

CHAPTER 7 SCHOOL AND THE OUTSIDE WORLD

Introduction

This chapter considers the influence of the 'outside world'. Part one will look at aspects of 'Near Influences' which directly impinge on the daily life and functioning of the school. Part two is concerned with 'Wider Influences' which act upon the school both subtly and directly.

The breadth encapsulated by the title of this chapter, inevitably means selectivity on my part. I have taken the stance that the school, at the centre of influence, acting and reacting to exterior forces, and its staff are principal actors and therefore I have given their views and attitudes priority. A theme running through this chapter is of individual lives and institutional posture. It is by understanding the mix of hopes, values and passions, that an appreciation of social processes which constitute the nature of school and the nature of Deangate School in particular, will be obtained.

Part One - Near Influences

This section looks at those influences which impinge on the day to day workings of the school. These are usually found close to Deangate both geographically and in terms of interpersonal relationships. The input of 'Near Influences' varied from once every three years (HMI visits) to daily (public relations), but all followed taken for granted pattern of contact and an accepted rhythm and ritual.

'Near Influences' are discussed in five sections: Deangate's Board of Governors; public relations; competition; school/parent relationship and LEA/HMI/Supply Teaching.

Deangate's Board of Governors

The board of governors function just outside of the undefined line which separates school from the external world. They constitutionally have the potential to be a major source of influence and power. It is governors, either individually or as a group, who may look into all aspects of the school, whether it be curriculum, school policy or an individual teacher's pedagogy. The importance of governing bodies is reflected in official reports i.e. Taylor Report (1977) and Education Acts (1980, 1986). It is surprising therefore, to find that case studies of schools eg Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), Ball (1981) and Burgess (1983) not only treat 'meetings' as taken for granted, but that governor's meetings in particular are treated with scant regard. It is noticeable that much of taken for granted schooling becomes questioned only during times of conflict. Two obvious examples are the William Tyndale affair (see Ellis, T. et al 1976; Gretton, J. and Jackson, M. 1976; Auld Report, 1976) or when the Secretary of State for Education changes the rules, i.e. Education Acts.

The rapidly changing structure and role of governing bodies was seen by teachers at Deangate as part of Government's strategy to exert control over schools, and to strengthen the input of the local community. In 1975 the Taylor

committee was appointed by Government to look at the question of parental relationships with schools and governing bodies in particular. 'A New Partnership for Schools' was the outcome, published in 1977. It recommended governing bodies be composed of LEA, staff, parents and the community, with equal representation from each. The report also advocated that governing bodies share in all policy decisions. The report was not well received by LEAs who wanted to retain control over schools. The 1980 Education Act, although not implementing the Taylor recommendations, did require schools to have two parents and one or two teacher governors, and the Head if s/he wished. Missing from this Act are explicit statements of role and procedure, and consequently LEAs interpreted and implemented the Act idiosyncratically. Most importantly LEAs still retained an overall majority in governing bodies. The 1986 Education Act brought in major changes. LEAs no longer held a majority. The Act emphasises a balance of interests, with parent governors being selected by secret ballot. The Act also made LEAs responsible for the provision of information and training of governors. An interesting but infrequently mentioned aspect of the Act was its philosophical directive - that a governor's first loyalty must be to the school whatever their interest group or political leanings. This provision was not taken on board wholeheartedly at Deangate.

The board of governors at Deangate, being a voluntary controlled school, varied slightly in composition from ordinary state schools. The board consisted of : six

foundation governors (three appointed by the Archbishop of Old City, two by the City's Dean and Chapter, one by Old City's Diocesan Council of Education); nine appointed to represent the LEA; three representative governors appointed by the North County District Council; two parent governors and two teacher governors. Three interesting points arise out of the composition. Firstly, half of the new comprehensive board were past members of the old Grammar School board, and therefore may be influenced by past Grammar School ideology. Secondly, the variety and composition of the board made it very difficult for minority factions to impose their will (I will pursue the implications of this later). Thirdly, the governors, particularly parent governors, were not representative of the local community or parents whose children attended Deangate School. (Dr. Jones and Dr. Smith, the parent representatives, were both university lecturers). Terry Ellis et al. (1976) makes a similar observation:

The Tyndale managers were mainly young middle class emigres . . . they were not reflective of the mass of children who attended the school.

(Page 92)

As mentioned earlier, there is a considerable amount of information on how a board of governors should perform their duties and what those duties mean under the present Education Act, but these are prescriptive works. Very little data is available on the everyday functioning of boards. Only Richardson's (1974) study of Nailsea School throws

light on the inner workings of governors meetings. Richardson makes logical, intelligent comments on such meetings, but even so fails to get under the skin of proceedings.

Prior to the 1986 Education Act, all state schools worked from 'The Articles' which were government circulars designating governors code of practice. During the pre-comprehensive period, Old City LEA drew up an 'instrument of government' for Deangate School, which was sent to the DES for approval. The implementation and interpretation of this 'instrument' were left to the LEA and the school's board. Richardson's view of such 'instruments' is:

Their (governors) responsibility may look clear enough as it is spelled out in government circulars. Yet it is in fact a very difficult one to define in operational terms.

(Page 344)

I disagree with her opening comment. The document, from which governors define their obligations was in a number of places nebulous and couched in legal jargon. Here is an example:

Any reference in this document to a paragraph is a reference to a paragraph there of and any reference in a paragraph to a sub-paragraph is a reference to a sub-paragraph of that paragraph.

(From Instrument of Government N^o 12,036)

The LEA, realising that governors may find difficulty in understanding the instrument, circulated their own version - a translation - in the form of an 'explanatory document', and ran a short course to explain its contents. Richardson's second point, that the government circular is difficult to define in operational terms, is based on an incorrect assumption. That assumption being that governors endeavour to implement a reasoned interpretation of vague government circulars. My data tentatively shows that governors do practice the more obvious roles that are expected of them, but either avoid the grey areas of the document or supplant them with their own moral, cultural and ideological codes. Only during times of conflict are these issues, which create tension and lie just below the surface, explored or exposed. This point is exemplified by the William Tyndale crisis (Ellis, T. et al 1976):

. . . the two greatest controversies concerning managerial right in the Tyndale case were over curriculum control and right of access to the school . . . The vagueness of the concepts of 'oversight' and 'control' make these rules meaningless and inapplicable when put to the test in a conflict.

(Page 90)

The crisis at William Tyndale School arose out of widely differing ideological and pedagogical stances, taken by some of the teachers on one hand and by the school board and HMI on the other. Ellis makes the point:

Where they (the teachers) opposed their managers was in defence of their ideals and their right to work in their chosen way. Where they criticized them (the governors) was in their attitude towards society, and their means of waging the battle.

(Page 96)

What the Tyndale affair demonstrates is that the hidden issue of control of schooling become visible when conflict occurs. The 'hidden issues of control' were present at Deangate, and acting in a subterranean way. But for reasons I will discuss later, Tyndale-like problems are unlikely to eventuate.

First I will consider the relationship between staff and governors from the Deangate teachers' perspective. Generally, staff at the school saw the governing body as a rubber stamping mechanism for the Head's decisions. A tension existed between the staff and the governors. Teachers saw themselves as the professionals and the governors as amateurs.

The majority of teachers at Deangate saw governors as irrelevant and ineffectual, and failed to enquire about proceedings from teacher governors. A high degree of ambivalence was noticeable even mild irreverence. Wragg's description of a governor (1987) captures the flavour well: ". . . seen once a year when winched on to the platform for Speech Day. . ." A number of staff and the Head reacted not to the board as a whole but to a few dominant individuals.

This minority element, which arose from the board's political component, was a primary cause of teachers' feelings of anxiety towards them. A teacher governor expressed his views of this minority faction as follows:

They (the board) are a strange group of people . . . Theoretically, they should be non-political . . . At a board of governors meeting you can see them line up along political divisions. Conservatives on one side, labour or socialists on the other . . . It actually does happen like that. And a lot of the discussions take place along political lines. If one conservative says something you can be pretty sure a labour councillor is going to object.

The staff saw the conservative minority group as holding views diametrically opposed to their own. A central character of this group, known as Ghengis Kahn, was seen as particularly irksome (see Chapter 3). Minority groups were unable to affect the school directly, since all decisions were made by a majority vote. More subtle methods were used by politically motivated groups to exert influence. The following interview extract gives examples (note 'they' in the dialogue refers to the conservative minority on the board):

Teacher-governor: ". . . they are always hinting, always suggesting that the comprehensive system isn't a very good one, that schools are disintegrating."

Me: "What do they mean by disintegrating?"

Teacher-governor: "Largely a falling of standards. He (Ghengis Kahn) never openly says such things as that, although he has predicted that standards will fall . . . that it will ruin our Grammar schools."

Me: "Is 'he' the guy called Ghengis Kahn?"

Teacher-governor: "Yes (laugh) he makes Ghengis Kahn look like a socialist (laugh). During the teacher action he wanted the board to write to the LEA suggesting they sack all teachers on strike."

The relationship between governors and staff was always distant. This 'distance' was not an accident, but the outcome of uncertainty and a Head who actively propagated an atmosphere of segregation. There were numerous examples of his policy in action: During my stay at Deangate I was given carte blanche, the freedom of the institution, except for governors' meetings, which I was told were 'confidential'; Teacher governors passed details to staff in hushed voices as though passing state secrets. The Head's actions are not surprising when one considers that Ghengis Kahn was unhappy with the setting up of a student council because he saw them as "a left-wing plot." The Head sought to keep teachers and governors apart, to contain problems within school.

The Head's report to the governors was placed on the staff noticeboard following the meeting. The information it contained was selective, couched in positive phrases and avoided difficult or delicate issues. Teachers were aware of this, even condoned the practice being content with the status quo. By casting a cloak of secrecy over the board, by limiting interaction between the board and teachers, and evoking an atmosphere of 'them and us', the Head created a very effective buffer zone.

The Head's objective was to retain power and thus control over the school, and also build in as safeguard. Deangate's problems could be safely discussed within the institution, but to air problems at a governors' meeting which in all senses lay outside of the school, would be to court the possibility of 'going public' like William Tyndale and others.

The 1986 Education Act says that governors must:

- 1) Take general responsibility for the conduct of the school.
- 2) Share responsibility for the curriculum with the local authority and the Head.
- 3) Prepare a statement on curriculum policy and decide whether sex education should be provided.
- 4) Lay down a policy on discipline.

As governors become more familiar with their role and the Act, they may begin to push against the Head's buffer zone, to ask probing questions, to expect answers. Local Education

Authorities no longer have to submit 'Instruments and Articles' to the DES, but there will be scope for local variations and interpretations.

This section has helped define the boundary of inside-outside school and the governors, a group meeting in the school and theoretically involved in managing the school, are outsiders in the school's eyes. The Head liked outsiders taking an interest in his school and encouraged governors to play a more active role, but he was always prepared to defend his domain, retain control from what he saw as extreme and threatening factions within the board. The relationship between 'inside' and 'outside' was very important to the Head, and an indicator of the school's 'difference'.

Public Relations

Although traditionally schools have had links with the outside world, only during the last decade have there been positive moves from both sides to become more involved with each other. Schools are coming under greater pressure to be accountable not only to parents, but the public at large. Parents via Parent Teacher Associations (PTA), the board of governors and individual involvement, are becoming more active and requiring school to respond to their needs. Added to this pressure on schools, is the burden of falling rolls. Schools are now often in direct competition with each other for a contracting pupil population.

Public relations lies primarily within the constituency of the Headmaster. Teachers have contact with parents; pupils interact with the local community; caterers and cleaners at the school talk with friends about the school; and all are presenting Deangate School to the outside world. Only the Head deals with such a broad spectrum of interested exterior groups and individuals. He is responsible for relationships between the school and the LEA, HMI, governors, parents, local community, broader community, the press etc, whereas others in the school may only come into contact with one or two of these factions. Not surprisingly, the Head, occupying the position of 'neck of the hour glass' plays a key role in shaping outsiders' perspective of the school.

Headteachers devote differing amounts of time and use a variety of strategies in dealing with public relations. Heads may emphasise different aspects of external relationships. Hall, MacKay and Morgan (1987) found some Heads pursuing additional careers outside school as artists, politicians or businessmen. During their in depth study of four Heads, they found two worked almost exclusively at a local level whereas the other two were active members of national networks. Also, depending on their particular situation, some Heads find public relations more problematic than others. Weindling and Earley (1987) found that a vast majority of Heads did not consider external issues to be 'very serious' or 'serious', with the exception of 'creating a better public image of the school'. This adds weight to argument that Heads see their major problems within the

school. It appears that only the school's image is a priority in a wide range of external issues.

School image is represented in a number of ways to a variety of audiences, through public events, interactions between parents and the school, and the media. The skill with which a Head handles the role of 'public relations officer' is seen by many to be a precursor of successful headship. Ball (1987) quotes Fletcher, Caren and Williams (1985) who sum up the importance of such skills and ways of working:

Political skills ask for an honest and unneurotic relationship with the core groups of 'politics with a small p' which need to be with and in support of the school, as well as a cautious exchange with peripheral groups who will mount wave after wave of invasion once they have a trigger event to latch on to. Political skills thus chart a middle way between passivity and high profile innovation, between anonymity and annoying announcements.

(Ball, Page 254)

Alan Walters, the Head of Deangate, aspired to be successful in the use of those political skills outlined above. His drive towards promoting a good school image had side effects. His considerable ability in public speaking was in a number of cases a major factor in persuading teachers to opt for a position at Deangate initially. Staff grew increasingly unhappy as the Head's role as public relations officer became more dominant. Some teachers saw him as a 'figurehead', 'a parents' head', 'very good as a PR man'.

These remarks suggest an imbalance between inner and outer schooling, what Ball (1987) calls: ". . . monitoring and massaging internal relations as against the external relations." (page 253).

Deangate's concern for projecting a good school image is not restricted to special events such as Parents' Evenings, Speech Day, Carol Concerts and musical evenings, although they played an important part. Its concern for its image was partly located in day to day activity. For example graffiti were removed from pupils' lockers because the Head was: ". . . ashamed to take people around the school." School uniforms were seen as important to middle-class parents, and therefore assumed importance at Deangate.

The school's atmosphere of openness and friendliness was conveyed in everyday ritual. Outsiders and guests, including supply teachers new to Deangate, were always warmly welcomed by Alan Walters. On special occasions, when meetings were to be held in the school for outsiders (e.g. governors or Old City Heads), pupils were, according to one teacher, ". . . warned beforehand, and of course they are banned more or less from the front of the school. Its a sort of no-go area." This sort of 'window dressing' was reflected in off-hand comments by the hierarchy: "It's Open Day tomorrow. Lets get the litter from the front of the school cleaned up.". It was taken for granted that the school should project an image known by staff to be acceptable to

outsiders. Equally unquestioned was the right of the Head to project his personal vision of the school and to devote as much or as little time as he thought fit to public relations.

The Head of Deangate was aware of the power of local press to advance a positive or negative image of the school within the local community, and of the national press to create scandal. Weindling and Earley (1987) report several cases where schools had had bad experiences with local press, yet persevered in a marriage of convenience. Ball (1987) discusses the role of the Leicester Mercury in a campaign against Countesthorpe College. Hannan (1980) also cites the Leicester Mercury as influencing Headmasters' strategies in managing the internal-external. These and other cases I have cited in this section underline of the power and influence of newspapers and television. For Heads, they act as reminders of the necessity for prudent relationships with the media and those who may resort to the media.

Competition

The growth of competition between schools in recent years is born of a number of developments. Falling rolls means competition for a shrinking pupil population since pupil intake represents 'currency' and determines 'wealth' of a school. Parental choice has become influential too since the 1980 Education Act, as interpreted by parents, and appears to grant freedom of choice (see Stillman, A. 1986). The power of parental choice is not a new phenomenon.

The Head of Deangate occupied a crucial position as mediator between the school, parents and other schools. For Alan Walters, that the school should be seen in a positive light by the community, was of the highest priority. Competition for pupils although important to him, acted as an adjunct to his primary concern of creating a good public image.

The inauguration of overt competition between schools in the area began with Old City's 'Open Day', when all seven Comprehensive schools opened their doors to the public. Originally Deangate envisaged a 'normal day' with a small number of special events. As the date drew near plans of neighbouring schools' 'Open Day' reached Alan Walters, who informed staff at morning briefing that:

Some schools, who shall remain nameless, are not having a 'normal day' but setting up exhibitions and special events. They are sending their pupils home, leaving only a skeleton group to chaperone the public and man special events.

Of course the schools did not 'remain nameless'. If staff did not know the schools they were told. In a later meeting the Head used what Hargreaves (1981) terms: "contrastive rhetoric and extremist talk", which helped induce a 'them and us' attitude among staff.

Although Deangate was losing the occasional pupil to St John's, a private school, its main rival was Burnside School. Burnside's catchment area overlapped Deangate's and

from the outset it was clear that competition between the schools would develop for the shrinking pupil population.

The competition was loaded in Deangate's favour. The foundation governors and parents had, over many years, pooled resources which meant the school was not only set in excellent grounds, but enjoyed very good facilities. Also Deangate, prior to reorganisation, was a Grammar school and Burnside a Secondary Modern. It was common knowledge in the community that these factors influenced the contest between the two schools, but they were not spoken of openly. A Deangate teacher said of the situation:

He's a salesman (the Head) selling the school because he has to in time when schools are competing against each other and parents are being wooed for their pupils. Naturally we have a head start against Burnside because we are ex-Grammar and have a swimming pool.

Deangate's prospectus also reflected the school's long and persuasive history. Its first prospectus did not include any mention of its Grammar school background perhaps due to the Head's concern to create an atmosphere of teamwork within a new school. However, the following two years, the prospectus carried three drawings on the first three pages, showing the Grammar school in its three different sites since its inception in 1546. Although the Deputy Heads disagreed with their inclusion because: "That's not part of our school that's the old Grammar school.", the Head retained them.

Prior to reorganisation the seven designated Heads agreed that all schools should use one matte colour per school prospectus in order to avoid competition. However, Burnside's first prospectus was twice the size of Deangate's, glossy, used three colours on its cover and included photographs of pupils and facilities. Alan Walters, under pressure from his Deputy Heads to 'brighten up' the prospectus, agreed to a stronger colour for the cover and include a centre spread of photographs.

The unspoken competition between the two schools changed following an unusual event. At this juncture it is worth noting that data from Burnside School was gained from two sources within the school. My key informant I named 'Depthroat' in my field notes, for reasons which become obvious in the ensuing paragraphs.

The incident took place in the summer of Deangate's first year and subsequent repercussions caused the affair to be a turning point in relations between the two schools. Two Deangate third form girls were admonished on two occasions in two weeks for misbehaviour. Pauline Wright, a Deputy Head, called the girls into her office and severely reprimanded them both. The following day their parents phoned the Head of Burnside asking for their daughters to be placed in his school. The next week the pupils left Deangate to take up residence in their new school. The Head of Burnside, without checking with Alan Walters, in a memorandum to his staff, clearly insinuated that Deangate

was a poor school and pupils were leaving because they were not treated fairly. 'Depthroat' sent the memorandum to Alan Walters who then asked the Head of Burnside to explain his actions. Alan Walters could not afford to allow the issue to 'go public' yet wanted the situation redressed. The outcome was that the Head of Burnside pinned a letter he had sent to Alan Walters apologising for his unprofessional conduct and inaccuracies contained in the original memorandum, to his staffroom notice board. Burnside's Head sought to uncover 'Depthroat' by probing staff of both schools, and told his staff that they had a 'traitor' in their midst.

After this incident the contest between the school, which up until then had been passive, became active. At the beginning of the new school year, Burnside's first year entry was only 61 - half the size of Deangate's. The seven Heads met to discuss competition between all Secondary schools as the issue was causing problems throughout the City. The meeting's intention was to establish basic ground rules and constraints, outlawing open competition and aggressive marketing.

By the middle of the second year after reorganisation the contest between the schools had settled into a pattern - Deangate taking a nonchalant 'no-contest' stance and Burnside opting for a more aggressive approach using advertisements and articles in the local press to promote its cause.

School - Parents Relationship

In this section, I will consider the delicate relationship which existed between school and parents. One of the difficulties in describing the relationship lies with its multifarious nature and its concealment by parties concerned. These two issues arise out of the variety of parent input and a suppression of feelings on both sides. This latter point hindered analysis of situations, since both teachers and parents drew a veil of rhetoric over their transactions. Hidden agendas were clearly in operation.

Parents dealing with school, are affected by past experience and social class perceptions. On the other hand teachers reacted to parental involvement in a variety of ways - some teachers claimed they 'needed' parents, whilst others found restrictions of time/place/energy/interest sufficient to dampen what they saw as another professional duty. Many teachers at Deangate admitted to being confused and unhappy by the parent-teacher relationship. It is taken for granted that teachers act 'in loco parentis', and should be concerned with the educational welfare of individual pupils. Therein lies a deep-seated difference of interpretation. Teachers interpret 'in loco parentis' in a legal sense, i.e. acting as a parent would act; parents see it as acting in a parental fashion, i.e. having a real parent-like concern for their child (see Connell et al 1982 page 59). Added to this dilemma, is that teachers at Deangate did not perceive parent-teacher liaison as central to their role, and were patently aware that the school and their working conditions

were not geared up to large volume teacher-parent interaction. Both teachers and parents nurtured a public face, behind which a whole gamut of practical and psychological issues exist. Here I will attempt to identify some of those issues at Deangate School, by drawing upon pertinent interactions between parents and the school.

The first question to address is concerned with influence: How does each party attempt to influence the other, and what are the corresponding reactions? Officially parents are represented in schools by parent governors, formalized under the 1980 and 1986 Education Acts. As described earlier, Deangate parent governors were representative of a section of middle class parents who did not necessarily represent the views of the majority of the school's parents. This point is emphasised by Collins's (1986) comment on the findings of the research carried out by the Department of Government at Brunell University:

The mode of representation forced on most parent governors was "descriptive" (that is, embodying the characteristics of the represented) rather than "authoritative" (carrying authority to act on behalf of the represented). Significantly, many parent governors did not even feel "descriptive" of the wider parent body - for example, white articulate, middle class governors representing a predominantly working class or black body.

(Page 4)

Although middle class parents were just in the majority at Deangate, the two parent governors, both lecturers at a

university, cannot be described as 'descriptive' of the school's parent body. They represented, on the board, a token element of parental interest. Only via the yearly report from the governing body, did parent governors feed back and collect information from their 'constituents', and that meeting was poorly attended. The lack of a formal link with the school's PTA and parents in general, seriously undermined the influence of parent governors.

During times of conflict with a school, middle class parents have in the past organised opposition by enlisting the media or marshalling interest groups, e.g. at William Tyndale (see Gretton and Jackson, 1976). Such cases are not representative of the norm, but they demonstrate how parents step outside of the democratic process in order to have their voice heard.

On an individual basis, few parents attempt to obtain interviews unless and until they have a grievance. Green (1968) sees the normal situation of school interviews as:

- 1) Interviews are almost always held at school, not in the parents' home.
- 2) The class teacher is rarely present when a Head interviews parents.
- 3) Interviews have to be fitted in to an already crowded schedule; they are not part of the school programme.

- 4) The headteachers who conduct the interviews have had no specific training in the skilled technique of interviewing.

(Pages 54-55)

Deangate operated a system whereby parents seeking an interview with a specific teacher, were directed to a Deputy Head or the Head. One of the Deputy Heads who dealt with many such situations was annoyed at what she saw as a waste of her time:

I don't see why they (parents) can't have direct access to teachers. I haven't sufficient information most of the time to deal with the case and have to send out for details from the teachers and pupils concerned.

The Head of Deangate defended his policy in terms of protecting his staff from aggressive parents and teachers themselves appeared to welcome this approach. But the policy did close down a direct channel of communication between parents and teachers.

Deangate's Deputy Heads, who were present at a number of parent - Head interviews, remarked on the Head's polite, honest and professional manner, even when provoked by verbally aggressive parents. Letters to parents, whose offspring were causing disruption, were framed in an informative, courteous, but formal way. Newsletters were written in a similar vein. Unknowingly, the Head, as a consequence of his correctness, properness and civility,

created a distance between himself and parents (especially working class parents).

The relationship between the Head and parents from the 'estate' was an uneasy one. 'Estate' parents, if not satisfied with an interview, would on occasions attempt to settle their grievances outside the school. After one such meeting the Head came out of his office, looked to the ceiling and said in the vernacular: "They're going to the education." (note, estate parents called the LEA - 'the education'). The 'distance' between the Head and working class parents was a problem which surfaced on occasions of parent-school interaction. Connell et al (1982) make the following statement based on their research findings:

Working class parents who drop out of involvement with their kids' schooling after the transition to high school have rarely lost interest; it is simply that the school is organised in a way that makes that interest difficult to put into practice. As the research went on, we became very familiar with stories told us by parents of the ways they had been frozen out; promises retreating behind bureaucratic rules, insinuations of ignorance and uncouthness, and so on. There were also many stories of helpful teachers and responsive principals, but it is abundantly clear that working class families face large difficulties in building a relationship with the high school.

(Page 53)

The work of Elliot et al (1981) highlights a wide range of parent concerns: parents were acutely aware of their own

educational inadequacy; that their accents sounded uneducated; they were unable to alter general school policy and some were scared of possible humiliation at the hands of teachers. The extent to which parents retreat from school is given by Bridges (1987):

It is not only formal meetings and discussions about educational issues which discomfort the less confident parents. Even the social evenings devised particularly to allow a relaxed and informal meeting of parents and teachers can inhibit the participation of at least a certain section of parents.

(Page 242)

At Deangate, confident, well-connected middle class parents, were able to place the Head under considerable pressure. After formal occasions (Speech Day or Open Day) or informal occasions (musical and drama evenings) middle class parents would approach the Head and express concerns, enthusiasm or make recommendations. The Head took their views seriously and quoted remarks to teachers during briefings and staff meetings. The clear distinction between the influence of a group of articulate middle class parents and mainly working class parents who, for a variety of reasons chose not to participate or express views on school, was due to a number of factors. Firstly, that schools, because of their hierarchical structure and institutional ethos, were seen as 'alien' by working class parents and accessible by middle class parents. Secondly, at Deangate the articulate middle

Photograph 22 Fund Raising



class group consisted mainly of parents of pupils of the old grammar school era, which, as noted in Chapter 3, was historically, emotionally and ideologically very important to the Head. Finally, the differing parental perceptions of the roles of teachers may have prejudiced confidence to intervene as Connell et al (1982) suggests:

It is striking, in fact, how rarely working class parents think of teachers as workers . . . Ruling class parents do tend to see teachers as workers - from perspective of employers.

(Page 59)

Collectively, the points I have raised, contributed to middle class parental influence over the Head and subsequently the school, and was significantly more effective in its lobbying than any other parent group.

Deangate's PTA was isolated from the school. Only four or five of the school's staff participated in its social or fund raising events. During the first two years of the school's existence the PTA did not take an active part in school politics, but served mainly as a fund raising agency (see photograph 22). Teachers applied to the PTA fund to purchase specific items and couched their application in terms likely to appeal to parent values and concerns.

Up to this point, I have concentrated on parental perspectives and their attempts to relate to, or influence school. Teachers played a more passive role in the

partnership with parents. Parents came to them with problems, seeking information and direction. Teachers for their part saw their role in terms of professionalism, i.e. attending parents' evenings and open days, and reacting to individual parent queries was part and parcel of their job. For teachers to attempt to develop a knowledge of parental circumstances, would be impractical. Consequently teachers' information of parents was limited to scraps gleaned from parents' evening, staffroom conversations, pupils or record cards. Connell et al (1982) are particularly critical of teachers' lack of information:

There are a few teachers who make it their business to find these things out and put a lot of energy into it. But most secondary teachers effectively know nothing about their pupils' families.

(Page 55)

The official meeting of parents and teachers takes place at Parents' Evening. Deangate's took place in the main hall and operated a ritual of an introductory talk by a Deputy Head or Head, the formation of queues, followed by a strict 5 minute per interview on an appointment basis. In reality, Parents' Evenings as a means of exchanging views and concerns, were a failure, both in teachers' eyes and the majority of Deangate's parents. There are a number of reasons for this. Attenders were mainly middle class parents of 'successful' well behaved pupils. The Cambridge Accountability Project (Elliott et al 1983) found at one case study school that non-attending parents overwhelmingly

attributed their absences to either lack of transport or a babysitter. The study also suggests that parents were by and large perfectly happy to leave questions of broad educational policy to the teachers and therefore out of deference failed to attend. A study by Connell (1982) concluded:

Opinion is almost universal, on both sides, that the exercise (Parents' Evening) is of little use as an exchange of information. To the parents, the time is far too short; to the teachers, the parents they really want to see are the ones who never come.

(Page 54)

With such a web of reality and rhetoric, it is difficult to untangle the ritual of Parents' Evening. One is left with the impression that attending parents do so out of need to show they care, and that teachers attend because: "It's part of the job - it's expected" (teacher). Teachers knew they were expected by parents to take a positive interest in their children. The pressure to perform to expectations, coupled with accepted professional conduct, far exceeds teachers' inner desire not to attend

The school communicated with the parents in other ways. A newsletter, written by the Head, was sent regularly to all parents informing them of the term's achievements, future events and giving general information. School reports were also a feature of taken for granted school.

Written and verbal communication with working class parents also caused problems. One member of Deangate's hierarchy, a past secondary modern school teacher serving 'the estate' was sensitive to the needs of parents from this section of the school community. This Deputy Head commented on the language used by the Head in public meetings and in the school's prospectus as being: ". . . too complicated and wordy for them (the estate parents) to understand."

Those parents who attended the various formal and informal occasions, were considered worthy of special treatment. Heads of Department's used the occasion to lobby parents and ensure their specialist subject achieved a high profile.

Finally in this section, I would like to consider some underlying perceptions, which existed between teachers and parents. Connell describes how arbitrarily perceptions by parents of teachers are formed:

On the parents' side, the images of good and bad teachers are also imaginary - as is clear from the absolute contradictions that often occurred in different parents' descriptions of the same teacher. Normally their judgements were based on tiny samples of teachers' behaviour, sometimes just one incident.

(Page 58)

It is the complex mix of expectations, attitudes and individual perceptions of teachers/parents which, born out of a need to make sense of schooling, make the respective roles and consequently relationships, so difficult to put

into practice. Perceptions of each other are always hidden, suppressed and implicit. They are negotiated by subtle games and social tests until a point where the parent or teacher is slotted into an appropriate pigeon hole. Because perhaps of the wide variety of perceptions held by parents/teachers of each other, neither group sought explicit definition of role. Alternatively, both parties may have taken their idiosyncratic view of what constituted role as the norm and therefore taken for granted. Even when the thorny questions of rights and roles could have been broached, both teachers and parents steered a discreet passage though the mine field. It was as though both had agreed by some prior arrangement that the status quo should be maintained. Time honoured roles and rights remained unquestioned, unless at a time of conflict, and unpalatable questioning avoided by heeding protocol.

Alan Walters was particularly adept at not acting or saying anything which would 'make waves' between the school and the exterior groups. He presented a variety of versions of the school to the different audiences. But subterranean tensions did exist even so.

The Local Education Authority and The School

Responsibility for administering education in Old City was divided between two bodies. Firstly, 'County Hall', home of the North County Education Authority, the principal policy making body. Secondly, the local arm of the Authority which

dealt with most of Deangate's day-to-day administration. Interaction between the local authority and the school took place overwhelmingly through the Headmaster.

The NFER, in their study 'LEA Advisors - Evolving Roles' (1987), raises the following points concerning this once important arm of the Authority:

- 1) Advisors do not advise.
- 2) By 1988 there will be more teacher/advisors than advisors.
- 3) 75.5 % of advisors are involved in inspection.
- 4) The interpretation of role and strategy of advisors varies from county to county.

(Private communication - Andy Stillman NFER)

Teachers' perceptions of the LEA were largely dependent on experiences with individual officers, and in a majority of cases this was the local subject advisor. Some of Deangate's staff were full of praise and pleased to see advisors whilst many others spoke of acrimonious relationships and avoidance tactics employed on both sides. Teachers' experiences with advisors reflected their general feelings of the LEA - that of an institution, rarely encountered, bland and neutral - and a factor which contributed little to the quality of schooling at Deangate.

Like their relationships with parents, teachers also formed opinions of the LEA based on second-hand stories, rumour and personal likes and dislikes. One teacher, for example, complained bitterly that courses organised by the Authority were: "Always in my time, after school or at weekends and I'm always paying, if not for the course then for tea and biscuits or limp lettuce sandwiches." As mentioned in Chapter 3, the North County Education Authority were seen by Deangate staff as 'mean' and the local arm of the Authority was 'tarred with the same brush'. The overall pervading feeling of the relationship between the staff and the County Authority, was of coldness coupled with an undercurrent of antagonism on both sides.

Teachers at Deangate did not see the administering Authority either as part of their school or as supportive to their cause. There existed between them a 'distance', which contrasted with the Head's relationship which was closer. Alan Walters may have 'stage managed' his association with the Authority out of a need to gain their support which he considered important to the running of the school,

HMI and the School

During Deangate's first year, two HMI's made an 'informal' inspection. Their visit resulted in a brief report which was received quite differently by the Head and the staff. The Head said how helpful they had been and how shrewd they were as observers: "They know what they are looking for, you don't pull any wool over their eyes." One of the HMI's,

whose subject speciality was geography, left a report criticizing the department with Alan Walters. This method of seeking improvement was not conducive to promoting a relaxed or honest dialogue between inspector and inspected. The Head of Geography failed to retain a deep conviction of the usefulness of HMI. He saw the inspector as out of touch with the day to day reality of teaching and: ". . . blindly followed a list of what to look for."

The HMI visit caused the staffroom to echo with the sound laughter as numerous humorous tales were told and retold. Joking and banter after the visit, was centred around intended ridicule of the inspectors. Teachers relaxed after the pressure and tension the HMI's presence had caused. They were privately pleased normality had been resumed after what they considered to be an invasion of territory by a powerful external authority. HMI's were seen by teachers in the school as lacking awareness of the difficulties of everyday schooling, as non-practitioners and guilty of following inspection formulas. The visit did nothing to promote trust or respect by teachers of HMI. When criticised, teachers suppressed a burning desire to say: "Go on then - show me."

Supply Teachers

Supply teaching, until recently, was an example of taken for granted schooling. During the teachers' action 1985-86, NUT members refused to cover for absent colleagues. Later a High Court Judge ruled that teachers should stand in for absent colleagues, that cover was a professional obligation rather

than a voluntary activity (see Hackett 1986). Once again, only during times of conflict, are taken for granted roles questioned.

INSET funding, outlined in the 1986 Education Act, also had implications for LEA's cover arrangements. Peter Earley (1986) points to reasons for recent interest in the question of supply:

Evaluation of national curricular initiatives currently being undertaken by the NFER, suggests that the success of an innovation may depend, amongst other things, on the adequacy of teacher cover. Opportunities for INSET have recently expanded considerably, not only as a result of centrally-funded curricular initiatives such as GCSE, LAPP and TVEI, but also from the availability of Education Support Grants, TVEI-related in-service activities (TRIST) and the specific training grants for national priority areas.

(Page 1)

Clearly, changes caused by the critical events outlined above, led to a new awareness of the previously taken for granted problems and ambiguities of supply teaching. Prior to this supply was a non issue as Earley found:

A literature search found very little had been published specifically on supply teachers in Great Britain. . .

(Page 2)

The notion that taken for granted schooling is questioned

when either conflict or innovation occurs will be raised later in this study.

The problem of teachers covering for absent colleagues does not arise in France where teachers have tightly defined contracts and are under no obligation to cover, (see Izbicki 1986). Therefore, when considering how practice is instigated and how taken for granted roles are continued, historical and cultural origins must be taken into consideration.

The North County Education Authority supplied Deangate with a list of supply teachers. The Authority did work from a policy document which Steve Black, Deangate's Deputy Head responsible for supply, found ambiguous and difficult to implement. The NUT representative in the school said the Authority's policy included stipulations, which were imposed on teachers and no official agreement existed between the County officials and the teaching unions. Deangate did not operate a system nor work from any policy for allowing staff to be absent from school and thus entailing bringing in supply. The school used an ad hoc system and patterns of absence were not considered.

The system of arranging cover for absent teachers, which becomes operative after a period of three days or if a teacher is away on a course, followed a straightforward pattern. Steve Black would phone supply teachers, usually

before 8am, asking if they were available for work. Supply teachers new to the school were welcomed personally by Alan Walters who, later in the day, would often ask how things were going. Steve Black encouraged and supported them as time allowed. When in-situ staff were asked to cover for absent colleagues, Steve Black approached them individually in their classroom, considering this approach to be tactful and appropriate. However, many staff objected:

Steve simply walks into your class and says - "Can you take period 6 this afternoon for so and so?" There's no way you can plan your free time for constructive work.

Staff accepted the Deputy Head's approach grudgingly and never asserted their opinions or suggested a change in his 'modus operandi'.

The role of supply teacher is not an easy one. At Deangate, supply teachers were not given keys, information on the school's routines, discipline structure or maps of the layout. They wandered around looking for classrooms and asking resident teachers to open locked doors for them. Much energy was invested in working out new names, school systems and establishing order with 'up in the air' pupils. Heads of Department varied in their willingness to support supply teachers. However, having said all that, supply teachers at Deangate, enjoyed working in the school. They spoke in glowing terms of the 'happy and cooperative staff'. Steve Black and Alan Walters showed concern and thanked them for

helping the school, and this also had a positive effect on supply teacher perspective of Deangate. The hierarchy, for their part, did what they could to encourage 'good' supply staff to return to the school and kept an unofficial blacklist of those they preferred not to employ again.

Teachers displayed a Jekyll and Hyde character when it came to their relationship with supply teachers. On the one hand they offered help and support, on the other they saw them as little more than 'child minders'. When asked: "How do you feel about supply teachers?", a Deangate teacher replied:

Give a married woman with four kids who hasn't taught for 10 years a class of 41 and ask her to teach something she hasn't taught before, without any help or support and make sure they are a low ability class and there you have a supply teacher - baby sitters. But wouldn't you do it for the pay they get?

Although the statement sounds rather damning, it reflects not only inner feelings of many of the staff, it contains accurate observations. Earley (1986) comments:

. . . the majority of supply teachers in both primary and Secondary schools were married women, many of whom desired to re-enter teaching after a career break to have children.

(Page 17)

Earley goes on to refer to supply teachers being trained in an earlier educational climate, who found 're-entry'

Photograph 23 I'm a Wally



problems ie classes difficult to control, all of which add credence to the teacher's statement.

Many of Deangate's staff whom I interviewed related horror stories concerning supply teachers. On one occasion the Head of Science and I walked into a long term supply teacher's classroom, to find him struggling to maintain order. Stuck to his back was a notice - 'I'm a Wally' - pinned there by pupils, (see photographic reconstruction, photograph 23). I used the photograph in an interview with the Head of Science, in order to jog his memory of the incident. It did and he revealed:

The lad was a waste of time. His qualifications looked good . . . maybe his jumping around from job to job didn't though. He left two weeks early. He was in love with a Spanish woman with two children. He applied for a number of jobs in Spain and finally got one in Barcelona. He left us just like that . . . He was a disaster.

This statement reveals, to some extent, the frustration of a Head of Department who was supporting three long term relievers working in his department. His situation became particularly delicate when the articulate middle class parents began to press the Head for an improvement.

Teachers, especially Heads of Departments, saw supply teachers in terms of an additional workload. Although good supply teachers were capable of taking classes, in general they were seen as "more trouble than they're worth"

(teacher). Teachers saw injustice in the nature of supply work - preparation was cut out, little marking, no parents or staff meeting to attend and no sense of frustration that accrues from teaching the same awkward class day in and day out.

There are a number of general observations to be made about supply teaching. Most importantly, it provides an example of taken for granted practice which became problematic and therefore questionable, when conflict arose between two powerful factions - the teachers' unions and the government. The various interpretations of what constitutes the role of a teacher, on the one hand covering for a absent colleagues as a professional obligation, and on the other as a voluntary activity, was a discrepancy which was 'solved' by law and imposed by LEA policy.

Supply teachers at Deangate gave indicators to the school's character. They spoke of three areas which they noticed about the school. They were: the warmth and welcome extended by the Head and his Deputies (one female supply teacher said of Alan Walters: "He's the perfect Head. I idolise him."); the happy staffroom atmosphere; and the tendency towards chaotic organisation, especially in areas where minor practical details were needed (what I later call micro organisation) and the application of prescribed rules.

