deputy heads draw upon established language codes to define what is meant by the above and implicitly what is meant by school

management. It is the leadership of the administrative group who collectively decide and individually promote their decisions without consultation. Their definition of their role includes the right to interfere in subject classroom staff lessons and in their judgement about the performance of pupils in the care of subject staff. To some extent also, the example of resistance, in episode four, indicates how much more difficult the establishment and maintenance of the surveillance part of this superiority would be if classroom subject teachers were simply much better at their task. However, denying them support and the process of subject devaluation (head of subject too) tends to reduce the power teachers would gain from this source. The modalities of interpretation, facility and norm are, of course, linked with each other in such a way that to treat them separately in this analysis is confusing. In terms of facility, the delegated heads have to strive to maintain their domination because it is not as taken for granted as that of the head himself. Episode four again illustrates the vulnerable nature of it. However, by the allocation of resources (in both the sense that includes private offices and in the sense that includes power to distribute discretionary funds, permission to take field trips, etc.,) and the allocation of authority (both what your job description expects you to do and how the attainment of this position gives authority opportunities) the administrative staff are in a position to make their definition of the situation

actually count. This definition of the situation, however legitimate, is also subject to challenge. Failure to carry out surveillance procedures would soon question an administrators right to carry them out at all. They would no longer be regarded as normal in the sense that normative regulations about how things may normally be done are constantly subject to renegotiation in the series of daily episodes of situated interaction. The establishment of some consultative procedure, such as an academic staff board, that was the locus of decision making and represented staff from the subject areas as well as administrative staff, may reduce the authority of all administrators to act independently. Most episodes, therefore, are routine but others represent 'frontier' incidents for some staff as they try to extend or resist the erosion of their authority. In all four episodes the structuration process is substantiated as a useful way of estimating how, in the middle ground of daily interaction, the individuals concerned are able to promote their definition of the situation that in the 'longue duree' of institutional time becomes the relatively embedded structuring properties of our schools. It has, however, been possible through this analysis of episodes to hold that the duree of social life, the temporality of the life-cycle of the human being, and the 'longue duree' of institutions are three intersecting moments of social interaction (Giddens, 1982:109). The domination of the administrative staff

group (referred to by other staff in particular as the 'hierarchy') is an intended outcome of administrative staff behaviour, and not an intrinsic property of the structure. It is intrinsic to the tasks adopted (administration and broader educational aims), and may be in part recognized as an unintended consequence of larger school size and its need for effective organisation.

One unintended consequence proposed is the identification of the pervasive reproduction of those conditions that devalue the opportunities for the really bright pupil who would have attended the grammar school of the previous decade. Structured subject studies and qualified staff dispositions are devalued within these two schools. The four episodes indicate that the emphasis, the priorities are elsewhere on administration itself and upon broader educational and cultural activities colonized by the administrative staff. The structuring properties of the school that provide the rules and resources that underpin this devaluation process on the one hand and the colonisation process on the other, are reproduced in a chronic way in episodes similar to those analysed here.

This relatively unintended consequence heightened the repression felt by subject classroom staff. This repression is reproduced in every episode of interference, surveillance and lack of consultation. Talented teachers that could inspire pupils to achieve

in many areas are denied recognition and support. Subsequent upon this daily reinforcement of the repression, the status of subject classroom teaching is reduced and the rules for appropriate surveillance of it become more firmly institutionalized. Now teachers accept them as external constraints about which they are relatively helpless to do anything about except grumble to their contemporaries.

The dialogue between theory and empirical evidence pursued throughout this chapter has substantiated to some extent the following propositions about the larger school. Teachers perceive the administrative and pastoral staff as supervisory, as vested with delegated headteacher authority and as concerned with broader educational objectives (broader than merely subject teaching). Structuration analysis has enabled some insight to be gained about how such dominance is sustained in the challenging daily episodes of situated interaction. An unintended consequence is identified as a reduction in the opportunities for the really bright pupils, a shift in resources from talent development to leisure education, and a decline in the self esteem of subject classroom teachers.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 An evaluation of the theoretical model.

6.2 The relevance of the ethnographic method for data collection in the dialogue between theory and data.

6.3 The research issues that emerged substantiated in the process of the study.

6.4 Recommendations.

6.1 An evaluation of the theoretical model.

In a review of the current state of social structural analysis, Alexander (1984a:21-22) considers a multidimensional approach as likely to be most fruitful. He perceives few attempts to move progressively towards a multidimensional model quoting those of Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel, 1981; Collins, 1981; Giddens, 1979; and Alexander, 1984b (to be published) as the sole attempts to bridge the so-called micro/macro gap. The work of Buckley, 1967; Archer, 1982; and Bhaskar, 1979, are other authors he appears to have overlooked. He does claim, however, that,

> 'the more a structure appears current, the more it appears to be ruled by reified naturalistic laws which are self-contained and inviolable, and while the former property is desirable and true, the latter is not. The continuity of social systems is at every moment dependent upon human action: this is the seminal insight of the individualistic tradition. The imperatives of social structure are probabilistic: they are always open to the possibility, no matter how remote, of reversal or revision.'
>
> (Alexander, 1984a:23)

The challenge, as he sees it, for social structural analysis for the years to come is to tackle the issues that individualistic theory has raised for it. The focus of the debate that spearheads this challenge to micro and macro

theorists alike is the alternative errors of either voluntarism or reification. Urry (1982:100) claims that the significant attempts to transcend the dichotomy between excessive structural concern (tending towards reification) and excessive action concern (tending towards voluntarism) have only partially succeeded. He refers to the work of Bhaskar (1979) and Giddens (1979) in particular, whom he claims have been more successful in identifying the shortcomings of either the macro or micro levels of analysis alone, than in charting a philosophical or even a methodological pathway through the middle ground. Gane (1983:368) comments that Giddens claims that social theory today can only be adequate if it is adequately ambitious and genuinely totalizing. Such claims for multi-dimensionality and total synthesisation may, however, be better described as overambitious or premature but certainly not beyond our reach.

> 'Loaded onto the beast of
> 'duality of structure',
> hinged between individual
> and social, are too many
> burdens.'
>
> Gane, 1983:396.

