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CHANGE AND CONTINUITY IN SCHOOL PRACTICE: a study of the influences affecting secondary school teachers' work, and of the role of local and national policies within them.

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the impact of local and national education policies on teachers' practice in six secondary schools in two similar, non-contiguous, metropolitan authorities. Ten propositions on the relationship between policy and action were generated from a literature review and related to literature on school organisation and culture. Empirical data to test them were collected between September 1987 and July 1989, during the development of National Curriculum legislation and statutory instruments but prior to its implementation in secondary schools. Extended interviews were conducted with sixty-six teachers, the six Headteachers, and both Chief Inspectors. Detailed interview reports were confirmed as accurate with each interviewee.

National influences were found to be important, particularly public examination reforms. This was attributed to their public use as indicators of school effectiveness, and to teachers' own positions resting on their own examination success for legitimacy. Personal professional values led to the LEA and its officers being dismissed as insignificant: factors internal to the school were more important. Chief among these was teachers' relationships with their departmental colleagues, especially how their perception of their needs and obligations as teachers of particular subjects, with particular epistemologies, affected departmental opportunities as management units to influence individual practice and require conformity to external requirements. Relations with senior staff were also important, and how far informal networks of power and influence operated against the formal hierarchies. Lastly, personal professional values stressed classroom experience as the only satisfactory basis for offering direction or guidance to teachers. This view of the teacher as expert emphasised that teachers must ultimately have autonomy to decide how best to handle classroom situations,

and not only downgraded LEA staff and teacher education as sources of assistance, but also worked to prevent teachers from acknowledging problems to their colleagues.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

DES Circular 6/81 required LEAs to consult widely with their teachers with a view to producing a policy for the school curriculum. Circular 8/83 checked on the progress this process had made. The administrative injunction came after an enquiry made through Circular 14/77 into local authority arrangements for the school curriculum had revealed that most LEAs had few if any means of monitoring systematically the curricular provision in their schools. Publication of the results of this survey (DES 1979) gave the justification for the follow-up injunction.

It was not only administrative requirements which produced the activity in 1981 - 1983 towards framing local authority curriculum policy documents. Political interest in the content and purposes of schooling had developed in England and Wales since the Labour Party first became more prescriptive in its policy on secondary school organisation, and, once in office, sought to implement that prescription via DES Circular 10/65. A sequence of publications from the late 1960s onwards, such as the so-called "Black Papers" (Cox and Dyson 1969a, 1969b, 1970; Cox and Boyson 1975, 1977), raised concerns that educational standards were no longer satisfactory, and raised

questions about the utility of many children's educational experiences for life after school. Such considerations raised increasingly overt questions about the purposes of education, its relationship to social change, and therefore the kind of society it was sought to create through the working of the education system.

Changes in the style of operation of local government politics accentuated this development. Both Conservative and Labour politicians became more ideologically committed to particular concepts of the proper relationship between government, the public services, and the public served. Questions were raised about the degree of autonomy which should be allowed to public servants, and about the nature and extent of their accountability. Such pressures produced, in some authorities, an emphasis on the right of local politicians to prescribe in detail both the broad direction of policy and the range of acceptable professional practice within the authority. This policy articulation also spread into areas which had hitherto been seen as essentially "professional" areas of concern.

Thus the pressure to create and monitor curriculum policies at the local authority level was paralleled by pressure for other forms of prescription of practice. The net effect was to introduce, or sometimes reintroduce, forms of requirement and limitation on the activities of teachers which had not been seen since 1944, and which therefore were new to the professional practice of every teacher and educational administrator. It therefore seemed appropriate when this research was begun to try to examine the extent to which the introduction of curriculum policy statements had been taken into due consideration by teachers in their daily practice in school and classroom.

However, studies of the school curriculum are rarely limited to an examination of such formal policy statements as may exist. The term

“curriculum” can be used to describe a scheme of work for a subject, such as one of the National Curriculum subject documents, or a formal statement of the range of programmes offered in a school or college. Equally, it can be viewed purely as a policy requirement, or as an expression of culture (Lawton 1983, Skilbeck 1984), or as a political statement of acculturation to a particular set of social, economic and political values (Apple 1979, Whitty 1985). This multiplicity of views of what the curriculum is and what it should involve produces a wide range of arguments over who should determine the content of children’s education, ranging from the civil servants quoted in Simon (1986), who saw that power as crucial to their work, to teachers and academics who see the task of selecting from the culture and transforming it into programmes of study as being essentially a professional responsibility (Lawton 1983), and to those who see it as an expression of deep-rooted power-relations in society (Apple 1979, 1982; Giroux 1981). This last perception, which is part of a Marxist critique of capitalist society and of the role of education in its perpetuation, is countered by right-wing interpretations of what counts as desirable content for schooling, and often of the organisational forms through which it should be experienced. Given Archer’s (1981) argument that influences on practice are transacted rather than proceeding by osmosis, we can expect that such political debate about the content of the curriculum and the nature of schooling will have an influence on the ideas of the teachers who are expected to deliver whatever curriculum is actually experienced by children in school. The possibility exists, therefore, that even if curriculum policies were found to be in place in the local authorities studied, the actual experience of the children might be influenced by other factors which shape their teachers’ work more strongly than the formal policy statements, and which, indeed, stand at odds with the formal requirements.