Although teachers saw supply teachers as little more than 'child minders' and were generally unhappy at having to

cover for absent colleagues, on the whole they supported them, adding to their own workload and taking for granted their task of holding together a system under strain.

Part Two - Wider Influences

This section deals with those areas of influence which affected Deangate from a distance. What was noticeable about such influences was the disparate way in which they work. The first section, '**Contemporary Micro Influences**', examines the way in which forces at work in society in general enter surreptitiously to become an unquestioned aspect of schools. The second, '**Macro Influences**', briefly considers recent major Government innovations. They entered Deangate not by stealth, but mainly by regulation and imposition.

Contemporary Micro-Influences

In considering the influence of exterior forces acting on a school, it is easy to concentrate on prominent or topical educational concerns and to lose sight of the subtle national changes which the society is undergoing. Here I want to pursue less prominent, but equally ubiquitous changes in school, which are related to mainstream educational trends.

During the past 10 years or so, the Government have pursued a monetarist policy. Others in society have taken up the

torch and it is this aspect of influence that I would like to discuss first.

What follows is a series of pen portraits which establish a case record of influence by external agencies. This influence can be traced indirectly to Government policy, or directly to corporate bodies implementing what they see as acceptable commercial practice.

Teachers saw the North County Education Authority as 'tight' and gave examples of cost cutting such as the loss of Year Heads, whose pastoral role they sorely missed, and secretarial cuts, which led to administrative problems.

Changing commercial practices touch upon many aspects of school. I will briefly outline its effect on one of Deangate's ancillary services. Topical words or phrases - 'effectiveness', 're-structuring', 'management skills' - were often precursors to a change in school practice. North County Education Authority's catering manager Arnold Leaf, introduced 'Herbie' (Healthy Eating Really Better In Every way) as part of a two pronged approach to improving school catering. According to Arnold Leaf this consisted of:

. . .first to promote healthy eating as required by our customers and second, to attract new customers. This will increase sales, reduce the deficit.

(Education (6) 11th July 1986, Page 41)

Mr Leaf went on to explain his philosophy as: "We encourage supervisors to manage their own business. . .", and gave an example of an Old City school which, because of increased sales, had turned their operation from loss to profit. Deangate's cook was unhappy at the pressure he was under to introduce 'Herbie': "It's all about money really. If I don't do it I lose my job." He felt coerced into becoming 'profitable' by threats from the Authority to privatise Deangate's catering. The catering manager pursued a vigorous marketing campaign primarily concerned with profit, under the guise of promoting healthy eating.

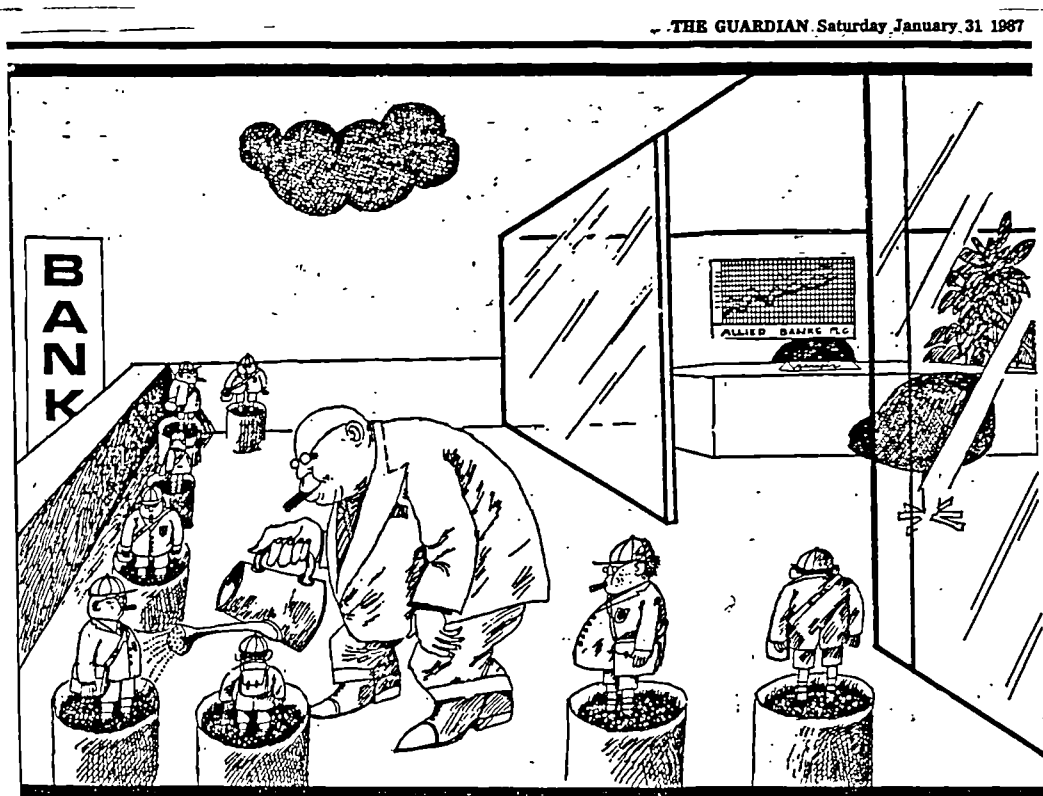
The school itself was less subtle than the Authority catering manager. The Head of Deangate introduced a large automated confectionery dispenser to the dining area of the main hall. Staffroom gossip suggested the Head had ordered the machine immediately on hearing of another school making a large profit from theirs. However, the pupils also sought the installation of such a machine. The School Council, consisting of pupils representing their forms, had asked for a vending machine to be installed for their convenience. In the school hall, a bright 'Herbie' poster proclaiming healthy eating, was pinned adjacent to the vending machine dispensing crisps and chocolate. Although they appeared to be diametrically opposed views, both were aimed at the pupils' pockets.

Banks were also active at Deangate. A Midland Bank 'Schools Liaison Officer' spoke at a morning assembly, aiming her

Photograph 24 Midland Bank's Logo



message at first year pupils. The majority of her speech was given over to selling the bank rather than giving reasons why they should use a banking system. She appealed to their greed. If pupils opened a Savings Account, paid in 50p, they were given a geometry set in the shape of a Midland Bank cheque, a fountain pen and sent birthday cards on the appropriate day. If pupils opened a Griffin Savings Account, they received a sports bag which was: "filled with files, dictionaries, geometry set and folders." (liaison officer). This account, where pupils paid in £10 for six months, was allocated: "Special interest rates given usually only to people depositing over £2,000" (liaison officer). Bags, pencil cases, geometry sets etc, all sported a Midland Bank logo, and these together with posters and plastic Griffins proliferated in the school (see photograph 24), and staff registered their complaint on the 'No Comments' noticeboard:



Commercialism was not restricted to banks. Through the mail, via union journals and various magazines, staff were bombarded with 'classroom commercials'. Teachers at Deangate wrote to companies requesting information. Wallcharts and booklets sent to the school were sometimes informative, but often heavily biased. For example, in a booklet from Kellogs, the brand name appeared 18 times on one page. The National Consumer Council survey taken in 1986, judged one third of commercially sponsored classroom materials to be inaccurate and over half criticised for promotional bias. The survey suggested that:

Some sponsors are clearly trying to exploit the situation brought about by the sharp reduction in public spending on teaching materials over the past few years.

(Page 36)

Some teaching material from industry/commerce was considered by staff to be excellent, but others were seen as designed specially to produce brand loyalty amongst pupils. The experience of North County Education Authority Schools is repeated in other education authorities. For example, Buckinghamshire schools use exercise books supplied to the council free of charge because the front cover was devoted to advertising. One Deangate teacher suggested: "Schools will go the same way as soccer clubs and kids will wear company logos on their uniforms instead of the school badge".

In this section I have attempted to portray a limited number of contemporary micro influences acting upon Deangate School. The case presented identifies influences, external to the school, which although not high profile nor considered to be fundamental changes in educational practice, are nevertheless reflective of a change in values and policy of companies and the current trend towards monetarism. Actions of these agencies, often indirect, unnoticed and unquestioned are taken for granted and being woven into the basic fabric of the nature of schools.

Contemporary Macro Influences

During data collection Deangate was affected by a wide variety of external influences, each competing for teachers' time and skills and exerting pressure on individual and collective ideologies. In Chapter 3, I examined the school's reactions to conflict with the Government over pay, conditions of service and education policies. In this section I will consider only those concerns high on the staff's agenda, i.e. those debated during informal coffee groups, departmental meetings and hierarchical meetings. Emphasis will be given to teachers' reactions to external agencies rather than to contrasting educational theories.

The Government and the media have, over the last decade, promoted the idea of large scale illiteracy and indiscipline, of 'lefties' indoctrinating pupils and of a curriculum illsuited to the country's needs. Schools were blamed for Britain's economic recession and teachers in

particular were accused of failing the nation. This suggestion, in some quarters an accusation, sowed the seeds of change and legitimized greater school accountability and Government moves to centralise control of education.

One of many important changes which took place during my stay at Deangate was the introduction of GCSE. It was not possible to monitor the implementation in depth, but I will relate some teacher reactions. The first reaction was one of confusion. The initial call for a single 16+ examination came from the teaching profession, predominantly the NUT (see NUT 1967, 1976, 1978, 1980). The reaction of teachers to Sir Keith Joseph's announcement to the introduction of GCSE in 1982 is described by Roy (1987):

. . .the reaction of the teaching profession ranged from cautious welcome to the reform, to a sense of relief that a decision had been taken.

(Page 12)

Although in favour in principal of GCSE, teachers at Deangate had reservations about the training, the application of national criteria, the speed of innovation and its political overtones. I will consider these points briefly.

The so called 'cascade' model, whereby experts train Heads of Department, who in turn would train teachers within their department, was seen by Deangate staff in terms of effectiveness, as improbable and impractical. The 'cascade',

courses varied from: "Excellent" to "I know more than the trainer." (both teacher comments). One Head of Department commented: "As usual, tired talks by tired teachers." Other Heads of Department were unsure of their own ability to pass on GCSE procedures and practices, and this reflected a national trend. The NFER (see Radnor 1986) found:

The training programme introduced teachers to what the final product is expected to be, but it did not address itself to the fundamental problem of what teachers need to do to make the change; that is their need to alter their belief systems and their teaching and learning strategies.

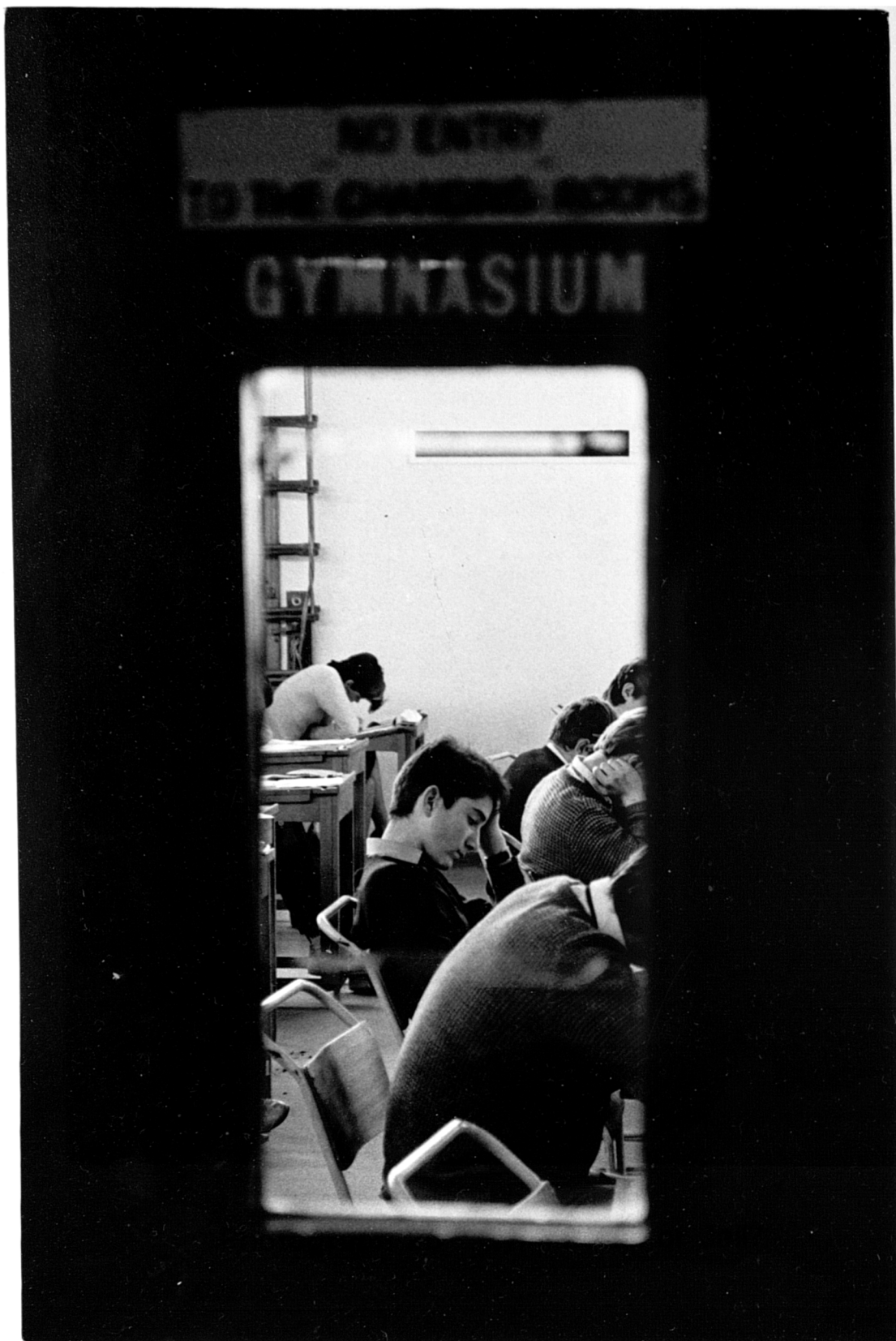
(Page 11)

It became obvious that some staff were finding considerable difficulty in changing lifelong pedagogical habits which GCSE demanded. In teachers' eyes the logic of this major innovation was beset by major problems. George Bernard Shaw (quoted by Pepper, 1984) sums up teacher beliefs:

Reformers have the idea that change can be achieved by brute sanity.

(page 294)

Departmental meetings at the time echoed with the problem of applying national criteria. The idea of 'impression marking' over a range of criteria was given consideration as a way of providing results without using excessive amounts of time. The following cartoon which was pinned to the 'No Comments' noticeboard in Deangate's staffroom illustrates teacher feelings on the matter.



Photograph 25 Gymnasium or Jail?



The speed of innovation also disconcerted staff. The lack of approved syllabuses, which held back course planning and the purchase of textbooks and equipment, coupled with the late arrival of marking schedules, all pointed to a lack of time.

The new examinations led to the revival of old questions. The teachers' argument broadly follows the issues raised by Whitty (1975), Bowles and Gintis (1976) and others, who have suggested that examinations are used as a form of social control. Pupils reacted to the new examination as they do to all examinations - as hurdles which most tripped over and few leapt. For some it held all the joy of a dentist's chair (see photograph 25). Examinations with their emphasis on elaborate language and academic knowledge were considered to have an inbuilt bias, whereby middle class pupils succeed and working class fail. The concept is not new, but it was uppermost in some Deangate teachers' minds. Added to this

was the action taken by Government agencies. For example, the Manpower Services Commission, as part of its five million pound funding of GCSE science and technology courses, gave two thousand pounds to Deangate's science faculty. This created tension between the arts and science faculties in the school and was cited by teachers as an example of Government manipulation of the curriculum; Deangate's reaction to GCSE reflects some of the school's deep seated feelings for what they regarded as unwanted, but omnipotent external forces. Time and time again teachers, during informal staffroom banter, expressed disillusionment at what they considered government intervention and mismanagement of education.

A topic of conversation, always high on the teachers' list of concerns was time. They spoke of 'coping strategies' as a way of dealing with an excess of work. One teacher described the stress of too many tasks and too little time as:

I feel like a juggler catching the ball nearest to the floor, but now my knuckles are beginning to scrape the ground.

The intensification of teachers' workload is described by Apple and quoted by Ball (1987):

Getting done becomes more important than what was done or how one got there

(Page 269)

Teachers reacted differently to this problem. Some strove to

cope whilst others had patently given up and were simply going through the motions.

Changes at Deangate came thick and fast. Many were externally directed and far-reaching in their implications. The 'good school' was seen to be run by a Head steeped in a tradition of managing 'human resources', manned by staff who subscribed to a 'vocational' and 'technical' curriculum, and who gladly opened themselves to 'performance appraisal'. However, teachers at Deangate saw their school as shaped by the quality of their input, of their entrepreneurial spirit. Teachers saw the introduction of 'Baker Days' as ineffective and eating into their well deserved holidays. The introduction of contracts dictating hours of work, was seen as a further erosion of their professional autonomy. Deangate's attitude hardened during its second year of existence. One teacher commented: "He (Baker) can do what he wants, but I'll do what I want in my own classroom." When contracts were introduced, the staff voted to discontinue 'activity week' (where pupils take a variety of special activities not usually part of the school curriculum) and not take up the Head's suggestion of voluntary Head of Year, which carried an additional workload, but helped with pupils' pastoral needs.

I will end this section by quoting Bernard Barker (1986a) a Headmaster who sees expectations of 'left' and 'right' educationalists and politicians exerting pressure on schools. His views parallel those of Deangate's staff:

Reformers have had a good run because the utopianism of the left (expecting schools to 'liberate' blacks, workers and women) and the radicalism of the right (80 percent will be average or above), of Better Schools have converged in a glorious self indulgent dream of scientific progress. Meanwhile back on Earth, schools have collapsed under the weight of so many great expectations.

(Page 4)

Summary

Chapter 7 considered the various influences of the 'Outside World' acting on Deangate School. Part one discussed 'Near Influences', which directly impinge on the daily life or workings of the school. Part two 'Wider Influences' was concerned with influences of a more general nature, such as government or social influences.

Throughout the chapter, particular consideration was given to actors' perceptions - teachers, pupils and parents - in order to understand their reactions, values and attitudes to external influences. At relevant times I included data from other sources in order to aid reflection and interpretation of actors' perceptions with the added advantage of giving critical distance to the analysis.

The inclusion of a wealth of detail in this chapter serves a purpose. It is required in order to demonstrate the extent and depth of taken for grantedness, and also acts as a case record for possible comparison with other studies of the

internal/external relationship. There is a need in research of this sort to go beyond analysis of a fragmented or limited range of data in order to ascertain the degree of taken for grantedness, to see if a range of taken for grantedness exists and if it does, to make comparisons and connections across them.

The interaction between Deangate and the 'outside world' may be interpreted in a number of ways. It is clear that participants (internal and external) build up a 'picture' of 'sameness' and 'difference' based on a mixture of culture based taken for grantedness and personal experience. Two examples illustrate this point. (1) North County Education Authority officers have a taken for granted understanding of their own role and that of the school, based on past actions and assumptions, and also based much of their positive view of Deangate's character on their relationship with the main point of interaction - Alan Walters. (2) Supply teachers also bring with them assumptions about school but see Deangate's 'difference' in terms of warmth of the hierarchy, a friendly staffroom, noisy classrooms and corridors, and chaotic micro organisation. Therefore we may tentatively assume that different perceptions of Deangate's character or 'difference' exist depending on an individual's or group's experience of the school. Also, it appears that 'sameness' of schooling may also have alternative meanings to participants. Parents, for example, depending on social class, encounters with staff or even gossip, make and maintain taken for granted assumptions about status and role

of teachers and of school. It may be that assumptions they make change as their children's (and their own) need changes, when they shift from Junior to Secondary school and as they move from the 1st form to the 6th form. Thus we are made sensitive to the notion that 'outsider's' view of Deangate, both in terms of 'sameness' and 'difference' may not only be different between themselves, and may change as needs change, but more importantly, is different from perceptions held by internal participants.

Teachers at Deangate have different needs and understanding of 'sameness' and 'difference' to those of 'outsiders' because they hold 'insider' knowledge and perceive school differently from 'outsiders'. Teachers' commitment to their own views, reinforced by reaffirmation rituals and day to day repetition, serve to maintain that difference. On the other hand the Head of Deangate, acting as an intermediary between the 'inside and outside worlds', acted as a 'fence-sitter', balancing the multiple needs and perceptions of both. Again the role of the Head was that of 'gate keeper', effectively shielding staff from outside influences and in doing so controlling major aspects of the internal/external relationship and presenting his vision of the school to 'outsiders'.

Four important factors are seen to be important and a potential influence on Deangate School: A high degree of imperviousness by the school to macro and micro influences; the taken for granted aspect of school is extensive and

appears to exist in 'sameness' and 'difference'; the power of the Head is again evident in his control of interaction between internal and external elements and his influence on external elements; and finally there is evidence to suggest that taken for granted practice becomes problematic and is questioned during periods of conflict.

CHAPTER 8 MAJOR PERSPECTIVES, CRITICAL EVENTS

Introduction

This is the last of the case record chapters. Previous chapters have contained a mixture of 'taken for grantedness', a generic feature of schooling, and elements particular to Deangate School. Since the former was emphasized in earlier chapters I will redress the imbalance by discussing the role of participants in the formation of the school's internal character.

Prior to the mid 1970's there was relatively little material that could be described as a sociology of 'the school'. From the mid 1970's until the present day numerous analyses had been made reflecting on schools as organisations but always examining particular elements of school and schooling. Here I want to consider the development of Deangate's 'difference' or character. This necessarily involves investigation of key individuals and groups, and how they, in their own way, influenced the school. Thus I will reflect on whatever is central to key actors and groups, leaving out at this stage organisational theories of schools, the concept of 'total institution' (Goffman 1968), and what many prescriptive writers have in the past considered important facets of school. Clearly schools do not exist in a social or administrative vacuum as previous chapters have shown, but at this stage in the thesis I want to concentrate on how

key actors and groups working within external parameters functioned to create a particular school character.

The observations made in this chapter reflect, albeit superficially, human nature: how people given the same stimuli react differently; how, as staff came to know each other, they would recognise who would support certain beliefs and group accordingly, and who to seek out in order to murmur dissent or air feelings to when disagreeable notices were pinned to the staffroom noticeboard. However, retelling the story of the process and evolution of Deangate's internal character is problematic. It would be foolish not to acknowledge the difficulty of portraying something which is inherently mercurial. An honest description of forces contributing to the character of the school would read like an impoverished James Joyce novel. Equally, an analytical approach may suggest clarity where capriciousness exists and a dishonest representation of the nature of the beast. Although sociology principally acts to demystify, clarify and report, its priority lies in accuracy. I will impose an interpretive structure on the chapter but retain descriptive passages in order to retain something of the flavour of the milieu.

This chapter is divided into four parts: **'History'**; **'Individuals'**; **'Groups'**; and **'Evolution'**. Each part merits inclusion because they contribute to Deangate's 'difference'. Their influence is underlined by analysis of substantive data and has been evident in earlier chapters.

'History' has been shown to be especially affective in influencing the most powerful person in the school - the Head, and on teachers, a combination which inevitably led to repercussions throughout Deangate. 'Individuals' and 'Groups', as one would expect, were important in shaping the school, but their inclusion is not the result of a trite conclusion but based on the need to explore and understand in what way they contributed to its development. 'Evolution' is the term used to describe what appears to be a natural progression at Deangate, from empty shell of a building and ambiguous committee statements to an organic entity where rules, regulations and organisation have gradually become established and later enshrined.

Through illustrative data I intend to show how **history**, **individuals** and various **groups** came to play significant parts in the creation and evolution of the nature of Deangate School. The data presented will also lay the foundation for Chapters 9 and 10 which will elucidate the nature of 'sameness' and 'difference', and the nature of a school.

Much of the chapter will be concerned with values, attitudes beliefs and perspectives of individuals and groups, and at this point I will make a distinction between values and perspectives. Becker et al (1961) describes two working definitions:

Perspectives differ from values in being situationally specific; they are patterns of thought and action

which have grown up in response to a specific set of institutional pressures and serve as a solution to the problems those pressures create. Values, on the other hand, are ordinarily thought of as being generalized and abstract, capable of being applied to a great variety of situations. Perspectives are related directly to dilemmas faced by the persons while hold them, while values need have no such direct connection. Perspectives contain definitions of the situation, as the actor sees it, while values are essentially statements of worth or 'goodness' of classes of things.

(pages 36-37)

Becker's use of the word 'perspective' may be at variance with its dictionary definition: 'relation in which parts of subject are viewed in the mind, view, prospect.', because he includes 'action'. Becker's use is by no means accepted and Lacey (1977) modifies his working definitions by excluding 'action' and introducing 'social strategy' to include 'action' and 'purpose' of actors (page 74). Whereas I acknowledge Lacey's interpretation and subsequent development of Becker's working definitions I intend to use the latter. Lacey's model lends itself to a more closely structured theory, as a sharper conceptual tool, but Becker's definition serves grounded theory more appropriately. It is crucial to observe terms like attitudes, priorities and perspectives in action if ambiguities are to be avoided. Kohl (1964) explores the importance of context:

Linguistic concepts help us cope with the complexity of experience and are useful only insofar as they can

function in the face of experience (original emphasis). 'Knowledge', 'freedom', 'belief', etc - these must all be analysed in use (original emphasis) and understood in the context of our lives.

(page 79)

A prime objective of this chapter is to demonstrate 'in use' values, perspectives and priorities of key individuals and groups.

Schooling is an outcome of multiple truths - of staff, pupils, LEA, the Head, and society at large - all of which are to some extent overlapping, competing and varying in influence. In earlier chapters I have described important aspects of Deangate, for example 'communication', 'formal' and 'informal interaction' and this chapter adds to those facets but limits its concern to major perspectives and values within the school. I have chosen certain 'critical events' which took place in Deangate for a number of reasons. Firstly, they were critical to an individual or group in that they provided a pivotal experience which influenced or altered perspectives. Alfred McChung Lee (1978) explains the importance of such 'events':

Fresh and vivid experiences tend to unsettle pre-existing beliefs and behaviour patterns, at least to place them in new perspectives . . . Such experiences give rise to philosophies termed sophist and humanist. Historians perceive these influences especially in frontier terms. Anthropologists find such experiences give rise to culture shock and thus contribute to

'Critical Events' in this sense are markers of turning points or boundaries. In a second, and rather different sense, they are descriptive, diagnostic or representative of an individual or group stance on specific issues. Finally, they are pointers to possible origins of perspectives or actions. The 'events' will be presented in a number of guises - as incidents, episodes, milestones or confrontations. Where I use 'critical events', the intended sense, whether a pivotal experience, as a diagnostic aid, or as a pointer to origin of perspective, will be evident from the context.

I would like to make one final point concerning the overall impression the reader may gain from this chapter. A sense of 'gloom and doom' seems to predominate. Since I have taken an ethnographic stance, and accepting that staff are critical to the character of the school, I have related what is important to them. The staff chose to celebrate differences and disputes, the negative rather than the positive. This is itself a facet of the school's character. In contrast, the Head, unknowingly antagonising staff, celebrated the positive, happy side of the school, also a facet of the school's character. The staff were enthusiastic in their criticism of the school and the hierarchy and this is reflected by the degree of 'gloom and doom', whereas the Head and the hierarchy (with the exception of one Deputy

Head who said: "They (the staff) are the biggest bunch of moaners I've come across in my teaching career."), rarely spoke critically of the school or staff. I make these points to clarify my stance. I am reflecting essentially on key actors' beliefs, and though the school possessed many attributes, the inner or core character is focussed around the perspectives of the principal power groups - the hierarchy and the staff.

History

A school is not an island. In Chapter 3 and 7, I demonstrated how contemporary features helped shape the new school. This section attempts to trace historical 'critical events', in order to observe their influence on Deangate. But there is so much history to consider; the biographies of staff and pupils; the history of the institutions they come from; the history of the County Education Authority; the history of education in England since 1944. Therefore I have chosen to limit my observations to the school and follow a variety of situations and concerns noted during my period of involvement with the school, back to their source or 'critical event'.

The school is making its own history which has been influenced by past history and will in turn effect 'future' history. Deangate may not be aware of this because the situation they face is primarily a day to day one and confusing and messy, not at all like 'proper' history which historians would have us believe is tidy, concise and

objective. Deangate, after 3 years, reviewed its own short history in the belief that the past would guide them to a better future. If only that were the case. The problem facing the school (or any school evaluating itself) is to create sufficient critical distance in order to be objective. What is inescapable for Deangate is that historical 'critical events' may be indelibly embodied in school practice. John F. Kennedy (see Pepper, 1984) describes the power of history:

History is a relentless master. It has no present, only the past rushing into the future. To try to hold fast is to be swept aside.

(page 165)

Bearing in mind the power of history, it is clear that Deangate, emerging phoenix-like from the ashes of a traditional Grammar school, would to some extent, be imbued with characteristics of that earlier institution. This is particularly pertinent considering the new Head and senior Deputy Head were longstanding past members of the old Grammar school. The 'critical event' in Deangate's history was comprehensivization. This pivotal event signalled the death of a Grammar school and the birth of a comprehensive school - but in name only. Clearly traditions, the curriculum, hierarchical perspectives all bore the stamp of the old Grammar school. A small but significant historical point was that the deed of the old Grammar school was never officially changed. The notion that Deangate Grammar School

'lives on' secretly pleased Alan Walters, the Head of the new comprehensive school.

Not surprisingly, a prominent feature of the new school was the predominance of the old Grammar school's systems and procedures. This was a direct result of a preponderance of Grammar school influence in the hierarchy and secretarial staff. In some ways an 'in-situ' administration system was an asset, but during the first two years it caused considerable anguish as many staff and pupils wrestled with an unfamiliar organisation enforced by administrators with unrealistic expectations. A Deputy Head (from a Secondary Modern school) describes some of the frustrations:

The office (school secretary and two assistants) are continuing practice of the old Grammar school but with increased numbers and a more difficult administration. It is assumed that we know how administration works. Routines which you are unsure of and ask about, well the reaction is: "You should know." There seems to be little understanding from the office, that new structures, systems are being established and take time to be understood and accepted.

The administration problem was less evident after one year, as staff and pupils assimilated 'in-situ' schemes.

Prior to reorganisation North Education Authority decided that pastoral systems common in Old City school before the changeover would not be used. The loss of Head of Year/house/school was much lamented by the school and a

source of antagonism not yet resolved. The new pattern envisaged form teachers absorbing the workload previously carried by Heads of Year etc. This 'critical event' - the imposition of an 'alien' structure - never functioned effectively despite a number of hierarchical attempts to resuscitate it. Hence Deangate's pastoral needs were seriously neglected. Teachers often 'passed the buck' to the hierarchy or used short term solutions to serious pupil problems. Improvisation was not a satisfactory substitute. A Deputy Head who took on board many pastoral problems describes how the system affected her:

The loss of Year Heads for pastoral care has caused problems as has been borne out this year. My job was meant to be lower school administration. Not so. It's become one of mainly pastoral care.

The extra burden on Deputy Heads, caused by teachers unable or unwilling to adapt to the new system, was also felt by Alan Walters who inadvertently encouraged staff to sent 'problem' pupils to him, by his 'open door' policy. The minor administrative and discipline problems which have been assimilated by an effective pastoral system went unresolved. Towards the end of Deangate's third year a review of the school's management structure stated:

The absence of House Masters/Heads of Year/Heads of School, means that many (if not all) of their duties have had to be absorbed by the Head and his Deputies. Disciplinary matters are the greatest problem with Deputies being asked to deal with a large number of relatively minor matters simply because there is no-

one else who has been given the responsibility. This discipline load has seriously distorted the workload of the managerial team.

The hierarchy had become the 'beasts of burden' for minor pastoral problems which could have been dealt with by more junior staff. Staff perceived this factor to be responsible for the hierarchy's poor performance on long term planning.

The remnants of the Grammar school and imposition of an inappropriate pastoral system were two obvious, historically based, 'critical events', which had a major impact on the new school. A third, more subtle and elusive influence was teachers' past practices and sub-cultures, which, ingrained by years of repetition, were capable of undermining consensus and sabotaging management initiatives. Past practices emerged occasionally like skeletons from a cupboard. A good example was 'merit points'. Ex-Deangate Grammar school teachers aided by ex-Grammar school pupils, continued their tradition of giving and receiving 'merit points' for good work etc.. Although unauthorized the system grew like Topsy as other staff recognised pupils' enthusiasm (and therefore a source of leverage). The 'merit points' system, like administration procedures, was a ghost of the past and like many other practices resurrected or continued, was adapted and bastardised to fit the requirements of the new school.

The change to comprehensivisation brought a change of staff and an influx of new pupils. Teachers used to Secondary Modern pupils coped well and enjoyed dealing with 'bright' boys. However, some ex-Grammar school staff found their new charges troublesome. Within a short period a number of teachers unable to accommodate the change, either left teaching or moved to another Grammar school. Others, unable to move and unwilling to change pedagogy, caused problems for colleagues and pupils. One such teacher told pupils:

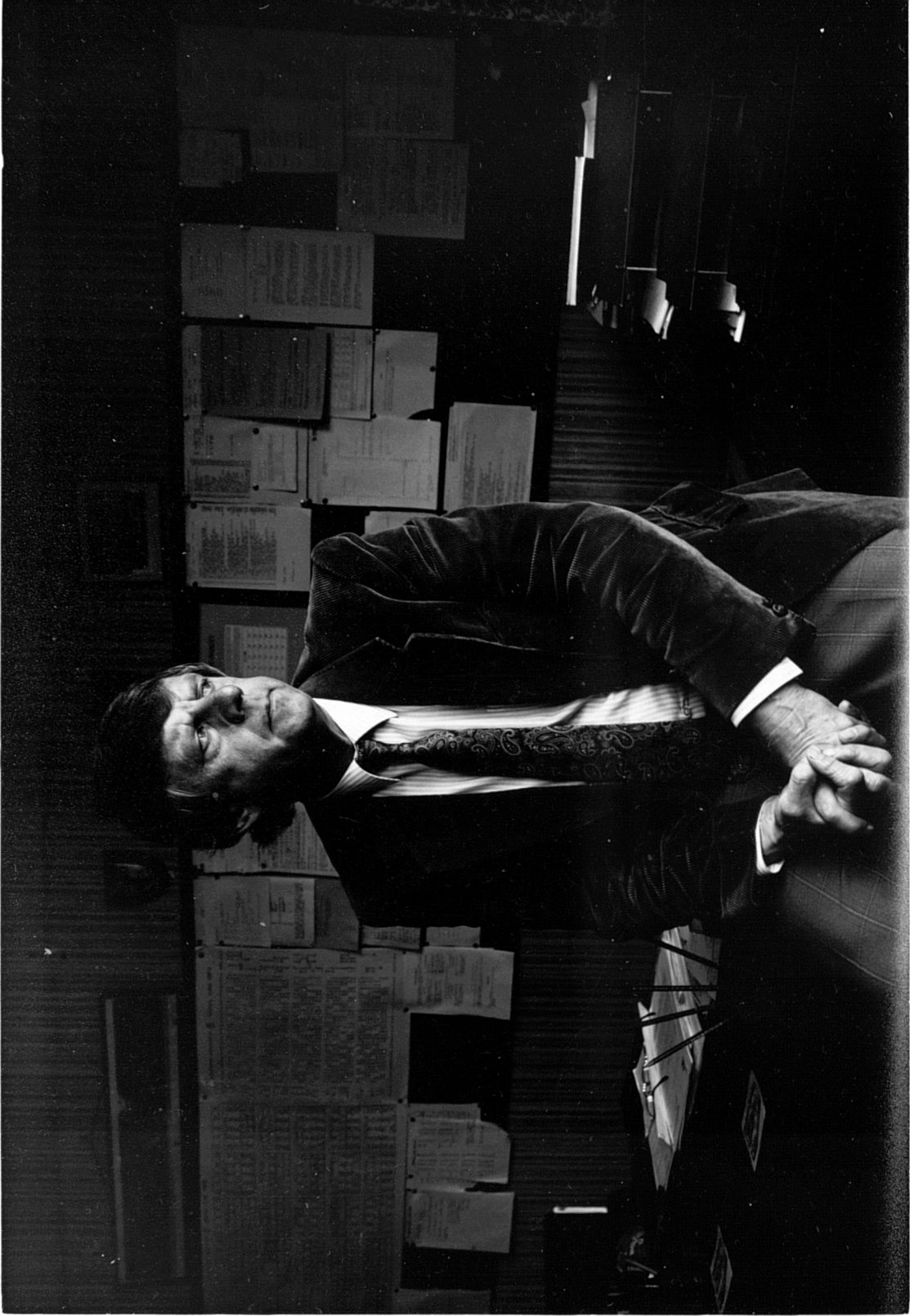
I'm here to teach and if you don't want to learn then
go away.

They did, and it was possible to observe gangs of 3 or 4 hiding in toilets, on a 'walkabout' (see photograph 8), or secreted in cloakrooms.

The teacher in this case had the capacity to change, but for personal reasons and because he was opposed to comprehensive schooling, chose to adopt an adversarial stance. Others, perhaps 'locked-in' after years of repetition or unwilling to make the required effort, continued past practices.

In Chapter 3 'context', I discussed external factors which formed the backdrop against which teachers, pupils and parents performed. Historical 'events', although akin to contextual features, act differently. Whereas context effected the milieu and worked in an indirect way, historical 'events' worked directly on the character of the

Photograph 26 The Head



school. After three years, important features of Deangate's character can be traced back to decisions made prior to reorganisation. Much of the remainder of this chapter will deal with staff reactions to recent historical 'critical events'. How staff interpreted and influenced important genetic features is a key feature of the school's character.

Individuals

In this section I will consider six individuals, all of whom, significantly, are men. In each case I will demonstrate their influence in the school. Alan Walters, Amar, Dave Haywood and Paul Chaplin, were all eminent characters and in their own particular ways made significant contribution to the definition of the school. Mark Jolly and Dick Short, on the other hand, are included because they are representative of a cluster of teachers, who, by acting in a distinctive manner, effectively and unwittingly, helped mould the school's character.

Alan Walters (see photograph 26)

The Head of Deangate was the most powerful and influential person in the school. Although throughout the thesis I have made references to Alan Walters, I would like at this point, to clarify his values, perspectives and priorities, by discussing a number of 'critical events'.

Alan Walters's initial prime concern was that Deangate Grammar School would 'survive' reorganisation. To ensure its 'survival' he retained important traditional elements in

their original (i.e. Grammar school) form, for example: Carol Service, a period of silence for the founder, Speech Day etc. Added to these rituals were a variety of visual and physical 'properties' which were part of or symbolized the old Grammar school. Examples of these 'properties' were: paintings of previous Headmasters going back hundreds of years and located in the main hall; the veteran coach which stayed with the school for two years, used for annual trips to Twickenham and sporting 'Deangate Grammar School' on its side; and finally the Head's office was itself a museum of Grammar school artefacts and miscellany. Each of these elements was viewed with coolness, even disdain, by the majority of staff and pupils of the 'new' school. They saw the 'properties' as being of little relevance to them. The old coach was a particular favourite of the Head. Only two teachers (the Head and a Deputy Head) were licenced to drive the vehicle and this led to a number of cynical remarks from staff, for example: "They are the best paid coach drivers in England." The coach's demise occurred after two years, brought about by lack of school funds.

Alan Walters's second priority was: "To make Deangate the best school in the area." The overriding objective of his internal and external propaganda campaign was to project a positive image of the school. The emphasis on public relations did not go un-noticed by staff. The community were made aware of the school's many successes, of scholarship and achievements on the sports field. But the majority (what I later term 'popular culture') of staff were unhappy at the

Head's enthusiasm for praising all events, even those perceived by staff as failures. One of the enigmas of Deangate was Alan Walters's positive stance. Teachers often asked: "Is that the way he really saw it or what he wants others to believe?" Time and time again this issue would be debated in the staffroom. For example after a sports day when pupils reportedly misbehaved, a teacher commented:

It was terrible out there - more like Heysal Stadium than a school athletics day. I bet tomorrow he'll (the Head) say what a successful day it was and well done everyone.

Each time a discrepancy occurred between the Head's account of an event and staff observations, the enigma deepened.

The relationship between Alan Walters and his staff changed as their understanding of his actions evolved. Initially teachers enjoyed his personal qualities of openness and friendliness. Later, as the 'honeymoon' period came to an end, they began to question his enthusiasm for public relations. Finally in private some voiced concern, suggesting he was 'turning a blind eye' to pastoral problems and failing to tackle tardy and plainly negligent staff. Teachers began to perceive the Head as: "Looking through rose tinted glasses" (teacher).