Those who have been involved in micro-sociological research appear to agree about the enormous complexity of the micro transactions of social life on their own without adding the further complexities of the macro. Knorr-Cetina (1981:21) points to

the drawbacks of a research tradition that proceeds to measure 'social reality' while largely ignoring this micro fine grained structure. Hirst (1982:78) doubts the value of attempts at synthesis arguing that the concepts of distinct theoretical fields can not easily be abstracted from those fields and synthesized. They depend upon other (perhaps less assimilable) concepts and upon distinct (and non-synretistic) methods of theoretical work. Hirst would prefer a strategy of accepting theoretical differences and divergences, pursuing distinct methods of work seriously and living with the perhaps productive incompatibility. Such a plea for rigorous field specific work is repeated by Hammersley (1984:322) who would prefer sociologists of education to put their efforts into trying to develop and test theories at both macro and micro levels separately.

> 'Any theory must abstract from reality: none can capture its fullness.'
>
> (Hammersley, 1984:320)

A more relevant point may, however, have been clearly made by Hammersley (1984:321), this is that attempts at elaborate synthesis at the philosophical level are not merely premature but futile unless they are substantiated in the process of empirical discovery. The energies employed to argue the various merits of the macro/micro approaches and to a lesser extent

to produce a synthesis have merely diverted attention from the real issue - the organisation of the sociology of education around research problems rather than around competing theoretical perspectives.

This study concerned itself with a relatively small 'locale', the study of two comprehensive school sites. They are certainly arenas of activity, sites of social interaction where individual agency in episodes of situated interaction (micro aspects) may be identified and analysed. However, to some extent, they are contained within an 'epoche' of strategic activity and no attempt is made to study the relationship between these sites themselves and other similar or different sites of human activity (e.g. family, workplace, Chapel or hospital) which would be necessary to significantly bridge the micro-macro divide. It may be argued that the macro factors such as gender, class, race or age that appear to have consequences for the outcomes of incidents of situated interaction in one site of human activity are echoed on other sites. Such a broader attempt to analyse relationships between events on different sites is not attempted in this study. As Urry (1982:102) argues, this restriction of the scope of structuration analysis as illustrated in this study, makes it simpler to see how rules and resources are generated, used and modified. The analysis of

the interrelationships of different sites of human activity in the larger social world is yet to be explored. This study may therefore be criticised as merely concerned with an abstraction from reality and as such fails to capture its fullness. This study does, however, submit the evolving theoretical model (restricted as it is) to empirical analysis. The debate between the relative approaches of Archer (1982:455), the morphogenic approach, and Giddens, 1979, the structuration approach is a good example of the armchair philosophical level at which the debate is often carried out, a debate that is likely to discourage the systematic development and testing of theory through empirical research. Only through the process of empirical discovery in the dialogue between theory and data, (what Knorr-Cetina refers to as theoretically informed empiricism) will it be possible to show in <u>what</u> circumstances, in connection with <u>which</u> research issue, <u>when</u> (Archers problem) certain constraints of the structure overcome voluntarism of the individual and <u>how</u> (Giddens problem) certain constraints of the structure are generated or overcome by human agency. The model developed in diagram one (Chapter 2.2, page 15 is not only tested through empirical analysis, but it also has several important features. It philosophically leans towards competence theory in relation to <u>why</u> questions rather than that of coercion or normative activity as the source of 'order' in

society. Priority is given to a human agents practical reasoning as the source of human agency.

> 'Social order is not that which holds society together by somehow controlling individual wills, but that which comes about in the mundane but relentless transaction of these wills.'
>
> (Knorr-Cetina, 1981:7)

It rejects both methodological individualism (various phenomenological studies, e.g. Gray, 1980, 1982) and methodological collectivism in favour of methodological situationalism. Hence the 'epoche' placed around the strategic conduct of members of a small scale institution, an abstraction from the total reality. The distinction is also made between action and structure rather than between individuals and collectivity, focussing attention upon the key unit of analysis as the episode of situated interaction.

It is necessary to consider the extent to which adding the representation hypothesis (Knorr-Cetina, 1981), expanding the unintended consequences (Boudon, 1981) and pursuing empirical research has met the challenge made by Archer (1982:455-483) regarding the shortcomings of the structuration hypothesis. Archer (1982:456) agrees that both structuration and morphogenesis have in common the premise that structural patterning is inextricably grounded in practical interaction. The macro is indeed a product

of these episodes of situated interaction and forms a context for future episodes. They differ in their explanation of how this occurs. The task of finding a synthesising social theory of the middle ground is accepted by both Archer and Giddens as a worthwhile endeavour however complex it may be, but the debate is about how such a perspective should be conceptualised. 'Dualism' (Archer) differs from 'duality of structure' (Giddens) because it fundamentally retains a time and space gap between the actions of human agents in episodes and the structural constraints created by them. It verges upon reification. Duality of structure, meanwhile, is accused of being chronically recursive, embroiling all in reproduction. It verges upon voluntarism. Duality of structure is rightly referred to by Archer as ever a process (of how things are normally done) and never a product that underpins propositional statements about <u>when</u> we can anticipate outcomes. The emergent properties that morphogenesis proposes as the end products of human agency, are somewhat dislocated from the hyperactive perspective implied in the structuration analysis. Because this study restricted itself to the smaller 'locale' the point at which these criticisms of structuration become a serious issue is avoided. Giddens offers little advice on how different sites of human activity are related in the creation and maintenance of broader macro structures (see Urry, 1982:102). Archer

(1981:458) claims that Giddens whole approach depends upon the strength of his case for overcoming the dichotomies which the morphogenetic perspective retains and utilizes - between voluntarism and determinism, between synchrony and diachrony, and between individual and society. It is argued in this study that the 'when' questions that Archer consequently claims structuration is unable to address can only be satisfactorily addressed in empirical studies of specific research questions. The voluntarism, determinism dimension is seen not so much as a dichotomy but as a variable dependent upon how human agents interact in specified situations. By drawing or not drawing upon structural properties in episodes of situated interaction, human agency makes constraints or overcomes constraints. The question of when is part of the answer to how.