An incident in the third term was pivotal in determining staff understanding of Alan Walters's enthusiasm for public

relations. After a school trip to a nearby museum, the manager wrote to Alan:

I feel I must take the unusual step of writing in praise of the standards of behaviour and the general competence of the staff in charge . . . They are a credit to themselves and to the school.

The role of the Head is a particular onerous. Alan Walters was constantly fielding pupil traumas, angry parents and miscreant staff. The letter from the museum must have appeared like a shaft of light to him. For the following six weeks the letter was paraded at staff meetings, morning briefing, Head of Department meetings, and Board of Governors meeting. "It's a letter I will always cherish" he told them. Staff and pupils made a mental note of the number of times the letter was raised on high. From that time onwards, no one was in any doubt as to the importance of public relations, nor to the Head's high expectations of pupil behaviour on future school visits. Teachers realised that anyone tarnishing the school's name would severely damage their personal standing with the Head.

Unfortunately, some staff, unhappy with what they considered to be Alan Walters's passion for public relations and his inability to tackle teachers performing badly, chose to see all his activities in a negative light. Hence the Head's enthusiasm for innovation met with some resistance from some quarters. He sought to introduce an alternative curriculum; to establish a staff appraisal scheme; and to meet the needs

of gifted children. However, they all received a degree of resistance. Staffroom gossip and a faction of discontents, soured by Alan Walters's early actions, tarred later undertakings with the same brush, and many schemes foundered. This was a great disappointment to the Head. He had hoped his democratic leadership and staff participation in decision making would reduce resistance to change and improvement. He did not realise that his priorities and perspectives were working against him.

Teachers, experienced in, and sensitized to, hidden agendas, became more critical of the Head's actions. Alan Walters's values were inevitably bound up with his priorities, and staff realised that the good name of the school was paramount.

There was a belief in the school that the Head placed the name of the school above the needs of individual staff. When this issue was raised Alan Walters's supporters were quick to point to his humanitarian beliefs - how no other Head in Old City had visited all new pupils in their schools prior to reorganisation. They also called attention to Alan Walters's success at protecting staff from angry parents, and his ability to 'bend' the authority's rules so that staff could take days off for 'personal' reasons, without loss of pay. Perception by staff of the Head was dependent on personal experiences and beliefs.

Towards the end of the year staff were becoming more critical of the Head's performance. In Chapter 5 'Formal Teacher Interaction', I outlined different perspectives held by staff on the school's decision making process. Most staff perceived Alan Walters as shrinking back from the painful process of decision making. They wanted him to make decisions, make them more clearly, make them more rapidly but most importantly they wanted him not to take avoidance action i.e. not to put off making difficult decisions. Alan Walters emphasized consultation, teamwork and participation but in practice the meetings became 'an airing of views' and not a place of decisions. The staff meetings were particularly unwieldy and therefore unsatisfactory. In the second year staff meetings became less and less frequent as the Head came to realise that small was beautiful. Staff enjoyed morning briefing which kept them informed of day to day events, but despondent at the demise of staff meetings and the consequent loss of consultation, and collaborative planning. But these were minor issues which served to emphasise beliefs stemming from major events.

Two 'critical events' which were prominent in teachers' minds were: The decision to move away from mixed ability teaching towards broad banding; and the decision not to hold an 'Activities Week' at the end of the third year.

The decision to move away from mixed ability teaching was pinned to the staffroom noticeboard after the Head had asked for opinions on the issue in a questionnaire two months

earlier. The change and the way it was communicated came as a surprise to many. A group of ex-Secondary Modern teachers were especially concerned: "The academic knives are out." one suggested. Two important points arose out of this 'event'. Firstly, an awareness for many, of a difference in values. Individuals had privately noted the Grammar school curriculum at Deangate, and now a segregated grouping of pupils confirmed for them an academic hidden agenda. Secondly, it was seen that certain topics were to be decided by the Head - the first of a short list of 'no-go area' issues.

For quite different reasons, the decision not to hold and 'Activities Week' also jelled staff perceptions. For the last two years the school had run very successful 'Activities Weeks' where pupils' pursued interests not found in a normal curriculum - fishing, photography, orienteering etc. Here a teacher explains what took place in the third year:

Because of teacher 'action' we decided not to do an 'Activities Week'. The Head wanted one. In his democratic way he left it to a union vote and it was chucked out by a narrow vote. In its place we had a month of 'activities' which were never planned, never on the school calendar - they just sprung up. You'd arrive at school to find your class wasn't there - they'd gone somewhere else. It was total chaos.

If the outcome was 'chaos' who was to blame - who owns the problem? It could be said that staff, through a democratic

process, chose as a group to follow their union's dictum but later acted individually and 'did their own thing'. However, teachers blamed Alan Walters for the confusion which followed their decision. They claimed he should have made the decision to hold an 'Activities Week', which would have removed the unplanned, uncoordinated events that caused 'chaos'. Therefore this 'critical event' reinforced beliefs of those who perceived Alan Walters as a leader who avoided or postponed difficult and painful decisions.

Thus two critical events further polarized two groups' beliefs: Those whose educational values differed from the Head's, and who saw the democratic process as a fraud; and those who criticised the Head's decision making ability. If we add to these two groups, other factions - teachers who disliked Alan Walters's priorities (traditions of the 'old school' and public relations), and Amar's 'around the corner' anti-hierarchy deviant group - we can understand something of the nature of the coalition which existed in the staffroom after three years.

There is a certain degree of evolutionary inevitability in this. Handy (1977) claims that individual teachers find it easier to identify with small groups and feel greater confidence and influence as a result of membership. And, therefore, it is not unexpected to find Deangate staff grouping in a similar fashion. Alan Walters's behaviour was also influenced by a natural evolutionary process. Bridges, E. (1987) found that newly appointed principals were

emotionally close to teachers, placed more emphasis on informal communication and act more informally than at a later date in the relationship. However, Bridges noted that staff perceived the change as a move towards bureaucratic leadership. Other pressures were acting upon Alan Walters. He refined his democratic stance as he became aware of the enormous energy required to sustain a management by consensus approach, and redefined his 'open door' policy which had consumed too much of his time.

A root cause of disagreements between staff and the Head lay with the nature and role of leadership itself. Alan Walters placed utmost faith in teachers' professional autonomy and that Headship entailed acting as a facilitator who utilised the skills of his team. His favourite quote was: "We are enablers not managers." Staff, on the other hand, wanted a Head, who consulted then acted; someone stronger, who demanded more of his middle managers, who confronted problems and fought for solutions. Because the Head and staff saw leadership differently, a discrepancy in expectations existed which ultimately led to disappointments in each others performance.

Dave Haywood

At the end of Deangate's second year Steve Black, the Head's 'right hand man' retired. He was replaced by Dave Haywood who, like Steve, was a past member of Deangate Grammar School. However, unlike Steve, he was capable of being very direct, and held a clear vision of the way the school should

be. The change of Deputy Heads was a 'critical event' in the school's evolution. Dave Haywood is an example of an individual with power and ideals who modified aspects of school practice.

Before considering these changes I want to outline Dave's rise to the hierarchical ranks. The first of a number of minor 'events' took place during the school's first year when Dave realised that the Head had failed to allocate departmental grants. He approached Alan Walters to ask for his departmental allowance and came away with the task of setting up and chairing a capitation committee. This committee, entrusted with the task of distributing money to individual departments, scrapped the old Grammar school system of allocating according to a set formula in an 'according to needs' approach. The delicate problem of departmental allowances was dealt with to the staff's and hierarchy's satisfaction, and was the first of many 'feathers' in Dave Haywood's cap.

The above 'event' is an indicator of two important features: It illustrates Alan Walters's belief that his role was that of "enabler not a manager" (Head); and it demonstrates his willingness to employ staff strengths to supplement his own shortcomings (financial management was not Alan Walters's strong point). The Head's technique of using individual staff skills to compliment his own, became a familiar feature of his teamwork approach to managing the school.

Dave Haywood, more than any other member of staff, was the person whom the Head came to rely on.

When Dave Haywood was appointed Deputy Head at Deangate, he was given responsibility for the curriculum and timetable, both of which he made changes to. A Deputy Head is required to implement and oversee aspects of school policy. There were two basic changes brought about by the replacement of Steve Black. The first was in personal relationships; Steve Black employed a counselling style and listened to staff, parent and pupil concerns, whereas Dave Haywood, although talking on board opinions from these groups, often took a more adversarial stance. The second change was a tightening up of the school's organisation and administration. Dave had the benefit of two years on the 'shop floor' and was aware of staff concerns, especially their call for a more rigorous micro-organisation. Driven by personal vision of the school he set about legislating for clearer organisational guidelines. He reorganised supply teaching, the school's detention system, the discipline procedure, and introduced a computer/word processor to the school office. Initially, staff welcomed these innovations, dubbing Dave the 'systems man'. However, as the year progressed, two other facets of his particular style of management became clear and were less well received. Firstly, Dave saw his guidelines and structures as only the beginning of his own personal vision and that adherence by teachers was also required. In other words he saw the tightening of Deangate's organisation not only as an aid to teachers to ease their task, to clarify

for them the many boundaries and responsibilities, but also envisaged their implementation by all staff as paramount to the school's improvement. Secondly, he restructured the timetable, moving the school closer to a fully blocked system thereby giving Heads of Department greater control and flexibility over their specialist areas. Some changes in the timetable were not welcomed. Dave gave preference to some subjects over others, redistributing curriculum emphasis as he saw fit.

Clearly any change in the hierarchy, an important centre of influence, is likely to result in changes within the school. The above changes, were, as far as staff were concerned, quite unexpected. True they wanted 'systems' which were clear, well defined, and enforced by the hierarchy. They envisaged the tightening process to work in their favour, as a tool of control and expected Dave Haywood with 'coal face' origins to set up such structures. When Dave came to office he did clarify boundaries and responsibilities, but in the shift from staffroom to hierarchy he crossed an invisible line and his perspectives altered. He now saw the major problem not as establishing 'paper systems' but getting the staff to implement his innovations as part and parcel of their everyday work. Staff's view of Dave changed and he was perceived differently. Their knight in shining armour had become a dragon who was unafraid of dispute and confrontation.

A change of Deputy Heads brought about changes in the school's managerial style. Steve Black and Alan Walters held similar values, expectations and both employed an interpersonal approach to management. Dave on the other hand, was complementary in terms of skills to the Head but they were contrasting in their handling of staff relations. Unfortunately my data collection phase was completed before I could gain a purchase on the outcome of the change of style within the hierarchy and its longer term effect on the school.

Amar

Influence was not the sole prerogative of the hierarchy. Here I want to examine the case of a teacher, who, although low in official status, was able to make an impact on the school. Amar, mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5, was a strong individual not afraid of isolation, who for a variety of reasons set himself against the hierarchy, some staff and pupils.

Amar, an ex-Deangate Grammar School teacher, was not in favour of comprehensive schooling and claimed of reorganisation: "It's destroyed me." He believed in academic excellence and all else was of secondary importance. He blamed the hierarchy for : ". . . bad organisation and management . . . they only got there by shaking hands." Amar enjoyed teaching Grammar school pupils but complained that: "The new intake of pupils are not using me to my full potential because they are not interested. I don't want to

soil my hands with them." Naturally these beliefs clashed with those of the staff whose definition and expectations of comprehensive schooling differed from his. Amar, a determined and dominant individual, undermined the school in many ways. Firstly, by orchestrating an 'underground' movement of dissenters who met 'around the corner' of the 'L' shaped staffroom; secondly he withdrew from the school's social events and extra curricular activity; and finally, refused to accept responsibility for the education of low ability ex-Secondary Modern pupils.

The hierarchy did not react to Amar or his 'underground' movement. The main body of staff treated him with a mixture of respect and fear but even so they imposed a limit of 'acceptable' behaviour on him. The following 'critical events' illustrate what was, in teachers' eyes, unacceptable behaviour and what actions contravened the unspoken code of conduct. The first 'event' occurred in the staffroom when Amar suggested to a group of teachers that the Head ought to "sod off". This statement caused some harsh words to be spoken but did not result in any form of censure from the staff body. The second 'event', more serious than the first, took place at the end of a series of minor episodes. Amar 'allowed' low ability ex-Secondary Modern pupils to absent themselves from his Friday afternoon lesson. His Head of Department heard of the small band of pupils roaming the corridors and hiding in toilets and confronted Amar but without success and the practice continued. However, on one particular Friday afternoon the pupils disturbed other

classes by banging on classroom doors and peering through windows. Whereas teachers frowned upon a teacher allowing pupils to abscond from class, they did not object until the pupils interfered directly with their work - only then did Amar violate the unwritten code and staff express their annoyance. This event set a precedent in the school and exemplified the boundary of acceptable practice. Amar, and other teachers, knew that peer pressure to which they felt obliged to react, i.e. change their ways, would be activated when their actions directly affected other teachers. Equally, it was seen as acceptable (although frowned upon) to act unprofessionally in one's own classroom or areas where others were not directly implicated.

Initially Amar placed a complete embargo on any association with the school - he taught and went home. His relationship with staff and pupils thawed very slowly and only at the end of the school's third year could he be said to be fully integrated. Amar's acceptance of the new school can be mapped territorially. At first his territory was limited to his classroom, 'around the corner' in the 'L' shaped staffroom, and the corridor linking the two - rather like a lion in a cage at the zoo. The first sign of a warming between Amar and the staff took place after one year, on neutral territory outside of school, when he was invited by a group of female teachers to a regular informal gathering on a Friday lunchtime at a local public house. He accepted and a dialogue between himself and teachers began. Two months later Amar sat for the first time in the main part of

the staffroom. The hierarchy noticed the territorial shift and a Deputy Head went across for a 'chat' and signalled 'welcome' and their pleasure at seeing him there.

At this stage Amar still lacked any formal involvement beyond peripheral commitment. The 'critical event' which brought about a change in his attitude took place at the end of the second year when Amar was given responsibility for the library. Although his grade and salary were unchanged the additional status plus involvement in Head of Department meetings where the majority of decisions were made, caused Amar to change his attitude. He began to attend staff and departmental meetings and, more importantly, made positive contributions. The move by the hierarchy was seen by many as most astute. The hierarchy was aware of Amar's needs. He did not want financial gain or a higher grade but a position of status and involvement in middle management. If Amar had been offered the post earlier he may well have refused it for he was bitter and negative when the school opened.

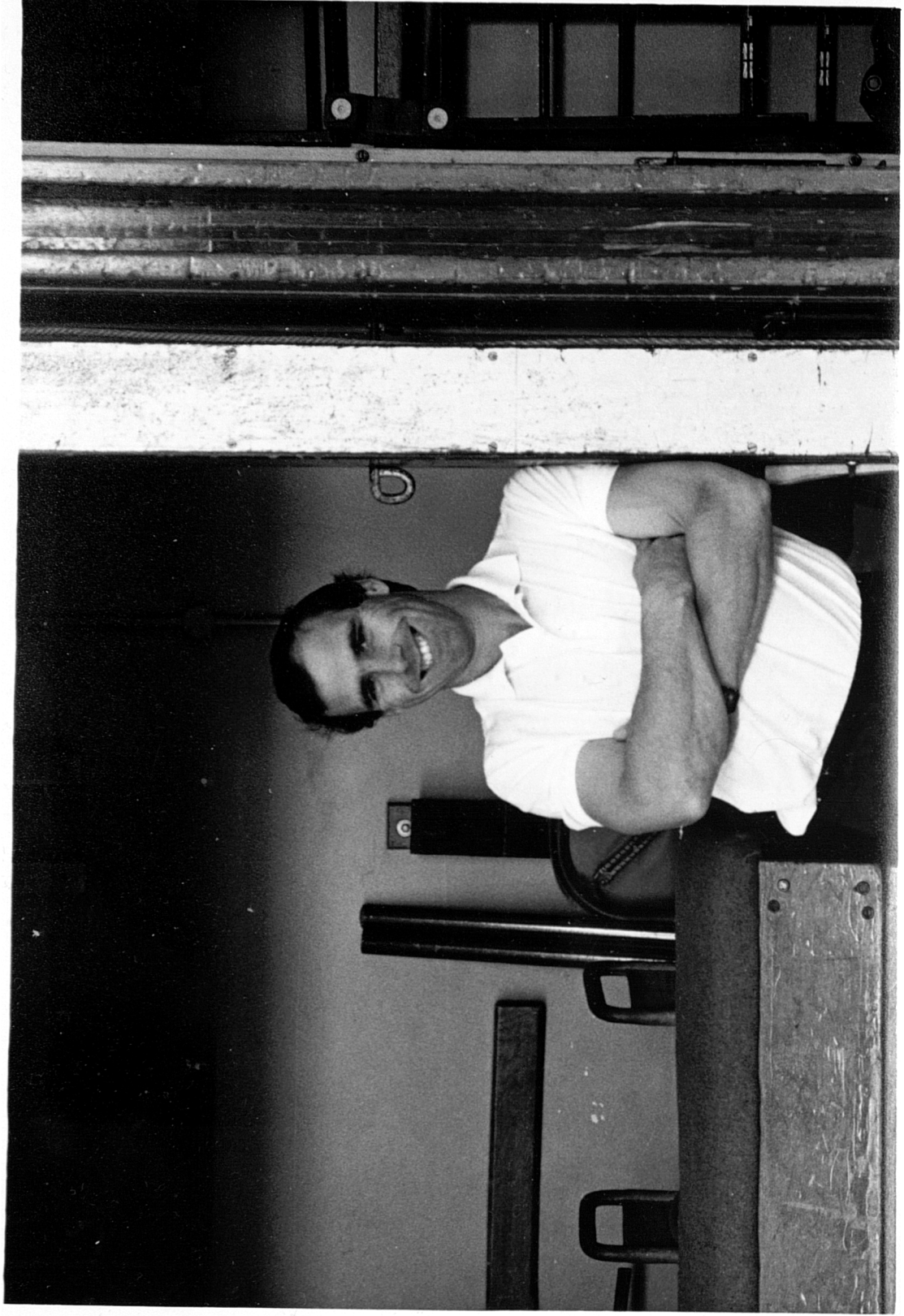
There are a number of points which may be drawn from Amar's case. Clearly a person's biographical details - personal grievances, personality conflicts, past pedagogical practice - contribute towards their values, attitudes and perspectives. In Amar's case his dignity and self esteem were damaged as a direct result of comprehensivisation. If he had been a more demure person perhaps his reaction to the situation would have proved less traumatic for the school. But in the event he became the nucleus for disaffected

individuals and factions. Amar demonstrated that strong dominant personalities are capable of creating 'waves' in schools even though they are low in the strata of command. Adolf Hitler's statement: "It is not neutrals or the lukewarm who make history.", comes to mind. The arena of influence is open not only to those, like the hierarchy, who are invested with power, but those who are activists and by strength of personality or political skills create subterranean 'anti-cultures'.

A second feature was Amar's socialisation. He was a social animal who found isolation troublesome despite statements to the contrary. It was possible to plot his course of 'rehabilitation' by mapping his social territory. Territorial mapping was not a peripheral exercise because the technique gives logic to the hierarchy's intuitive timing in offering Amar a position of status and thus creating the 'critical event' which brought about change. Whereas the hierarchy relied on intuition to chose the moment, territorial mapping illustrates that they selected the optimum time.

Finally, it is interesting to note that Amar's antagonistic stance and the founding of the 'anti-culture' resulted principally from his loss of status and a mourning for the past. The object of dissent - the hierarchy - was not the source of disillusionment but the object of exorcism for his grief. Amar was a 'time bomb', an 'accident waiting to

Photograph 27 Paul Chaplin



happen', whose actions and perspectives are understood only in reference to his personal biography. Unfortunately the theory of educational change and social science methodology have tagged personal biography as inappropriate. Ivor Goodson (1983) points to the illuminating effects of personal biography:

In life history work, then, we gain insights into the way in which, over time, individuals come to terms with the constraints and conditions in which they work, and how these relate to the wider social structure . . . The life history approach has the potential to make a far-reaching contribution to the perennial problem of understanding the links between 'personal troubles' and 'public issues', a task which, as C. Wright Mills (1959) pointed out many years ago, is the essence of the sociological enterprise.

(page 152)

Certainly Amar's life history is an aid to understanding the link between 'personal troubles' and 'public issues'. Also it gives us an understanding of the source of discontent, which differed from the point of conflict, and resulted in the formation of Deangate's first 'anti-culture' group.

Paul Chaplin (see photograph 27)

In Chapter 6, Communication, I mentioned the high level of humour in the school. This very special aspect of Deangate's character increased steadily each year and spread to many areas of school life. Why or how humour came to play such an important role at Deangate is unclear but it may be traced back to three individuals: The Head, who enjoyed, encouraged

and sanctioned the use of humour in the school; and two teachers who joined forces and by performing regularly in the main hall, institutionalised the humorous skit, thus establishing a primary facet of Deangate's character.

Paul Chaplin, one of the two performers, was an instigator and prime mover of the early 'official' humorous acts presented on the school stage. Here Paul explains why he engaged in what appeared on the surface to be lighthearted entertainment:

In my last school I got fed up with boring school assemblies. Kids were so bored they were nodding off so after seeing other people doing humorous assemblies and holding kids' attention I decided to try it.

Paul observed that many pupils were antagonistic towards religious messages during Deangate assemblies. He followed the taken for granted notion that morning assembly should include messages but instead of using the Bible as a vehicle he chose humour.

The performances were all well received and extended to include end of year assembly. Once again there were very clear reasons for the use of humour as Paul explains:

End of year assemblies are dry, formal affairs and often tense things. I wanted a fun end to the school term so that kids go away feeling relaxed and having enjoyed themselves - going out with a flash of humour as it were. It's important that the last thing they think of before they leave school is a good thing.

Photograph 28 Mark Jolly



That way there's more chance of them looking forward to coming back.

After their initial success at the end of year assembly they were called upon again at the end of each term. The repetition meant that an end of term/year gathering without them was unthinkable - they and their humour had become institutionalised. Later, as new and younger teachers arrived, the performances and acts increased, became more varied and the spirit of humour expanded.

Mark Jolly (see photograph 28)

I have discussed so far, those who have contributed to school character by their strength of personality, skills, drive or personal vision. Each precipitated 'critical events' which brought about change or clarified boundaries and all of whom were high profile. Mark Jolly, Head of the Science Faculty, represents a rather different sort of individual who worked in a more subtle and hidden form. He was not one to make proclamations or become involved in heated ideological debate but instead attempted to make positive contributions. Mark was capable in all he was party to - teaching, Head of Faculty or form teacher. In each area he went the 'extra mile'. Professionally he was involved in many innovations in his specialist subject area and constantly participated in the work of external bodies and examination boards. But above and beyond these duties he took on board a host of other responsibilities which include: Duty team leader; House Master; member of

capitation group; member of calendar group; Curriculum review body; helped with innovating TVEI; referee at staff versus pupil soccer matches; and involved in school productions. Throughout these activities he maintained a professional approach. Indeed, he saw such tasks as an integral part of his job and his actions at Deangate were based on those convictions. He saw his task quite explicitly:

I wanted to be part of the school. It's old fashioned really. I've worked in a tradition where you really become involved. I'm afraid that's not happening here. Teacher's action came at a time when the school hadn't jelled and that killed it.

In the last point, Mark is referring to two important ingredients which he considered to be missing at Deangate. Firstly, he thought insufficient staff were becoming 'really involved', going beyond what was expected of them, which he puts down to teacher action. Secondly, he perceived a low level professional behaviour in the school and here he gives an example:

I lead a Friday duty team which patrols the playground at break. It's a lousy job and no-one likes it. They (the teachers in the team) take their time to get down to the staffroom, queue for a cup of coffee and then go out on their duty 7 or 8 minutes late. They are slack. What can I do? No-one tries to pull them up except maybe Paulene (Deputy Head).

Mark, then, represents those who take part in minor but essential unseen 'events' which take place daily and without which pupil experience would be less rich. His attitude and professionalism absorbed the deficit of those on Deangate's staff who 'can't or won't'.

Dick Short

Dick Short in many ways was the opposite to Mark Jolly. Where Mark involved in school life, Dick acted peripherally; where Mark went the 'extra mile', Dick acted minimally; and where Mark carried out his daily tasks professionally, Dick was unprofessional. Mark was seen by Deangate staff as in the 'master teacher' mould, whereas Dick was seen as 'counterfeit' - someone who pretended to perform, a cardboard cut-out version of a teacher. Dick always appeared to be out of school, never in his office, rarely contributed at meetings, never a chairperson or a secretary of committees and always talking about his long holidays in Greece.

Dick was a middle manager with a role of critical definer. His lack of performance left a gap which was filled by minor chaotic 'events', as others, within his realm of responsibility, interpreted what they thought ought to be happening. Others, adopting a more professional approach, absorbed some of the deficit but in doing so added considerably to their own workload (and this is born out to some extent in the tension in Mark's face - see photograph 28). Of course there are Dicks and Marks in all schools, but

it is the effect of their middle management actions (or lack of them) on the micro-organisation of the school which is so important to Deangate's internal character. Later in this chapter I will describe staff criticisms of poor organisation within the school, placed at the hierarchy's door, but in part the result of weaknesses at the middle management level.

Groups

Schools, like all institutions, have certain regularities, both formal and informal. They also have rules, values and perspectives, official and unofficial. In this section I want to illustrate how key groups, fixed or floating constellations, act and interpret those regularities and rules. As before I will use 'critical events' to portray group interpretations as a pointer to values, attitudes and priorities, or as an indicator of change.

This section is divided into two parts. Part One considers: 'The Hierarchy'; 'New Teachers'; 'Young Teachers' and 'Female Teachers'. Part Two looks in detail at the 'Popular Culture' in two sections: 'Discipline, Rules and Regulations'; and 'Micro-organisation'.

Part One - The Hierarchy

Here I will briefly describe general strengths and weaknesses of the hierarchy, as perceived by the staff,

before moving on to discuss 'critical events' in which members of the hierarchy were involved. I will extract sections from Deangate's 'Curriculum Review 1988', the first formal review exercise to be carried out in the school since reorganisation. The section I am about to quote - 'The Management of the School' - was written by a Head of Department and myself. The Head welcomed the comments as an accurate representation of the then present state of affairs. The key passages are:

Strengths: The greatest is an openness and willingness to listen to the views of the staff and parents and to implement these suggestions whenever possible. This 'open' idea of management stems from the Head and all the Deputies are encouraged to voice their own view in management meetings . . . Both of the Deputies who are handling discipline matters are good disciplinarians being perceived as supportive by the majority of the staff and being fair by the pupils . . . All three Deputies appear willing to cross the boundaries of their own specific areas of responsibility in times of need.

Weaknesses: There is one very clear weakness in the management structure which results directly from the pattern imposed at reorganisation and this is the almost total absence of any 'middle managers' who have a part to play in the day-to-day running of the school . . . The absence of these positions (known as House Masters, Heads of Year, Heads of School etc. in other institutions) means that many (if not all) of their duties have had to be absorbed by the Head and the Deputies. Disciplinary matters are the greatest problem with Deputies being asked to deal with a large number of relatively minor matters simply because there is no-one else who has been given the

responsibility. This discipline load has seriously distorted the workload of the management team such that longer term planning is often being postponed to deal with immediate discipline problems . . . reference must be made to a perceived weakness in that one of the three Deputies is seen by staff in general to be less efficient than the other two, in that deadlines and targets are not met and a general impression of 'lack of urgency' is portrayed. This results in some resentment . . . A considerable workload is, in consequence, borne by the rest of the management and this cannot be in the best interests of the school.

(Deangate School Curriculum Review 1988)

The above extracts, outlining principal strengths and weaknesses of the hierarchy, represent shared attitudes and opinions of the majority of staff and hierarchy. The document lends an air of formality, concord and logic to areas which in reality were murky, elusive and antagonistic to many participants. Whereas the *analysis may be accurate* in implying that 'openness' was a key feature of the management style, and that an imposed middle management structure caused serious problems in the school, the report side-steps two important points. Firstly it represents only a 'snap-shot' of the school and fails to address honestly the problem of history, evolution and change. All three are key factors. Schon examines the latter:

Organisations are dynamically conservative: That is to say they fight like mad to remain the same. Only when an organisation cannot repel, ignore, contain or transform the threat, it responds to it. But the characteristic is that of least change: Nominal or

token change.

(Donald Schon, 1971 Reith Lecture)

Secondly, the report avoids discussion of key individuals and group values and perspectives, and the meaning of the report's central themes on the daily lives of teachers. Both points are extremely important to the process of becoming a school, and the nature of school.

Earlier in this chapter I differentiated between values and perspectives. Becker's two working definitions were employed - values were seen to be: "Generalized and abstract, capable of being applied to a great variety of situations."; whereas perspectives was defined as: "Related directly to dilemmas faced by the persons who told them . . . contain definitions of the situation, as the actor sees it . . ." The degree of consensus of values and perspectives within the school, and also the relationship between values and perspectives, is a central feature of any school defining itself. At this stage I want to use 'critical events' to illustrate the relationship between the hierarchy and the staff in terms of values and perspectives and also demonstrate the difference in consensus between values and perspectives.

In the introduction I referred to the extent of despondency which permeated staff meetings. It may appear contradictory to suggest that within Deangate there was considerable accord in terms of values and priorities, but clearly this was the case. Commonly held values - humour, manners,

protocol and sociability - were evident throughout the school. However, the 'critical events' I will now describe were highlighted by staff and were representative of a clash of values and priorities. These particular 'events' were uppermost in teachers' minds because they chose to celebrate conflict rather than concord. Teachers chose to accentuate negative 'events'.

Alan Walters saw Speech Day as the school's premier public relations day. It was clear from the outset that it was not on the agenda for discussion with staff or even Deputies. Speech Day was "as it's always been" (Head), traditional, formal; a day for parading pupils and proud parents; a day for VIPs and external dignitaries - part of the school's history and should remain that way. The majority of staff, even after three years saw Speech Day as a distant spectacle and little to do with them:

As for Speech Day itself I didn't go because I didn't feel part of it . . . Staff were invited without explanation, there was no discussion and we were not asked for ideas or involvement.

(Teacher)

Despite moves by staff at meetings, little changed. On this point we can make a comparison between Deangate and Bishop McGregor School (see Burgess 1983). Mr Goddard, the Head, like Alan Walters, saw prize giving as a time for rewarding academic achievement but Burgess reports this was not to be:

. . . by sheer force of numbers the junior staff were able to discuss and design, with the support of each other, a short period for an address and discussion followed by an evening 'disco'. . .

(page 71)

Mr Goddard's priority, unlike Alan Walters's, lay with staff opinion on this particular issue and not with his personal vision of Speech Day.

The third Deangate Speech Day saw two minor concessions - pupils who were not considered 'academic' but who made an outstanding effort were formally rewarded, and the Head's speech was more assertive of the school's attributes and character. However, as before, the evening was not for the majority of pupils or parents and very few staff attended. The majority of teachers who valued consultation, informality and total school participation failed to appreciate the public relations exercise and avoided Speech Day at all costs.

Speech Day and Carol Service were 'sacred cows' to the Head. Uniforms and mixed ability teaching were almost on the same level of priority. The banding/mixed ability option is the source of fierce debate in many comprehensive schools. Not surprisingly Heads hold strong opinions on the topic and, as Reid et al (1987) found, most employed in this instance a directive approach as a mode of decision making. Alan Walters also, I believe, held strong views, but chose 'democracy' as a vehicle for decision making. Staff were

allowed limited input, but external pressures on Alan Walters plus his strong personal beliefs meant that any involvement in decision making or policy making by staff in these two areas, was in practice apparent. The decision to move away from mixed ability teaching towards broad banding, taken during the second term, was a 'critical event' after which staff perspectives on consultation changed. Some teachers later distinguished between topics which were genuinely open to negotiation and those which were not, others became sceptical, and a small minority opted for non-involvement. The decision to move away from mixed ability teaching conflicted with beliefs and principles held by a large group of staff, especially ex-Secondary Modern school teachers who saw the decision as a failure to implement the true spirit of the comprehensive movement. Though the conflict initially was about differing values and ideology, the 'knock-on' effect was that staff moved in the direction of cynicism of the school's democratic process, which the Head proclaimed operated in the school. Following the Head's decision to broad band, attitudes and perceptions of 'consultation' changed and the staff suggested that certain decisions had already been taken, and that staff meetings functioned only as a 'rubber stamp'.

The 'critical events' I have outlined so far - Speech Day and mixed ability/broad banding - were value laden decisions, where the Head, supported by the majority of his hierarchical team, made a decision based on his beliefs.

Deangate staff quickly forgot the content but remembered the process by which decisions were made. Ball (1987) makes the point:

Not only is it necessary to pay particular attention to the control and structure of organizational matters in school but also it is important to take account of the peculiar content (original emphasis) of policy making and decision making in the school. For a great deal of that content is ideological (original emphasis).

(page 13)

Hopkins (1987) makes a similar point:

Schooling and education are always embedded in a set of wider values and although they are often vague, implicit and even contradictory, it is important for us to realise their existence, because to some extent they control and inhibit our freedom of action and inevitably our purpose.

(pages 142-143)

Participants, according to their own individual perspectives, adapt, create their own meanings, thereby making sense of 'embedded wider values'. Teachers made sense of Alan Walters's 'Speech Day' and 'banding' decision in terms of their definition of the situation, and their definitions were not in terms of values or content but of process and perspectives. Ball and Hopkins stress the importance of the role of ideology and values in schooling, from an outsiders point of views. The rift between staff and hierarchy opened when a difference in ideology or values was

recorded, i.e. the 'critical event', but residual perspectives of staff were concerned with the process of decision making and the procedural map in general. Teachers were angry because the hierarchy's claim of democracy had not included provisos. For them the new rule read: "But some pigs are more equal than others.", because the rules of the game had changed.

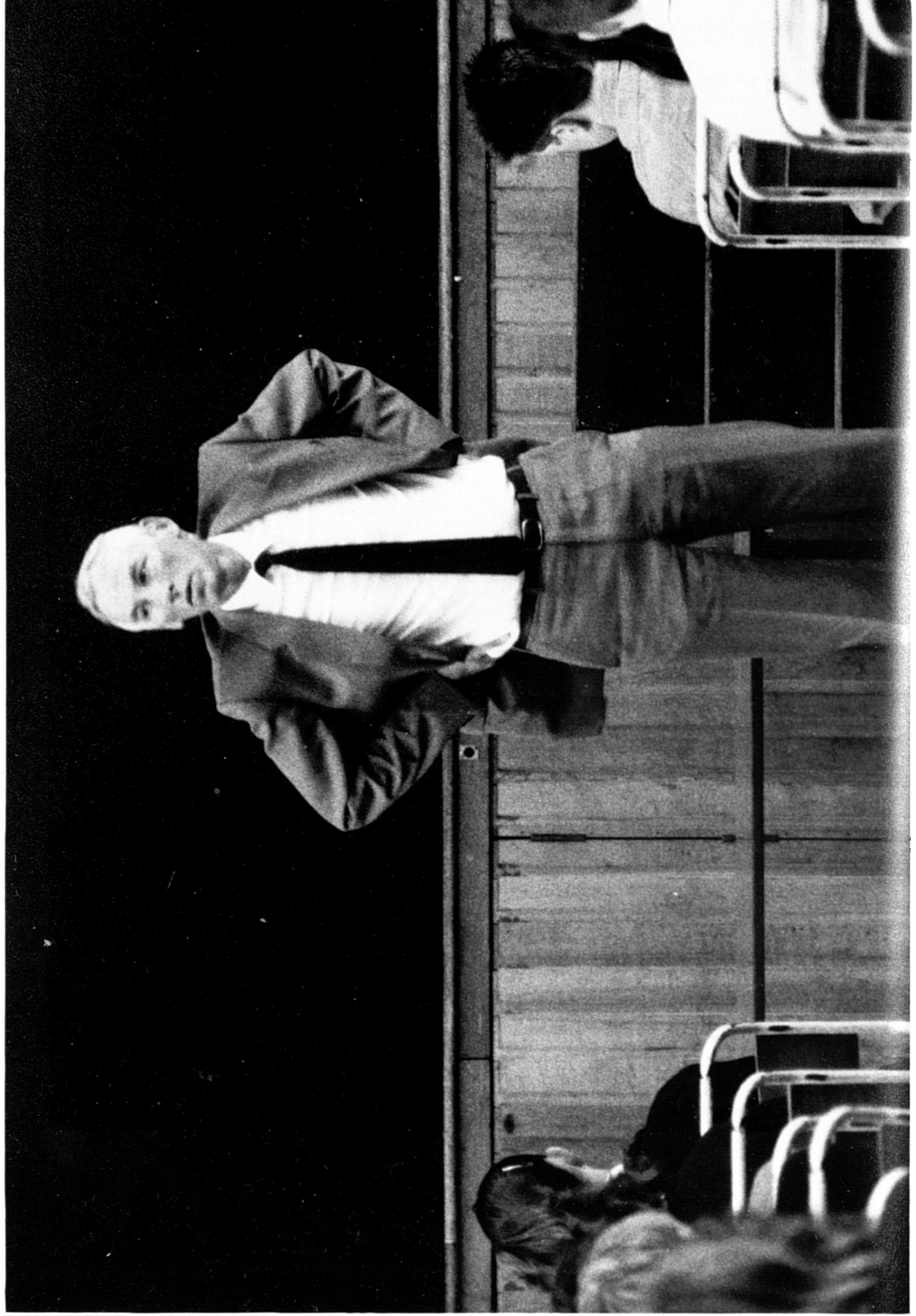
School rules, regulations, discipline and respect for others are all examples of the school's generally agreed wider values. No-one suggested that they were not needed, similarly the majority saw it as their duty to carry out and implement such tasks. But within the band of agreed values, lay a multitude of idiosyncratic perspectives as each individual - teacher, Deputy Head, pupil, Headmaster - defined the situation as they saw it. Reid (1987) puts forward a pupil perspective of rules:

General prescriptive rules concern dress, personal decoration and interpersonal relationships - the 'no running down the corridor' or 'do not wear eye make-up' ilk. These rules are often perceived by pupils as being petty and can lead to confrontation in school...

(page 90)

Hargreaves et al (1975) suggest that rules can be subdivided into two types - moral or pragmatic. Both Reid and Hargreaves are discussing interpretations of rules and rule-making. Individuals and groups in Deangate did likewise and imposed rules differently; applied rules in different

Photograph 29 Giving the 'Evil Eye'



circumstances; and saw rules as applying to others or not important enough to follow/enforce.

Morning assembly reflects the degree of compatibility of educational ideology at Deangate. Staff and hierarchy (but not pupils) valued assembly because it gave a sense of community to the institution and was useful in disseminating school philosophy. Alan Walters led the main assembly whilst Paulene Wright, a Deputy Head, looked after junior assembly. Their concern for control and the moral content of their addresses were similar but their individual perspective of those elements inevitably led to assemblies very different in character.

In the beginning Alan Walters stood at the front of the hall and spoke when everyone was present and silent. However, after one particular noisy start when 5 pupils were sent to his office, his method of starting assembly changed. He asked a Deputy Head to call for quiet before moving in to address the school. Thus the ritual became: Deputy Head gives the 'evil eye' to pupils to gain silence (see photograph 29); the Head sweeps in and speaks; he exits by a different door leaving the Deputy Head to organise the disbandment of pupils.

Whereas the Head relied upon ritual performance for control, Paulene Wright used a rigid structure. As classes came into the hall teachers positioned at strategic points 'funnelled' pupils towards allotted seating positions. Paulene stood at

the front maintaining silence with her powerful voice. The content of assembly in both cases was similar. Each aimed to impart a spiritual and/or moral message to pupils. Alan chose to 'tell stories' and quote biblical passages and Paulene employed theatrical 'happenings' in the form of individual or group staff performances (see photograph 5). Alan's assemblies reflected a formal, traditional and ritualistic approach whereas Paulene's were a mix of rigid control, tight organisation and informality.

Another example of how individual perception of agreed values influenced the process of schooling at Deangate, was shown after a change of Deputy Heads. The first two years with Steve Black in office were quite different from Dave Hayward's one year of residence. Both placed a high value on structure and organisation, yet by virtue of their personalities and perspectives, the consequences of their actions were radically different.