In the dichotomy between synchrony and diachrony which the 'duality of structure' claims to transcend, by invoking structure which is present only in its instantiation there is some value again in the way this study has focussed upon episodes of situated interaction and upon small sites of human activity in the middle ground.. The continual flow of acts that defer at 'all times' to the vivid fringe of memory, tinged with anticipation of the future are easier to identify. However, the constraints of the

broader multisite structuring properties of society as a whole, would appear to require some acceptance of 'elaborated structures' in Archers terms, structures that were either set up by others or evolved as an unintended consequence of human activity in other sites. This slippage in time may be due to unintended consequences or limitations in our knowledge of the rules and resources available but I would prefer to pursue the arguments of Bhaskar (1979) that structuring properties, unlike the structure of natural science, do not exist independently of the agents conceptions of what they are doing in their activity (see Urry, 1982:101), and those of Knorr-Cetina (1981) that the representation hypothesis retains the anticipatory and evaluative activities of a human agent in the assessment of what the present state of these structuring properties actually are, than accept structural elaboration in morphogenetic terms where constraints drift away from human knowledgeability towards reified structural determinants.

In the dichotomy between individual and society this study acknowledges the distinctions made by Giddens (1979) and Knorr-Cetina (1981) when they consider agency and structure as the more appropriate terms. However, it adds to such an orientation the concept of sites of human activity in an attempt to bring society down to a size where it can be usefully studied using the proposed model. This study also adds to structuration, from Knorr-Cetina (1981), the

importance of episodes of situated interaction as the units of study. It is considered, as a consequence of this study, that the model proposed, in Diagrams 1 - 4 in chapter two, plus consideration of the unintended consequences, is a viable guide for the exploration of sites in the middle ground where the emphasis is upon research by ethnographic methods.

6.2 The relevance of the ethnographic method for data collection in the dialogue between theory and data.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:19) argue that the development and testing of theory is the distinctive function of social theory. This distinguishes it from journalism and literature and to some extent moves the exercise beyond mere description of commonsense knowledge. The extent to which ethnography, as defined in Chapter 3.1, can carry out this analysis has been in doubt.

Its usefulness as merely a prelude to quantitative research was the limit of its acceptability at first.

Becker (1970:62) argued, however, that where fieldwork of the participant observation type was appropriate, the evidence it produced may contribute substantially to developing theory.

> 'Because it gives us information on people acting under the very social constraints whose operation we are interested in, and because its numerous items of information and flexible procedures allow us to test our conclusions repeatedly and in a variety of ways, we need not fear that its unsystematic character will distort our findings in ways that we, our readers, or the people we study find convenient, congenial or expectable.'
>
> Becker (1970:62).

Appreciation of its value has moved on therefore, from a good prelude to quantitative research, to valuable evidence in itself, to the arguments being used by, for example, Hammersley and Atkinson (1983:23) that the value of ethnography (as defined in Chapter 3.1) is perhaps most obvious in relation to the development of theory. They claim to have given particular emphasis to the development of theory because it is often neglected by ethnographers and because it is a primary goal of social research. (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:206). The important point considered throughout this study, is that theory is not merely the establishment of causal relationships but also the process by which such relationships are generated.

If there is some foreshadowed issue, for example that 'the drift into two career patterns for teachers, those who supervise and those who teach, has caused a decline in the status of subject classroom teaching', the selected methodology must be able to accommodate,

an assessment of the reality of the problem itself as perceived by those working in the site,.a description of how this situation has occurred and an explanation of how the structuring properties are maintained/may be changed. Theory at the level of grand social theory (the structuration-plus, hypothesis) and theory at the level of the research problem (the emergent dominant career group) may be developed. Theory, however, can also be tested as it develops by ethnographic techniques. The three major sources of evidence, published material, interviews and participant observation may be processed by some 'triangulation', a search for collaborative evidence from several sources. They may be simultaneously submitted to sequential reactive processes. Here, for example, well into the fieldwork it was decided to introduce an analysis of management criteria (after Martin, 1983, in Chapter 4.3, page 89) in reaction to the emerging redefinition of pastoral and administrative as supervisory. Throughout the study the ethnographic technique was found to be appropriate to an ongoing theory/data dialogue which involved both the development and the testing of the theories at both levels. The analysis of the data has not, therefore, been a distinct phase in the study (see Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:174). One appropriate description of this process is conceptualized in the term 'funnel' effect - the issues becoming progressively

focussed over the course of time (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:175). This study began with a perception of the dichotomy between pastoral and academic career lines in the larger school but moved towards the developing and testing of a dominant relationship of supervisory staff over subject classroom teachers. The development and testing of the theoretical issues at both levels and the refinement of methodological techniques are part of the same process and pursued simultaneously in the ongoing 'theoretically informed empiricism' or theory/data dialogue pursued in this study.

Central to this methodology is the issue of reflexivity. There has been a history of concern for objectivity in the scientific methods adopted by social scientists, ranging from the strictly positivist quantitative methods (stressing standardisation of research procedures) to the total surrender to the context in naturalistic methods (stressing direct exposure).

The classical limitation of scientifically respectable quantitative methods (surveys and questionnaires), that they do not address the discrepancies between attitudes as expressed in replies and actual behaviour, is acknowledged. They are weak on interpretation and strong on objectivity and reliability. Naturalistic theories, meanwhile, propose that the social world should be

studied in its natural state, undisturbed by the researcher. This study begins by accepting the futility of attempts to eliminate researcher effects and it recognised that, 'There is no way in which we can escape the social world in order to study it: nor fortunately is that necessary' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983:15). Becker (1970:42) over a decade ago argued that it was not necessary because despite positivists attacks, the credibility of conclusions is 'helped' as much as 'hindered' by reflexivity. One objection of the positivist school lay in their claim that a lack of procedural guidelines in data collection led to the participant observer and the fieldworker generally merely studying his own biases and prejudices. But, in Becker's own experience such biases are less likely in qualitative work because of the recalcitrant facts of the fieldwork experience itself. Becker (1970:43) provides an illustration of the powerful effect the richness and variety of the fieldwork data can have on the foreshadowed prejudices or biases of the fieldworker. Where cynicism about the limitations of medical achievements dominated the earlier references about medical student perceptions, sustained observation and analysis revealed a predominantly idealistic approach at the level of aspirations and in actual behaviour patterns. A similar fieldwork enlightenment occurred in this study. In addition, normal constraints that operate in social settings such as staffrooms in schools

continue to operate while the observer is present. They are far more crucially related to the objective of staff behaviour than the presence of an observer who cannot effect their promotion prospects or working conditions. The observer is not necessarily or indefinitely seen as a real threat. The very richness of the interview and participant observation data elicited from 'the hermeneutic grasping of the form of life that one is analysing' (Giddens, 1982:73), makes it difficult for the observer to see only his or her prejudicial expectations (see Becker, 1970: 52). Prejudices may still 'filter' information but not determine the inferences we make. This study began with the explicit recognition of the reflexive character of the research (see Chapter 3.1). It charts the foreshadowed problems, the evolved analytic criteria (e.g. do administrative staff actually carry out management techniques?) and searches for the penetrating collaboration or contradiction that shapes the issues that begin to emerge substantiated.

A feature of the methodological orientation to this study has been the sequential nature of the developing theory/data dialogue. This process occurred during the early theoretical development, during the main data collection period and in the subsequent writing up. It began with some synthesis between personal experience and published material

about the larger comprehensive school. This was followed by a search for and the adaptation of a model for social analysis that would be appropriate to the small 'site' of human activity and to 'episodes of situated interaction'. As the early interview and participant observation data was examined the analysis was refined to pursue the changing focus - was there evidence to substantiate the emerging issue of increased surveillance of classroom subject teachers work by those with delegated headteacher administrative responsibilities? In the analysis of episodes in chapter five a method of assessing how structural constraints/opportunities, are maintained and developed in the course of daily activities is explored. Essential, however, to the logic of the methodology proposed is both the development and testing of theory, the flexibility of the method in so far as it can react sequentially to the emerging issues and the process of triangulation that gives the collaboration necessary for substantiation. The sequential and 'funnelling' nature of the fieldwork, the continuous dialogue between developing theory and the richness of the field notes, the flexible 'reactivity' and the 'triangulation' process permitted some issues to emerge substantiated. It is to these issues that the next section addresses itself.

6.3 The research issues that emerged substantiated in the process of this study.

Published material, for example, Burgess, 1983, Gray, 1980, and John 1980, identified the 'management of size' and the 'placement of staff' as significant features of large comprehensive schools, in particular, those created by the merger of two or more existing schools. 'Size' demanded the delegation of head-teacher authority, and the 'reallocation of displaced staff' an opportunity to create two career ladders, the pastoral and the academic. The two emergent teacher career ladders identified by these authors and substantiated here located the exercise of delegated authority as the crucial problem for 'pastoral/administrative' staff and both the resistance to this exercise of authority and attempts to effectively teach a wide range of abilities as the crucial problem for subject classroom staff. The relevant point is that this study identifies the fundamental issue as deeper than the simple origins of merged institutions, the problem of size, staff placement or ability range and human attempts to solve them. This fieldwork relocates the focus of the problem in the knowledge, perceptions and fantasies of the staff who hold positions of responsibility for different aspects of school work. It examines how they use the structuration opportunities made available to them in such positions, to achieve their fantasies about school objectives in the context of external

pressures for accountability and economic restraint, and internal resistance from competing fantasies and perceptions. The issue may have some roots in solutions to the problems created by the initial merger but such solutions are not claimed to be either a necessary or sufficient cause. The facts of size and ability range are the permanent features. The current perceptions of post holders and the strategies they employ to achieve their objectives were the sources of the evidence used in the theory/data dialogue pursued here. Seven years after the merger the evidence suggests that promotion opportunities are better for one career ladder rather than the other, that supervisory staff tackle management problems and that subject classroom staff are still struggling to participate in wider school concerns and with pupils of all abilities.

The two schools selected for the ethnographic study were merged institutions. In School 'B' the process towards a fully comprehensive situation was slower because the initial merger led to a comprehensive first year but a joint grammar school situation in all other years. The change to a fully comprehensive situation took a further six years and was just completed at the start of this fieldwork. The problem of size had been there from the start but that of a wide range of ability had slowly become apparent over the years. Ex-grammar

school staff had increasingly found it necessary to teach lower forms. There was little evidence here to suggest that 'placement of staff', in particular, those not well qualified to teach advanced work could be considered the cause of the pastoral/ administrative staff career ladder. However, in terms of their perception of how schools ought to be organised and administered, and in terms of the actions they took in pursuit of these perceptions the evidence from both schools was very similar. Once appointed to a pastoral/administrative post a teacher certainly perceives school objectives in a particular way and there was no evidence to suggest that such perceptions were substantially different where staff came from academic or less academic posts. Meanwhile, some staff who remain subject classroom staff perceive such post holders as administrators and question their concern for academic progress and their right to supervise. Even ex-heads of subject departments now in pastoral/administrative posts were regarded as out of date in their subject areas, too busy to make a realistic contribution or merely experts in someone-elses subject area.

In School A, the merger of the three institutions had brought about an instant fully comprehensive situation. The problem of size, staff placement and ability range were immediately faced and there was evidence that staff from the secondary modern

schools had drifted into pastoral posts in the initial placement exercise and that a policy of continuing to appoint, to pastoral/administrative posts, staff who were not well qualified in subject areas was being implemented. However, this was not regarded as a sufficient cause. The overwhelming evidence was that staff perceptions and strategies, once they were appointed to such positions, were the crucial factors in their approach to daily episodes of situated interaction.