The hierarchy and staff, then, held similar wider values and understanding of educational ideology. Only in a small number of areas did their beliefs conflict. Staff chose to emphasise those areas of dischord, and perceived differences, not in terms of content i.e. value laden, but in terms of procedure or courses of action. An important distinction between the hierarchy and the staff was that both agreed on the fundamental direction the school should take - its philosophy, principal policies, rules etc - but in practice varied interpretation brought a degree of

confusion and misunderstanding, and inevitably conflict. In Deangate's case, a concordance of aims and a confusion of means seems to be the main problem.

New Teachers, Young Teachers and Female Teachers

A significant feature of Deangate was the lack of in-house hostility. Case studies in the past have described factional divisions within schools. Burgess (1983), for example, discusses differences between the pastoral and academic sectors in his study. At Deangate staff were aware of an implicit ranking of subjects. Inevitably teachers commented on preference given to the Modern Languages department but, such partisan treatment was transitory and disappeared when Steve Black left and the majority of the Modern Languages department moved away. Traditional subject rivalry was present: "Most of the money goes to science and CDT and the rest of us scramble for the crumbs." (teacher) but again such jealousy did not play a significant role in day-to-day schooling.

Having described some of the values and perspectives of the hierarchy, a major group, I will turn to three less significant groups - 'New Teachers', 'Young Teachers' and 'Female Teachers'. Although these groups did not have a major impact on the school they do represent minor factions, of which there were many at Deangate and go some way to demonstrate how very different some attitudes and perspectives were in the school, especially in relation to the hierarchy.

New Teachers

The act of joining a new school is a 'critical event'. An influx of new staff not only means the possibility of new approaches and alternative practices, but a refreshing 'first impressions' viewpoint on what is in place. Also, the way in which new teachers are received tells us something of the organisation of the school.

The most striking aspect of new teachers' experiences lies in their similarity. During conversations and interviews with staff I was careful in the way I phrased questions, leaving them open ended so that individuals could expand on them if they wished. The data shows how, after only two months in the school, they held similar understanding of the internal character of Deangate. They were sure in their judgement even though they had yet to grasp many important rules and regulations by which the school functioned.

New teachers commented on those aspects which appeared unusual to them. They raised three main issues. The first was a quite natural concern that no-one was designated to show them 'the ropes'. Hence they did not know 'officially' about discipline procedure, rules, regulations, administration, roles, either as a form teacher or Head of Department. New teachers always compared Deangate to their 'old' schools:

In my last school we had a senior teacher who knew the school backwards and he was assigned to new teachers.

We had talks for new teachers, a sort of introduction.
Here there is nothing.

Since the school had yet to produce a staff handbook it is natural to assume that new staff would take time to navigate their way around the maze of bureaucracy and assimilate the various regulations by which all institutions function. This was not the case. The new staff quickly adapted to their new environment. They asked others - either those with whom they worked or senior members of staff - to supply answers to obvious questions. They 'picked-up' pieces of paper from the hierarchy outlining the official version of rules and regulations, then, knowing from experience that 'official' and 'unofficial' rules/systems operate in schools, observed how others interpreted the 'official' and implemented what they considered to be a middle path. One new member of staff commented:

I rely on rumour and hearsay for everything

indicating the extent of reliance on 'bush telegraph' and how little was acquired through formal channels. Listening and observing were not the only vehicles for learning about the school's regulations etc. As new staff experienced various 'critical events' so their understanding became more refined and their knowledge broadened:

I had a bit of a set to with a pupil in one of my classes. Anyway after it was sorted out someone casually asked: "Have you filled in an incident form

yet?", and I said "What's an incident form?" . . .

(New Teacher)

The ease with which new teachers adapted was due mainly to similarities between Deangate and their previous schools. Many commented on a number of features, predominantly taken for granted elements of schooling, which were in place in present and past schools.

The second issue raised by new staff was the structure at Deangate. One new teacher commented:

It's galloping insanity for a pastoral teacher to be in charge of the Junior school. Paulene Wright doesn't have time. It's bad use of Deputy Heads. There is a gap between the upper part of the school (hierarchy) and the staff.

Within a short time new teachers were aware of weaknesses and strengths in the organisation of the school, that one Deputy Head was failing to perform adequately and the Head was "very approachable" and "open to ideas".

A third issue which many new teachers raised concerned additional duties or roles not discussed as part of their contract at interviews for their post. They saw the addition of tasks such as 'banking', 'hockey on a Wednesday afternoon' and the teaching of 'speciality subjects' outside of their own, to which they had not agreed, as underhand. They understood that additional tasks were part and parcel

of their role as teacher, but disliked the way it had been "dumped" (teacher) on them without prior consultation. Once again teachers emphasised process over content.

Teachers new to the school formed a unique group. They had little influence on Deangate directly with the exception of 'Golden Boy', and chose to adopt a low profile aiming to blend into their surroundings. Their objective was to 'soak up' the culture of the school and by doing so be able to mimic others and gain acceptance into the community. However, their needs and actions did not detract from the freshness of their observations. They were building their understanding of 'events' in the school, and later their perspectives, experiences and histories would be influential. But their prime initial concern was acceptance. They took for granted that an 'official' and 'unofficial' code of practice operated in the school.

Young Teachers

Young staff were a political force in the school. In many ways they acted as a 'new wave', questioning the status quo, pushing against the entrenched 'old guard', and acting so as to prick the conscience of the 'in-betweens'. Young teachers came to Deangate in ones and twos at irregular intervals during the second and third years. Initially Deangate could not be said to be a 'young' school as a Head of Department explains:

Our staff is not young. They can't be said to be brimming with enthusiasm and keenness of youth. You

need young teachers with new ideas and willing to learn when you are trying to build a new school. You can't teach old dogs new tricks. People are doing now what they did in their old schools.

The influx of young teachers brought a new vitality to the school, which is difficult to qualify in terms of 'critical events'. Young teachers appeared to act differently, form strong cliques, and encounter problems which were different from those faced by older and more experienced members of staff. The majority struggled in various ways with either pupils, the hierarchy or the institution. Young staff, after an initial integration period, tended to diverge and enter one of two groups - the 'young turks' or 'staffroom culture' (I use such categories to indicate two approximate directions which young staff moved).

A majority of junior staff at Deangate spoke of feelings of powerlessness. They lacked understanding of micro political skills required to make an impact on the school. A self image of impotence, described by many young teachers, was not surprising bearing in mind the experience of the hierarchy, middle managers and the 'old guard', in manipulating and controlling interviews and meetings where many decisions were seen to be made.

Young teachers with recent training, innovative techniques, and up-to-date methods, felt that the school was old fashioned. Whatever the reason, most were unhappy with at

least one aspect of Deangate. A few radical enough to attempt change, sought, usually by naive or crude techniques, to attack the sacred bastions of the institution. Unless supported by a large number of colleagues, such attacks failed. Other, more considered approaches, for example a 'young turk' linking up with an 'elder statesman' were more likely to succeed (see Chapter 5 - Formal Interaction). Junior staff who took up 'the sword' did so out of a determination to express firmly held beliefs. They were loyal to a cause - mixed ability teaching or pupils' rights for example - and carried those beliefs with them to martyrdom.

A large group of young teachers did not take a 'young turk' stance but instead opted for the comfort of affirmation. Young staff, on entering the profession, saw the need to become accepted by in-situ teachers and this entailed adopting the mantle of 'teacherhood' as interpreted by the 'popular culture' of Deangate. By observing carefully, young teachers quickly recognised and adopted staffroom and school culture (Ball, 1987, uses the more general term 'occupational culture'). This entailed establishing what acceptable dress, how to mix 'properly' with pupils, that a 'Fred' in the staffroom becomes a 'Mr Hughes' in front of pupils etc. Once young teachers entered 'teacherhood' they appeared to opt for one of the two options I outlined earlier - 'young turks' or 'staffroom culture'. As Lacey (1977) found, few young teachers are radical enough to survive the competing pressures of the profession. A

majority of Deangate's young staff, after a period of quiet rebellion, chose strategic compliance and the comfort of 'staffroom culture'. The reason for this move is unclear. Perhaps a variety of pressures - little chance of promotion, new family commitments, difficulty of changing jobs - led them to enter 'staffroom culture', the biggest, warmest clique of all. For a young teacher to be accepted was not easy. They took the line of least resistance, discovered which jokes were favoured, established who were 'in' characters and therefore best associated with at social gatherings, who was fringe and who was ostracised and therefore to be avoided.

Not all young teachers were accepted by the central body of staff. For some the length of apprenticeship was short; for others, who made mistakes or clashed with key personnel, their time as a novitiate was long or permanent. I will give two examples to illustrate the difference.

For Neil, Deangate was his second school. Like other young staff he was unhappy at being treated differently by "the thirty odd teachers who are above me." He was reprimanded in front of other staff for arriving late to morning briefing which upset him: "Older staff arrive late or don't even bother to turn up and the Head doesn't have a go at them" (older staff scoffed at this saying it was one of the minor privileges). Neil also complained about the Head's appraisal of one of his lessons:

He did most of the talking. He said five pupils were chewing but I didn't see them. He thought my classroom looked like a cell and I don't think that was fair.

In less than a year Neil passed through his 'quiet evolution' and became accepted into the 'staffroom culture'. The changeover was rapid, and coincided with the birth of his first child. No longer was he depressed and taking days off as a result. He now 'cracked' jokes, became intensely loyal to the school, accepted minor tasks and responsibility, and brought his child into the staffroom to show the female members of staff. He was 'in'.

The second case demonstrates how a young teacher, by antagonising senior staff, damaged her application. Nora considered her class of 35 to be too large, especially for practical chemistry. She wanted the 5 pupils added at a later date, to be removed. She complained to her Head of Department then to the Head of Faculty: "He said, 'Have you had a bad day' and I felt patronized." Finally Nora took the matter to the Head who was upset that the science department had failed to keep him informed. The upshot was that the 5 pupils were removed, not for reasons of safety, but for 'academic reasons'. The episode annoyed Nora:

I got what I wanted but came out of it badly. I pursued it and pursued it and they all passed the buck. To succeed you have to be seen to be coping. I have lost face here. They made me feel as though I was a bad teacher, wasn't good enough.

The 'event' was damaging in many respects: It undermined her own self confidence; the Head of Department and Head of Faculty were unhappy with her actions; and her standing with the 'staffroom culture' was impaired because of the status of her adversaries. Ball (1987), quoting Peterson, suggests that such an 'event' is not unusual:

Peterson notes of his study that 'most inter-teacher conflicts reported in interviews were between 'young' and 'old' teachers . . . Open interpersonal conflicts arose most often in instances when young teachers were 'standing up for their rights'.

(page 64)

Although young teachers joined either the 'young turks' or 'staffroom culture', some did manage a joint membership, being at ease with both parties. A third group, whose members comprised young staff and those 'young at heart', founded what Hannan (1980) called a 'generational clique'. This group was not particularly powerful politically but added significantly to the character of the school in terms of freshness and vitality. It was this group who amplified the existing humorous element in the school by performing on stage and establishing the staff 'pop' group; they were the foundation members of all staff versus pupils sporting events; and who contributed to the school's micro-organisation by carrying out minor administrative tasks. The latter point is particularly important because, as we will see in the final section 'evolution', the school's organisational structure was still undergoing change after 3

years. Alan Walters encouraged young teachers to demonstrate their skills and enthusiasm by offering minor tasks and projects. A new, young Head of Department commented favourably on this and also the general atmosphere of the staffroom:

At my other school there were lots of cliques in the staffroom, and the kids were cooperative whilst the staff were combative. Here it's the other way around, the kids are combative and the staff are cooperative. Here the junior staff trusts the senior staff but in my last school if you were a scale one teacher you always carried the can. If anyone was going to get into trouble it was always the junior teacher at the bottom of the pile - they ran rough shod over us. Here Alan Walters actually protects his teachers. He'll take on and fight nasty parents . . . He encourages junior staff to take on responsibility.

For a Head to give responsibility to his/her junior staff and for them to welcome the chance to show their worth is not an unusual phenomenon as Ball (1987) quoting a teacher demonstrates:

. . . the men will creep around and do jobs for a year for nothing and that's the usual sort of way you get on if you're an ambitious young teacher, by sucking up to someone and proving that you can do a job and then getting paid for it later.

(page 74)

Alan Walters, as part of his belief in the professional autonomy of the teacher, emphasized and encouraged the involvement of career orientated young teachers. As we will

see in the final section, during the third year he planned and implemented further initiatives which would actively involve young Heads of Department in the running of the school.

Female Teachers

Much has been written on women in education. Here I will attempt to shed light on the perspectives of a group of female teachers at Deangate.

I was sensitized to this group at an early stage of the study after overhearing a group of women discussing the Head's gestures of welcome. Some viewed Alan Walters's kiss on the cheek (see Chapter 6, Communication) as an act of warmth and friendship, whilst others were unenthusiastic and uneasy. Traditional behavioural acts were not the only concerns of women teachers. They were incensed by their lack of influence in the school, especially in the decision making process. In Chapter 5, Formal Teacher Interaction, I recounted how a young female Head of Department, of quiet unassuming disposition, proposed an interview schedule for parents' evening, which the Head of Department committee found unacceptable, and how later 'golden boy', a young Cambridge graduate, suggested the same scheme which was accepted whole heartedly. Such incidents awakened an interest in the role and perspective of women in the school. Unfortunately, for a number of reasons, I am unable to do justice to their small but determined movement which operated in the school.

The female group, having an affinity with Amar's 'anti-culture', met 'around the corner' of the 'L' shaped staffroom. They met to discuss mutual problems and experiences rather than debate feminist issues. Among the group were three clever, very articulate women who tended to dominate proceedings. Here I want to give an illuminative portrayal of one of those women, who was respected by staff for her professionalism. The Head once confided: "She's the best Head of Department I've ever worked under" (Alan Walters was a member of her department). She was a very experienced teacher who had a wide experience of the "sexual and emotional sub-text of organisational relationships" (Ball, 1987, page 199). Staff saw her as tense, outspoken, sensitive and intelligent. Some were clearly confused by her aggression and what was seen as a schizophrenic nature - correct, formal, even rather 'stiff' appearance yet obviously, as shown at staff socials, the best 'disco' dancer in the school. I asked her to write about her experiences at Deangate:

I did meet silence and marginalizing behaviour in meetings during discussions on discipline - an area in which men's masculinity is on trial - and, at the beginning, in departmental meetings, though not often. . . . I also met, for the first time in my career, The Kiss, which avuncular act made me in some way I cannot readily explain, very uneasy. The most overtly hostile male colleague (also noted by the female Head of Modern Languages) was I thought threatened by academic women.

I knew from experience that any dismissive behaviour and overt hostility from certain male colleagues would decrease in proportion to my perceived professionalism in meetings and other encounters. I no longer care whether my assertiveness in meetings (which I know is a great deal stronger than many male colleagues) is considered unfeminine, because I don't believe that it is; I find many of my male colleagues canvassing my support before meetings so they must find it useful. I enjoy increasing status, I believe, mainly because I am clever and articulate enough to resist 'bullying' or 'being marginalized' by resorting to the written word when ignored. No-one likes his deficiencies exposed in print.

I do believe my sex has hindered my career progress, but my appalling candour has probably got much to do with it, too; men find women's candour alarming, I find. I see no promotion prospects for me in the school, but am not unhappy with my job.

Her thoughts are echoed in a number of British studies (Acker 1983, Arnott 1983, Spender 1980) and also abroad (Connell et al 1982). The female group at Deangate were concerned about lack of promotion opportunities and felt impotent at decision making events. Ball (1987) hints that these problems are only the 'tip of the iceberg' and that other difficulties lie ahead:

. . . even where women have established a right to participate in the formal processes of institutional decision-making and to speak out in other micro-political contexts, their problems are not ended . . .

(page 77)

The group operated mainly as a self support group. They chose to assert their beliefs only occasionally for fear of being labelled aggressive and unfeminine, having reasoned that to be influential they must display male pugnaciousness. A number of mainly young male teachers, sympathetic to the female group cause, added their weight to the counter-sexist movement. But even so they were aware that little or no progress was being made against what one male teacher called "Boys own Grammar school ethos."

The case of Paulene Wright, a Deputy Head and the most senior woman on the staff was interesting. Prior to reorganisation Paulene applied for the position of Deputy Head but was turned down. Only after a second round of interviews was she given the position. Some staff, and Paulene herself, saw her appointment in the first instance as 'a token gesture' and for purely pragmatic reasons - the school needed a senior mistress.

Paulene Wright came to be highly regarded by staff, pupils and the hierarchy. She fulfilled two tasks: firstly picking up many tasks officially designated the responsibility of a weak (male) Deputy Head; and secondly taking on board pastoral care of the Junior school, senior girls (who represented a new set of problems to senior male members of school not encountered before), and distributed tampons. Paulene was valued for her ability to "get things done" and for her directness - she called a spade a spade - and it was

her 'masculine traits' that were held in high esteem by her colleagues in the hierarchy.

The dominant individuals in the school - Amar, Dave Haywood, 'golden boy', Alan Walters, Steve Black - are, obviously and significantly, men. Women who sought leverage, control or an influence on the school - Paulene Wright, the Head of Department, Sheila McTeigh - gained a degree of success when they employed a masculine/aggressive approach. That is, they were perceived as masculine/aggressive by many male and female staff, but saw themselves as assertive.

Part Two - The 'Popular Culture'

In part two I will consider the perspective of the 'Popular Culture', a body comprising individuals and groups who represented the 'voice' of the majority of staff at Deangate. Although within the 'popular culture' there existed many confederations, each with its own particular understanding of the institution of which they were part, there existed an agreement, an aggregate 'voice', a summation of perspectives, whose prime concern was located in (1) Discipline, Rules and Regulations, and (2) micro-organisation. I will attempt to illustrate the development of these two concerns. The weight of teacher expectations lies with the 'popular culture'. A key concept in the two sections which follow is the notion of polarity which identifies the 'underground' differentiation of staff and hierarchy.

Discipline, Rules and Regulations

Those who form the school community - parents, pupils teachers and administration staff - together regulate the value and belief systems which determine the norms of the institution. School norms are made explicit by rules and regulations and implicit in everyday actions. They are the set standards and expectations against which behaviour is measured. The hierarchy, particularly the Head, and the staff were responsible for laying down rules and procedures and although they were by no means sole arbiters, they largely determined the content and application, leaving pupils to conform, interpret or deviate. Within Deangate there was a high degree of unanimity on the need for rules. Staff and hierarchy agreed on many basic regulations, by which both staff and pupils were governed. The minutes of pre-reorganisation meetings show, quite clearly, the teachers' call for a well developed network of rules and regulations. What is also explicit in the minutes was their strong desire for precise ruling which would be clear for all to see. It is important to realise that staff were fully consulted and made decisions on, rules and regulations, ergo they defined the school's constitution. And so on the opening day Deangate possessed, on paper, a set of rules, a procedure and a structure, agreed by staff. The united front of agreed wider values and educational ideology was united in rhetoric only. In practice, individual and group perspectives led to a variety of interpretations, and individual personality characteristics meant different actions. Added to this is the general shift in teacher

beliefs. No longer are they submissive to management, and where they choose to be submissive it is by election. And so it is with rules and regulations - teachers are selective in their choice. They select which rules and regulations to follow, and the extent of application and implementation. Jones (1987) comments on the tension/conflict between bureaucratic needs and professional values:

Rules which increase teachers' influences over students are accepted, rules which increase the influence of the school management over the teachers' relationship with pupils are not.

(page 37)

Prior to reorganisation teachers followed a more traditional role of submissiveness by agreeing to, and being party to, the formulation of rules and regulations. Three years later saw a rejection of hierarchical control over teachers and a clamour for more stringent rules to control pupils.

Deangate's first year was fraught with difficulties. Teachers' action meant that no meetings were held until the third term, and new buildings, pupils, colleagues, systems etc, all added to stress of staff in particular. Teachers concentrated on putting their own 'house' in order. Each attempted to be seen by others in a good light and competent. Towards the end of the first year staff began to compare notes and a concern for the standard of discipline in the school began to surface. The agreed rules and regulations, the control of pupils, were not working to the

staff's satisfaction. Amar and his 'alternative culture' group began to sow seeds of discontent. The rules and regulations issue simmered beneath the surface until one morning briefing when Amar, supported by his group, attacked the Head for the school's lack of structure (see Chapter 5, Formal Teacher Interaction). This 'event' altered debate which until this point was 'underground'. With the issue in the open, staff raised their concerns pointing to a lack of explicit policy as being the root cause of the school's discipline problem.

However, lack of school policy was not the only contributing factor. Others were:

(1) The school's intake was drawn partly from a notorious council estate. Willis (1977), Corrigan (1979) and Hargreaves (1967) all point to an anti-school culture located in working class neighbourhoods.

(2) The school's curriculum was a Grammar school curriculum. Although the hierarchy had initiated discussion on an 'alternative' curriculum for the less able estate pupils, nothing eventuated. The staff and pupils saw subjects like European studies as "fillers for the noddy students" (teacher comment).

(3) North County Education Authority imposed an organisational structure which lacked appropriate middle management support. Consequently pupils' pastoral needs were often dealt with superficially or not at all.

(4) The first twelve months was a time of 'settling in'.

Staff concentrated on their subject areas to the detriment of the enforcement of school rules, many of which were operative outside of classrooms. Pupils took the opportunity to exploit lax teacher attitudes to redefine rules, regulations and acceptable behaviour.

The above factors stem directly from reorganisation and problems inherent in establishing a new school. Towards the end of the first year the hierarchy and staff worked towards a general lightening up of discipline in the school. However teachers came from different schools and with different experiences. Meanings of essential words, actions and concepts were interpreted individually, each according to his/her personal history, which led to a lack of cohesion of approach. Two places where these differences could have been identified and mutuality established - the staffroom and formal meetings - were not used for such purposes. The staffroom because, Communication, subject specialities, teaching methods, school rules etc, were not on the agenda for discussion, and the Head of Department and staff meetings because of a pre-reorganisation agreement not to discuss past schools.

The obvious difficulties arising from idiosyncratic interpretation of rules and regulations and their implementation, were compounded by the weak pastoral and referral system at Deangate. The official system of referring difficult pupils to the appropriate teacher (if the matter was subject related it was to go to the subject

Head of Department, if the matter was behavioural the pupils should be dealt with by the tutor) failed to function. Many teachers were entrenched in past practices and were unable to adapt to the system imposed from outside. The majority were used to a middle management system of Year Heads of a Head of House. Instead pupils were referred directly to a respected Deputy Head or the Head, the consequences of which I outlined earlier.

During the second and third years of the school's existence the effect of the above factors was felt across the school. Individual staff experiences soured early feelings of teamwork. Teachers experienced their own negative 'critical events' which unified and melded eventually to form an aggregate body of discontent.

At this point I will illustrate how a teacher's personal experience added to, and helped formulate group understanding of rules and discipline. Here is a critical event for one teacher:

The other day a kid swore at me. Now as far as I'm concerned it's the worst thing he can do apart from physical violence. The kid was ticked off and is back in my class. They (the hierarchy) said: "We have to make allowances for him . . . family background etc." They expect you to take it on board and carry on.

Six other staff also reported being sworn at and experienced similar hierarchical action. The staff concerned compared

experiences which fuelled the fire of discontent but did not take their concerns to the hierarchy because: "A waste of time. They don't do anything" (teacher). On the other hand one teacher threatened the Head with union action if the matter was not dealt with to their satisfaction and the pupil received a three day suspension. In many instances and on many other occasions the hierarchy, particularly the Head, were supportive of staff. However, the teachers who had been sworn at claimed that the hierarchy were unsupportive and took inappropriate action. Differing expectations on this issue added to the rising body of belief that the school lacked consensus on rules and a tough stance against indiscipline.

Towards the middle of the second year teachers' facades dropped sufficiently to enable a comparison of notes. Many were surprised to find the extent of the discipline problem in the school. It was by no means an overwhelming problem but staff were apprehensive. This second 'wave' of discontent following staff concern at the end of the first year, was more vigorous in its attack on the hierarchy. By now a general consensus had arisen: "The school still functions as a Grammar school. They (the hierarchy) don't know how to handle that end of the school. You don't appeal to their (pupils') better natures and ask them please to be nice."; "There are too many false boundaries and rules that aren't or can't be enforced" (both teacher comments). As with other issues important to the 'popular culture', the

discipline problem lay hidden, wallowing in a sea of disaffection, only bubbling to the surface occasionally.

The 'critical event' which prompted the topic to be laundered and aired in the second year is described by a teacher:

There's a group of 5th year girls who hang around the toilets all day and they're a bad lot. What brought the discipline thing to a head was one of these girls sticking her fingers up at the Head. Of course she was immediately suspended. But how come things got to that state anyway?

Some staff spoke cynically of the fact that only when the hierarchy were affected personally was a pupil suspended, whilst others were relieved that the issue was in the open. The outcome was the formation of a 'Discipline Committee' whose objective was to formulate suggestions to be put before the next staff meeting. There followed a period of 'tightening up' as the majority of staff pulled together in a common cause - survival. The official discipline procedure, which many teachers had failed to follow, was reiterated, the detention scheme overhauled and further rules drawn up. But the root cause of discipline problems remained and only towards the end of the third year were there signs of these being tackled.

At the end of the third year Alan Walters moved to fill the gap between teacher and Deputy Head. The pastoral system for

three years had caused an overloading of Deputy Heads with inevitable loss of efficiency. Four senior teachers on protected salaries, whose work was not commensurate with their earnings, were asked to accept positions of pastoral responsibility. Some accepted whilst others, enjoying an 'easy number', objected.

Discipline was not the only concern of the majority of staff. School rules and regulations also fuelled discontent among the 'popular culture'. They complained at a lack of clarity and deficiency in enforcement. Ideally teachers considered that rules should be few, explicit and sensible. But because some rules could not be administered or appeared inconsequential, many staff ignored them or failed to apply them. Caxton's (1978) advice to young teacher concerning rules is worth stating at this point:

Many of these (rules) will seem senseless to you; you'll have to make a policy as to whether you're going to enforce all or some of them or not, and stick to it. If you dither about, you'll end up confusing and upsetting everybody. Find out the rules when you apply for the job. If you accept a job with your eyes open, it seems fair to expect you to abide by the rules that you know about. This doesn't, of course, stop you working to get them changed by persuading your colleagues, badgering staff meetings and the like.

(page 55)

Staff and hierarchy held similar general beliefs about rules and regulations. However, in practice, they each held



Photograph 30 Pupil Fashion

different opinions about the other's role in implementation of rules and the definition, priority and interpretation of rules. Hence many teachers failed to heed Claxton's advice and 'dithered about'. The Head called for the staff to implement school policy whilst under bated breath staff murmured: "What policy?"

At this stage I will take the issue of school uniform to illustrate some of the reasons for the confusion surrounding school rules and regulations. Photograph 30 shows two pupils in their version of school uniform. The girls have acknowledged the existence of a school uniform but have infused it with their own personality and culture. What they wear certainly breaks official school regulations on at least six counts. However, neither is taken to task because what they wear just transcends the rules and blatant disregard was not their objective. But on numerous occasions pupil culture clashed with teacher perspective, as individuals variously interpreted regulations. For example, Alan Walters appeared to concentrate on hair. Girls with hundreds of small plaits would be told to go home and take them out; those coming to school with coloured hair were 'parked' in the hall and asked at the end of the day not to return until the offending colour was removed. Robert's (Deputy Head) speciality was jewellery. Often he could be seen shouting at a girl for wearing rings or bracelets oblivious, on one occasion, to the fact that the girl was wearing one black shoe and one white shoe. Another teacher had, what can only be described as a fetish about the 'tone'

of pupils' shoes. If, within the hierarchy and staff, interpretation was so divergent, one can imagine how relevance, priority and emphasis can vary considerably too. And of course this is not surprising bearing in mind teachers' backgrounds of differing school character - some having experienced blazers and gold braid and others no uniform at all. For the Head, the uniform was a high priority. Perhaps this was due to a connection in the public's view, between uniform and high academic standards and also its importance to influential middle-class parents. Yet for some teachers the uniform was of little importance:

I don't know what the uniform is. I tend to humour 3rd form. To them make-up, which is probably against school rules, is more important to them than percentages or compound interest. They come to the school with their hair dyed a different colour each day. I let someone else pick them up.

(teacher)

Between these two extremes lay the 'popular culture' belief that uniform, like many school rules, was a nebulous area.

Uniform, then, was controversial at Deangate due to problems caused by variety of emphasis, interpretation and application. A few rules did not suffer from similar complications. Bullying, for example, was seen by hierarchy and staff alike as abhorrent and not to be tolerated. The hierarchy invoked suspension, its strongest sanction, and staff vigilant and sincere in their efforts to stamp out such behaviour. The uniformity of action in certain domains

contrasted starkly with the disunity of action in others. Compatibility of values and perspectives coincided with the degree of success in combatting the problem against which the rule applied. The hierarchy and staff often held different perspectives on rules. The hierarchy considered that too many staff ignored pupils breaking rules; that too many were 'sitting on the fence' and taking the easy way out. On the other hand the 'popular culture' thought that tightening of boundaries and definitions was required. Teachers saw discipline and control as interchangeable whereas the hierarchy saw the former as more acceptable.

At Deangate, the problems caused by lack of consensus over discipline, rules and regulations, led to dissatisfaction for teachers and managers. I have already pointed to a shift in teacher beliefs, whereby teachers are no longer submissive to hierarchy. A functionalist view also suggests a swing away from traditional values uniformly held by the teaching profession. Jones (1987) reflects similar beliefs:

Now the teacher - and even the Head teacher - is likely to be 'living in sin', or divorced or drinking or unconvinced about the work ethic or rebellious or un-Christian or anarchic or militant or disobedient or ineffective as any other member of our society . . . The effect of this on school is that they cannot call upon an instant cohesive ideology of shared beliefs.

Jones sees teachers as receptacles filled with society's current values, rituals and customs. However, Deangate's 'popular culture' held shared beliefs of discontent which

formed a significant feature of the school's character. There was a 'cohesive ideology of shared beliefs' arising from historical and contextual features combined with teacher perception.

Micro-Organisation

The 'popular culture' was drawn together not solely by mutual understanding of discipline and rules but by disenchantment with what I have termed Deangate's 'micro-organisation'. In order to make clear this term I will give some examples:

Morning assembly began with a pregnant silence because no-one was prepared with a reading. Robert (Deputy Head) went to his office to check the list and came back 2 minutes later with a book and began to read - it was his turn.

(My Notes 15 March 1986)

Here a Head of Department gives another example:

The beginning of the day is bad. It needs to be tighter, more clearly defined. It's fuzzy. Assembly starts late and that means the first lesson starts late. Too many classes arrive late to assembly and without their teacher. And notices at assembly, there are too many of them and kids forget them and get bored before (original emphasis) assembly even starts.

(Head of Department meeting)

And from a junior member of staff's perspective:

The kids think that this subject (Personal Development) is a doss. Dick Short should be

organising it. He's not well organised and getting anything out of him is like getting blood out of a stone. It's not often he's around to talk to; tracking him down is hard. The problem is he wants an easy life. The Head ought to give him a kick up the arse but of course he never will.

Timetabling also came within the realms of 'micro-organisation'. A Head of Department complained about her timetable at the beginning of the academic year:

I've written to Alan. I'm Head of Department and I only have 3 non-contact periods and on top of that I'm supposed to teach 150 odd pupils European Studies. How am I supposed to plan for GCSE? James (junior teacher in same department) has six non-contact periods!

Although the above may appear to be a mixture of different experiences with different causes, to the 'popular culture' they were the same. For them, too many small blunders, ill-defined roles, non-functioning practices on which the organisation of the school depended, were failing and caused added strain and unnecessary hardship. Considered in isolation, each teacher's experience may appear trivial or regarded as an everyday event of schooling. But the volume of perceived 'micro-organisation' failure led to a ground swell of discontent. To the staff, experience of negative 'events' influenced their perspective of the school's organisation and the alignment of perspectives became the 'popular culture's' voice of disenchantment.

Evolution

This chapter has considered the role of participants in the formation of the school's inner character. In particular, I have discussed individual and group influences which were key features in the moulding process. Rather than attempt to summarize the main points, I will briefly describe the evolution of the school, drawing out relevant features where appropriate.

Deangate inherited what I have termed 'genetic' features. Prior to its birth, important decisions were made which had a lasting affect on the character of the school. The preponderance of Grammar school influence in the hierarchy and secretarial staff led to traditions, rituals and an administration which were of the past, and from many teachers' and pupils' points of view, an 'alien' dimension. External administrators imposed a pastoral system which was unfamiliar to teachers and pupils. The consequences of this system is still to be resolved by the school at the time of writing. A host of other changes caused conflict too. Some teachers lost status and their careers were in decline as a result of comprehensivisation. Finally ingrained pedagogy resulted in conflict between pupils and staff and between staff.

The first six months of the new school - the 'honeymoon' period - was a period of teamwork, friendship and goodwill. Staff 'pulled together' knowing that it was a difficult time for everyone and a united effort would ease the burden.

After six months the hierarchy announced a move away from mixed ability teaching to broad banding, and this 'critical event' signalled the end of the 'honeymoon' and the beginning of an era of realism.

From the third term onwards, following the loss of 'honeymoon' 'bon-hommie', teachers and pupils developed a new understanding of their social world. But their new social world existed not solely as a product of their own actions and influenced by their own biographies, but also by the meaning they placed on pre-established structure of a previous institution and 'outsiders'' systems. Berger and Luckman (1971) describe how a new member interprets an 'in-situ' institution:

An institutional world, then, is experienced as an objective reality. It has a history that antedates the individual's birth and is not accessible to his biographical recollection. It was there before he was born, and it will be there after his death. This history itself, as the tradition of the existing institutions, has the character of objectivity. The individual's biography is apprehended as an episode located within the objective history of the society. The institution, as historical and objective facilities, confront the individual as undeniable facts. The institutions are there, (original emphasis) external to him, persistent in their reality, whether he likes it or not. He cannot wish them away. They resist his attempts to change or evade them. They have coercive power over him, both in themselves, by the sheer force of their facticity, and through the control mechanism that are usually attached to the most important of them. The objective reality of

institutions is not diminished if the individual does not understand their purpose or their mode of operation. He may experience large sectors of the social world as incomprehensible, perhaps oppressive in their opaqueness, but real none the less. Since institutions exist as external reality, the individual cannot understand them by introspection. He must 'go out' and learn about them, just as he must learn about nature. This remains true even though the social world, as a humanly produced reality, is potentially understandable in a way not possible in the case of the natural world.

(pages 77-78)

In the beginning Deangate had no institutional history save for the history of the old Grammar school. Staff grappled with 'the past rushing into the future'. The *encoded* knowledge of pre-reorganisation - history, decisions and imposed structures - acquired meaning based on practical activities of everyday life. By the third year Deangate had produced its own history, influenced by hierarchy, staff and pupil actions and reactions as they internalized the past, the exterior, and the community of actors of which they are part. Berger and Luckman describe the relationship between these features:

. . . It is important to emphasize that the relationship between man, the producer, and the social world, his product, is and remains, a dialectical one. That is, man (not, of course, in isolation with each other but in his collectivities) and his social world interact with each other. The product acts back upon the producer. Externalization and objectivisation are

moments in a continuing dialectic process.

(page 78)

After three years the school had justified, attributed meaning and internalized by socialization, the influence of pre-reorganisation.

From the beginning the school possessed an air of friendliness which was apparent on entering the building. Teachers, pupils, hierarchy, office staff and kitchen staff, appeared to treat each other with respect and benevolence. This was particularly noticeable in the staffroom where laughter was common and cliques unusual. There was a genuine feeling of caring for pupils by staff. The atmosphere of warmth, friendliness and humour which permeated Deangate was one of the school's few fixed entities. This aspect of the school's character was resident from the start and fluctuated only slightly. It was not planned or orchestrated but arose from the staff's innate collective behaviour. New staff noticed them and absorbed this aspect of the school culture, later adding and thus continuing its momentum by individual actions. Humour, friendliness and caring were the hallmarks of everyday life and being the most visible, seen by casual visitors as the predominant quality of Deangate.

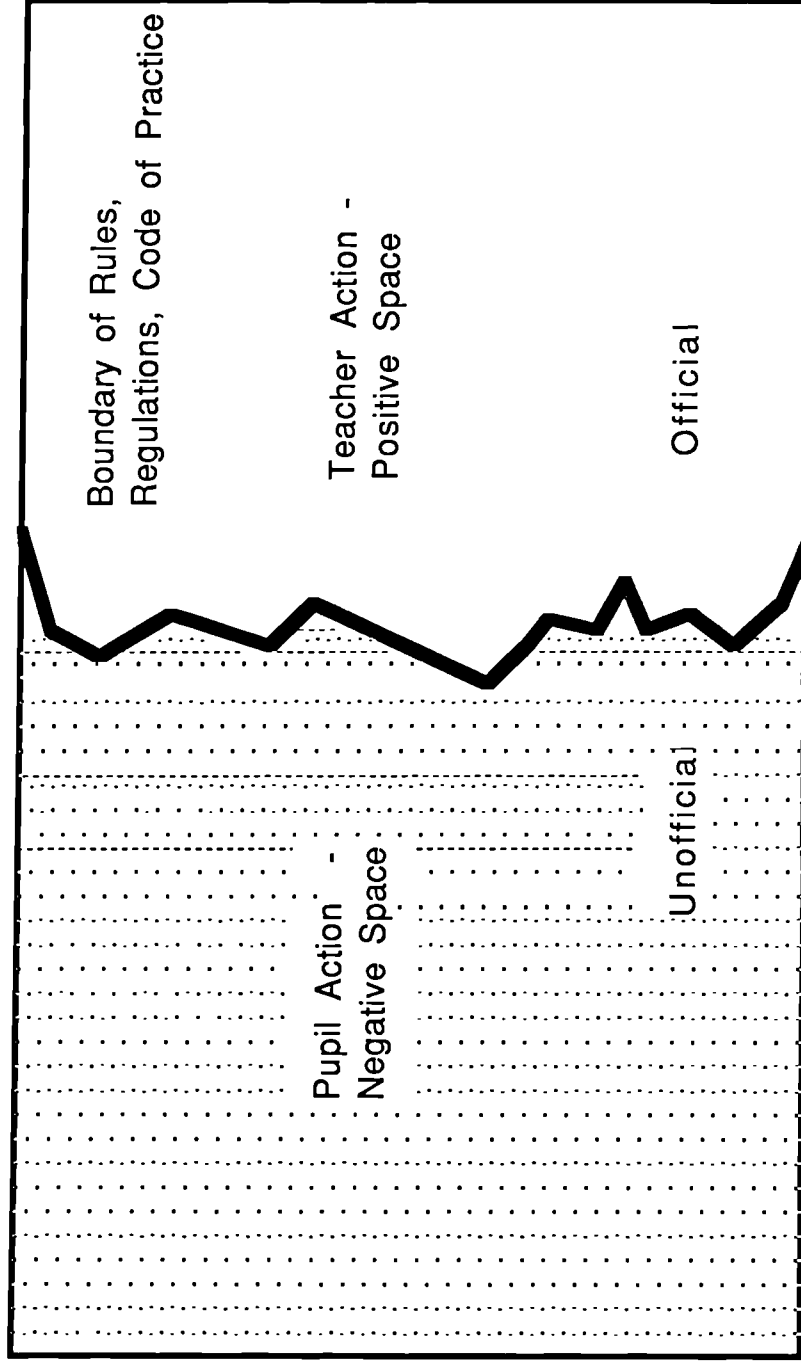
Significant features of the school's character lay with the relationship between the hierarchy and the staff. During the school's first two years in particular, meanings were attributed to key areas: organisation, leadership, decision

making, personal relationships and structure. Although 'arenas of struggle' (Ball) existed within the hierarchy and staffroom, the attitudes, values and priorities adopted by each group led to differing stances and conflict.

Three months after the school opened, the first self-interest group, Amar's 'anti-culture around the corner' group, was formed. This cabal disbanded after key individuals were placated or left the school, but they were instrumental during their eighteen month life-span, in sowing the first seeds of discontent. Later other interest groups formed - subject bound, female group (an off-shoot of Amar's group), generational cliques - but on the whole the staffroom at this time reflected an atmosphere of humour, friendliness and homogeneity. This contrasts with Burgess's (1983) Bishop McGregor Comprehensive which possessed 5 major groups in its staffroom, and may account for the formation of a 'popular culture', the 'voice' of aggregate perspectives. Interest groups shifted back and forth in importance over the years, as individuals modified views and factions changed allegiance, but the 'popular culture' developed and unified with time.