Delegated headteacher authority was a feature of both schools despite their different origins. The theory/data dialogue began with the evidence from published material and personal experience that alerted me to the fact that consequences of the mergers might include problems of size and staff placement. The initial interviews with a random sample of headteachers substantiated the issues of size and the supervision of teacher activity as crucial. The headteachers recognised the need to delegate in larger schools and acknowledged their belief that without close supervision of teachers little 'real' teaching took place. The single most important issue was already beginning to funnel through. There was a need to delegate supervisory procedures so that the larger school could be monitored and controlled in a manner similar to normal practice in the smaller school. The fieldwork interviews and the participant observation and analysis of incidents of situated

interaction in the two schools provided further collaboration that teachers were knowledgeable that such a supervisory group was a fact of life in these schools as perceived by them. The supervisory group were perceived as having created better conditions of service for themselves and as having adopted supervisory staff behaviour patterns (criteria outlined by Martin, 1983). From the analysis of the episodes of situated interaction it was imputed that staff in both career ladders normally acted in recognition of the existence of the legitimate supervisory groups dominance. This analysis also gave some substance to how the dominance of supervisory staff was daily maintained and elaborated. Staff in supervisory positions drew upon the structuring properties they had knowledge of - the rules and resources recognized as relatively routine, to maintain and consolidate their right to carry out supervisory and management tasks.

The first issue, therefore, that is claimed to have emerged substantiated in the research is that in these two schools traditional headteacher authority has been delegated, due to school size, to staff with administrative and pastoral responsibilities (from deputy heads to year tutors). A supervisory staff career ladder has been formed and is daily maintained by human agency in episodes of situated interaction. Such activity is legitimated in terms of the needs of

size and the need to supervise subject classroom teacher activities.

There was little evidence in the published material to alert me to the second issue that emerged substantiated. The problem of the demise of the head of department and the subject classroom teacher began to emerge in the interviews themselves. The existence of two career ladders, the pastoral and the academic, was clearly evident and so was the perception that the pastoral may sometimes eclipse the academic but the security and confidence of the head of subject was not in question. Like Becker (1970:48) I had no difficulty eliciting cynical attitudes from subject department heads and their staff. Such cynicism disguised an idealistic conception of the value of what could be done by pupils in their subject areas. Many had witnessed the genuine satisfaction that is obtained from pupil success and held high aspirations for their pupils but were very conscious of the limitations imposed upon achievement by the internal dynamics of the school. They would have agreed with Marland (1971:3) who felt that the head of department was responsible for creating space in which a subject could flourish and that his organisation was essential to produce the most effective and vigorous teaching of the subject to the varying needs of pupils. However, they perceived the source of their inability to 'function' effectively, to bridge the gap between

what they aspired to do and actually achieved, as a product of several factors, the mismatch between the personal and structural use of the salary points system, the confusion over what staff are responsible for and to whom they are responsible, and the lack of consultation, support and time referred to in some detail in the reports on the interviews and episodes of situated interaction. They were aware that those staff who were increasing their status and power to influence decision making were not concerned to give priority of any kind to improving the conditions that they perceived as important for good classroom teaching.

The second issue, therefore, that is claimed to have emerged substantiated in the research is that subject classroom staff and the heads of subject department in these two schools perceived themselves and the job they were doing as undervalued. Lack of consultation, lack of access to information, lack of support services, and poor working conditions combined to reduce their status and to leave their efforts unacknowledged.

Any identification or substantiation of the unintended consequences of this struggle for domination between the two staff groups remains somewhat speculative. The supervisory staff (the pastoral/ administrative group) are claimed to be in a better position to generate and sustain those rules and

procedures that will be accepted as normal practice. In the wake of episodes of situated interaction similar to those described and analysed here, it may be argued that the tactics used have eclipsed their care for the establishment of effective teaching and learning situations. It is management fantasies about schooling that have the better chance of being achieved. Heads of subject and their staff are consequently cynical about their power to achieve schooling objectives as they perceive them. One unintended consequence may be encapsulated in the statement; administrative and pastoral concerns have eclipsed the essential teaching function. This is compounded by the simultaneous decline in self-esteem and in the disposition to their task of those teachers who interact with pupils in the classroom. The wide range of ability that the classroom teacher is expected to cope with is an issue supervisory staff, in these two schools, refuse to negotiate about. It is a clear situation where supervisory staff fantasies about schooling eclipse their concern for the perceived needs of subject classroom staff.

6.4 Recommendations

The structuration analysis technique used to examine episodes of situated interaction and the identification of the school as a site or an arena for such an examination has been the focus of the

research perspective. This way into the middle ground by examining human interaction in identifiable structural sites only partially bridges the macro-micro gap. It offers a manageable rather than ambitious empirical dimension to an evolving theory/data challenge. It is recommended that it may be equally employed to examine similar sites of human activity, the industrial, commercial, medical, religious, legal, family or political sites. Moreover, it is suggested that a realistic middle ground analysis scenario could involve firstly the identification of the major site of interest, in this case the comprehensive school and secondly, grow to examine related or associated sites. Sites related to the school site that would extend our awareness of the normal rules and procedures that operate there would include, for example, governing bodies, professional associations, education committees, parents associations, probation services and careers services. The analysis of incidents of situated interaction and of interviews carried out in these areas would assist in the theory/data dialogue emerging from the study of these sites themselves but also begin to build bridges between the sites, examining how they influence the way things are normally done in the principal research site. To identify the key site the fieldworker is interested in and to examine associated sites simultaneously to measure the

immediate external influences is the recommended way forward. The influences human agents, on one related site may have upon the principal research site are as subject to modification as the internal site dynamics analysed in this study. How and when these influences modify or sustain emerging rules and procedures is the crucial research question. Such a process also offers an opportunity to examine in some detail, the foreshadowed problems raised by the macro sociological concern to explain the influence of such issues as social class, gender, race, age and talent. Should any of these emerge substantiated in the theory/data analysis process either in an examination of the individual sites themselves or in the influences associated sites may have on the principal site, the empirical substantiation of the many macro claims may have begun.

The thrust of the social theory model proposed here is that human agency is crucial: social structures are always open to the possibility, no matter now remote, of reversal or revision. How the currently accepted normal practices are sustained and consolidated may be more important than tracing the causes of the present situation to its historical roots. It is not so much the factors in the merger of the schools, as the practices of those now living in them that is the potentially useful focus of fieldwork. Practices, however, may be changed or

modified as well as sustained. The weight of the evidence and argumentation in this study would recommend that serious staff discussion and eventually participation in decision making is emphasised at all levels in the school. Teachers may not be trained to involve themselves in this process; planning, decision making and collaborative decision making in particular, are rare experiences for many teachers. There is generally no process available for the exchange of views about schooling objectives and less for collaborative decision making. Certainly, this was the case in the two schools in this research. Unless a member of staff achieved a pastoral/administrative post at an early stage in their career they gained no experience or training in these management skills. To compensate in some way for this situation it is recommended that discussions within subject departments and between subject departments and pastoral/administrative staff should be at least as regular and as effective as those now carried out by the pastoral/administrative staff alone. Time would have to be made available for such discussions in timetabled time. It may be anticipated that the least that may be gained would be a sharing of knowledge and some understanding of the fantasies about schooling held by the different groups. In the course of time, such discussions may promote some recognition of the value of the objectives being pursued by both groups and some participation in decision making.

In practical terms, the status of the head of department as a middle manager should be reexamined. Merely assigning such post holders more free periods, more time to be involved in the consultative and management procedures may be a start, but a recognition that the quality and disposition of all teachers who have a subject classroom responsibility is an important factor in the provision of pupil opportunity may be a more significant outcome. To dare to reduce the supervision and to trust the teacher to do his task responsibly in a well supported environment would have been perceived as revolutionary in the two schools studied. However, this reversal of the drift towards increasing supervisory power may be achieved in part by the discussion processes recommended above but more practical steps will possibly be required. Heads of subjects, as middle managers, should be involved in the appointment and promotion of all subject staff in their area. Such posts may then be allocated on the basis of merit and respect for capacities, including teaching ability, rather than allocation being perceived, as they were regularly perceived in these schools, as based upon mere willingness or enthusiasm for pastoral/administrative work. The involvement of heads of subjects in this way may not reduce the hierarchical career structure of the schools but it may return some of the influence over decision making and responsibility for qualitative teaching, to the subject heads and

their staff. The major recommendation for planning in the schools are summarised as:

a) involving heads of subjects and their staff in the discussion and decision making processes in the schools;

b) taking steps to reduce supervision and to trust the subject teacher to do the job he or she is an expert in and to provide support.

APPENDIX ONE

Each headteacher was handed this incident early in the initial interview.

A school incident:

> Mr. Jones, an affluent motor industry worker, bought his son all the equipment required for a technical drawing course leading to a C.S.E. examination. He felt such an outlay justified in response to a letter of request from the school and his own son's natural interest in this area. Half way through the course his son received a fail grade in his mock examination. Further enquiry revealed that it was some time since his work had been marked and he had received only two homeworks. On parents evening Mr. Jones remarked to the technical drawing teacher - 'If I did my job like you do yours, I would have been sacked long ago.' The teacher reported this remark to the head who subsequently rang Mr. Jones at his place of work and asked him to come and discuss the situation with him. Was the school response to this situation correct?

This list of issues was printed at the head of each interview report sheet so that I could tick off those covered. They were the issues it was sought to elicit comment about. If any of these issues did not arise in the conversation, they were introduced.

Issues:

1. School size.
2. Teacher qualities and disposition.
3. Teachers need for surveillance.
4. Qualities sought in appointments and promotions.

APPENDIX TWO

22 January, 1981.

Dear .....

I am involved in a research project for a higher degree at the University of Aston in Birmingham. Metropolitan Borough Education Authority have approved my request to approach a random sample of headteachers in their area. The computer chose a dozen schools and yours was one of them. I am writing to ask you to help me by agreeing to an interview, lasting approximately one hour, on two occasions during this spring term.

The research is funded privately and personally by me and I can assure you of absolute confidentiality. This part of the project involves the evaluation of an interview based technique for analysing headteachers views of the resources available to them in the pursuit of their tasks.

I appreciate the many demands on your time and would be grateful for your help. Early next week I will ring your secretary to arrange a convenient time for our initial meeting.

Yours sincerely,

Bede Redican.

APPENDIX THREE

Dear Sir,

I write to formally request your help in a research project I am engaged in as part of a higher degree in educational studies. The field work involves interviewing a sample of members of staff and talking informally to staff during the Spring and Summer Term.

This field work is part of an extended study of the relationship between teaching as a professional career and the quality of the educational experiences available to pupils. During the last ten years there have been a number of major changes in the way education is organised and it is claimed that such changes have had an effect upon the attitudes and aspirations of teachers. For example, most secondary schools have become comprehensive of one kind or another, many more teachers are now graduates, and various demands for teachers to account for standards of performance and behaviour have been made. It is the intention of this field work to examine some of the ways teachers, at all levels, have sought to survive professionally in the face of these changes. The basic proposition is that the quality of the education provided for the pupil is related to the quality of the teachers adjustment to the conflicting demands made on his professional competence. It considers, among other things, how schools are organised internally to facilitate such adjustments.

In return for the opportunity to do such field work I offer to provide a report of my field work to all concerned. Such a report and all documentation arising from the field work will remain absolutely confidential and will not be associated with either the schools identity or that of any individual person in any way. The report will be carried out at the end of field work period in all the schools concerned.

Thank you for reading this far and in the hope that you will consider this request.

Yours sincerely,

Bede Redican.

APPENDIX FOUR - STAFF DETAILS FOR SCHOOL A.

SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE.

ORIGINS:

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Girls Grammar	Girls Sec.Mod.	Boys Sec.Mod.	New Appointments: Coll.	Comp.	Other
Head			Male	M.Ed.					D.Head	
Deputy			Male	BA(OU)					Head of Middle School	
Deputy		Head of Upper	Male	B.Ed M.Ed	(External appointment with pastoral experience.)				Head of Science + Head of Year	
Senior Master			Male	BA(OU)	(Internal promotion from Scale 4		Scale 3 pastoral post)			
Senior Teacher			Female	B.Ed	(Internal promotion from Scale 3	Head of RE pastoral post)				
Senior Teacher		Head of Middle	Male	BA(OU)					Head of R.E.	
Senior Teacher		Head of Lower	Male	BA(OU)					Head of R.E.	

(Scale 4) — School A.