The first two terms, the 'honeymoon' period, were characterized by 'bon-hommie'. During this time the majority were content with coping with new routines, pupils and relationships, and putting their own 'house' in order. From the first day, staff and pupils were assessing the Head. Staff quickly picked up on his enthusiasm for public

Figure 2 Pupil Refinement of 'Official' Rules



relations and ex-Grammar school ritual and tradition. Although his priorities concerned them, their views were held in abeyance, giving the majority of their energy to 'surviving' in their new school. During this early phase, school rules, regulations and discipline, were implemented intermittently, interpreted idiosyncratically or, in some cases, not at all. Pupils picked up the atmosphere of

confusion and general malaise and used the period to push against weak institutional control. They redefined their 'negative space' by reacting to, and thus altering, the boundary line of 'official' rules, regulations and discipline (see Figure 2).

Staff disquiet at the Head's priorities lay dormant until the beginning of the third term, when the decision to move away from mixed ability teaching was announced. This 'critical event' added to teachers' concerns for the school's leadership and this occasionally erupted into conflict. The 'event' set a precedent in teachers' minds. From this time onwards there evolved a belief that some topics were open to negotiation, others were closed, and that democracy had constraints. Meetings were seen as places to 'let off steam' or to 'rubber-stamp' decisions which had already been made by the Head. Teachers argued against the banding decision on ideological grounds. However, they experienced and remembered the 'event', not in terms of content or values, but the process by which the decision was made.

By the end of the second year further developments had taken place. Individual teacher and group experiences, aided by a homogeneous staffroom atmosphere, led to the evolution of a 'popular culture', a consensus of staff beliefs. Broadly speaking teachers' concerns centred around control mechanisms (discipline, rules, regulations) and 'micro-organisation'. These concerns polarized the perspectives of staff and hierarchy. There was agreement on wider values, the direction the school would take, but in practice actions taken to implement policy were incompatible and fragmentary. A 'truce' operated and only occasionally was the conflict aired as one party or the other attempted to maximise their interests. Staff 'celebrated' what they considered to be the weaknesses on the school laissez-faire leadership, indecision and a lack of direction - and chose to ignore those elements generally considered positive.

The hierarchy, from the start, formed a tight unit. The personal biographies of the senior members of the team were particularly important indicators to Deangate's policies and philosophy. These, and other 'genetic' features, continued to shape the school through a variety of hidden agendas. Alan Walters's style of leadership echoed the contemporary climate of democratic education, whose philosophy is outlined by Barker (1986b):

Teachers who are nurtured, stimulated and perhaps stretched by working in a lively team will approach their pupils with changed expectations. Staff whose commitment and enthusiasm are assiduously cultivated

may be prepared to undertake an open and adventurous journey. Few of us improve when corrected, rebuked or punished.

(page 77)

Alan Walters went further. He believed in professional autonomy; that the majority of teachers act professionally and, of their own accord, work for the common good of the school.

During the third year a major 'critical event' took place, Dave Haywood became a Deputy Head. He took office at a time when the staff were consolidating their joint perspective. The 'popular-culture' voiced, in private, discontent on two fronts. (1) They were unhappy with control, i.e. discipline, rules, regulations. Although during pre-reorganisation meetings collectively they agreed on a policy and structure of control, in practice they failed to implement cohesively. The imposition of an 'alien' pastoral system added to their problems. (2) They considered that poor 'micro-organisation' in the school, caused by inefficient administration and teachers failing to perform to an acceptable standard, was adding to their workload.

The tension between the hierarchy and the staff occasionally resulted in conflict. But conflict is not always destructive as Ball (1987) quoting Baldrige points out:

Although a political interpretation is based on conflict theory, it does not mean that the university is torn apart by ceaseless conflict. Conflict can be

and often is quite healthy; it may revitalize an otherwise stagnant system.

(page 20)

In Deangate's case, conflict had both positive and negative influence. It caused confusion and absorbed staff enthusiasm and energy on one hand and yet galvanized the hierarchy into taking steps to counteract teacher concerns. At the end of my period of observation, the 'ball' was firmly in the hierarchy's 'court'. The new Deputy Head was energetically clarifying and redefining structures and systems, and attempted to pressure staff into implementing his innovations. Teachers were putting up resistance to the changes; some unwilling to alter practice which had become routine, whilst others were disenchanted and antagonistic. Alan Walters had by this time, retracted his original concept of a democratic school. He now used Head of Department meetings as a decision making body, being smaller and therefore more practical than staff meetings, and consequently staff meetings became less regular. This fuelled staff displeasure. They began to grumble that decisions were known only to those 'in the know'.

Deangate's institutional climate at the end of three years could be considered to be operative in three distinct but overlapping and interrelated areas. Firstly its ethos or 'personality' as seen by outsiders, i.e. parents, people who live in the neighbourhood or in Old City. Much of the information 'outsiders' received came from the Head via his

public relations strategy - prospectus, newsletters, Speech Day, parents' evening, personal communication; from pupils' behaviour outside of school; and from local newspapers and 'grapevine gossip'. Secondly the 'tone' of the school as perceived by casual visitors, school governors, visiting inspectors.

And finally its character or 'difference' which is the resultant of 'micro-politics' and external influences acting within and upon the school. This chapter has focused primarily on the role of participants in the formation of Deangate's character.

Summary

In this, the last of the case record chapters, I have attempted to show how history, individuals and groups have contributed to the uniqueness of Deangate School. The final section was given over to a brief description of the school's development in terms of an evolutionary process.

The inclusion of the above factors was *far from trite*. It is clear that history, individuals and groups have played a significant part in defining Deangate School. However, perhaps more importantly, how they played their part has demonstrated the critical role that values and perspectives play, within an organisational framework, in both shaping the institution and also in identifying problematic and taken for granted areas. The concluding chapters take up and explore these points further and by combining them with

issues developed in earlier chapters which focused essentially on 'sameness', will seek to determine the nature of a school.

CHAPTER 9 THE NATURE OF 'SAMENESS' AND 'DIFFERENCE'

Introduction

This chapter returns to the statement: "All schools are the same, but different.", and unpacks some of the meanings behind it.

Part One, '**The nature of sameness**', attempts to draw together some of the issues arising out of the case record chapters. It is reasonable to conclude that taken for grantedness constitutes a key factor in school practice and that those unquestioned assumptions underpin the first part of the original statement: "All schools are the same . . ." Those assumptions are deeply embedded in the fabric of British Secondary schools.

Part Two, '**The Nature of Difference**', explores the second part of the statement, ". . . but all schools are different." Significant issues and factors identified in earlier chapters as contributing to Deangate's special character are discussed in order to establish the nature of that character or 'difference'.

Part One - The Nature of 'Sameness'

During the period of data collection the 'difference' between Deangate and other schools emerged first. It was apparent that 'difference' did not account for significant

aspects of school and could only be perceived clearly when juxtaposed against the remainder. 'Sameness' was employed to represent the remaining aspect but the notion is problematic being ephemeral and ubiquitous. Part One begins to identify aspects of the nature of 'sameness' but it is beyond the scope of this thesis to give full justice to its parameters of activity, sources and influence.

The first part of this chapter is divided into four parts: **Context, Structure, School Ceremony and Control**. Each part will illustrate how 'sameness' exhibits itself and where it exists. This will be followed by a discussion of issues generated, in order to attain an understanding of that which is common to Secondary Schools.

Context

Schools do not exist in isolation. They are part of a wider society and are not insulated from its influences. It is the relationship between the internal (school) and the external (the wider society) that is important to us here.

There is a myth that schools are impenetrable and able to deflect changes of any sort. This is perpetuated by schools' ability to resist curriculum changes and many forms of Government innovation. However, Sarason (1982) attacks the myth that schools are enclaves operating a separate reality to that outside of its walls:

Where the public political arena ends and the

educational arena begins is a boundary that never existed . . . Schools are physically bounded structures. In all other respects their boundaries are porous to a degree their physical appearance and the traditional concept of school system obscure.

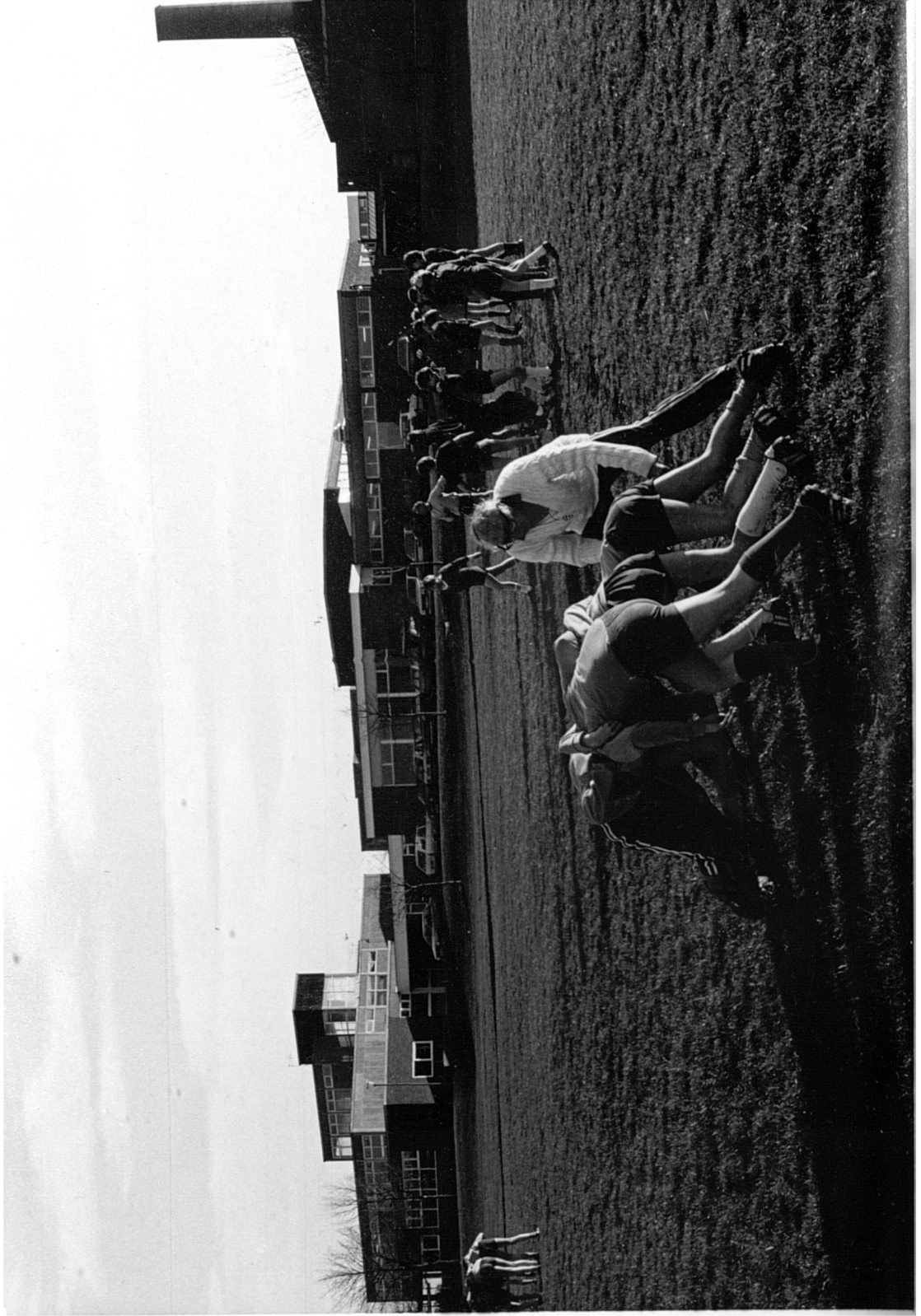
(page 3)

Unlike an inmate in Goffman's total institutions, teacher and pupil are allowed a life outside of school. Their individual experiences and life histories shape their understanding, beliefs and assumptions and institutionalism will help them construct a meaning of school. In effect individuals are shaping and at the same time being moulded by school.

Comparisons may be drawn between teaching and acting. This implies that teachers possess a personality separate from their 'real' selves. Teachers learn from their first days in a classroom, staffroom, even corridor, that they must act differently from 'outside'. Teachers are aware, because they are able to observe from a distance other teachers in action, that behaviour which is the norm outside of school is not necessarily so inside school. Teachers are embarrassed if forced to act out publicly those actions they would take for granted in the privacy of their classrooms.

Pupils also experience a curtailment of self, and like teachers, acculturation for them is partial. Again, like teachers, pupils adopt a dual existence of assumed (outside) culture and adopted (or institutional) culture. Pupils have

Photograph 31
HOW DO WE KNOW IT'S A SCHOOL?



no choice but to attend school, live in crowded rooms, possibly away from friends, banded and coerced into abiding by the institution's own special codes.

There are many examples of 'sameness' in its context form in the case record chapters. Chapter 4, for example, described how a Deputy Head was disconcerted at the thought of a tape recording of her 'institutional' behaviour during morning assembly; and Chapter 7 'School and the Outside World', gave examples of the external wider cultural acting upon and influencing the school. The evidence suggests that 'sameness' is in part determined directly and indirectly by exterior forces. Directly by assimilation of exterior culture via parents, peers, and the media; indirectly as a result of the interface between external and internal worlds. Teachers and pupils experience a degree of disjuncture (because they return to a 'home-world' (Goffman) against which comparisons are made) and confusion arises because meanings assigned by 'home-world' differ in some ways from those held sacred by school culture. The confusion is compounded by the ability of the wider society (of which teachers and pupils are agents) to penetrate and influence the school unobtrusively.

Structure

It is almost impossible to walk past a school and not know that it is a school (see photograph 31). Even though it may be situated in an urban/suburban/rural landscape, an Infant/Junior/Secondary school, or the

age/materials/architecture are very different - we 'know' somehow it is a school. We also make judgements about the type and quality of the school. The absorption and reflection of the information is automatic. We give maybe a fraction of a second over to making assumptions and moments later we can visualize, without a map, its inner layout - the position of the Head's office in relation to the main entrance and the classrooms, what they look/smell like (see Chapter 6). Teachers are accustomed to their places of work and do not question that many schools were built for purposes other than present use, for example, single site schools become part of multi site schools and ex-Grammar schools are adopted for comprehensive schooling. Also there is a high degree of consensus, as to the position and layout of classrooms, staffrooms, and hierarchical rooms.

The physical structure is not inert but contains information about a school's subterranean structure, and convey a wide range of meanings all of which are taken for granted by inmates. Mention any physical space to an inmate and they will 'know' what takes place there and what are the agreed codes of behaviour.

Schools function like an aircraft flight recorder - all its critical manoeuvres are noted within the box and remain there until something goes wrong. Parents or strangers entering a school may, depending on their perceived status, create tension. This is a reflection of the tension

operating between internal and external, and ultimately of 'sameness' in its context form.

A school's staffroom is a relatively private space. The Head is a visitor who knows that it is the territory of teachers, and pupils are often barred explicitly. Teachers see their classrooms as private domains. Even though they recognise the right of the hierarchy to enter, the atmosphere changes and tension increases. Colleagues, sensitive to these feelings avoid, where possible, entering other teachers' classrooms. Therefore visits to classrooms, although accepted, are kept to a minimum. Classrooms are, in effect, black boxes within a black box.

Each layer of a school's society carves out territories for itself. The Head's large personalized space is close to the main entrance; teachers' 'own' classrooms, not pupils, who carve out domains in the school yard; and teachers at break organize themselves 'geo-politically' (Ball, 1983).

It is clear that 'sameness' exists in a school's structure, both the physical plant and the meanings attributed to spaces within. For a newcomer to be accepted as an inmate they must demonstrate their sensitivity to those spaces. This knowledge, once internalized is transferrable, and may be applied in other schools.

School Ceremony

All schools have some form of daily/weekly/yearly ceremony

or ritual. School ceremonies are of two sorts: An 'in-house' variety concerned specifically with perpetuating community sentiments or as a ritual performed by requirement of the law; and 'open-house' (Goffman) as a public face, out of need to communicate with those outside of the school. They have in common a concern for display, performance and particularly masquerade.

The range of 'in-house' ceremonies is considerable. Schools have annual events such as theatrical productions and Carol Services or daily rituals like morning assembly or staff briefing. The key question to ask of these occasions are of ownership and function, because within each event is a second order of take for grantedness. Morning assembly, for example, is an *unquestioned ritual whose content and meaning* are taken for granted. Past notions of morning assembly were of worship and unity, but these functions have, to some extent, been usurped by information giving and control requirements. The content, in some form representing values or beliefs, stem principally from the hierarchy and generally from staff and not from pupils. However, pupils influence the style of communication as a passive pupil audience more often than not is given the day's message by monotonous formal speech, whereas pupils who know how to transmit their needs may be rewarded with informal 'alternative' styles of presentation.

The formal hierarchical structure in schools, from the Head down to the 1st form pupils, is imbibed with a degree of

distancing which reflects an institution's need to control inmates. The boundaries between each group - hierarchy, staff, pupils, auxiliary workers, is temporarily and purposely breached on certain occasions. End of year frivolities, staff versus pupil soccer matches, the Head telling jokes at morning briefing, are examples of boundary crossing. Thus within schools, mainly during 'in-house' ceremonies, there is often an element of 'mask removal'. This type of activity illustrates the interplay between 'sameness' in its context form and 'sameness' in its ceremonial form. There is a contrast in the relationship between the teacher saying "Look I'm human" which is the external world self, and the teacher acting out a distancing role, the institutional self.

'Open-house' ceremonies are aimed at outsiders. Each school attempts to put its 'best face' forwards, displaying not only its attributes and priorities but also what it considers to be an appropriate image. Appropriateness being determined by the wider society and the school's clients' values and expectations.

A notable feature of all 'open-house' ceremonies is that they rarely reflect the day-to-day reality of the school. The projection and maintenance of properness is pivotal to each occasion. Hence teachers at a parents's evening, whilst displaying earnest intent by intense interaction, rarely see such occasions as valuable or significant to their prime task of teaching. Parents, by their participation are also

'playing the game'. Goffman (1968) finds this natural phenomenon disappointing:

It is a melancholy human fact that after a time all three parties - inmate, visitor, and staff - realize that the visiting room presents a dressed-up view, realize that the other parties realize this too, and yet all tacitly agree to continue the fiction.

(page 96)

This aspect is found throughout the catalogue of 'open-house' ceremonies. Moreover, it is also reflected in other aspects of 'sameness'. If we consider 'sameness' in its structural form - the main entrance to the school for example - it is here that only the best examples of pupils' work are displayed in carefully cited display cases, where trophies are exhibited, where pupils are often barred, and where Heads are most often seen picking up litter.

'Open-house' events, not surprisingly, take place in an environment befitting institutional display. They happen in the same places in schools: in the school hall, the central display area of the school's cultural artifacts; the Head's office suitably adorned with appropriate symbols and wall hangings. 'Open house' events rarely take place in staffrooms and classrooms (a school's epicentre?) and only then after a stringent facelift.

'Sameness' in its ceremonial form sensitises us to two important features. Firstly, in its 'open-house' form (as

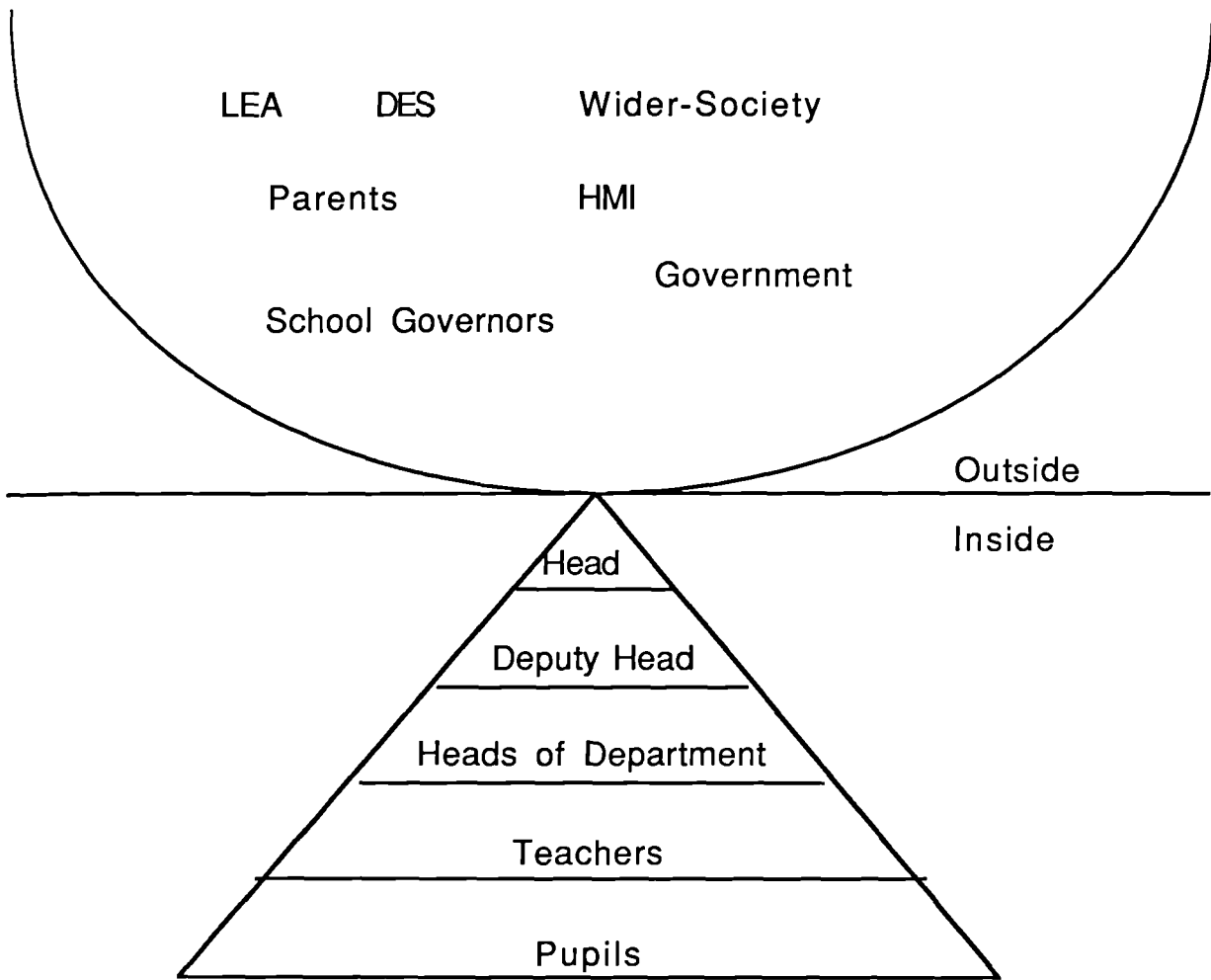


Figure 3 The Pyramid within and influences outside.

described in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 and advocated by Goffman (1965) ceremony is characterised by an artificial 'dressed-up view' of the reality of school and participants are aware of this facade yet perpetuate it. Secondly, (see Chapter 4) it is taken for granted. Participants may disagree over the format and content of parents' evening or speech day but that they should take place at all is never questioned. Indeed such is the nature of 'sameness' that it is inscribed in the culture of school to a degree that it is not on the agenda for change or debate. A feature of 'sameness' is its invisibility.

Control

A common aspect of schools and schooling is control. All schools operate a formal pyramid structure which acts as a division of labour (see Figure 3). An interface between 'outside' and 'inside' is provided by a school's Board of Governors, who work with the Head to manage the school. The Board's role is defined by the 1988 Education Reform Act which, as terms of reference, are vague and open to a variety of interpretations. Governing bodies are rarely reflective of the mass of children who attend the school. It is normal for members to consist partly of political agents whose perspective may be politically skewed, and governors whose views rarely carry weight. Teachers view governors generally as amateurs, ineffective, irrelevant or as dignitaries who are rarely seen in the school and who are ceremoniously "Winched onto the stage for Speech Day" (Wragg, 1987).

The Head needs control to implement educational policy, to impose his/her definition of reality and to bring about change. Throughout a school a network of control mechanisms exist, the Head being the most powerful (in status and potential), and a first year pupil the least powerful. Heads assume power over those in the institution although, as Becker (1965) points out:

Teachers have a well developed conception of just how and towards what end the principal's authority should be used . . .

(page 246)

The Head leads a senior management team and this group is separated from the remainder of the staff not only geographically, but by role, status, influence and, most importantly, perspective. The Head is capable of being all powerful, an autocrat of autocrats, but that power is limited and dependent on staff, who may have alternative agendas and who may revolt, subvert, undermine or filter directives from above. Head and staff each play *distinct* roles and to some extent the Heads' powers are limited by the traditions of the school. In the same way teachers seldom deviate from their role or complain formally to the hierarchy, but instead reserve displays of discontent for the staffroom.

Heads exercise power idiosyncratically and their style may correspond to any point along an autocrat-democrat-laissez-

faire continuum. The words autocratic and democratic are particularly misleading as Sharp (1980) points out:

However democratic the form of decision-making, institutionalized in school councils or regular staff meetings, there is always a degree of centralization of control located firmly at the purse strings, and an institutionalization of hierarchy which, however weak the boundaries, tends to preserve a basic asymmetry of power between teaching personnel and pupils.

(page 125)

Decisions and policy have their beginnings in hierarchy. Communication is top-down in the form of briefings, meetings, notices and informal talk. Decisions are made in a similar top-down fashion. The degree of staff and pupil involvement, real and actual, is dependent upon the autocratic-democratic style of leadership of the Head. Teachers, individually and in groups, operate an informal micro-political power structure in schools, and therefore represent an alternative set of interests.

Teachers have alternative agendas, differing perspectives from the hierarchy, and vote with their minds, their actions and occasionally with their feet. Heads like meetings because they can contain and control 'up-front' actors. But in the staffroom, a 'pub' on a Friday lunchtime, or in corridors where 'alternative' meetings take place, because of their underground nature, the Head is concerned because s/he has no control nor jurisdiction.

Action taken in schools are not based on decisions because they have, to a large extent, become institutionalized actions, and having an ongoing effect are not considered problems and therefore not requiring decisions. Hence the phenomenon of 'the largest determining factor governing this year's budget is last year's budget' reflects schools' 'auto-pilot' decision making, and is commonplace. Finally, a decision made, even one made by the whole staff, is never implemented with its original intent intact, but distorted either intentionally or unintentionally, by the majority.

Teachers control over pupils is more explicit, but similar to senior management control over staff. Again socialization - for teachers from experience "Because it's always been that way" and for pupils via Junior school training - ensures that pupils defer to teachers when control is applied explicitly or negotiated implicitly. Expectations by staff of pupils are numerous: pupils are to internalize staff standards; the pupil coming to school must be there for educating, and that pupils who act in a hostile fashion are deviants (model pupils are seen as pupils as 'boot licking'). Teachers see control of pupils, as integral to their role, and for pupils' own good and well being. Teachers without control are not seen as 'real' teachers. Control strategies are central to a teacher's working day and therefore the main priority. Staff act like jailers because that is also part of their role since school attendance is compulsory (initiated section 36 of the 1944 Education Act, also 1988 Education Act).

Wearing a uniform is an aspect of "being stripped of one's identity kit" (Goffman, 1968, page 26), and teachers operate a restricted freedom with pupils which Goffman (1968) treats as problematic:

And privileges in the total institutions, it should be emphasized, are not the same as prerequisites, indulgences, or values, but merely the absence of deprivations one ordinarily expects not to have to sustain. The very notion of punishments and privileges are not ones that are cut from civilian cloth.

(page 53)

If teachers act like 'jailers', then pupils act in 'in-mate' fashion. They subvert, 'muck-around', 'escape', show disdain, negotiate small freedoms, and carry out brief gestures of defiance (see photograph 19). Schools control their pupils in a variety of ways. Order is sought through regimentation and regulating activity with bells, lining up, and blocks of time. Pupil compliance rarely brings rewards whereas non-compliance often brings about retribution.

Teachers take for granted a degree of domination over pupils yet expect to be managed from above; pupils presume discipline from non-pupils. Within those broad generalizations lie a vast assortment of influential agencies.

Control is expressed not only in terms of manipulation or discipline but structure. Structure within school acts as a restraint - in terms of acceptable knowledge, examinations,

syllabuses, timetables, class size, etc - and a skeleton on which to hang taken for granted assumptions of schooling. Day to day teaching without structure would be chaotic and for most incomprehensible. Teachers are, in one sense, unwilling victims of structure, and in a second sense, the perpetrators of that structure. Tightly scheduled daily or weekly activities, which carried out in the company of others all carrying out similar practices, are powerful moulds which preordain the realities of generations of staff and pupils.

Structuring specifically for practical purposes is common in schools and has massive implications for the schooling process. James, quoted by Esland (1977) questions the way in which schools blocks time and compartmentalizes pupils:

. . . how do we explain a youth-time arbitrarily divided into spasms of thirty, forty or forty-five minutes, punctuated by clanging bells and often followed by massive flocking in and out of corridors? How do we reconcile this planned incoherence with our knowledge of different rhythms or learning different individuals have, of their different ways of thinking and learning?

(page 28)

A curriculum and 'proper' knowledge is also part of school structure (see Hargreaves, 1967; Keddie, 1971; Lacey 1970; Bowles and Gintis 1976; and Sharp and Green, 1975). Like other aspects of control it is perceived differently by recipients. Pupils' perspective of the curriculum parallels

Illich's (1971) who pointed out that the Latin derivation of curriculum is: a track around which slaves race for the pleasure of others.

Looking back over this section we can see that 'sameness' in its control form has many intrinsic qualities but essentially it suggests that 'sameness' here is pervasive and deeply embedded in the fabric of the institution. It is clear that schools require a framework in order to achieve an orderly and sane working environment but the intensity and the pervasive nature of control points to a significant underlining of the need by schools to be secure. This important aspect of 'sameness' will be addressed in Chapter 10.

Before moving on to Part Two, it is worth reflecting back on some of the issues raised earlier in this chapter. There are a number of interesting aspects of the nature of 'sameness'. Throughout each of the four parts **Context**, **Structure**, **School Ceremony** and **Control**, we have noted the influence of delineation between internal (school) and external world. It may be that the role of 'sameness' is to separate the internal from the external, but clearly the wider society and its cultural fluctuations do affect 'sameness'. Delineation is illustrated by factors that estrange schools from the wider society and make them institutionally unique. Teachers, for example, know they have captive audiences, pupils know they are captive and resist. The fact that "Unlike the members of any other profession, teachers cannot

choose or cultivate their clientele." (Esland 1977, page 25), illustrates that uniqueness.

'Sameness' exhibits a tremendous normalising influence on inmates and outsiders which is reinforced by a battery of control mechanisms. The success in maintaining the status quo is evident in the breadth of 'sameness' - it spans sub-cultures, strata, even generations of teachers and pupils. It appears that inmates actively reaffirm 'sameness'. Teachers' predecessors have established over generations, norms of behaviour. Teachers new to the profession quickly learn that teaching is another way of being yourself. Pupils have learnt from their Primary School experience deference to institutional norms. A primary normalising device is socialization. Teachers new to a school unquestioningly accept institutional norms - the hierarchical structure, the organisational structure, and the prescribed roles, rules and codes of behaviour - because these were part and parcel of their last school and any other school they may teach in. However, although teachers defer to 'sameness' equally they operate a norm of disregard and seek to define 'sameness' in their own terms. This suggests the possibility of 'difference' being determined via interpretation of 'sameness'.

'Sameness' results in disjuncture between the internal (school) and external world. The separateness has led to the creation of an institutional culture that schools are addicted to. Creating an inmate perspective, 'sameness'

enables schools the rationalize their particular inside activities. Goffman (1968) discussing total institutions, makes a familiar sounding pronouncement about the justification of actions by staff to inmates:

Given the inmates of whom they have charge, and the processing that must be done to them, the staff tend to evolve what may be thought of as a theory of human nature. As an implicit part of institutional perspective, this theory rationalizes activity, provides a subtle means of maintaining social distance from inmates and a stereo typed view of them, and justifies the treatment accorded them.

(pages 83-84)

Finally, I would like to make three points. Firstly, and a hallmark of 'sameness', although the content and format of 'sameness' is often the focus of disagreement, the existence is unquestioned. Secondly, and stemming from the above point, 'sameness' is taken for granted and 'invisible'. Thirdly, the reason for adopting a particular form of 'sameness' may be apparent and justifiable, equally it may have long since disappeared yet perpetuated by the influence of 'cultural pattern handed down' (Schutz, 1964).

Part Two - The Nature of 'Difference'

Introduction

Part One considered 'sameness' and taken for granted aspects of school. This umbrella term for the unquestioned condition

of school, includes not only culture as a universal human experience, and its local or regional manifestations, but also a vast array of socio-cultural systems such as ethnic, professional, religious, sexual, and generation identity. The brief outline of taken for grantedness given in Part One largely gives meaning to the statement 'All schools are the same . . .'. It therefore forms the 'data base' of school. Although research has pointed variously to the Head, the staff, management, organisation and luck, as the most influential feature in determining a school's character (especially effective school research), there is justification in stating that taken for grantedness determines, to a large extent, the nature of teachers' and pupils' lives and therefore forms the foundation of school. Yet despite its elemental nature, and because of its elemental nature, this feature rarely intrudes into the consciousness of either participants or researchers.

If we accept 'sameness' as the generic factor of schools, then the genetic or DNA factor which makes all schools different from one another, must arise out of 'sameness'. Also, in using the analogy of geneticism I am suggesting that the unique character of each school is dormant within its genetic code prior to its opening. The act of 'becoming' is in the main, a process of affirmation. This is not to say that a school's character is a fixed entity. What I am suggesting is the predominant influence of generic (i.e. 'sameness') and genetic (i.e. 'difference') factors, which, by their nature are stable (in the same way that in the

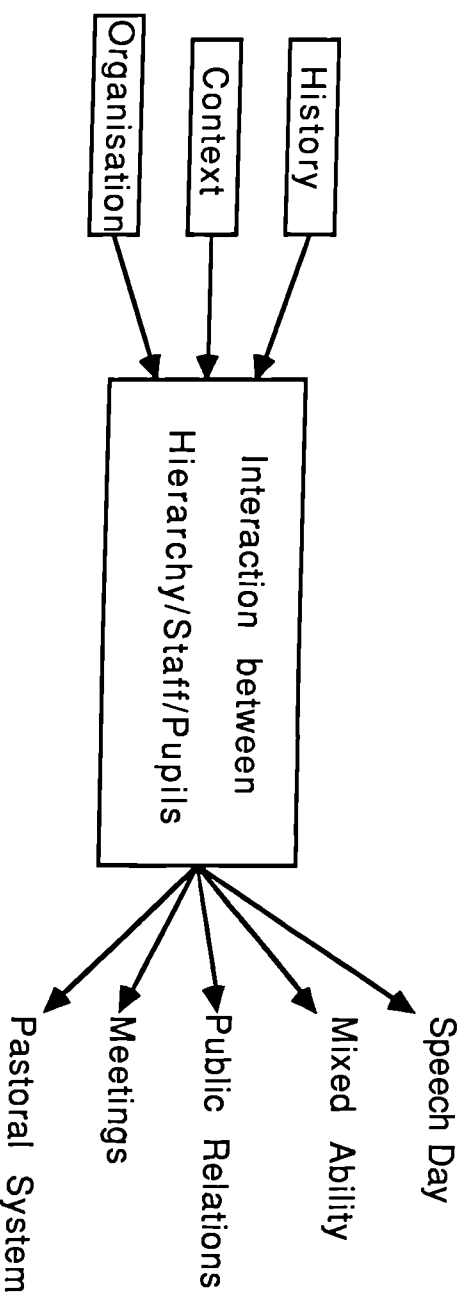


Figure 4 The relationship between Influences, Actors and Outcomes

human body each cell is said to be replaced every seven years, yet the whole remains recognisably the same), but organic and therefore manifests traits of dynamic and continuous change.

Part Two focuses on the second part of teacher folklore belief 'All schools are the same but different'. Part One identified a broad cross-section of taken for granted 'sameness'. Here I want to establish the nature of school 'difference' and also, in the process, lay down foundations for understanding the relationship between 'sameness' and 'difference'. In order to do this we need to look back to issues generated in earlier chapters which identified key individuals and groups, their priorities, and how social interaction gave Deangate its unique character.

Figure 4 represents the relationship between significant influences, key actors, and an array of outcomes which took place at Deangate.

The objective in describing the relationship illustrated in Figure 4 is not to construct a model of process based on significant ingredients, but to explore the nature of 'difference'.

Speech Day

This event, described in detail in Chapter 4 and Chapter 8, had the potential to cause disruption at Deangate. History was an important factor. The old Grammar school

traditionally held a formal Speech Day for 'successful' pupils and 'old boys' of the school and local dignitaries were always essential participants. The Head, with his connections with the old Grammar school, sought to continue the tradition. The staff saw things differently - they wanted their own Speech Day not the old Grammar School's - but were not consulted. Conflict was inevitable since both staff and Head held strong views on the subject. However, a possible major conflict was avoided because accommodations were made on both sides. The Head agreed to make Speech Day a day for pupils of all abilities and not solely for the academically able. Staff, for their part, accepted his peace offering and agreed, informally, to the continuation of starched formality. An important feature of this event, what I would describe as 'posturing', was repeated time and time again throughout the school's short history. The term 'posturing' is appropriate because, like animals in the wild, those involved made aggressive sounds and fake attacks but rarely attempted to inflict grievous damage.

Mixed Ability Teaching

This topic, more than any other, carried the potential for a major disruption in the school. The decision, taken by the hierarchy, to move away from mixed ability teaching, was at odds with a sizable hostile faction of the staff. To a small nucleus of teachers, the decision represented a move towards Grammar school education and away from their understanding of a truly comprehensive school. Though some staff momentarily questioned accepted norms of school

communication (see Chapter 5), and many came to see the hierarchy in a different light, tension later eased and the issue was dropped. The staff were unwilling to question the Head's status and time honoured role of leader, and accepted his offer to 'review in the light of experience'. Thus another significant element of the school's structure was in place but the cost, in terms of staff/hierarchy relationships, was high.

Public Relations

The Head was enthusiastic in his desire to promote a positive school image. He came to be known by staff as a 'parents' Head'. The staff saw him as overly concerned with the school's public face, willing to place on a pedestal those things that were good but unwilling to acknowledge the bad or problematic. Despite considerable displeasure over the Head's stance on public relations the issue was discussed by teachers only in the safety of a staffroom confederacy. The topic was never raised at a formal level. One can summarize that acceptance of the Head's power, and that public relations constituted his legitimate domain, was the reason for staff acquiescence. The Head, by direct involvement in public relations, contributed to Deangate's ethos, that element of school 'difference' as perceived by outsiders, but again at a cost to his relationship with staff.

Meetings

Chapter 5 considered 'meetings' in some depth. It is clear

that meetings were a source of much discontent. The role of meetings - as a forum for debate, a time for decision making, as an arena for consensus forming - was ambiguous. This led to misconceptions and rumbling discontent among staff. The source of confusion lay with taken for granted understandings of meetings, which, because of differing personal biographies and beliefs, resulted in a false impression of mutual understanding and agreement. Despite increasing, decreasing, rearranging and restructuring of meetings, discontent rumbled on. Those involved in meetings were content and those on the periphery of action remained discontent. But no-one questioned the status quo.

Pastoral System

Deangate's pastoral system, arising out of an 'outsider's' policy decision taken prior to reorganisation, caused confusion and problems throughout the school. The imposed system was alien to pupils, staff and hierarchy. Staff were unable to adjust and as a consequence the hierarchy were inundated with minor pastoral problems. By working long hours and hard the hierarchy absorbed the extra burden but at the loss of effectiveness and thorough forward planning. As before, the problem was accommodated. After two years, the Head, with little room for manoeuvre, steered the school back towards a 'Year Head' system to which staff and pupils were more accustomed. Another dangerous obstacle, capable of creating tension and animosity, was avoided.

Amar

Amar, the rebel and 'deviant', completes the spectrum of potentially damaging factors to the fabric of the institution. He was the school's first provocateur and focus of much staffroom discontent. It was he who germinated the subterranean anti-culture; and it was he who on occasions attempted to fuel open rebellion. Indeed if Deangate had consisted of teachers of Amar's outlook, the school may well have self destructed. But time and astute management on the Head's part, sufficiently healed Amar's anger and revolutionary tendencies. He was the only person in the school who, by his desire for the old Grammar school ways, actively aspired to destroy the fabric of the school.