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Origins: Girls Grammar	Girls Sec.Mod.	Boys Sec.Mod.	New Appointments: Coll.	Comp.	Other
Scale 4	Head of Science		Female	B.Sc.	Head of Science					
Scale 4		Dep.Head of L.S.	Female	B.Ed.	(Internal promotion from Pastoral Scale 3.)	Scale 2				
Scale 4	Head of C.D.T.		Male	Cert.			Scale. 2			
Scale 4	i/c Physics	Exam. Officer	Male	Grad. Equiv.	(Internal promotion from pastoral Scale 3.)					Industry.
Scale 4	Head of English		Female	BA(OU)					Scale 3	
Scale 4	Head of R.E.		Male	BA, MA, MD.			Scale 2			
Scale 4	Head of Maths		Male	BA					Scale 3	

SCALE 3

SCHOOL A

					Origins:					
	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Girls Grammar	Girls Sec.Mod.	Boys Sec.Mod.	New Appointments: Coll.	Comp.	Other
Scale 3	Library		Female	B.Ed					Scale 2	
Scale 3	Head of Music		Male	B.Ed.					Scale 2	
Scale 3	Head of P.E.		Female	B.Ph.	Head of P.E.					
Scale 3	Head of Languages		Female	Degree Equiv.	Head of Languages					
Scale 3	2nd in Maths		Female	B.A.	Scale 2					
Scale 3	Head of Remedial		Male	Cert. Ed.			Scale 1	(promoted internally for subject teaching)		
Scale 3	i/c Biology		Female	B.A.	Scale 2					
Scale 3	Head of H.E.		Female	Cert. Ed.					Scale 2	
Scale 3	Head of History		Female	B.A.	Scale 2					
Scale 3	Head of Geography		Female	Cert. Ed.	Scale 2					
Scale 3	Head of Business		Male	B.A.					Scale 2	
Scale 3	i/c Chemistry		Male	B.Sc.					Scale 2	

SCALE 2

SCHOOL A.

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Girls Grammar	Girls Sec.Mod	Boys Sec.Mod	New Appointments: Coll.	Comp.	Other
Scale 2	P.E.		Male	Cert.			P.E. Scale 1			
Scale 2	History	Head of Year 2	Female	Cert.				✓		
Scale 2	R.E.	Head of Year 3	Male	B.Ed.				✓		
Scale 2	Geog.	Head of Year 5	Female	Cert.				✓		
Scale 2	Art		Female	B.A.		Scale 1				
Scale 2	Eng.		Female	Cert.		Scale 1				
Scale 2	Eng.	Head of Year 4	Female	BA(OU)			Scale 1			
Scale 2	H.E.		Female	Cert.		Scale 2				
Scale 2	P.E.	Head of Year 1	Male	Cert.	(Internal promotion for carrying pastoral work without a scale for 2 yrs.)			✓		
Scale 2	Biol.		Female	B.Sc.	Scale 2					
Scale 2	C.D.T.		Male	Cert.				✓		
Scale 2	Eng.	Lib.2nd	Female	B.Ed.				✓		
Scale 2	Lang.		Male	B.A.				✓		
Scale 2	C.D.T.		Male	Degree Equiv.						Ind.
Scale 2	Maths		Male	B.A.			Scale 1			
Scale 2	Art		Male	B.A.				✓		
Scale 2	Maths		Female	B.Sc.	Scale 2					
Scale 2	P.E.		Female	Cert					Scale 2	

SCALE 1

School A.

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Origins: Girls Grammar	Girls Sec.Mod	Boys Sec.Mod	New appointments: Coll.	Comp.	Other
Scale 1	History		Male	Cert				✓		
Scale 1	English		Male	B.Ed.				✓		
Scale 1	H.E.		Female	B.Ed.	(Appointed during fieldwork)			✓		
Scale 1	Maths		Female	Cert.				✓		
Scale 1	Lang.		Female	B.Ed.				✓		
Scale 1	Commerce		Female	B.A.	(Appointed during fieldwork)				Scale 1	
Scale 1	Music		Female	B.M.	Scale 1					

APPENDIX FIVE - STAFF DETAILS FOR SCHOOL B

SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE (SCALE 4 AND ABOVE)

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Origins: Boys Grammar	Origins: Girls Grammar	New appointments: Coll.	New appointments: Comp.	New appointments: Other
Head			Male	B.Sc., BA (OU) M.Ed.				Dep.Hd.	
Deputy		Head of Middle	Male	B.Sc.	Head of Maths				
Deputy			Male	BA (OU)				Head of School	
Deputy			Female	B.Sc.		Head of Biology			
Senior Teacher*		Head of Lower	Female	B.A.		Dep.Hd.			
Scale 4		Head of Upper	Male	B.A.	Head of Lang.	(Internal promotion from Scale 3 pastoral.)			
Scale 4	Head of Science		Male	B.Sc.	Head of Science				
Scale 4	Head of Maths		Male	B.Ed				Scale 3 Maths	
Scale 4	Head of English		Female	B.A.				Scale 3 English	
Scale 4	Head of C.D.T.	Year 5 Tutor	Male	Cert. Ed.				Scale 3 C.D.T.	

* This Senior Teacher left at the end of the fieldwork period. The post was discontinued. Head of Lower School was reclassified as a Scale 4 post and the First Year, year tutor appointed/promoted to this post (see Scale 2 staff School B).

SCALE 3 STAFF — SCHOOL B.

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Origins: Boys Grammar	Origins: Girls Grammar	New appointments: Coll.	New appointments: Comp.	New appointments: Other
Scale 3	Head of Languages		Female	B.A.				Scale 2	
Scale 3	i/c Chemistry		Male	B.Sc.					Grammar
Scale 3		Careers/ Yr.4 Tutor	Male	A.C.P.	(Internal promotion from Scale 2 pastoral) Science Subject T.				
Scale 3		Yr.2 Tutor	Male	B.Sc M.Sc	(Internal promotions from Scale 2 pastoral) Maths Subject T.				
Scale 3	English Subject (2nd)		Female	B.A.			Coll.		
Scale 3	Librarian		Male	Cert. Ed.	Head of P.E.				
Scale 3	Head of H.E.		Female	Cert. Ed.		Head of H.E.			
Scale 3	Head of Art		Male	ATD	Head of Art				
Scale 3	Head of PE (Girls)		Female	Cert. Ed.		Head of P.E.			
Scale 3	Head of PE (Boys)		Male	B.A. BPL	Head of P.E.				
Scale 3	Head of R.E.		Male	B.A.	Head of R.E.				
Scale 3	Head of History		Female	B.A.		Head of History			

continued.....