Each of the above events and interactions contributed to Deangate's 'difference'. They have in common three important characteristics which give an insight into the nature of 'difference'. First, is the issue of its sphere of activity. It is apparent that elements which constitute a school's character act within a narrow band of acceptable action. Nowhere was there a breaching of the institution's cohesive forces; nowhere were actions shocking or unexpected; and all actions took place within a boundary of wider culture or sub-culture which was tacitly known and accepted. Secondly, the only significant change element recorded in this study was reorganisation itself. This raises the question of other change mechanisms and how they in turn affect 'character', 'tone' and 'ethos'. Finally, and most importantly, the events illustrate a similarity between 'sameness' and

'difference'. The events, typical of character forming episodes, demonstrate that despite considerable disunity and disaffection, participants failed to question the taken for grantedness of schooling. Both 'sameness' and 'difference' operate within a taken for granted code.

I will take these three points and consider them further. The indications are that the sphere of activity of school 'difference' is limited by taken for granted codes of behaviour and action. Much of this study has concerned itself with socio-emotional dimensions. Other studies have focused on those aspects of 'difference' which reflect researchers' interest and methodologies. Climate researchers, for example, considered organisational issues; effective schooling research considered the relationship between those elements of schooling which were found to contribute to quality, and termed the overarching key element as 'ethos'. The focus has always been on measuring 'the beast' or its effects. No studies have noted possible alternative spheres of activity. At the end of Chapter 8, I differentiated between 'ethos', 'tone' and 'character'. Ethos was described as the 'personality' of the school as seen by outsiders; tone was defined as an image of the school as perceived by casual visitors; and character the term given to school 'difference' - the resultant of micro-politics and external influences acting within and upon the school. Thus the terms describe differing spheres of activity, but do not explain what, if any, relationship exists between them. My data tentatively suggest that ethos

of Deangate, i.e. the perception of outsiders of the school, was different from the school's character. Whereas this thesis goes some way towards understanding how inmates construct their own internal reality, indications are that outsiders base their perceptions on quite different criteria. In the light of the recent Education Reform Act (1988), this issue takes on special significance. Judd (1989) highlights the enigma of lack of correlation between parents' criteria (i.e. outsiders) and the publication of examination results:

Whether parents will be as enthusiastic about comparing school as are the politicians remains to be seen. Within the Inner London Education Authority, schools with similar catchment areas are grouped together and their exam results compared. So far the publication of the results does not seem to have affected parental choice. Unpopular schools remain unpopular, even when they outperform more popular ones (my emphasis).

(page 29)

If, as popular belief suggests, the Government wishes to use competition as an instrument to improve the effectiveness of schools, it needs to take account of the paucity of knowledge of outsider criteria in constructing a reality of ethos.

'Tone' has in the past, been employed as an indicator of school character, mainly, I believe, because it is an acknowledged and agreed empirical phenomenon which is easily

observed and linked to a school's climate. Halpin and Croft (1963) point to the common remark "You don't have to be in a school long before you feel the atmosphere of a place." (page 4), as an indication of school 'difference'. This is a typical use of what I have termed 'tone'. The observant casual visitor can pick up clues to a school's character since 'tone' is an element of and observable outcome of character. But 'tone' is only part of the picture and is not representative of the holistic nature of 'difference'.

The second issue raised by considering 'events' which shaped Deangate, is that of change. Of course the school did change in one sense, as is apparent in Chapter 8, but this was evolutionary change which was essentially an act of confirmation. The only factors, at this stage, which can claim to be change agents affecting school character are reorganisation, as this study has shown, and Headship, the point made by Budd (1982) in his chronicle of change of Headship and subsequent change in school 'climate'. The case for other change agents has yet to be demonstrated. Perhaps fundamental changes i.e. examinations (e.g. GCSE), curriculum (e.g. Core Curriculum), or the organisation of the education system (e.g. Local Management of Schools), will pierce the shell of taken for grantedness of school and indirectly influence school character.

There are, of course, more subtle changes taking place which are difficult to take account of. The 'hidden' curriculum, by definition a taken for granted aspect of school, is

dependent upon context, bandwagons and social climate. Delamont (1976), makes the point:

The hidden curriculum is not publicly accountable, and so, although the teacher controls both aspects (their) power over the manifest curriculum is not so great. Teachers are constantly defining and redefining the limits of the hidden curriculum, implicitly showing pupils what is 'really' relevant and important.

(page 45)

Although outside of the primary concern of this thesis, change agents and combinations of influential agents are signposted as an important area of future research. Effective Schooling research has identified school character as a key factor in the quality of a school. If this work is to be beneficial a more substantive understanding of change agents is required.

Finally, and most importantly, the 'events' described earlier, like those of 'sameness' discussed in Part One, are taken for granted. Despite conflict and disunity, which could be interpreted as manifestations of the hierarchy's, the teachers' and the pupils' desire to impose their will on school, at no time was there any question of damaging the framework of established taken for grantedness. Those elements which contributed to character, where no conflict existed, for example humour, were naturally taken for granted and considered unproblematic. The enigmatic resilience of 'sameness' in the form of taken for grantedness deserves further scrutiny. Why did the staff of

Deangate construct 'sameness' and then seek out change and conflict? Why did they construct 'difference', a destabilizing force, yet unwittingly retain 'difference' within the 'sameness' boundary? This seemingly contradictory state of tension is what constituted Deangate School, and in essence the nature of a school.

Summary

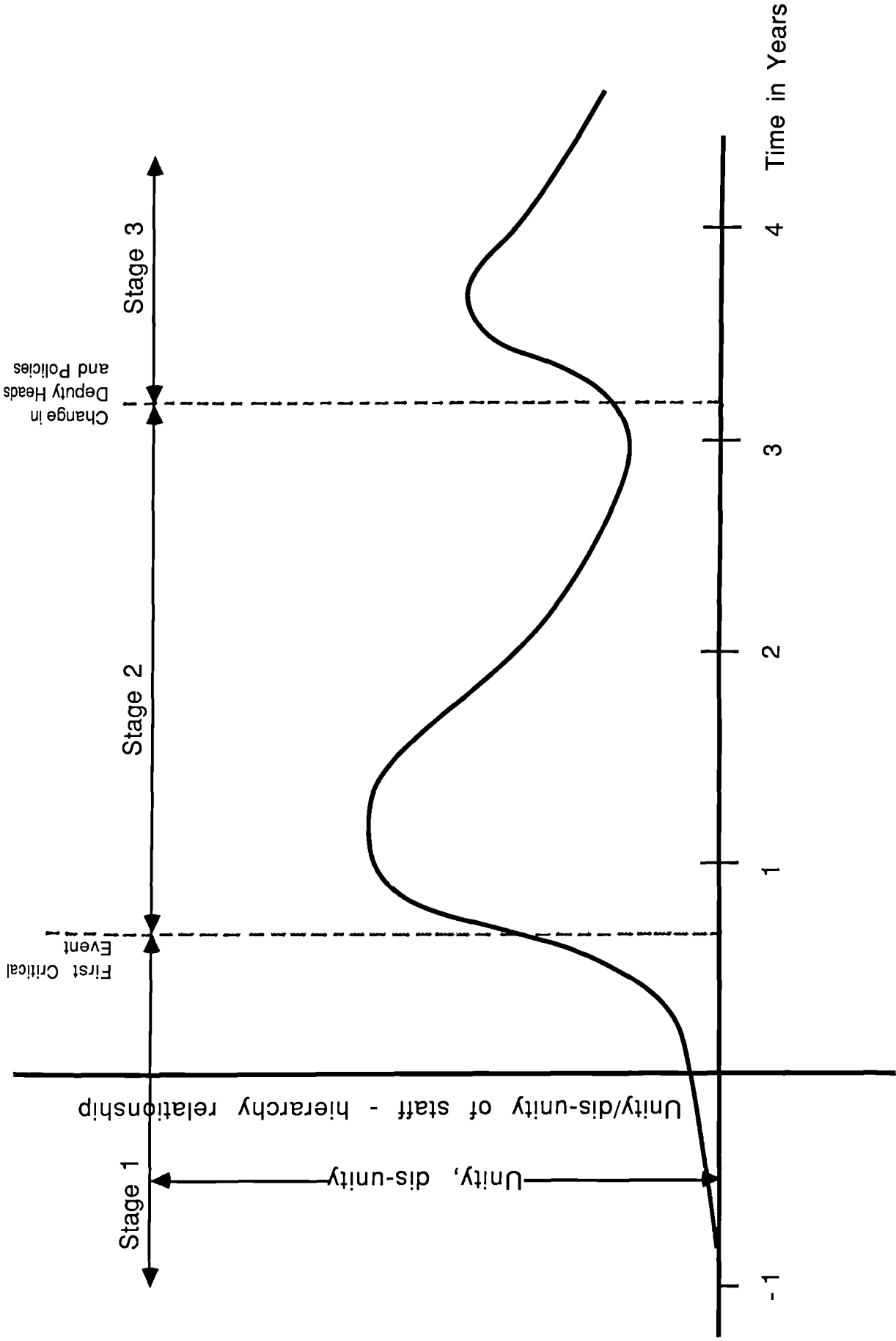
This chapter returned to the folklore 'all schools are the same but different', and attempted to explore the nature of 'sameness' and 'difference'. Part One, 'The Nature of Sameness', established a range of arenas where 'sameness' existed, its context of action, and the extent of its power and control over school matters. Part Two, 'The Nature of Difference', focused on the qualities of Deangate's character and aspects of the relationship between 'sameness' and 'difference'.

Towards the end of Part Two, attention was drawn to the paradox of Head, staff and pupils considering their school to have changed since its inception. But, as the data demonstrate, the pervasive nature of taken for grantedness is such that it exists within the nature of 'difference', and these assumptions held by actors means that no 'real' change took place. The important relationship between 'sameness' and 'difference' is considered in the following chapter - What is a School ?.

A new school going through the process of defining itself is a rare event. Unless participants wish to pursue a wholly 'alternative' education ideology, they will seek to construct an institution which is recognisable as a school to parents, teachers, pupils, and the wider society. The act of definition at Deangate was itself the process whereby participants gave meaning to the term 'school'. In creating their school they adhered to formal and official guidelines, and by intuitive understandings answered in their own terms the question 'What is a school?' This chapter will endeavour to clarify, by reflecting on the process of becoming a school, the nature of a school.

It is apparent, as earlier chapters have demonstrated, that 'sameness' and 'difference' are the principal elements which constitute a school. The relationship between 'sameness' and 'difference' is an important one and Part One of this chapter probes that relationship by examining their respective sources and their sequence in the process of 'becoming'. Part Two takes as problematic the direction a school takes, why some aspects become *more prominent* than others. Whilst Part One describes the three stages of 'becoming', Part Two gives reasons for that order and the direction Deangate followed by considering the values of key individuals and groups. Part Three discusses the prime ingredients which influenced the act of definition. Part

Figure 5 The Stages of Becoming



Four draws together issues raised in Parts One, Two and Three, to describe the evolutionary process by which 'schoolness' unfolds. Part Five explores the nature of school by comparing and contrasting this study's findings to related research.

Part One

At the end of Chapter 9 a number of fundamental questions were raised: 'What is the source of 'sameness'?' and 'What are the origins of 'difference'?' The answers to these two questions go some way to understanding the relationship between 'sameness' and 'difference'.

From Chapter 9 we can say that 'sameness' at Deangate was established first, followed later by 'difference'. Therefore I will take as a starting point the issue of sequence, whereby 'sameness' was established followed by 'difference', and by examining reasons for that order seek to understand something of their source. I will describe and explore three stages in the process of 'becoming' a school. The first is 'sameness' which covers the period from its conception to the first 'critical event'. The second 'difference' describes the period from the first 'critical event' until a period of calm or normalisation. The third stage, less pronounced than the other two, describes the period between normalisation, a second phase of change and discontent and back towards normalisation. Figure 5, 'The Stages of Becoming', is a graphical representation of stages 1, 2 and

3, where unity/disunity of the staff-hierarchy relationship is measured against time.

Stage One - 'Sameness'

In the beginning there was 'sameness' which was followed by a destabilizing event which marked the beginning of the second phase - 'difference'. It was taken for grantedness which conferred continuity and maintained stability for the school. Taken for granted acted as a foundation stone without which the very fabric of the institution would have broken down. Schools are extremely robust because taken for grantedness is strongest during the first or 'sameness' stage - there are no documented cases of a school disbanding or failing to 'become' a school during the period between conception and its first 'critical event'. Taken for grantedness is less evident during the phase when a school is defining its 'difference' from other schools. The case of William Tyndale School (see Ellis et al 1976) is an infamous example of a school 'self-destructing' because it questioned basic assumptions of taken for granted schooling during the establishment of 'difference'. Clearly the questioning of 'sameness' of everyday schooling is a rarity and found only in extreme cases.

The first stage 'sameness', which predominates over later stages acting essentially as a foundation stone, appears to come out of a joint response from the hierarchy and the teachers, and reflects a deeply felt need for stability and security. For participants this need was of the highest

priority - what I later term their **prime normative value**. Those taken for granted basic assumptions, which are the basis of 'sameness', are agreed and of course unquestioned. Hence, as has been shown throughout the case record chapters, much of school is founded on 'sameness'. Sarason (1982), supports this belief with his statement:

. . . by the end of the first year, life in the new school is remarkably similar to that in old ones: What children experience in classrooms; the quality of relationships among teachers and between them and the principal; the relationship among parents, community, and the school; the criteria by which everyone judges themselves and others - in none of these can one discuss a difference that makes a difference.

(page 147)

The year preceding Deangate's opening and the two terms after its opening, was notable for the spirit of teamwork and cordiality among staff and hierarchy yet by the third term of the first year those characteristics had, to some extent, been displaced by disagreement and tension. Why is it that unity is replaced by disunity? Had actors become aware of differences in priorities, agendas and values during the establishment of 'sameness'? Or, having achieved security, gained confidence in wider exploration? That question is difficult to answer. I tentatively assume that actors were aware of both explicit and subterranean differences between the hierarchy and the staff, made a 'mental note' of those differences, and re-activated them at a later, more appropriate, stage. Alternatively actors may

have 'bracketed out' (Husserl) differences because their attention was focused on more pressing needs. One can easily see how differences between two powerful factions were hidden behind a smokescreen of imperatives. Staff and hierarchy were submerged in sea of pragmatic needs which generated a 'cloak of energy' hiding alternative agendas. The staff and hierarchy were involved in creating a 'new' school and both had dreams as Sarason explains:

The fantasy that one is starting 'afresh' is shared by principal and teachers, a fantasy that engender a great deal of motivation, enthusiasm, and much hope that life in this school will be different than life in their previous school (original emphasis).

(page 145)

It is easy to see how differences in values and priorities between staff and hierarchy were hidden by a 'cloak of energy' and of personal agendas. In Chapter 3, a Head of Department described how during the summer break he carried boxes of equipment from one school to another; Deputy Heads were compiling and checking lists; and Sarason (1982), discussing the findings of Yale Psycho-Educational Clinic's study of Heads opening new schools, describes a personal agenda remarkably similar to that of Deangate's Head:

From the time of appointment until the formal opening of the school the new principal spends almost all of his or her time in what can only be called housekeeping matters: Ordering books, supplies and furniture; assigning rooms; arranging schedules; negotiating the transfer from other schools; interviewing and selecting prospective personnel etc

. . . In very quick order, the principal sees a major goal - a goal determined by others but which he or she fully accepts and in relationship to which one has increasing anxiety - opening the school on time and in good order (original emphasis).

(page 145)

Therefore the staff and hierarchy had two central concerns which needed to be addressed during the first stage. The first was the need for stability and security - that they work from a time honoured blueprint of taken for granted schooling that will form the foundation stone of their new school. The second was pragmatic but equally fundamental - that 'old friends' of a known working environment are in place, i.e. textbooks, class lists, chalk, OHP's, a comfortable staffroom, and a familiar classroom. It is important to recognise that both central concerns are basic needs of 'institution builders'. 'Sameness' and pragmatism have much in common and their position in the process of 'becoming' is not necessarily priority driven but a matter of natural sequence. It is clear that during pre-reorganisation meetings, those present demonstrated a rigorous desire to confirm what, for them, parents, pupils, and the wider society, constituted a school. They sought to establish and reaffirm 'sameness', which provided a framework which all would recognise and sanction, and to which allegiance could be demonstrated. Thus staff emphasised rules, regulations, discipline and organisation, in a fervent desire to 'nail everything down', and the hierarchy followed suit in a desire to establish 'sameness'

and maintain unity. This process of reaffirmation of taken for granted schooling began eighteen months before the school opened and ran unfettered until the first critical event.

Six months prior to the opening of the school an avalanche of pragmatic needs of staff and hierarchy formed the secondary layer of concerns, which, like 'sameness' continued for the first two terms of the school's existence. It was a period of putting 'houses in order', whereby participants realised personal agendas or roles, so that the school would open 'on time and in good order', and individuals were safely ensconced in their new, yet familiar, work environment. This took place in an ambience of unanimity in spite of a variety of biographies and backgrounds.

Although 'sameness', in the form of taken for grantedness, was the underpinning element central to staff and hierarchical wants, the source of which is difficult to identify. The data point to a deeply felt need to give off and receive messages, to establish meanings and understandings of agreed generic elements of schooling. Arnold Gehlen, trained in both philosophy and biology, developed a theory of institutions which goes some way towards explaining this phenomena and defining its source. Using biology as a framework Gehlen (1950) suggested that as a starting point we should view mankind as different from, but at the same time similar to, animals. He suggested that

mankind and their environment must be understood differently from that of animals. Berger and Kellner (1965) in a review of his work, explain the meaning of this:

Essential steps in the development, which occur in the foetal period of the higher animals, take place after birth in the case of man, especially during the first year of life. This means that, in a unique way, the development of the human organism involves an interaction with an extra-organismic environment. The 'unfinished' character of the human organism at birth is closely related to its unspecialized instinctual structure. The non-human animal is released into the world at birth with drives that are already specialized and firmly directed to an environment that is specific to its species. That is, the animal lives a more or less completely instinctual life, and its world is both specialized and closed (Weltgeschlossenheit). By contrast, the human individual at birth possesses drives that are unspecialized and undirected to a specific environment. Man is characterized by 'instinctual deprivation' (Instinktarmut), and, moreover, has no species-specific environment.

(page 111)

Reasoning that mankind, being in a state of rupture from his own biological constitution, Gehlen points to the necessity to produce artificial structures. These structures are cultural and act as substitutes for boundaries found lacking in the biological make-up. Gehlen suggests that core cultural stabilization lies in institutions, because, as Berger and Kellner explain: "They are culturally produced forms by which human activity is given coherence and

continuity." and add: "The institutions produce a stable 'background' for human activity" (page 112).

Gehlen's unusual mix of anthropology and phenomenology go some way towards explaining the actions of Deangate's staff and hierarchy in pre-reorganisation meetings. During this phase they demonstrated a rigorous desire to reduplicate everything that constituted, for them, a rigid structure within which to act out 'safe' everyday school.

Deangate opened with a spirit of teamwork established and a general agreement on a wide range of taken for granted rules, regulations, organisation and discipline procedure. The school's core culture of stabilization remained intact and unviolated until the first critical event.

Stage Two - 'Difference'

The first critical event which took place at the end of the second term (see Chapter 8), marked the beginning of a period of destabilization for Deangate School. The evidence of differing perspectives between staff and hierarchy, staff and staff, hierarchy and hierarchy, is explored in Chapters 4 and 8. The chapters demonstrate a range of alternative agendas which were apparent in the school. Throughout the case record chapters, taken for grantedness was seen to be prevalent and pervasive, existing primarily in 'sameness' but also in aspects of 'difference'. Therefore one may tentatively suggest that 'sameness' remained as the essential element of the school without which the school

would not be recognisable as a 'school'. 'Sameness' remained intact even after the first critical event, acting more subterraneanly than before and moving 'backstage' but still acting as the 'pillar' of the establishment. With the prime element in place and security established staff and hierarchy moved on to explore and express alternatives and differences. By the third term it was clear that staff and hierarchy had moved a long way from a unified culture.

The relationship between 'sameness' and 'difference' at this point is an enigmatic one, which may only be explained by determining the source of 'difference' in an institutional setting. On the one hand the introduction of plural perspectives in the third term, acting as a disjunctive force causing conflict between staff and hierarchy, may be seen in terms of natural progression, i.e. once stability and security are established it is acceptable to begin to question and to seek alternative definitions. If this is the case then the **first protocol** when 'building' an institution is to establish foundations and main structure, argue with the architect over the shape of the windows and door, but under no circumstances damage the foundations and framework. The evidence at Deangate seems to support this view, since taken for grantedness, obvious in 'sameness' when perceived problematically, was also apparent in 'difference' whenever an element of alternative action threatened to damage the fabric of the institution. On the other hand the second stage was characterised by the desire by groups and individuals for fractionalism, and it is conceivable that

the resulting actions may have been aimed at damaging the foundations of the institution. In Gehlen's early work on institutions he proposed a theory of man's need to construct an institutional reality. However, in his later work (*Urmensch und Spaetkultur*, 1956), Gehlen explores disunity of institutions. Much of this work is a rationalisation of studies of evolution of institutions. He proposed that modern mankind is, paradoxically, exposing individuals to biological precariousness once again. Here Berger and Kellner (1965) describe this aspect of Gehlen's theories:

Archaic institutions are interpreted as being much more encompassing with respect to the range of human activity. Modern cultures are viewed as 'de-institutionalizing' in the sense that reflective rationality undermines the stable, taken for granted traditions. Modern man appears as a highly 'subjectivised' being, constantly in revolt against the institutional order and thus deprived of stability.

(page 113)

Therefore we have the notion of stability which is undermined by 'reflective rationality' of individuals and groups, and adds substance to the suggestion that unity-disunity is a common and natural phenomena. Thus we have two perspectives on the nature of the 'sameness' - 'difference' relationship at an early stage of an institution's development.

It seems plausible to suggest that when establishing a school, stability will be followed by a period of instability. However, whether 'difference' acts in an additive (as indicated by Deangate's evidence) or subtractive way (Gehlen's theory) is unclear. Wilson (1969) supporting Gehlen's theory, writes longingly and retrospectively for community:

It seems to me that trust and love belong to communally (original emphasis) organised societies, and that the search . . . is for community, sustained face to face relations . . . To that community I do not know whether we know the way back.

(page 46)

Dancy (1979) supports the Deangate evidence by maintaining that although schools have disrupted elements they are communally minded and would not, by nature, reject stability:

Schools may not, but they do in this country aspire to be, communities, and the aspiration is an important part of their ethos.

(page 30)

The evidence of Deangate's 'becoming' does point to the continuance of the 'sameness' after the first critical event and the onset of 'difference', suggesting that 'difference' is additive and does not undermine the foundations of schooling. Thus Deangate's evidence does, in part, refute Gehlen's belief that mankind's institutional order is

undermined by 'reflective rationality'. Certainly Deangate did appear to revolt against the institution it had created but each time participants came close to damaging the framework established by 'sameness', the first protocol became operative.

Gehlen's theory does sensitise us to the possibility of context influencing the nature of 'sameness' - 'difference' relationship, such that it moves away from being additive to subtractive, i.e. undermining underpinning collegiality. One may, for example, tentatively claim that the change in political climate in Britain influenced the traditional notion of community and unity in society. Acland (1988) makes this point when he writes:

Wholists . . . should accept and practice enthusiastic social responsibility: Not because Messrs Hurd and Thatcher say so; not to patch up the society now dominated by Individualists; but as the surest way of displaying and forwarding the wholism on which our future depends.

(page 6)

It may be that Deangate's teachers reacted to the shift in political climate, as indicated in Chapter 3, which had a knock-on effect in terms of its sense of unity and community.

It is conceivable that macro and micro culture also play a part in encouraging or discouraging participants concordance with 'sameness'. A source of micro-cultural influence could

emanate from within the school, the local community or the LEA. The influence of macro-culture may be observed in America where a sense of unity is 'manufactured' (see the work of Deal, 1985), and in Japan where the institution is not only part of one's working life, but tied to play, family and career, and thus invested with loyalty.

Stage Three

Initially Deangate, by consensus, established 'sameness', a period noted for its unanimity of behaviour of participants. Within a year of the school opening unity was disrupted by disagreements between the staff and the hierarchy. A number of critical events followed which highlighted alternative perspectives held by the two factions (stage two). Minor events continued to take place between staff and hierarchy and between staff factions and among the hierarchy but later became less pronounced. As indicated graphically in Figure 5, towards the end of the second stage hostilities lessened and a period of mutual acceptance which may be interpreted as a move towards unity, was evident. Whereas the significance of stages one and two cannot be doubted, stage 3 was unexpected (by hierarchy, staff and the researcher) and was something of an enigma. Figure 5 illustrates, by the similarity of wave shapes, the similarities between stage two and stage three. The steep initial parts of the waves indicate a rapid build up of tension between the same groups, i.e. the staff and the hierarchy, followed by conflict and later acceptance. The trauma experienced by

staff and hierarchy during stage three was significant but less significant than experienced during stage two.

So far we have considered 'sameness' and 'difference' in terms of sequence which gave an insight into their source. We know that 'sameness' is the foundation stone on which the school was built, which makes the school recognisable to all, and offers a firm and safe base on which to develop. The second stage, distinguished from the first by disunity between staff and hierarchy, was triggered by a critical event. The event was, of itself critical to participants, and also acted as a mechanism which initiated questioning of the school's direction.

Staff and hierarchy at Deangate operated what I have termed the first protocol, whereby differences between them may be aired but must not question 'sameness'. The source of 'sameness' was safety, security and order. The source of 'difference' was divergent personal and group agendas. One can see that differences in source explain their sequences since safety and security, hold priority over group/personal differences. It is apparent that there are differences in their dynamic qualities - 'sameness' being principally static, difficult to change and invested with longevity, and 'difference' being dynamic, more malleable, and therefore susceptible to influences, and capable of a short or long life span.

Part Two

The Question of Priorities

In Part One, by considering 'sequence' it was established that 'Sameness' stemmed from a biological need to constitute a safe and secure framework. It was also suggested that 'difference' stems from either modern mankind's subjectivity and 'de-institutionalising' tendencies (Gehlen's theory), or as an additive process and therefore predominantly a natural progression (Deangate's experience). Waller (1932) offers an alternative reason for teachers' desire for safety and security, based on personality traits of those entering the profession:

That security does receive preferential treatment as contrasted with other possible values of the teacher's life is obvious enough to one who has known a number of teachers intimately. This preference for security, whether it is constitutional quality which causes one to choose teaching rather than one of the more risky callings, or whether it is produced by the conditions of teaching, makes for the development of an early and rigid conservatism.

(page 171)

Having identified the source we need to consider in detail the interaction taking place in stages one, two and three. The purpose being to establish if priorities existed during each of those stages, and if there were, whether the reason for the sequence of stages one, two and three hinged upon the dynamics of those priorities.

Before we can identify the existence of priorities we need to establish a 'yardstick' by which to measure priority. The key words here are 'values', 'perspective', 'attitude', and 'belief'. Although educational sociology has tended to use such words as though they were interchangeable, they are not. Secreted within the common phrase ". . . the guiding value system of the school . . ." is a whole host of important but neglected issues. In Chapter 8 I differentiated between values and perspectives by adopting Becker's (1961) stance:

Values . . . are ordinarily thought of as being generalized and abstract, capable of being applied to a great variety of situations . . . Perspectives contain definitions of the situation, as actors see it.

(pages 36-37)

Attitude, I place in the same category as perspective. Rokeach (1970) defines 'attitude' as:

. . . a relatively enduring organisation of beliefs around an object or situation predisposing one to respond in some preferential manner.

(page 112)

And when Rokeach describes the difference between 'attitude' and 'value':

An attitude differs from a value in that an attitude refers to an organisation of several beliefs around a specific object or situation. A value, on the other hand . . . concerns a desirable mode of behaviour or

end-state that has a transcendental quality to it, guiding actions attitudes, judgements and comparisons across specific objects and situations and beyond immediate goals to more ultimate goals.

(page 18)

We can see that 'attitude' and 'perspective' are specific or situationally orientated and are functions or expressions of values and beliefs which are endowed with a 'transcendental quality'.

There are two important qualities which separate attitudes/perspectives from values/beliefs, and both are significant to our understanding of the 'becoming' process. Firstly, values/beliefs are resistant to change as Rokeach points out:

Changes in systems of belief are often said to occur following successful therapy or political or religious conversion, or, conversely, following ideological disillusionment and defection.

(page 2)

Therefore, although attitudes/perspectives are relatively enduring they are more predisposed to change or variation or alignment than values/beliefs. Secondly, and following on from the first point, not only do values/beliefs occupy a more central position than attitudes/perspectives within one's personality, they vary along a central-peripheral dimension. Margolis (1971) supports this stance:

Overriding values, on the other hand are normative values that take precedence over all other values as far as the conduct of one's life is concerned; they are, therefore contextless, in the sense that a rational agent is essentially and - as one might say - globally concerned with the conduct of . . . life.

(page 55)

Therefore, if we apply our 'measuring stick' of values/beliefs which hold priority over perspectives/attitudes, to interactions during stages one, two and three, we may gain some understanding of participants' priorities within Deangate.

When teachers came together in a series of meetings during the pre-reorganisation period, they carried out a process of reaffirmation. They sought to establish, for themselves and with others, that the 'new' school would not entail new roles, environment and ways of behaving. One can imagine a 'ticking' process where teachers would arrive at their new school mentally 'tick' that yes it did look like a school should look (see photograph 31), that classrooms smelt like classrooms should, and the Head's office and secretary's office were where they should be - next to the main entrance. In meetings teachers defined other elements critical to 'sameness' - rules, regulations, organisation, structure and discipline procedure. Teachers were preoccupied by the need to 'nail everything down', and there are two good reasons for this. This first is concerned with

Photograph 32
THE RITUAL OF KNOCK AND WAIT



an innate, deep seated need; the second is more intuitive and pragmatic, and will be described a little later in this section. The first concern is biologically based in that participants were drawn towards the establishment of 'sameness' in all its forms (see Chapter 9), and therefore, for them, this constituted a constellation of **prime normative values**, i.e. values which took precedence over all other values. The constellation consisted of rules regulations, structure, organisation and discipline procedure. In Chapter 4 morning assembly was described in two differing forms - the whole school assembly taken by the Head, and Junior Assembly taken by a Deputy Head - yet neither form questioned the existence of morning assembly. Throughout the case record chapters there are examples of 'sameness', ranging from the building itself (see photographs 3, 4 and 31), to the subtle - respect for the Head's status in everyday schooling (see photograph 32, The Ritual of Knock and Wait).

That stage one takes place before stage two does, of course, inform us that the sequence followed in becoming a school is itself a matter of priorities. In stage one two issues occupied participants' minds - 'sameness' and pragmatism, i.e. making sure the school 'opens on time and in good order'. 'Sameness' is, clearly, the prime normative value which takes precedence over all others, and its establishment is quickly followed by pragmatism which is of a slightly lower priority.

The staff, having established safety and security through 'sameness', sought to put 'sameness' into practice in their own terms. They went about their activities by carrying out tacitly agreed and unquestioned aspect of 'sameness', busied themselves putting their respective 'houses' in order, and normalising daily, weekly and monthly routines which are the basis of school rhythm. The unanimity of 'sameness' was punctured by the first critical event (see Chapter 8) at the end of the second term. During stage one teachers had attempted, on paper, i.e. officially, to 'nail everything down'. They knew, perhaps intuitively, that loosely conceived and articulated rules, regulations, organisation and discipline procedure, in other words an ill-defined official edict, was open to interpretation and threatening to the unity and smooth running of the school. Blau and Scott (1963) describe what teachers 'knew' from experience:

But the application of these general rules to particular cases often poses *problems of judgement*, and informal practices tend to emerge that provide solutions for these problems. Decisions not anticipated by official regulations must frequently be made, particularly in times of change, and here again unofficial practices are likely to furnish guides for decisions long before the formal rules have been adapted to the changing circumstances.

(page 6)

The pre-organisation meetings had sanctified 'sameness' and assured 'sameness' of an unquestioned status. What teachers were aware of at those early meetings was the danger from

interpretation that was sufficiently 'alternative' to destabilise 'sameness'. The worst scenario for any school would be one where individual and group agendas were sufficiently strong and 'alternative' to undermine 'sameness' and therefore the school. History has demonstrated that such scenarios are rare, for teachers' daily existence is ordered and dominated by security.

Deangate staff, although possessing different values, beliefs and attitudes, they were not sufficiently 'alternative' to destroy the 'fabric' of the institution. The establishment of 'difference' disrupted its unity and made possible the growth of cliques, factions, and power groups. The official form of 'sameness' i.e. rules and regulations on paper, were variously interpreted in action. Critical events, from the third term onwards, defined 'sameness' in real terms by creating precedents, establishing norms and boundaries, and fixing reference points against which later interactions were judged. With the **prime normative value** fixed during stage one, participants moved to install those **values/beliefs**, next in the order of priority. In Chapter 4 I described how the Head, because of strong ties with the old Grammar school, elected to create a Speech Day which replicated the old Grammar school's Speech Day. Despite the Head's rhetoric of consensual decision making in the school, he chose on this occasion not to consult staff. He put aside or 'bracketed out' this lesser value for a more important one in his eyes - that the old Grammar school should 'live on' after

reorganisation. Three years later, following a heated staff meeting, the Head agreed to alter the format slightly to include less able pupils. This critical event illustrates several significant elements in the process of 'becoming'. Firstly, that Speech Day (like assembly) is a taken for granted ritual of schooling and an ingredient of 'sameness'. The staff and hierarchy may have disagreed on the format of Speech Day but they did not question its existence. Secondly, it illustrates the effect of priorities and the way they influenced the direction of the school: **Prime normative value** i.e. Speech Day; **major values** in action - the old Grammar school rituals and traditions will live on; and **attitudes** since they are less central to the psyche than values therefore more easily changed - the Head retained Speech Day in its original form but made accommodations.

A period of comparative calm followed the initial series of critical events. At the beginning of Deangate's third year a second series of critical events occurred which were similar in many ways to the first but less traumatic (stage three). The data point to the appointment of Dave Haywood, the school's new Deputy Head, as the critical event which triggered a second bout of disunity between staff and the hierarchy. On this occasion values were not the source of discontent. Dave's **personal beliefs** caused conflict between himself and the staff. He perceived the difficulties of the school stemming from poor staff application/implementation of 'official' guidelines. Staff, on the other hand perceived the problem as lack of clearly articulated guidelines and

inadequate enforcement by the hierarchy. Therefore conflict arose because of contrasting **personal beliefs** exacerbated by differences in **perspectives**.

So far we have considered the source of 'sameness' and 'difference' and given meaning to their relative positions in the sequence of 'becoming'. The direction a school takes is mostly determined by values/beliefs of those with influence. Part One and Part Two also tell us something about the complex relationship between 'sameness' and 'difference'. It may be said that 'difference' is a natural extension of 'sameness' as actors initially set about establishing a secure social framework before embarking on a process of exploring differences between themselves. Chapter 8 demonstrated that taken for grantedness exists in 'sameness' and, to a lesser extent, in 'difference'. This link in the relationship is illustrated by occasions where participants invoked the first protocol, i.e. difference may be aired but not to the extent that 'sameness' becomes questioned. 'Sameness', related to 'difference' by taken for grantedness, continued to work in a 'camouflaged' form long after its establishment during stage one, and constant repetition reinforced its 'foundation stone' property.

There is evidence to suggest that some elements of taken for grantedness are questioned. Teachers are, for example, aware of their classroom 'sameness' but, perhaps knowing they are not empowered to alter their predicament, accept the status quo. An example of the partial state of taken for

grantedness was given during an exhibition of photographs at Deangate (those included in this thesis). Photograph 32 - The Ritual of Knock and Wait, an example of day to day taken for grantedness, became the focus of considerable amusement for staff. In other words teachers were aware the ritual was something they all performed because it was an occupation based ritual (they did not do it outside of school) and therefore only partially taken for granted.

Parts One and Two have considered the source, sequence and direction of Deangate School. Part Three focuses on the ingredients and influence acting on the school during the period of 'becoming'.

Part Three

Part Three will essentially concentrate on the creation of Deangate's 'difference' or character. However, it should be emphasised that significant elements that constituted the school were already in place following the confirmation process undertaken by participants during stage one. 'Sameness' was firmly in place and acting in a hidden but powerful way as Berger (1963) explains:

. . . institutions provide procedures through which human conduct is patterned, compelled to go, in groves deemed desirable by society.

(page 104)

Teachers not only absorb a relatively fixed pattern of

conduct but perpetuate it by their own actions and fears as Waller (1932) suggests:

. . . The established teacher has been playing safe so long that he has lost that necessary minimum of recklessness without which life becomes painful. A realization of the strength of this security motive enables one to understand some of the suspicion with which teachers regard each other; certainly one does not exceed the truth when he asserts that a very large percentage of the numerous quarrels between teachers arise from a belief of one teacher that another is sawing at the strings with which his job is held.

(page 396)

Although taken for granted may be partial and contingent on context, in 'sameness' it is rarely questioned. Hence, even before Deangate opened its doors, prime elements which defined activities, structure and role, were fixed. For Deangate's staff there was only one way: to be otherwise would have required a core of madmen with institutional meaning special to themselves.

With the onset of stage two, Deangate set about creating 'difference', a unique character of its own. We have seen that values/beliefs were pivotal factors in determining the school's direction. Here I will describe the various determinants which influenced the direction and hence the character of the school.

Actors themselves, either individually or in groups, were major influences in determining 'difference'. The case

record chapters illustrate the range of actors who, to varying degrees, imposed their values/beliefs on the school: Amar the charismatic anti-culture leader; Paul Chaplin the 'humour leader'; Dave Haywood the Deputy Head who sought to make official doctrine a reality; the staffroom cliques; and the subject centred, empire building, micro-politically adroit Head of Department. All made an impact but none were as influential as the two power-houses in the school - the Head and the hierarchy, and the staffroom popular culture (see Chapter 8). The school's 'difference' was created by the reactions of these groups/individuals to differences in values/beliefs and to overlapping values/beliefs. All schools have conflict and assent but how they react to them is critical since it informs us about the nature of schooling and the school itself. McDonnell (1985) describes how many schools found crisis and conflict to be a potential prime generator of innovation. At Deangate, although the hierarchy and the staff celebrated jointly held values/beliefs, where conflict was concerned there was a marked tendency for the hierarchy to celebrate unity and positive aspects and the staff to celebrate disunity and negative aspects. This particular characteristic may be an element of taken for grantedness. It could be common place for a public relations conscious hierarchy to be always dismissive and positive and, as Sarason (1982) points out, for those with responsibility for an institution's system to be castigated:

There is a marked tendency for school personnel to

view the school system in negative terms.

(page 173)

It may be that Deangate staff, like other staffs, viewed organisational systems darkly:

The dominant impression one gains is that school personnel believe that there is a system, that it is run by somebody or bodies in some central place, that it tends to operate as a never ending source of obstacles to those within the system, that a major goal of the individual is to protect against the baleful influences of the system, and that any one individual can have no effect on the system qua system (original emphasis).

(page 163)

Differences in values/beliefs between, and overlapping values/beliefs of, staff 'popular' culture and the hierarchy (especially the Head) at Deangate, contributed significantly to the character of the school. Conflict arose, for example, in areas such as mixed ability teaching, tradition and ceremony, micro-organisation and the discipline procedure (see Chapter 8) and the nature of the staff's reaction to conflict generated negative feelings. In Chapter 6 the data suggest that staff meetings failed for a variety of reasons, one of which was that it was taken for granted staff would not use it as a vehicle for airing problems or meaningful (to them) issues. Disunity leads to fragmented action, hence the school's problems in discipline and control. Figure 2 illustrates the principal of negative space. Staff did not always 'pull together' to provide a united front, and pupils

supplanted official rules and regulations with their own unofficial interpretation and in doing so altered, albeit subtly, the 'profile' of the school.

Unity at Deangate, i.e. where values/beliefs held by staff and hierarchy overlapped, was rare but had a dramatic effect on the atmosphere of the school. The key areas of unity were **friendliness, humanity** (caring for others and good citizens) and **humour**. It is inappropriate to discuss unity in terms of growth, development, or critical events because it was in place, in participants' personality before the school opened - a product of serendipity. Humour began in a small way, blossomed when sanctioned by the Head, and became pervasive and spirited with the encouragement of new young members of staff but none of this was orchestrated. The friendly, warm, atmosphere, which contributed so much to the tone of the school, acted as a counterbalance to disunity.

The values/beliefs/attitudes/perspectives held by the staff culture and the hierarchy which led to unity or disunity, were interpreted in modified form and dependent on the status, position or role of the 'observer'. Tone, for example, (see end of Chapter 8), was perceived differently by visitors to the school even though it was the product of consistent values/beliefs. Casual visitors to Deangate such as a visiting school photographer or supply teachers would sense tone in terms of friendliness, a relaxed humour, but a little noisy because the Head, hierarchy, staff and pupils

gave off those messages to people of that particular status. However, an official visitor such as HMI visiting to inspect, or Heads of other schools who came to participate in sector meetings, would pick up a friendly, warm and peaceful tone. The slight difference in perception being due to the Head of Deangate valuing public relations and thus banning the passage of all pupils anywhere near the sector meeting, and staff valuing professionalism threatening pupils with 'blue murder' if they were too noisy during the HMIs' walkabout.

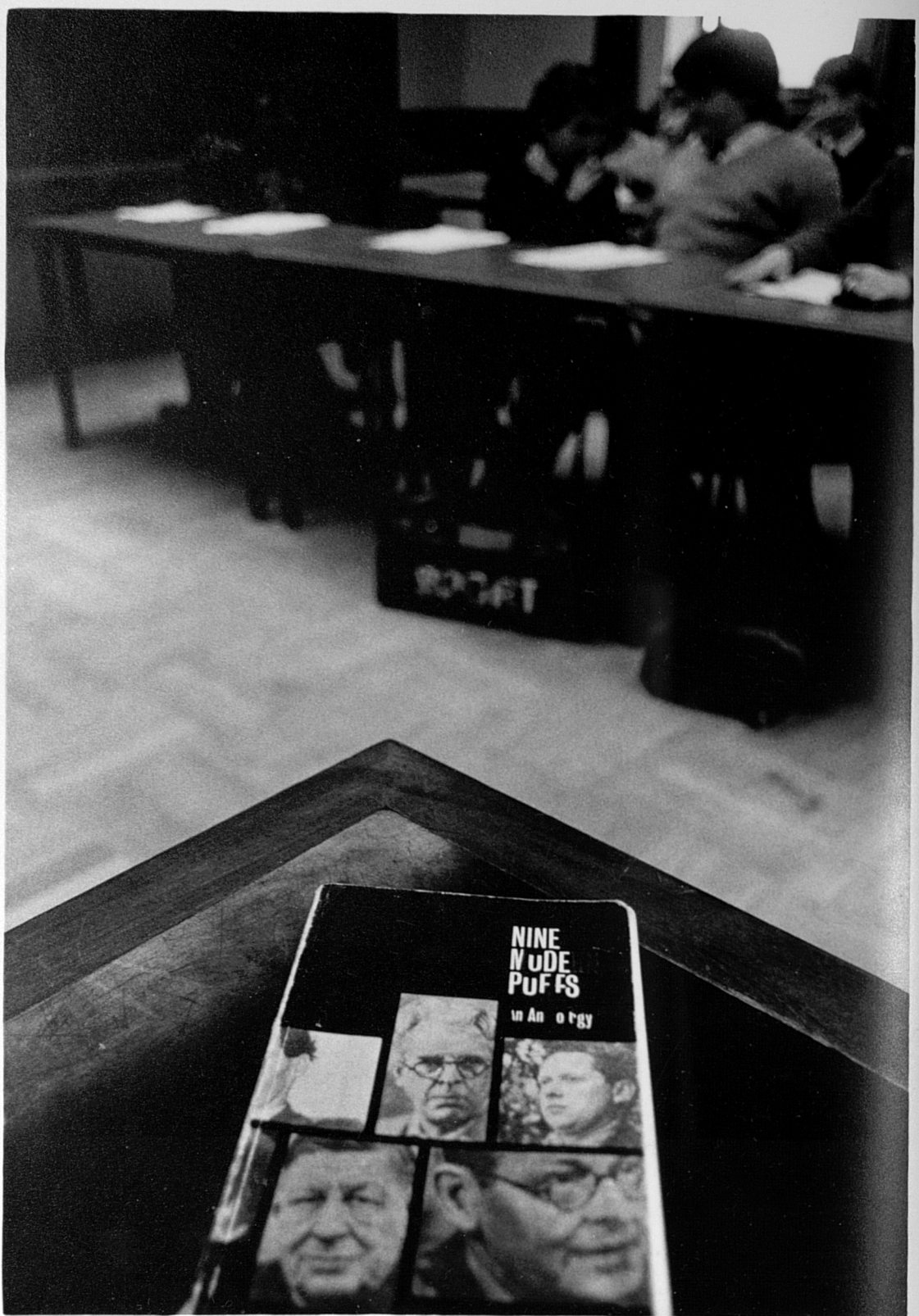
The influence of individuals and groups was dependent on their status or role. Clearly the taken for granted status of the Head was significant in determining certain values/beliefs in the school. His status enabled him to implement his own values/beliefs, either by doctrine, policy or choice of new staff.

The prime definers of the school's character polarised under the banners of hierarchy and staff. Perhaps the reason for this oil and water state was due to their differing roles and status. There are always hierarchies and staffs in schools, for as Schutz (1964) points out:

Everywhere we find hierarchies . . . of leader and follower . . . those in command and those in submission.

(page 229)

But such polarisation has implications and explains how



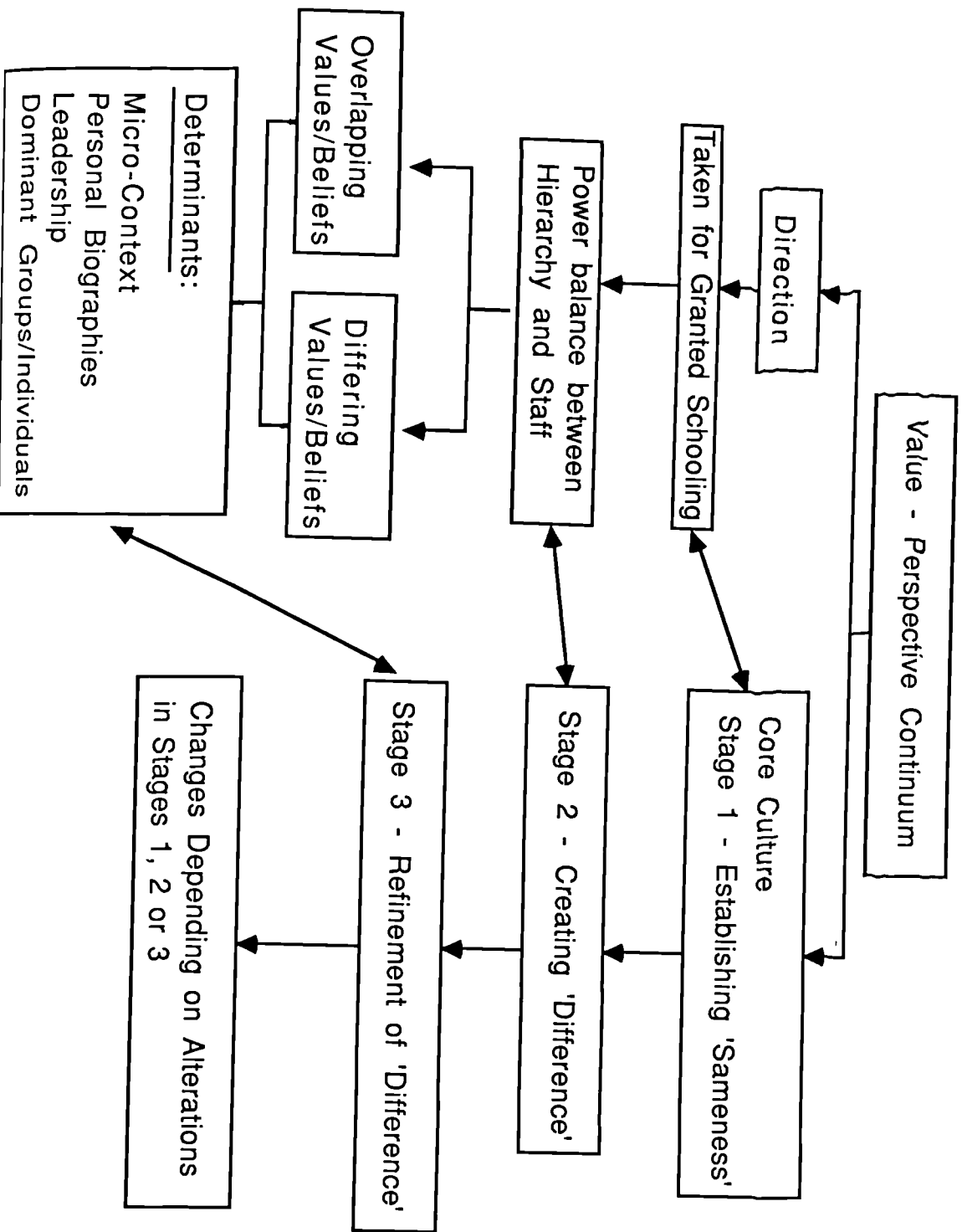
Pupil Graffiti

demarcation leads to differing perceptions between the hierarchy and the staff. Photograph 33 , Pupil Graffiti, was shown to the Head and an art teacher at Deangate. The Head felt threatened when asked if it could be used for a photographic exhibition in the school because he believed that showing it to pupils would lead to further vandalism. The art teacher on the other hand thought it most creative and wished his pupils demonstrated such talent in the artroom. It seems plausible to suggest that position and roles influence perception of our everyday world. Perhaps the change of roles by Dave Haywood illustrates the point more emphatically. Dave was a Head of Department, i.e. a member of staff, who moved across an invisible line to join the hierarchy. Within a short period staff came to view him in quite a different way and he likewise began to view them differently.

The saying 'The dead are more powerful than the living' sums up the power of **history** in determining the character of a school. In a **micro-context** schools have histories which are omnipresent and influential in many ways: 'The most influential factor in this year's budget is last year's budget'; schools have long histories, traditions, folklores, and customs which , by repetition, become fixtures.

Personal biographies are also important as the following examples show. The Head was influenced by his long and close association with the old Grammar school, and no doubt staff were also influenced by their past schools; and Amar, whose

Figure 6 Becoming a School - Establishing 'Sameness' and 'Difference'



beliefs were based on a damaged self image as a consequence of the trauma of reorganisation. History, working in an institutional or personal context, was a potent, if subterranean, influence. History, either via micro-context or personal biographies offered a point of 'anchor' and gave meaning to individual and group values/beliefs.

So far in this chapter I have explored the sequence, the various elements, sources, and influences, which contribute to the process of 'becoming' and the nature of a school. Each factor was related to data stemming from Deangate's experience in order to illustrate the context and its particular influence. Figure 6 shows the relationship between the various factors described in Parts One, Two and Three. Values/beliefs determine not only the school's 'direction' but also the sequence in which various factors play their part.

Part Four

In this final section I want to focus on the evolutionary process by which school nature is determined. Schools are constituted by generic and genetic elements.

The generic element is determined by the wider society and defined not only by contemporaries but predecessors. In this thesis I have used the term 'sameness' to describe that particular element of school. The term 'taken for granted' conveys the nature of 'sameness' and acts as a camouflage because, as Schutz (1964) points out:

They ('sameness') are taken for granted because they have stood the test so far, being socially approved, are held as requiring neither an explanation nor a justification.

(page 231)

The genetic element contains the code by which all schools will be different from one another. In this thesis I have used 'difference' to describe differences in school character. The unique code which Deangate possessed lay dormant until it opened. The school began its evolutionary process, from crysalis to butterfly, at least one year before it opened. Three stages of becoming were observed during the four years of contact with Deangate School. The first stage was a process of affirmation of 'sameness', of socially agreed and taken for granted norms which were familiar and recognised by participants. The beginning of stage two, was marked by a critical event which triggered other critical events. Each event was characterised by conflict as participants questioned actions or required explanations and justifications. The outcome of critical events were precedents, markers against which future actions could be gauged. Each critical event was a 'watershed' which gave meaning and sense to participants'5 construction of the social reality of their particular school. A period of comparative calm followed the spate of critical events which itself was dislodged by further events less traumatic than its predecessors and marking the beginning of stage three. (stage three was triggered by a change in hierarchy and the new 'broom' disturbed what had become common practice).

Stage three appeared to be a refinement and readjustment of the school's character rather than a re-alignment.

The sequence of 'becoming' was not the outcome of chance, but of human need. The priority of participants' needs lay along a values-perspectives continuum. Stage one saw the establishment of 'sameness', the foundation stone of the school, which occupied the highest priority for participants - the 'prime normative values'. Stage two witnessed the establishment of 'difference' marked by plural values, each of which were of major significance to individuals and groups within the school. Stage three represented the emergence of lesser values and beliefs triggered by minor adjustments within the school. A characteristic of values/beliefs is they are very difficult to shift and may be viewed as fixed entities. On the other hand attitudes/perspectives, although fairly static, were malleable and more easily altered. Throughout stages two and three conflict was tempered by accommodation - a product of subtle changes due to shifts in attitudes/perspectives. The elements of 'sameness' laid down in stage one were, because of their 'prime normative value' status, sacrosanct and unquestioned. Whenever conflict came near to questioning 'sameness' the 'first protocol' was invoked, i.e. actors questioned any values, beliefs, attitudes or perspectives except 'sameness'.

If we take the biological analogy a little further we can see that the genetic code which determined the school's

character or 'difference' comprised of a DNA factor. In Deangate's case the two strands of the double helix - the staffroom popular culture and the hierarchy - acted and reacted and in doing so determined important facets of the school's character. Of course it was easier for the hierarchy (because of the Head's taken for granted status and the small size of the group) to establish a unified corporate culture than staff, who held plural values. A power struggle took place between the hierarchy and the staff. The hierarchy sought to acculturate staff into their corporate culture and the staff sought to impose their sometimes fragmented culture.

Out of this struggle arose unity and disunity; unity where values/beliefs overlapped and disunity where they differed. Unity elements grew steadily, encouraged by an integrated corporate culture, whereas disunity evolved in a series of cyclic hiccups as bench-marks defined each new situation. The nature of staff's and hierarchy's problem solving mechanism, combined with aspects of 'sameness' (for example staff meetings function poorly) meant disunity often led to conflict.

The hierarchy's corporate culture was, in essence, the Head's values/beliefs, which were prioritised, and fixed and hence many issues were 'no-go' areas. The hierarchy's aim was to gain collegiality for the Head's vision of the school. This was carried out in many ways. Traditions, ceremonies and rituals which encompassed that vision, were

celebrated and dramatised in an attempt to build them into everyday school. The Head acclaimed heroes and heroines who acted out corporate culture; stories and folklore were passed on gaining with implicit meaning with each telling. The hierarchy's intuitive understanding of Sartre's (1959) statement:

A human being comes into the world (according to existentialist thought) surrounded by significant or meaningful objects. The qualities which he perceives in things do not present themselves as 'bare' qualities, but as qualities which point beyond themselves, to the most general features of the world as a whole.

(page xii)

was put to good use. Objects of all sorts were invested with properties, values, history, belonging to and supporting the hierarchy's corporate culture. Trophies, staffroom mugs sporting the school's insignia, dusty gowns, school photographs, paintings of past Heads, the old school bus, all were sprinkled with the magic dust of corporate unity.

The staff held different values, perceived things differently and were capable of rejecting the proffered corporate culture. Power and leadership were most significant in influencing the outcome between staff/hierarchy differences. The extent to which corporate culture could be imposed or rebuffed depended on power sited in each camp such as: Charisma, personality, being of a

particular subject specialism, status, gender, institutional longevity, and micro-political skills.

The generic and genetic elements are essentially in place but dormant prior to the school's opening, waiting for the process of affirmation to be carried out by actors going through a myriad acts of definition. Figure 5 depicts a major traumatic period within one year of starting up, followed by a second less traumatic period after three years. The experience of Deangate suggests that a school defines itself very quickly and the nature of both 'sameness' and 'difference' is such that the definition is fixed unless major critical events take place. Evidence to date points to only three major critical events which are capable of disrupting a school's definition of itself: (1) If 'sameness' is questioned and breached. (2) A new school is created. (3) A change in Headship. Stage three is the beginning of an on-going series of minor adjustments to the school's character which continues a school's organic development.

Part Five

Any piece of research benefits from comparison with similar research. Because of the unusual nature of this study no direct comparisons are possible. However, the final part of this chapter will seek to 'tease out' aspects of the nature of school by comparing and contrasting this study's findings with analogous studies. By exploring similarities and differences a richer more comprehensive grasp of the nature

of school and how it is perceived will be attained. This theme will be taken up under the heading 'implications' in Chapter 11.

Ball's work (1987), 'The Micro-Politics of the School', is perhaps close in spirit to this thesis in that it considers the taken for granted underworld of school, but it lacks a wholistic approach and therefore a cohesive representation of the underlying processes by which school nature is defined. This study acknowledges Ball's underworld but extends his insight to encompass reason, meaning and order for the milieu he describes.

A more beneficial comparison lies with 'effective school' research. This is not an easy task since this body of work adopts pre-emptive stances which necessarily influences their findings. Smith and Tomlinson (1989), for example, take a political stance and seek to make schools more effective because they are "failing" (page 300). Effective school research enters the arena with certain preconceptions, methodological and conceptual, whereas this study enters the field without the constraints of 'better', 'good' or 'failing' schools.

Effective school studies have employed statistical methods to capture the elusive ingredients and hence framed research questions within the limitations of a statistical paradigm. Hence they, like previous 'climate' researchers, took for granted and bracketed off many important aspects of the

system under investigation. This has contributed to a weakness in such work - a lack of a direct relationship between outcome variables and processes. This thesis has demonstrated the value of a holistic, ethnographic approach. The hidden informal world of school does not lend itself to measurement and should not, as Rutter et al (1979) and others have done, be paraded as self-evident or inconsequential. This thesis underlines the importance of the nature of school, of 'sameness' and 'difference' and the process of becoming a school. Clearly there is a need to explain the complex social system we call school before embarking on a study of outcomes. The nature of school is subterranean and therefore unseen and unquestioned and is all the more powerful for that.

Now I wish to turn to effective school research's use of the term 'ethos' and contrast this with the findings of this study. Reynolds (1982) makes an important statement:

Both the American and British studies (of effective school) that have been reported suggested that it is the culture of schools rather than their structure that needs to be the focus of our efforts at reform.

(Page 234)

There are two points here. I am assuming that Reynolds uses the term 'structure' in much the same way as I have used 'sameness'. If this is the case, Reynolds and the studies he describes, underestimate the significance of 'sameness' and the possibility of fundamental change. I will take up this

point in Chapter 11. Secondly, if Reynold's culture refers to values, it is not feasible nor justifiable, to consider the culture of 'difference' without reference to its cultural partner 'sameness'.

Effective school research has neglected 'sameness' yet employs a bewildering array of definitions and uses of school 'difference'. The term 'ethos' is, unfortunately, common currency in research literature as well as the mass media, and used predominantly in a loose, uncritical way. There is a long history of mixed useage of 'ethos'. Sharp and Green (1975) defined school ethos as:

. . . an identifiable ideology about its role and practices in relationship to its clients.

(Page 97)

but related its effects only in terms of politics. Smith and Tomlinson (1989) discussing the work of Rutter who adopted a similar definition, write:

The general theory is that while individual teachers vary in their effectiveness, and while effects depend partly on the details of the curriculum, there is something called the 'school ethos', a set of schoolwide influences that make it more or less likely that teachers will conduct their lessons in an effective manner.

(Page 25)

Sharp and Green, Rutter, and Smith and Tomlinson, define and use 'school ethos' in their own terms. Each assumes unspoken

understanding of the term and in using it idiosyncratically distort its essence and restrict its influence.

A brief review of effective school research's use of 'ethos' illustrates the confusion described above. Early effective school literature employed the term to describe an overarching factor which affected other significant factors contributing to an effective school. However, by the 1989 International Effective School Conference in Amsterdam 'ethos' had become absorbed into the twelve or so influential factors. Its role had changed as a quote from Rauhauser's paper, presented at the conference, shows:

Student achievement is found to be higher in schools that are orderly, purposeful and peaceful. Rutter (1979) calls this tone or atmosphere the "ethos of the building". It is something that can be felt when entering the school - a sense of purpose, high morale, trust, quiet, order, ownership . . .

(Page 10)

Rauhauser has misinterpreted Rutter et al's (1979) use of the term and reiterates Halpin and Croft's (1963) definition of school 'atmosphere' (see chapter 1). Because 'ethos' was considered to be a factor not given to measurement early effective school researchers proposed qualitative research methods to capture the 'beast', but this too has undergone transformation. Scheeren (1990), for example, believes 'ethos' may be interpreted statistically and suggests that 'ethos':

. . . can be operationalised in terms of relatively uncomplicated scales or questionnaire items.

(Page 67)

The term 'ethos', as used by the research community, is ambiguous and confusing. It appears that researchers believe it is acceptable to manipulate or take for granted the 'difference' between schools or apply the term 'ethos' as though it has agreed meaning. In each case their activities are unwarranted. This study has focused on and explored the essential nature of 'difference', the quality of schools researchers allude to but in describing which they use an assortment of assumed 'ethoses'.

The continuing confusion is compounded by the use of various terms: i.e. ethos, climate, atmosphere, tone, each claiming to represent the 'difference' between schools and each given alternative meanings by various audiences. Parents, the media, and the local community, for example, describe school 'difference' as 'ethos' and base their understanding on such factors as gossip, hearsay and general impressions. Their perspective represents an external view. Casual visitors to a school use the term 'tone' or 'atmosphere' to describe 'difference' and base their perceptions on uniforms, noise levels in corridors, displays and general state of buildings. Each group believes it is perceiving the essential 'difference' of school. This study suggests that this is not the case and yet each is valid in that they reflect plural perceptions of various audiences. A major

aspect of school, its 'difference', is viewed quite differently by various external audiences.

This thesis goes some way towards exorcising the confusion created by the various uses of 'difference' and the many meanings attributed to it. There are four points to be made. Firstly, 'difference' is multifarious and it is unacceptable for research bodies and interest groups to stake out a special enclave within which to interpret 'difference' or to define it in their own terms. Secondly, this study has demonstrated that 'difference' is organic, dynamic yet static, and is dependent on values, beliefs, attitudes and perspectives in action, and does not lend itself to statistical measurement. Thirdly, it is clear that outsiders, casual visitors and inmates each perceive the 'difference' of school in various ways and that each group is observing a quite different, perhaps separate, phenomenon. Outsiders' 'ethos' is an unknown quantity due to the paucity of research in this area. Visitors' 'tone' is not representative of the essence of 'difference' but there is evidence to suggest that it is influenced by essential 'difference' and may be manufactured, orchestrated or manipulated by inmates. Within the broad categories of 'ethos', 'tone', and 'difference', are a multitude of sub-categories reflecting a variety of audiences each applying its own yardstick to interpret what they perceive as school 'difference'.

Although effective school research has highlighted the importance of 'difference' and used the term in their theorising, its role in process terms, is a conceptual blank on the map. This territory needs to be fully explored if 'difference' is to play an active part in contributing to the quality of schools and schooling. This study has demonstrated that 'difference' is constituted by (a) interaction between two or more power groups within a school which may comprise of formal and informal power structures and (b) the outcome of a mixture of unity and disunity of values, beliefs, attitudes and perspectives. The influence of these factors on 'difference' is mediated by history. We have seen that history acts in a personal biographical sense (staff), a contextual and evolutionary sense, and, since schools have been structured institutionally over a considerable period of time, in an institutional sense.

'Difference' has important process parameters, which invest it with a dynamic and static aspect. At Deangate we saw 'difference' emerge following the establishment of the **prime normative value**. It was via **critical events**, when power groups identified through values in practice, that unity/disunity became apparent. Where unity of values was found the school displayed a coherent and united front. Where the predominating power body dictated the implementation of its central values again a coherent and identifiable school characteristic was visible. However, where lesser values or disunity prevailed the **serendipity**

factor became ascendant. The serendipity factor led to grey areas in the school and precipitated multiple interpretations and idiosyncratic activities. The outcome of serendipity was what I have termed **negative space** manoeuvring, where individuals and groups redefined in practice official institutional rhetoric. The resultant influence of power groups, values, history and process parameters, determine 'difference' and prescribe the range and extent of its activity. The **vectorial** quality of 'difference' means that school 'difference' may act so as to influence a wide or narrow aspect of school. At Deangate, for example, 'difference' acted essentially on school, its traditions and rituals and not on schooling i.e. activities taking place in the classroom.

Summary

Chapter 10 posed the question 'What is the nature of school?' Part One probed the relationship between 'sameness' and 'difference'. By considering the relative positions of 'sameness' and 'difference' in the process of becoming a school, i.e. sequence, their sources were tentatively identified. The relationship was further clarified by separating the process of 'becoming' into three stages, each one a natural progression in a school's act of defining itself. Part Two questioned the reasons for the sequence and also took as problematic the 'direction' of Deangate's character. Part Three outlined the major ingredients and influences moulding the school during its early years. Part Four drew on the first three parts to describe the process

of 'becoming' in order to give a simplified but complete picture of the evolutionary nature of Deangate's experience. Part Five contrasted effective school research with the findings of this study. Comparisons were drawn principally with differing methodology, the interpretation of the role of 'difference', and the meanings given to 'ethos', 'tone' and 'atmosphere'.

The final chapter of this thesis will reiterate the main findings and discuss their implications. Also a brief overview of the more unusual features of this study are given.

Review

This thesis set out to explore the nature of school and addressed the question: "What do we understand by the term 'school'?" The statement 'All schools are the same but different', stemming from teacher folklore, initiated an interest in the nature of school. Initially the saying was used in the form of 'foreshadowed problem' but subsequently applied as a framework for understanding major ingredients and to make sense of the process of becoming a school. It may be said that findings were pre-determined by use of the saying, but since the practitioners' common sense saying seems appropriate it is justified - until a more befitting framework is erected. 'Sameness' was the term given to similarities across secondary schools and 'difference' given to differences between them. An exploration of their meaning and the relationship between them formed a major imperative of this study.

A review of the literature found that research has taken for granted 'school' and treated as problematic only fragmented aspects. Past research failed to consider holistically the

nature of school. A study of the literature showed that certain aspects of 'sameness' have received attention from ethnographic studies and that the bulk of associated studies focussed on 'ethos' or 'climate' i.e. school 'difference'. The review also revealed that a statistical approach used in the study of school 'difference' selected only certain common sense variables and had failed to take account of the validity of those measures, their dynamic qualities or the interactive processes involved.

This study adopted an ethnographic case study strategy. By a lengthy immersion in a newly formed comprehensive school going through the process of defining itself, the plural realities and alternative meanings of participants were obtained. This approach was vindicated by findings which established that a school defines itself in a very short time and that after a two year period a school endorses or refines rather than reconstructs itself. By the end of the study important factors which contribute to the nature of school, clearly discernible initially, had become absorbed in everyday life and were unobtrusive. This confirms and explains why the nature of school is considered to be non-problematic by pupils, teachers and researchers. The familiar world of school is taken for granted and a prime objective of this thesis was to penetrate school's everyday mask, to go behind "the ready-made standardized scheme". (Schutz, 1964).

The task of penetrating taken for granted worlds, fraught with overt and covert actions, is made easier by observing a new school defining itself. Even though the framework of 'sameness' and 'difference' is helpful there remains the task of disinterring complexities arising from private individual lives and public institutional posture.

Although the process of 'becoming' a school is continuous, its essential self is determined in less than two years. Fig. 5 graphically illustrates the three basic cycles a school will follow unless participants pursue an alternative ideology unrecognisable to pupils, parents, teachers and the wider society. The first phase is the establishment of 'sameness', a feature which is common to all secondary schools, and being socially approved requires no explanation and is not questioned by participants. This **generic** element, covering a period prior to and following a school's opening and referred to in this thesis as the 'honeymoon' period because of the atmosphere of conviviality, is a reaffirmation of socially agreed and taken for granted norms. According to Gehlen (1950) mankind needs to produce and invest in institutions, an artificial structure, since they provide coherence and stability, a prerequisite for human activity.

The second phase of becoming is the establishment of 'difference'. It is during this period that a school's **genetic code**, which distinguishes one school from another

and which up until this point has lain dormant, becomes activated and dynamic.

An understanding of the evolutionary process of becoming a school is fundamental to an understanding of the nature of school. Those who 'create' school, i.e. 'sameness' do so because to them it is of the highest priority. Similarly, following the establishment of a stable framework, second order concerns become operative, i.e. the creation of 'difference'. Not only are participants' values/beliefs critical to the sequence of the phases of becoming a school, they are critical to the **vectorial** qualities of any given school. The **prime normative value** of those creating a school is to establish 'sameness'. A school is at its most stable and cohesive during this period since it is taken for granted that participants would be actively engaged in achieving the common goal of 'sameness'. Following the establishment of participants prime normative value comes the installation of those values, beliefs, attitudes and perspectives next in order of priority. Unity is evident during phase one but during phase two the dynamics of the double helix of unity/disunity come to the fore marking the beginning of the establishment of school 'difference'. Value difference are marked by **critical events** as values previously inactive become values in practice and therefore visible. Critical events act as signposts and benchmarks against which probable future decisions and directions can be gauged. Throughout the second phase, when differences are being aired, the **first protocol** is operative, i.e.

differences may be aired but not to the extent that 'sameness' becomes questioned or destabilised. A third phase also includes critical events but of a more minor nature which act so as to refine rather than alter school 'difference'.

The direction which school 'difference' takes is dependent on the outcome of unity/disunity interaction and particularly the values, beliefs, attitudes and perspectives held by power groups or individuals with influence. Unity exists where values/beliefs of participants overlap and disunity where they differ and are unable to be accommodated. In the case of Deangate School the prime actors were the hierarchy (mainly the Head) and the popular culture (the staff), but this is not necessarily always the case. One may assume that two or more power groups or individuals, coming from various strata of a school, contribute to and influence the composition and nature of unity/disunity. The data also suggests that status/role contributes towards aspects of unity/disunity. In Deangate's case the hierarchy celebrated unity whereas the popular culture celebrated disunity. An explanation for this may lie in the way status/role influences everyday perception. Also, it was found that history was a primary influence on unity/disunity, in a personal biographical sense, in terms of context and macro-culture, and in an institutional sense, i.e. the embeddedness of 'sameness' and 'difference'.

Unity exists where staff and hierarchical values, beliefs and attitudes overlap and consequently a coherent school-wide characteristic is visible. This leads to the formation of **positive space**. On the other hand disunity, stemming from differing values, beliefs and attitudes, leads to partial or fragmented staff and hierarchical actions and **negative space**. Staff and hierarchy activate and cultivate school 'difference'. Pupils are, on the whole, recipients and therefore react rather than act. In the playground, behind the bicycle sheds and other in pupil territories, pupil culture dominates but they, along with teachers, redefine official rhetoric and undermine isolated and unsupported teacher activity. The interface between positive and negative space determines the profile of school 'difference' and indicates the balance between reality and official preference. An important feature contributing to positive and therefore negative space is the **serendipity factor**, i.e., the degree of unity or disunity brought about by chance and ad hoc practice in the system.

Observations of a school becoming a school tells us much about the process of self definition and also informs our understanding of the nature of school by aiding identification of its sources, priorities and parameters of activity. However, there are aspects of the nature of school which would benefit further investigation.

This study has considered school from a teacher perspective because they are the critical definers of school and pupils

are, generally speaking, recipients. No doubt the negative space allowed to pupils, in which they manoeuvre and define their own cultural perspective of school, requires exploration and understanding. If examined holistically such a study would uncover a rich pupil based culture equal to, but of a differing nature to the positive space culture described by this thesis. Similarly, this study has considered 'difference' as determined by inmates. Clearly there exists outsiders' perspectives, i.e. 'ethos' and 'tone', of 'difference' which may or may not be affiliated with inmate determined 'difference'. A study of these alternative 'differences', their source, ingredients and relationships, could contribute significant findings to the body of knowledge.

We have seen how, at Deangate School, the Head's values and attitudes directed effort in certain directions and not others, and was more successful in defining positive space in some areas than others, how micro-organisation and classroom practice were the domain of negative space open to the influence of serendipity. There is, therefore, a need to explore further the effect that differing power group style of management and nature of reaction has on the vectorial qualities of school 'difference'. At present research acknowledges that 'difference' exists but perceives it as a resultant force and there will be a future requirement to resolve that force into component parts.

Finally in this section I want to consider some of the more unusual aspects of this thesis. The topic of this study is an enigmatic one which proved to be stretching conceptually - like reaching through a cognitive snowstorm for the holy grail. A primary task has been to determine and communicate process. Alongside that task was a philosophy of illumination, an accurate portrayal of a school's evolution through the eyes of participants. Although this study used a classic ethnographic methodological approach, the use of cartoons, graffiti and photographs as evidence is unconventional. Cartoons were used because they supported or refuted findings elsewhere and were therefore, particularly useful in triangulation. Graffiti are private acts of disclosure and as such a particularly strong form of evidence. Photographs were employed for a variety of reasons (see Chapters 2 and 3), but principally because they were 'another way of telling' (Berger) and a creative way of communicating meaning.

Implications

Here I wish to consider the implications of this thesis for school change. It is generally accepted that educational reforms over the last two decades have failed materially to affect school outcomes. The reasons why schools are so robust and impervious to change is worthy of exploration. At present the effective school movement and school improvement movement are prominent in this field. Neither group consider 'sameness' as problematic or conceive of changing 'sameness'. Both groups tinker and make do with the present

system of education. The philosophy is either (a) change parts of the system which are considered problematic, or (b) more of the same but better. Holly (1989) in a paper presented at the International Conference for Effective Schools in Rotterdam highlighted this problem by quoting Hutchins:

. . . lengthening the school day won't do anything more than cost more money when barely 25 per cent of the typical school day is spent on students learning successfully. Testing teachers won't make any difference if they weren't taught well in the first place. Paying teachers more won't make any difference if they don't have new strategies for teaching students at risk. Tightening standards for students and testing them won't make any difference if the standards and the test are irrelevant to the requirements of the twenty-first century. Redesigning the system is the only solution.

(Page 1)

The point Hutchins is making is that there is a need for a vigorous review and change to the present system if it is to fulfil the requirements of future needs. The education system at present operates from a 1944 instigated paradigm. It is essentially unchanged in terms of 'sameness' and any change that has taken place in the intervening years has been 'fringe theatre'.

This study has demonstrated that 'sameness' is the major force and influence in a school. To change any aspect of 'sameness' would be a revolutionary rather than evolutionary

change and thus bring about fundamental and far reaching shifts in school practice. To alter 'sameness' is, as we have seen, extremely difficult since it operates at a prime normative value level and is reinforced by reaffirmation rituals and daily repetition. However, the taken for grantedness of 'sameness' may be pierced in two ways. Firstly by stealth, since as Chapter 7 illustrated, micro and macro influences of the wider society are able to seep into the system. To alter society by political means is to alter expectations and schools. Secondly, to make major changes prior to the opening of a new school - it is easier to create a Summerhill or Countesthorpe at conception and by inception it is too late. If changes are made to the core of school then they must be partial since the source of 'sameness' is stability, a pre-requisite for human activity.

Effective school and school improvement research are concerned with first and second order change and have not entertained altering 'sameness'. Both groups have, to a certain extent, also taken 'difference' for granted. The source of 'difference' is values, beliefs, attitudes and perspectives which are less central to the psyche than the prime normative value and easier to change. By seeking to alter 'difference' the effective school and school improvement movements are taking a pragmatic approach, i.e. changing those parts of school which are more easily changed, but equally they seek to change that part of school which is less significant.

Even accepting the above point there remain weaknesses in effective school research. Much of the effective school literature has identified school 'difference' as significant but failed to explain how such differences between schools arise or how they contribute to school effectiveness. An understanding of the processes by which 'difference' is created, and how those processes act, will lead to an increased understanding of input and output variables and the influence of school 'difference'. The strategy for exploring such processes has been known for some time. Reynolds (1982) has stated that:

It is much more likely that the key to successful modification of school practice is likely to lie in the phenomenological world of schooling . . .

(page 234)

and effective school research would benefit from the adoption of a research strategy that encompassed both statistical and phenomenological models. A study of school processes which considered school 'difference' within a 'nature of school' framework would provide much needed continuity between input variables, processes and outcome variables.

There are a number of features of 'difference' identified by this study which have implications for effective school research. Firstly, it distinguishes between essential 'difference' as determined by inmates and perceived 'difference' as determined by outsiders. Secondly, effective

school research has used 'difference' both as an overarching feature of school, linking separate contributory factors to an effective school, and also as simply another significant factor. The double use of 'difference' may be the result of different findings, or the misinterpretation of one set of findings (probably the latter), but it is not inconsistent or contradictory given the nature of 'difference'. 'Difference' has a vectorial quality and may vary in scope and penetration. Past research has assumed that 'difference' permeated the entire school and was felt in all areas. This is not the case since 'difference' is the resultant of a complex set of schoolwide influences determined by forces shaping positive and negative space. Thus 'difference' may be felt as a schoolwide feature or limited to certain areas or aspects of school. Thirdly, although change in 'difference' is very difficult to bring about because primary influences are motivated and directed by strongly held values and beliefs, it is possible given certain circumstances. Change mechanisms are operative during major critical events and this study has identified three such events: (a) during the establishment of a new school, (b) a new Head of School, (c) any event which disrupts and overturns that which is taken for granted.

We have followed Deangate School through the evolutionary process of becoming a school and in doing so established the importance of the organic nature of school. This quality of school is reflected in Halpin and Croft's (1963) analogy "personality is to the individual what climate

('difference') is to the organisation". In the same way that a person's character is moulded by their genetic code, context of their upbringing and their experiences, so schools are influenced significantly by their histories. History here is used in its broadest sense, including participants' biographies prior to and post school opening, and the institutions' history in the form of critical events, long standing traditions, folklores and customs. It would appear judicious, if change were required, to take account of (1) the evolutionary state of the school, (2) the school's history and (3) the nature of the change intended. In order to understand an institution's reaction to change there will be a need to ascertain historical evidence and therefore a requirement for backward mapping and determination of its genetic 'fingerprint'.

Change may originate from within a school, at a local level or a national level. This raises the question of compatibility and inmate receptivity. The criteria for change originating locally and especially nationally, may not necessarily match the needs or criteria for change as designated by individual schools. The issue is a complex one and not merely an exercise in taking into account a school's strength and weaknesses or even 'personalising' the change to make it more acceptable. Past studies have stressed the importance of a shared value system in a school. It follows that having established a collective creed participants will concur on the purpose of the school. However, and in contrast to popular belief, an effective school with a

shared value system may prove to be most able in resisting changes and innovations which did not correspond to its own value driven criteria. Equally, a school which lacks a shared value system and is less cohesive, being in a state of flux, may be more amenable to certain changes and innovations. This suggests that successful change is most likely if external innovations take account of the 'difference' of individual schools, or where individual schools with an agreed value system determine their own.

But we leap ahead of ourselves. The above point is a presumption and a problem for the future since, as Deal and Kennedy (1983) indicate, a consistent value system is not the norm:

. . . in many schools, teachers and students do not know what is expected of them nor do they understand how their actions are related to schoolwide efforts. Parents, teachers, students, administrators, and support staff often form subcultures around immediate, parochial interests that pull the school in several directions. Under such conditions it is not hard to see what happens to beliefs, standards, motivation, effort, consistency, and other ingredients essential to teaching or learning.

(Page 15)

If, as effective school research suggests, the quality of school is tempered by 'difference' then there is a need to orchestrate social engineering either at a school's conception or during its evolution. This necessarily requires sensitivity to the nature of schools' conceptual

map, the sources of 'sameness' and 'difference' and the influences which determine a school's uniqueness. There is a requirement to promote positive space, i.e. those aspects of school where agreed values and beliefs are rhetoric and reality, and reduce negative space, i.e. those aspects of school which are ad hoc, the result of conflicting values and contribute to the serendipity factor.

School in the twenty first century entails changes to the present system. Changes in the quality and direction of schooling is best brought about by making first order changes, i.e. effective school changes, second order changes, i.e. school improvement changes, and third order changes, i.e. alteration of school 'sameness', 'difference' and the nature of school

Summary

In the final chapter of this thesis a number of pivotal issues were reiterated. A brief review of the literature, methodological strategies and aspirations of this study were made. This was followed by a review of the evolution of a school and the source and influence of 'sameness' and 'difference' on the definition of a school. Finally, the implications of this study for change were discussed with special reference to the work of the effective school and school improvement movements.