Scale 3 Staff (School B), continued.....

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualif-ication	Boys Grammar	Girls Grammar	New Appointments: Coll.	Comp.	Other
Scale 3	Head of Geography		Male	B.Sc.					Grammar
Scale 3	Head of Remedial		Female	B.Ed.				Scale 2 (Rem.)	

SCALE 2 STAFF — SCHOOL B.

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Origins: Boys Grammar	Origins: Girls Grammar	New Appointments: Coll.	New Appointments: Comp.	New Appointments: Other
Scale 2	i/c Biology		Male	B.Sc.	i/c Biology				
Scale 2	Science Staff*		Female	B.Sc.		Science Staff* Scale 2			
Scale 2	Maths staff*		Male	B.A.		Maths staff* Scale 2			
Scale 2	Maths staff		Male	B.A.	Maths staff				
Scale 2	Craft, Design Tech.		Male	Cert. Ed.			Coll.		
Scale 2	Home Econ.		Female	B.Ed.			Coll.		
Scale 2	Geog.	Yr.3 Tutor	Female	B.A.		Geog. Staff Scale 1.			
Scale 2	R.E.**	Yr.1 Tutor	Female	B.Ed.		R.E.** Scale 1.			

**Promoted to Scale 4 Head of Lower School.

* Carrying protected posts from Girls Grammar School.

SCALE 1 STAFF

SCHOOL B.

	Academic	Pastoral	Gender	Qualification	Origins: Boys Grammar	Girls Grammar	New Appointments: Coll.	Comp.	Other
Scale 1	Language		Male	M.A.	✓				
Scale 1	Language		Female	Degree Equiv.	✓				
Scale 1	Language		Female	Degree Equiv.					Grammar
Scale 1	Science		Female	B.Sc.			✓		
Scale 1	Science		Female	B.Ed.			✓		
Scale 1	Science		Male	B.Ed.	(Appointed during fieldwork)		✓		
Scale 1	Maths		Male	B.Sc.				✓	
Scale 1	English		Female	B.A.				✓	
Scale 1	English		Male	B.A.	(Appointed during fieldwork)		✓		
Scale 1	C.T.D.		Male	Degree Equiv.					Higher Educ.
Scale 1	Art		Female	Cert. Ed.			✓		
Scale 1	P.E.		Female	B.Ed.			✓		
Scale 1	P.E.		Male	B.Ed.	(Appointed during fieldwork)		✓		
Scale 1	History		Female	B.Ed.				✓	
Scale 1	History		Male	B.A.				✓	
Scale 1	Remedial		Female	Cert. Ed.				✓	
Scale 1	Music		Male	M.Mus.				✓	
Scale 1	Business Studies		Female	B.Ed.			✓		

APPENDIX SIX

STAFF IMMEDIATE ORIGINS.

MERGED STAFF AND NEW STAFF COMPARED.

	School B			School A			
	Boys Grammar	Girls Grammar	New	Girls Grammar	Girls Sec.Mod	Boys Sec.Mod	New
Senior Admin.	1	2	2	0	1	1	5
Scale 4	2	0	3	1	1	2	3
Scale 3	4	5	5	5	1	1	5
Scale 2	2	4	2	2	3	3	10
Scale 1	2	0	16	1	0	0	6
Totals	11	11	28	9	6	7	29
			50				51

APPENDIX SEVEN

ORIGINS OF NEWLY APPOINTED STAFF.

	School B			School A		
	Comp. School	Coll./ Univ.	Other	Comp. School	Coll./ Univ.	Other
Senior Admin.	2	0	0	5	0	0
Scale 4	3	0	0	2	0	1 Industry
Scale 3	2	1	2	5	0	0
Scale 2	0	2	0	1	8	1 Industry
Scale 1	6	8	1 Grammar 1 Industry	1	5	0
Totals	13	11	4	14	13	2
			28			29

APPENDIX EIGHT - ORIGINS OF PASTORAL STAFF.

	School B				School A				
	Boys Grammar	Girls Grammar	Comp.	Other	Girls Grammar	Girls Sec.Mod.	Boys Sec.Mod.	Comp.	Other
Senior Admin.	1	2	2			1	1	5	
Scale 4	1	0	1			1			1 Industry
Scale 3		2							
Scale 2		2					1		4 College
Total	2	6	3			2	2	5	5
			11						14

ORIGINS OF HEAD OF SUBJECT APPOINTMENTS

	School B				School A				
	Boys Grammar	Girls Grammar	Comp.	Other	Girls Grammar	Girls Sec.Mod.	Boys Sec.Mod.	Comp.	Other
Scale 4	1		3		1		2	2	
Scale 3	3	3	2	1 Grammar	3	1	1	3	
Total	4	3	5	1	4	1	3	5	
				13					13

APPENDIX NINE - QUALIFICATIONS OF PASTORAL STAFF POST HOLDERS AND HEAD OF SUBJECT DEPARTMENTS

	School B				School A			
	Degree in Subject	Degree Equiv. in subject	Degree in Education only.	Cert. Educ.	Degree in Subject	Degree Equiv. in subject	Degree in Education only	Cert. Ed.
Pastoral post holders	8	1	1	1	4	1	6	4
Heads of Subjects	9	1	0	3	7	1	1	4

B.Ed. degrees were classified as degrees in subjects since all included substantial subject content - approx. 45/50%.

B.A. degrees from Open University were classified as degrees in education since those interviewed had taken educational options to obtain maximum credits for their teacher certificates.

APPENDIX TEN

INTERNAL PROMOTIONS AND EXTERNAL APPOINTMENTS IN THE FIELDWORK PERIOD.

	School B	School A	Total
Internal promotions to pastoral posts	4	9	13
External appointments to Pastoral posts.	0	1	1
Total	4	10	14
Number of these internal promotions/ external appointments with pastoral experience	4	5 + 1	10
Number directly from Scale 1, making initial move on career ladder.	0	5	5
Promoted for subject.	0	1	1
Appointed for subject.	3	2	5
			6

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