This thesis has attempted to determine the nature of school. At the outset it was stated that findings would be tentative

rather than definitive and the work is therefore offered as a foundation for future debate. The nature of school, its component parts and the processes by which they evolve and influence are important to schooling. Its significance should be acknowledged and a body of work assembled if school improvement is to be a reality.

REFERENCES

ACKER, S. (1983) 'Women and Teaching: A Semi-Detached Sociology of a Semi-Profession.' Gender, class and education eds. Walker, S. and Barton, L. Lewes, Palmer Press.

ACLAND, J. (1988), Times Newspaper, July. Page 24.

AGEE, J. EVANS, W. (1969) Let Us Now Praise Favour Men: Three tenant families. London, Peter Owen.

ASSISTANT MASTERS AND MISSTRESSES ASSOCIATION, 'Report', June.

ANDERSON, C.S. (1982) 'The Search For School Climate: A Review of the Research' Review of Education Research, Fall, Vol. 52, No 3, pp 368-420.

ANDREWS, J.H.M. (1965a) 'Some Validity Studies of the OCDQ' Paper presented at the American Education Research Association, Chicago.

ANDREWS, J.H.M. (1965b) School Organizational Climate: Some Validity Results. Canadian Education and Research Digest, No 5, pp 317-334.

APPLE, M.W. (1979) Ideology and Curriculum. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

APPLE, M.W. (1982) Education and Power. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

ARBUS, D. (1962) Tokyo Rose is Home. Esquire Magazine, May.

ARGYRIS, C. (1958) Personality and Organisation: The Conflict between the system and the Individual. Harper and Row, New York.

ARNOTT, M. (1983) 'A Cloud Over Co-Education: An Analysis of the Forms of Transmission of Class and Gender Relations', Gender, Class and Education eds: Walker, S. and Barton, L: Lewes, Palmer Press.

ASTIN, A.W., HOLLAND, J.L. (1961) The Environmental Assessment Technique: A Way to Measure College Environments. Journal of Educational Psychology. No. 52, pp 308-316.

ATKINSON, P., DEALMONT, S. (1986) 'Bread and Dreams or Bread and Circuses' in Controversies in Classroom Research, Hammersley, M. (ed) Milton Keynes, Open University.

- AULD REPORT (1976) Auld, R., William Tyndale Junior and Infants Schools: Report of the Public Inquiry, ILEA.
- AVERCH, H. et al (1971) How Effective is Schooling? Santa Monica, Rand Corporation.
- BACHRACH, P. AND BARATZ, M.S. (1962), 'Two Faces of Power', American Political Science Review 56, pp 266-279.
- BAILEY, F.G. (1977) Morality and Expediency. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- BALL, S.J. (1981) Beachside Comprehensive: A Case Study of Secondary Schooling, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- BALL, S.J. (1983) 'Case Study Research in Education: Some Notes and Problems), in the Ethnography of Schooling Hammersley, M. (ed) Driffield, Nafferton Books.
- BALL, S.J. (1984) Comprehensive Schooling: A Reader. Lewes, Falmer Press.
- BALL, S.J. (1987) The Micro-Politics of the School. London, Methuen.
- BALL, S.J, GOODSON, I.F. (1985) Teachers' Lives and Careers, London, The Falmer Press.
- BALL, D (1972) 'Self and Identity in the Context of Deviance' in Theoretical Perspectives on Deviance by Scott, R.A. Douglas, J.D. (eds), New York, Basic Books.
- BARKER, B. (1986a) 'Visions are off the Agenda' Times Educational Supplement, 31st January 1986.
- BARKER, B. (1986b) Rescuing the Comprehensive Experience. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- BARKER, R.G. (1963) 'On the Nature of the Environment' Journal of Social Issues. 19(4) pp 17-38.
- BEATTIE, G. (1988) The Guardian Newspaper, July 20th.
- BECKER, H.S. (1965) 'The Teacher in the Authority System of the Public School', in Complex Organisations Etzioni. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- BECKER, H.S. (1970) Sociological Work, Chicago, Aldine.
- BECKER, H.S. (1975) 'Photography and Sociology' in Afterimage, 3, 1 and 2.

- BECKER, H.S. (1976) 'Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher', *The Process of Schooling*, Hammersley, M., Woods, P. (eds), L.R.K.P
- BECKER, H.S. (1980) 'Aesthetics and Truth' *Culture and Society*, pp 26-28.
- BECKER, H.S. et al (1961) *Boys in White: Student Culture in Medical School*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- BELOFF, H. (1985) *Camera Culture*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- BENN, C., SIMON, B. (1970) *Halfway There*. London, McGraw-Hill.
- BENNETT, N. (1976) *Teaching Styles and Pupil Progress*. London, Open Books.
- BERGER, P. (1963) *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective*. Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- BERGER, P., KELLNER, H. (1965) 'Arnold Gehlen and the Theory of Institutions' *Social Research* No. 32 Part 1, pp 110-115.
- BERGER, P., LUCKMAN, T. (1967) *The Social Construction of Reality*. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books.
- BERNSTEIN, B. (1970) 'Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible' in *Class, Codes and Control*, Vol. 3, *Towards a Theory of Educational Transmission*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BERNSTEIN, B. (1973) 'On the Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge'. in *Class, Codes and Control*, Vol. Theoretical Studies *Towards a Sociology of Language*. Bernstein. B. pp202-230. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BEYNON, J. (1983) 'Ways-In and Stayin-In: Fieldwork as Problem Solving.' in *The Ethnography of Schooling: Methodical Issues*, Hammersley, M. Driffield, Nafferton Books.
- BIDWELL, C.E. (1972) 'Schooling and Socialization for Moral Commitment' *Interchange*, 3(4) pp 1-27.
- BLAU, P.M., SCOTT, R.M. (1963) *Formal Organisations*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BLUMER, H. (1969) *Symbolic Interaction: Perspective and Method*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.
- BLYTH, N.A.L., COOPER, K. (1971) *Six Into One Will Go*. Liverpool, School of Education, University of Liverpool.

- BOGDAN, R.C., BIKLEN, S.N. (1982) *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*. Boston, Allyn and Bacon.
- BOWLES, S.; GINTIS, H. (1976) *Schooling in Capitalist America*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BRACHT, G.; GLASS, C. (1968) 'The External Validity of Experiments' *American Educational Research Journal* Vol. 5, pp 437-474.
- BRAVERMAN, H. (1974), *Labour and Monopoly Capital*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- BRIDGES, E.M. (1965) 'Bureaucratic Role and Socialisation: The Influence on the Elementary Principal.' *Educational Administration Quart.* 1, No. 2, pp 19-28.
- BRIDGES, E.M. (1987) *Parents and Teachers*, Bastiani, J. (ed), Nelson, NFER-Nelson.
- BROOKOVER, W.B. et al (1978) 'Elementary School Social Climate and School Achievement'. *American Educational Research Journal*, 15 (2) pp 301-318.
- BROOKOVER, W.B.; BEADY, C.; FLOOD, P.S (1979) *School Systems and Student Achievement schools Make a Difference*. New York, Praeger.
- BRUNSUNSWICK, E. (1956) *Perception and the Representative Design of Experiments*, Los Angeles, University of California Press.
- BRUYN, S. (1966) *The Human Perspective in Sociology*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.
- BUDD, G. (1982) 'School Climate and School Organisation: A Case Study of Relationships' *School Organisation* Vol 2, No. 1, pp 31-43.
- BULLOCK, Sir A. (1975) *A Language for Life*. Department of Education and Science. London, H.M.S.O.
- BURGESS, R.G. (1983) *Experiencing Comprehensive Education: A Study of Bishop McGregor School*. London, Methuen.
- BURGESS, R.G. (1984a) *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*. London, George Allen and Unwin.
- BURGESS, R.G. (1984b) *The Research Process in Educational Settings: Ten Case Studies*. Lewes, Falmer Press.
- BURGESS, R.G. (1987) *Review Symposium*. In *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. Vol. 8 No. 1. pp 91-94.

- BURGESS, T. (1970) Inside Comprehensive Schools. London, HMSO.
- CARTIER-BRESSON, H. (1952) The Decisive Moment. New York, Simon and Schuster.
- CARVER, F.D., SERGIOVANNI, T.J. (1969) 'Some Notes on the OCDQ' The Journal of Educational Administration Vol. V11, No.1.
- CAXTON, G. (1978) The Little Ed Book. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- CHRISTIE, R., GEISS, E. (1970) Studies in Machiavellianism, London, Academic Press.
- COHEN, L., MANION, L. (1980) Research Methods in Education. London, Groom Helm.
- COHEN, L., MANION, L. (1981) Perspectives on Classrooms and Schools. Eastbourne, Holt-Saunders.
- COLE, M. (1985) 'The Tender Trap' Teachers' Lives and Careers. Ball, S.J., Goodson, I.F. (eds) pp 89-104. Lewes, Falmer Press.
- COLEMAN, J. S. (1961), The Adolescent Society, New York, The Free Press of Glencoe.
- COLEMAN, J. S. et al (1966) Equality of Educational Opportunity. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington.
- COLLIER, J., COLLIER, M. (1986) Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method. Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press.
- COLLINS, J. (1986) 'Snakes and Ladders to Parental Control', Times Educational Supplement, 28.2.1986.
- CONNELL, R.W. et al (1982) Making the Difference, Sydney, George Allen and Unwin.
- COOPER, M.G. (1966) 'School Refusal: An Inquiry Into the Part Played by School and Home' Educational Research, 8, 3 pp 233-239.
- CORNELL, F.G. (1955) 'Socially Perceptive Administration' Phi Delta Kappan, 36, March pp 222-231.
- CORRIGAN, P. (1979) Schooling the Smash Street Kids. London, MacMillan.

- COSGROVE, S. (1981) *Using Action Research in the Classroom and the School: A Teacher's View*, Adelaide, Australian Association for Research in Education.
- CROSS, D.E., VULLIAMY, G. (1984) 'Case Study Research Methods and Comparative Education', *Comparative Education*, 20, pp 193-208.
- DALTON, M. (1959) *Men Who Manage*, Wiley, New York.
- DANCY, J. (1979) *The Notion of the Ethos of a School. The Rutter Research: Perspectives 1* pp 29-37. Exeter, The School of Education, University of Exeter.
- DARLING, Sir James. (1967) 'On Headmastering', *The Independent School: Papers presented in the Headmasters Conference*, Hone, B.W., McKeown, P.J (eds) Nr 61-71, Melbourne, Oxford University Press.
- DEAL, T.E., KENNEDY, A.A. (1983) 'Culture and School Performance' *Education Leadership*, February pp 14-15.
- DEAL, T.E. (1985) 'The Symbolism of Effective Schools'. *The Elementary School Journal* Vol 85, No. 5 pp 601-619.
- DELAMONT, S. (1976) *Interaction in the Classroom*. London, Methuen.
- DENSCOMBE, M. (1980a) 'The Work Context of Teaching' *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 1, pp 279-286.
- DENSCOMBE, M. (1980b) in *Teacher Strategies*, Woods, P. (ed), London, Croom Helm.
- DENSCOMBE, M. (1985) *Classroom Control: A Sociological Perspective*. London, George Allen and Unwin.
- DENZIN, N. K. (1970) *Sociological Methods: a Sourcebook*, London, Butterworths.
- DENZIN, N. K. (1978) *The Research Act: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Methods*. New York, McGraw-Hill.
- D.E.S. (1977) *Aspects of Comprehensive Education: A Survey by Her Majesty's Inspectorate*. London, HMSO.
- DOMELSMITH, D., DIETCH, J.T. (1978) 'Six Differences in the Relationship Between Machiavellianism and Self Disclosure'. *Psych Report*, pp 715-721.
- DOUGLAS, J. (1976) *Investigate Social Research*, Beverly Hills, Sage.

- DYER, H.S. (1968) 'School Factors and Equal Educational Opportunity'. Harvard Educational Review Vol. 38, pp 38-56.
- EARLEY, P. (1986) Questions of Supply, Slough, NFER.
- EDMONDS, R.R (1979) 'Some Schools Work and More Can'. Social Policy, Vol. 9.
- EDWARDS, A.D., FURLONG, V.J. (1978) The Language of Teaching. London, Heineman.
- ELLIS, T. et al (1976) William Tynde - The Teachers' Story, London, Writers and Readers Publications Cooperation.
- ELLIOT, J. et al (1981) Case Studies in School Accountability, Vols I-III, Cambridge, Institute of Education. See also Elliot, J. et al (1981), School Accountability, London, Grant McIntyre.
- EPSTEIN, J.L., MCPARTLAND, J.M. (1976) 'The Concept and Measurement of the Quality of School Life' American Educational Research Journal. Winter Vol. 13, No. 1, pp 15-30.
- EPSTEIN, J.L. (Ed) (1981) The Quality of School Life, Toronto, Lexington Books.
- ESLAND, G.M. (1971) 'The Construction of Reality', Educational Studies: A second Level Course, School and Society Units 1+2, E282, Bletchley, Open University Press.
- ESLAND, G.M. (1977) Education Studies, Unit 12, Schooling and Society. Milton Keynes, Open University.
- EVANS, J. (1974) Teaching in Transition, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- EVANS, K. (1974) 'The Head and His Territory' New Society, 24th October.
- EVANS, M., HOPKINS, D. (1988) 'School Climate and the Psychological State of the Individual Teacher as Factors Affecting the Utilisation of Educational Ideas Following an Inservice Course.' British Educational Research Journal. Vol. 14, No. 3.
- EVERARD, K.B. (1986) Developing Management in Schools. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- FARRINGTON, D. (1973) 'Delinquency Begins at Home' New Society, Vol 21, pp 495-498.
- FINLAYSON, D.S. (1973) 'Measuring 'School Climate'', Trends in Education No. 30, pp 19-27.

- FINLAYSON, D.S. (1987) 'School Climate: an Outmoded Metaphor?' *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 2 pp 163-173.
- FLANDERS, N.A. (1960) *Interaction Analysis in the Classroom: A Manual for Observers*. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan.
- FLETCHER, F. (1937) *After Many Days: 9 School-Masters Memories*, London, Robert Hale.
- FREEDMAN, P. (1980) *Day Care as a Work Setting: An Ethnographic Description*. Unpublished Manuscript, Syracuse University.
- FULLEN, M. (1982) *The Meaning of Educational Change*, New York, OISE/Teachers' College Press.
- GALWAY, J. (1971) 'From Grammar to Comprehensive' *Comprehensive Education Issue*, 19, Autumn.
- GARFINKEL, H. (1968) *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall.
- GEHLEN, A. (1950) *Der Mensch, Seine Natur und Seine Stellung in der Welt*. Translated and republished as - *Man: his nature and place in the world*. New York, Columbia University Press, (1988), includes 'Urmensch und Spaetkultor' (1956).
- GLASER, B., STRAUSS, A.L. (1967) *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. Chicago, Aldine.
- GOETZ, J.P. LE COMPTE, M.D. (1984) *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research*. Orlando, Academic Press.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1956) *Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1961) *Encounters*, New York, Bobbs-Merrill
- GOFFMAN, E. (1963) *Behaviour in Public Places*.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1968) *Asylums*, New York, Anchor Books.
- GOFFMAN, E. (1979) *Gender Advertisements*, London, MacMillan.
- GOLDSTEIN, H. (1984) 'The Methodology of School Comparisons' *Oxford Review of Education*. Vol 10, No. 1, pp 69-74.
- GOODSON, I.F. (1983) 'The Use of Life Histories in the Study of Teaching' *The Ethnography of Schooling* ed. Hammersley, M. Chester, The Bemrose Press Ltd.

- GOODSON, I.F. (1987) *School Subjects and Curriculum Change*, London, Croom Helm.
- GRACE, G. (1978) *Teachers, Ideology and Control*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- GRAY, J. (1981a) 'A Competitive Edge: Examination Results and the Probable Limits of Secondary School Effectiveness'. *Educational Reviews*, 33, 1, pp 25-35.
- GRAY, J. (1981b) 'Towards Effective Schools: Problems and Progress'. *British Educational Research Journal* Vol. 7, No. 1, pp 59-69.
- GRAY, J. NICHOLL, A (1982) 'Comparing Schools' *School Organisation*, Vol. 2, No. 3 pp 255-272.
- GRAY, J., JONES, B. (1985) 'Combining Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to Studies of School and Teacher Effectiveness.' *Studying School Effectiveness*, Reynolds, D. (ed) London, The Falmer Press.
- GREEN, L. (1968) *Parents and Teachers*, London, Allen and Unwin.
- GREGORY, R.G. (1971) *Comprehensive Education*, No. 19, Autumn.
- GRETTON, J. AND JACKSON, M. (1976) *William Tyndale: Collapse of a School or a System.*, London, Allen and Unwin.
- GRONN, P. (1983) *Talk as Work: The Accomplishment of School Administration*. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 28 pp 1-21.
- HACKETT, G. (1986) 'Teachers Must Cover for Absent Colleagues, Judge Rules. *Times Educational Supplement*, May 30.
- HALL, V., MACKAY, H. AND MORGAN, C. (1987) *Head Teachers at Work*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- HALLINGER, P. (1989) 'Developing Instructional Leadership in High Schools.' Paper presented at the International Conference on School Effectiveness, Rotterdam.
- HALPIN, A.W. (1960) 'Muted Language', *School Review*, 38, pp 85-104.
- HALPIN, A.W. CROFT, D.B. (1963) *The Organizational Climate of Schools*. Chicago, University of Chicago.
- HALPIN, A.W. (1966) *Theory and Research in Administration*, New York, MacMillan.

- HALSALL, E. (1970) *Becoming Comprehensive*. London, Pergamon.
- HALSALL, E. (1973) *The Comprehensive School*. London, Pergamon.
- HAMMERSLEY, M. (1979) Part 3 Data Collection in Ethnographic Research, in Block 4, *Data Collection Procedures*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- HAMMERSLEY, M. (1983) *The Ethnography of Schooling*, Driffield, Nafferton Books.
- HAMMERSLEY, M. (1984) 'Staffroom News' in *Classrooms and Staffrooms*. Hargreaves, A., Woods, P. (eds). Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- HAMMERSLEY, M., ATKINSON, P. (1983) *Ethnography Principles in Practice*, London, Tavistock Publications.
- HANDY, C. (1984) *Taken for Granted? Understanding Schools as Organisations*. York, Longman.
- HANDY, C. (1977) 'The Organisation of Consent', the Changing University, editor: Piper, D. and Glatter, R., Windsor, NFER.
- HANNAN, A (1980) *Problems, Conflicts and School Policy: A Case Study of an Innovative Comprehensive School*. *Collected original resources in Education*, 46.
- HARGREAVES, A. (1981) 'Contrastive Rhetoric and Extremist Talk'. *Schools, Teachers and Teaching*, ed: Barton, L. Walker, S. Lewes, Falmer Press.
- HARGREAVES, D.H. (1967) *Social Relations in a Secondary School*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- HARGREAVES, D.H. (1972) *Social Relations and Education*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- HARGREAVES, D.H. et al (1975) *Deviance in Classroom* London, RKP.
- HARGREAVES, D. (1977) 'The Process of Typification in Classroom Interaction', *British Journal of Education of Psychology*, Vol. 47, No.3, pp 274-284.
- HINE, L.W. (1967) see Lewis, W. *Hine and the American Social Conscience*. Gutman, J.M. New York, Walker and Company.
- HOLLY, P. (1989) *Beyond School Effectiveness: Redesigning Schooling*. Paper presented at the International Conference for School Effectiveness, Rotterdam.

- HOLT, M. (1980) Schools and Curriculum Change. London, McGraw-Hill.
- HOPKINS, D. (1987) 'Section E: Creating Effective Schools', Towards the Effective School, Reid, K. et al, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- HOWARD, E.R. (1974) 'School Climate Improvement' in Thrust for Educational Leadership, Vol.3, No.3.
- HOYLE, E. (1982) 'Micro Politics of Educational Organisations'. Educational Management and Administration 10, pp 87-97.
- IANNA CONNE, L. (1962) in Griffiths, D.E., Clark, D.L., Wynn, R.D., Iannaconne, L. Organising Schools for Effective Education. Interstate, Danville, Illinois.
- ILLICH, I. (1971) Deschooling Society, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- IRELAND, K. (1985) Teachers' rights and duties, MacMillan Education.
- IZBICKI, J. (1986) Lessons From the French Daily Telegraph, 21st April 1986.
- JACKSON, P.W. (1968) Life in Classrooms. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- JACKSON, P.W. (1977) 'Lonely at the Top'. In the School Review, No. 85, pp 425-432.
- JAGO, W. (1987) Teachers at Work: A Study of Individual and Role in School, unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Education Area, University of Sussex.
- JAY, A. (1976) How to Run a Meeting, London, Video Arts Ltd.
- JENCKS, C. et al (1972) Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America. New York, Basic Books.
- JOHNS, D. (1980) Leadership in Schools, London, Heineman.
- JOHNSON, T. (1976) 'Curriculum Development and Staff Development' Forum, Vol. 18, No. 3 Summer.
- JONES, A. (1987) Leadership for Tomorrows Schools. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- JUDD, J. (1989) The Observer, 5th March.

- KATZ, D. (1944) 'The Measurement of Intensity', Gauging Public Opinion, Cantril, H. (Ed). Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- KATZ, D., KAHN, R.L. (1966) The Sociology of Organisations. New York: Wiley.
- KEDDIE, N. (1971) 'Classroom Knowledge' in Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education. London, Collier-MacMillan.
- KELLY, A.V. (1987) Education Made Simple. London, W.H. Allen.
- KHANER, S. (1981) Unpublished M.A. dissertation, Department of Education, University of Leeds.
- KING, R. (1979) All Things Bright and Beautiful. Chichester, John Wiley.
- KING, R. (1984) 'Educational Administration and Organizational Theory'. Educational Management and Administration, 12, pp 59-62.
- KOHL, H. (1964) The Age of Complexity, New York, Mentor Books.
- KOHL, H. (1970) The Open Classroom. London, Methuen.
- KUHN, T.S. (1970) The Structure of Scientific Revolutions. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- LACEY, C. (1970) Hightown Grammar, Manchester, Manchester University.
- LACEY, C. (1977) The Socialization of Teachers. London, Methuen.
- LAING, R.D. (1967) The Politics of Experience and the Bird of Paradise. Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- LAVAR, J., HUTCHINSON, S. (1972) Communication in Face to Face Interaction. Harmondsworth, Pengiun.
- LOENGARD, J. (1987) Pictures Under Discussion, New York, Amphoto.
- LOFLAND, J. (1971) Analyzing Social Settings. Belmont California, Wadsworth.
- LORTIE, D.C. (1975) School-Teacher: A Sociological Study. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

- LUTZ, F.W., IANNACONE, L. (1969), Understanding Educational Organisations: A Field Study Approach, Columbus, Ohio, Merrill.
- McCALL, G.J., SIMMONS, J.L. (1969) Issues in Participant Observation A Text and Reader. Reading, Mass. Addison-Wesley.
- McCHUNG LEE, A. (1978) Sociology for Whom? New York, Oxford University Press.
- McDONALD, B., WALKER, R. (1974) Case Study and the Social Philosophy of Educational Research. in Ford SAFARI Project Report, Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia.
- McDONNELL, L. (1985) 'Implementing Low-Cost School Improvement Strategies'. Elementary School Journal 85 (3) pp 423-438.
- McINTYRE, D. MACLEOD, G. (1986) The Characteristics and Uses of Systematic Observation. In Controversies in Classroom Research. Hammersley, M. (ed) Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- McNAMARA, D. (1980) 'The Outsiders Arrogance' British Educational Research Journal, Vol 6, No. 2.
- McPARTLAND, J.M. (1971) 'Student Participation in High School Decisions: A Study of 14 Urban High Schools', Report 95, Baltimore, John Hopkins University Centre for Organisation of Schools.
- MALINOWSKI, B. (1922) Argonauts of the Western Pacific. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- MANCHESTER, W. (1989) In Our Time: The Worlds as Seen by Magnum Photographers. London, Adre Deutch.
- MARGOLIS, J. (1971) Values and Conduct. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- MARTIN, N.H. AND STRAUSS, A. (1956) 'Patterns and Mobility Within Industrial Organisations', Journal of Business, 29 (2) pp 101-110.
- MAUGHAN, B. OUSTON, J. (1979) 'Review of 15,000 Hours'. Trends in Education, Wellington, Department of Educational Research, New Zealand.
- MEASOR, L., WOODS, P. (1984) 'Cultivating the Middle Ground: Teachers and School Ethos'. Research in Education, No. 31.

- MEIGHAN, R. (1981) *A Sociology of Educating*. London. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- MERTON, R.K. (1967) *On Theoretical Sociology: Fine Essays Old and New*. New York, Free Press.
- MILLS, WRIGHT, C. (1951) *White Collar*, New York, Oxford University Press.
- MONKS, T.G. (1970) *Comprehensive Education in Action*, Slough, National Foundation for Educational Research.
- MOOS, R.H. (1978) 'A Typology of Junior Highland High School Classroom.', *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 15, pp 53-56.
- MORRISON, A., McINTYRE, D. (1967) 'Changes in opinions about education during the first year of teaching.', *British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology*, pp 161-163.
- MORTIMORE, P. (1980) *The Rutter Research: Perspectives 1*. Exeter, University of Exeter.
- MORTIMORE, P. et al (1988) *School Matters: The Junior School years*. Wells, Open Books.
- MUSGROVE, F. (1981) *School and the Social Order*, Chichester, John Wiley.
- MUSGROVE, F., and TAYLOR, P. (1969) *Society and the Teacher's Rule*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- NAIS, J. (1985) 'Reference Groups in Primary Teaching'. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 5 (3) pp 267-280.
- NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH (1987) by Weindling, R., Paper presented at the Northern Region NFER Conference, Department of Education, University of York.
- NEUSTATTER, G. (1987) *General Housekeeping* (Dec) London, International Magazines.
- NICODEMUS, R. (1976) 'Comprehensive Schools and Curriculum Innovation'. *Comprehensive Education*. Issue 32, Spring.
- NISBETT, J., WATT, J. (1982) 'Case Study': Rediguide 26. *Guides to Educational Research*. Nottingham, Nottingham University School of Education.
- ORWELL, G. (1950) *Shooting an Elephant*, Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- OWENS, R.G. (1970) *Organizational Behaviour in Schools*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

- PACE, C. R. STERN, G. G. (1958) An Approach to the Measurement of Psychological Characteristics of College Environments. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 49, pp 269-277.
- PARELIUS, A.P. PARELIUS, R.J. (1978) *The Sociology of Education*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.
- PARLETT, M., HAMILTON, D. (1972) 'Evaluation as Illumination: A New Approach to the Study of Innovative Programs'. CRES Paper No 9, University of Edinburgh. Reprinted in Hamilton, D. et al (1977) *Beyond the Numbers Game*. London, MacMillan.
- PATTON, M. W. (1980) *Qualitative Evaluation Methods*. Sage Publication.
- PEDLEY, R. (1978) *The Comprehensive School* 3rd Edition. Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- PEPPER, F.S. (1984) *Handbook 20th Century Quotations*, London, Sphere Study Aids.
- PERSPECTIVES 1 (1980) The Rutter Research, Exeter, School of Education, University of Exeter.
- PETTIGREW, A.M. (1973) *The Politics of Organisational Decision Making*, Tavistock Institute.
- PLOWDEN COMMITTEE (1967) *Children and Their Primary Schools*, London, HMSO.
- PSATHOS, G. (1973) *Phenomenological Sociology*, New York, Wiley.
- PURKEY, S.C., SMITH, M.S. (1983) 'Too Soon to Cheer?' Synthesis of research on effective schools', *Educational Leadership*, 40, 3, pp 64-69.
- RADNOTT, H. (1986) *Impact of the Introduction of GCSE, and Interim Report*. Slough, National Foundation for Educational Research.
- RAUHAUSER, W. (1989) 'Design for Implementing of Effective Schools'. Paper presented at the International Effective Schools Conference, Rotterdam.
- REID, K., HOPKINS, D., HOLLY, P. (1987), *Towards Effective Schooling*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
- REID, W.A. (1984) 'Curriculum Topics as Institutional Categories'. *Defining the Curriculum - Histories and Ethnographies*, eds: Goodson, F. and Ball, S. Lewes, Falmer Press.

- REYNOLDS, D. (1982) 'The Search for Effective Schools', School Organization, Vol.2, No.3, pp 215-240.
- REYNOLDS, D. (1985) Studying School Effectiveness, Lewes. The Falmer Press.
- REYNOLDS, D. et al (1976) 'Schools Do Make a Difference' New Society, 37, pp 223-225.
- RICHARDSON, E. (1973) The Teacher, The School and The Task of Management. London, Heinemann.
- RICHARDSON, E (1975) Authority and Organization in The Secondary School. London, MacMillan.
- RIST, R. (1973) The Urban School: A Factory for Failure. Cambridge Mass. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- RIST, R. (1977) 'On the Relations Among Educational Research Paradigms: From Distain to Detente.' in Anthropology and Education, 8.
- ROBERTS, J. (1951) Three Navajo Households: A Comparative Study of Small Group Culture. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archeology and Ethnology Vol 40, No. 3. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.
- ROKEACH, M. (1970) Beliefs, Attitudes and Values. San Francisco, Jossey-Bass Inc.
- ROSENSHINE, B., BERLINER, D.C. (1978) 'Academic Engaged Time' British Journal of Teacher Education Vol 4, No. 1 pp 3-16.
- ROY, W. (1987) 'Examining the New System' CSCE, ed. Horton, T. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- RUBENSTEIN, D. SIMON, B. (1973) The Evolution of the Comprehensive School. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- RUDDUCK, J (1985) A Case for Case Records?: A Discussion of Some Aspects of Lawrence Stenhouse's Work in Case Study Methodology. in Strategies of Educational Research: Qualitative Methods. Burgess, R.G., Lewes, The Falmer Press.
- RUDGE, K. (1970) Comprehensive Education No. 16, Autumn.
- RUTTER, M. (1976) Helping Troubled Children. Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- RUTTER, M. (1983) 'School Effects of Pupils Progress - Findings and Policy Implications'. Child Development 54, 1, pp1-29.

- RUTTER, M., MAUGHAN, B., MORTIMORE, P., and OUSTON, J. (1979), *Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children*, London, Open Books.
- SANDER, A. (1977) *Collected Photographs (with introduction by von Hartz, J., London, Gordon Fraser.*
- SARASON, S. B. (1982) *The Culture of School and the Problem of Change in Secondary Education.* Massachusetts, Allyn and Bacon.
- SARTRE, J.P. (1959) *Being and Nothingness - an essay on phenomenological ontology*, London, Methuen
- SAYER, J. (1985) 'Staff Management' in *School Management in Practice* Frith, D. (ed) London, Longman.
- SCHEEVENS, J., CREEMERS, B. (1989) 'A Conceptual Model of School Effectiveness'. paper presented at the International Conference for School Effectiveness, Rotterdam, 1989.
- SCHEEVENS, J. (1990) 'School Effectiveness Research and the Development of Process Indicators of School Functioning'. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement.* Vol.1, No. 1, pp 66-80.
- SCHEEVER, H. (1981) 'Choice Schemes and the Quality of School Life in West German Comprehensive Schools' in Epstein, J.L. (Ed), *The Quality of School Life*, Toronto, Lexington Books.
- SCHMUCK, R. (1984) 'Characteristics of the Autonomous School'. *Alternatives Perspectives on School Improvement.* Hopkins, D., Wideen, M. (ed). Lewes, Falmer Press.
- SCHOOL COUNCIL, (1973) *Evaluation of the Curriculum*, London.
- SCHUTZ, A. (1963) *The Problem of Social Reality: Collected Papers 1.* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff.
- SCHUTZ, A. (1964) *Collected Papers*, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff.
- SEIFFERT, J.E. (1978) *Bilder von der Schulbank.* Munchen, West Germany, udo Bracht.
- SHARP, R. (1980) *Knowledge, Ideology and the Politics of Schooling; Towards a Marxist Analysis of Education*, London, Boston and Henley.
- SHARP, R., GREEN, A. (1975) *Education and Social Control: A Study in Progressive Primary Education.* London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- SHARROCK, W., ANDERSON, R. (1986) Talking and Teaching: Reflective Comments on In-Classroom Activities. In Controversies in Classroom Research. Hammersley, M. (ed). Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- SHIPMAN, M. (1968) Sociology of the School. London, Longman.
- SIMONS, H. (ed) (1980) Towards a Science of the Singular. Norwich, Centre for Applied Research in Education. University of East Anglia.
- SINCLAIR, R. L. (1970) Elementary school educational environments: Towards schools that are responsive to students. National Elementary Principal, 49, pp 53-58.
- SMITH, D.J., TOMLINSON, S. (1989) The School Effect. London, Policy Studies Institute.
- SMITH, E. (1975) Minamata. New York, Rinehardt and Winston.
- SONTAG, S. (1977) On Photography. Harmondsworth, Penguin.
- SOUTHWARK, G. (1986) 'Managerialism Revisited - 3', Education, 14th March. London, Society of Education Officers.
- SPARKES, A. (1987) British Journal of Sociology of Education, Vol 8, No. 1, pp 47-54.
- SPENDER, D. (1980) Learning to Loose: Sexism and Education. London, Women's Press.
- SPINDLER, G. SPINDLER, L. (1982) Roger Harker and Schonhausen: From the Familiar to the Strange and Back Again, in Doing Ethnography of Schooling: Educational Anthropology in Action. Spindler, g. (ed) pp 20-46. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- SPRADLEY, J.P. (1960) The Cultural Experience: Ethnography in Complex Society. Chicago, Science Research Associates.
- SPRADLEY, J.P. (1980) Participant Observation. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- STENHOUSE, L. (1980) Curriculum Research and Development, London, Heineman.
- STERN, G.G. (1963) 'Characteristics of Intellectual Climate in College Environments' in Harvard Education Review XXX1, Winter, pp 5-41.
- STERN, G. G. (1970) People in Context: Measuring person-environment congruence in education and industry. New York, Wiley.

- STEVENS, J.M. (1967) *The Process of Schooling*. New York, John Wiley.
- STILLMAN, A. (1986) *Parents and Politics, Choice and Education*, Slough, NFER-Nelson.
- STOLL, L. FINK, D. (1989) *Implementing an Effective Schools Project: The Halton Approach*. Paper prepared for the School Effectiveness Conference, Rotterdam.
- STRIVENS, J. (1985) 'School Climate: A Review of a Problematic Concept.' in Reynolds, D. (Ed) *Studying School Effectiveness*. The Falmer Press, London.
- STUBBS, M. (1976a) *Explorations in Classroom Observation*. Stubbs, M. Delamont, S. (ed). London, John Wiley.
- STUBBS, M. (1976b) *Experiments in Classroom Observation*. London, John Wiley.
- STUBBS, M. (1976) 'Keep in Touch: Some Functions of Teacher-Talk', *Explorations in Classroom Observation*, London, John Wiley.
- SWIDLER, A. (1979) *Organisation Without Authority*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.
- TAGIURI, R. (1968) *The Concept of Organisational Climate*. In Tagiuri, R. Litwin, G. H. (eds) *Organisational Climate: Exploration of a Concept*. Boston, Harvard University.
- TAYLOR, F. (1977) *Accountability in Education*, London, Centre for Institutional Studies.
- THOMAS, A.R. (1976) 'The Organizational Climate of Schools' *International Review of Education* No. 22, pp 441-463.
- THOMAS, A.R. et al (1973) *Explorations in Education Administration*, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press.
- TIZARD, B. et al (1980) *Fifteen Thousand Hours: A Discussion*. London, University of London, Institute of Education.
- TORODE, B. (1976) see Chapter 8. *Experiments in Classroom Observation*. Stubbs, M. Delamont, S (eds) London, John Wiley.
- TRISMAN, D.A., WALLER, M.I., WILDER, C.A. (1976) *Descriptive and Analytic study of Compensatory Reading Programs: Final Report*, Princeton, New Jersey, Educational Testing Service.
- TYERMAN, M. (1968) *Truancy*, London, University of London Press.

- WALKER, R., ADELMAN, C. (1975) A Guide to Classroom Observation. London, Methuen.
- WALKER, R., ADELMAN, C. (1976) see Chapter 6. Experiments in Classroom Observation. Stubbs, M., Delamont, S. (eds) London, John Wiley.
- WALKER, R. (1980) 'The Conduct of Educational Case Studies: Ethics, Theory and Procedures'. in Rethinking Educational Research. Dockvell, W.B., Hamilton, D (ed). London, Hodder and Stoughton.
- WALKER, R. (1985) Doing Research, a handbook for teachers. London, Methuen.
- WALKER, R., WIEDEL, J. (1985) 'Using pictures in a discipline of words', Field Methods in the Study of education, Lewes, Falmer Press.
- WALLER, W. (1932) The Sociology of Teaching. Chichester, John Wiley.
- WALLER, W. (1984) 'What Teaching Does to Teachers: Determinants of the Occupational Type'. Classrooms and Staffrooms. Hargreaves, A. Woods, P. (ed). Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- WAX, R.H. (1971) Doing Field Work: Warnings and Advice. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- WEBB, J. (1962) 'The Sociology of a School' British Journal of Sociology Vol 13, No. 3, pp 264-272.
- WEBER, G. (1971) Inner-City Children Can Be Taught to Read: Four Successful Schools. Washington, D.C. Council for Basic Education.
- WEBER, M. (1970) Essays in Sociology. Translated and Edited by Gerth H.H, Wright, M.C, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- WEINDLING, R AND EARLEY, P. (1987) Secondary Headship: The First Years. Windsor, NFER-Nelson.
- WESTBURY, I. (1973) 'Conventional Classroom, 'Open' Classrooms, and the Technology of Teaching.', Journal of Curriculum Studies, 5(2), November pp 100-102.
- WESTON, B. (1975) In Interviews with Master Photographers. Danziger, J. Conrad III, B. London, Paddington Press.
- WHITE, Minor (1975) In Interviews with Master Photographers. Danzier, J. Conrad III, B. London, Paddington Press.

- WHITTY, G. (1975) *Sociology and School Knowledge*. London, Methuen.
- WHYTE, W.F. (1949) 'The Social Structure of the Restaurant' *American Journal of Sociology*, No. 54, January, pp 302-308.
- WHYTE, W.F. (1955) *Street Corner Society*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- WILBY, R. (1977) *Coleman Repeated*, Bristol, Department of Education, Bristol University.
- WILLIS, P. (1976) *Learning to Labour*. Farnborough, Saxon House.
- WILLIS, P. (1977) 'The Class Significance of School Counter Culture'. *The Process of Schooling* eds: Hammersley, M. and Woods, P. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- WILLIS, P. (1980) 'The work activities of School Principals: An Observational Study', *Journals of Educational Administration*, 18 pp 27-54
- WILLOWER, D.J. and JONES, R.G. (1963) 'When Pupil Control Becomes and Institutional Theme' in *Phi Delta Kappan*, 45, November, pp 107-109.
- WILSON, B.R. (1969) *Higher Education, Demand and Response*. Niblett, W.R. (ed), pp 24-26 Tavistock Publications.
- WILSON, M.F. (1971) *Comprehensive Education*, No. 13, Autumn.
- WOLCOTT, H. (1967) *The Man in the Principal's Office*. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- WOLCOTT, H. (1973) *The Man in the Principal's Office*, N.Y., Holt, Rinehart and Wilson.
- WOODS, P. (1979) *The Divided School*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- WOODS, P. (1983) *Sociology of the School*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- WOODS, P. (1984a) 'Teaching for Survival' *Classrooms and Staffrooms*, Hargreaves, A., Woods, P. Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- WOODS, P. (1984b) 'The Meaning of Staffroom Humour' in *Classrooms and Staffrooms*. Hargreaves, A., Woods, P. (eds), Milton Keynes, Open University Press.
- WOODS, P. HARGREAVES, A. (1984) *Classrooms and Staffrooms*, Milton Keynes, Open Univeristy Press.

WRAGG, E. (1987) 'Mind that Red Renault' Times Educational Supplement, 6th November 1987, page XI

YAPP, N. (1989) Bluff Your Way in Teaching, London, Ravette

YOUNG, M. (1980) see Fifteen Thousand Hours: A Discussion, Tizard, B. et al pp 42-46.

YOUNG, M.F.D. (1969) Comprehensive Education, No. 13. Autumn.

YOUNG, M.F.D. (1971) 'An Approach to the Study of Curricula as Socially Organised Knowledge', in Knowledge and Control: New Directions for the Sociology of Education. Young, M.F.D. London, Collier-MacMillan.

YOUNG, R. (1989) The Development of Effective Schools: A Process for an Effective School Model. A paper given to International Conference of School Effectiveness, Rotterdam, 1989.