Such an investigation raised important conceptual and methodological issues. This study therefore begins by laying out the central conceptual concerns, so as to establish the presuppositions which will guide both the research method and the initial analytical approach.

The study of policy has been developed along a number of dimensions. Rational linear policy-implementation-evaluation models have been criticised as too simplistic, and more sophisticated views of the process developed, which take account of wider social variables such as those just indicated. Developments in management and innovation theory have interacted with policy studies to create complex patterns of variables which need to be studied. The very nature of "policy" has itself been called into question.

This study therefore begins by seeking to establish a satisfactory set of working propositions on the nature of the relationship between policy and action. Then we examine the possible implications for the policy/practice relationship of factors relating to school culture and organisational form and structure, incorporating into the discussion elements of contemporary writing on educational management. That discussion will lead to an explanation of the research methods and approach taken, and then, after a background chapter on the authority and schools studied, the data will be presented in a series of chapters focussing on local influences, national influences, the role of the subject department and the impact of wider school concerns. These data will reveal the weak influence and low status of the LEA in the estimation of teachers; the strong impact of national initiatives, especially those relating to public examinations, where perceived public values are seen to influence teachers strongly in the same direction as their espoused professional values; the strong influence of teachers' departments on their practice, but the considerable variations in the nature of that influence, depending on personal, physical and epistemological considerations; and the resistance

expressed by many staff to their senior management colleagues within their schools. The study then reviews the utility of the propositions in the light of the data presented, and closes by discussing a number of broader issues which the review of the propositions did not address, but which are seen as important.

Chapter 2: Conceptualising the Policy-Action Relationship

Extending unidirectional models of policy

A convenient point from which to start is the concept of "perfect administration" created by Hood (1976) as an ideal type against which to examine the reality of administrative action. Its utility lies in its clear conceptualisation of the relationship between policy and goals on the one hand, and policy and action on the other. Hood proposes that if an administration is to achieve the perfect implementation of a policy directive, then the directive must fulfil three conditions and the administrative system possess five characteristics. The conditions are:

unlimited resources;

political acceptability; and

unambiguous objectives.

The five characteristics of the system are:

it must be unitary, so that no conflicts of authority exist;

the norms and rules enforced must be uniform, related to and possessing uniform and given objectives, which are known at least to the administrators;

the objectives must be implemented through either total acceptance or total control;

as a result, perfect information and communication are needed to achieve the perfect co-ordination implied in total acceptance or control; and

everyone involved must have enough time to do everything that is required without pressure.

(Hood 1976, ch. 1)

The problems in achieving any one of these eight requirements, let alone all of them, demonstrate the likelihood that there will be a mismatch between a directive and the actions it generates. Hood discusses the problems effectively without ever questioning the assumption of his ideal type model that "policy" represents a directive or statement of purpose, linked to resources, which it is the worker's duty to implement. However, the ambiguities inherent in the need to state as necessary the list just given suggest that the dynamic of policy creation and implementation is neither one-way nor passive, and the model can itself be used to question the adequacy of the conception of policy upon which it has been built.

A policy directive which incorporates possession of unlimited resources rests on prior decisions to allocate those resources. It is, therefore, to be presumed to be part of a network of intentions. The goals of a policy directive, then, and

the actions required, must presumably be in complete concord with the goals of all related policy directives, and with the actions enjoined in them. Hence Hood's insistence on the unitary nature of the administrative system: the coherent set of directives of which our directive-in-question is a part must represent the only form of legitimate imperative which our administrator has to consider in framing day-to-day actions. Only then can the more senior administrator be sure that his or her directives can fulfil the broader intentions of the total package.

This demand for coherence brings us to two presumptions, each of which Hood recognises. First, only unambiguous goals can be fitted into a totally coherent network of intentions. Second, the means of achieving the given goals must be either self-evident or agreed. Hood's first and second conditions cover both: unambiguous goals are explicitly required, while political acceptability implies consent to both the intentions and the means to their achievement. The second and third characteristics of Hood's administrative system - universally accepted norms of behaviour and total acceptance or control - likewise take account of them. However, both the conditions and the characteristics are required.

The key words in Hood's model are "political acceptability", "unitary", "unambiguous" and "control". All imply both the possibility of misunderstanding between policy maker and implementer and those of resistance, alternative goals, and alternative sources of obligation and loyalty. Even if none of these is overtly present, it is possible that two people, using identical language, may nevertheless mean different things by them. To call this "misunderstanding" is unfair: rather, it is a clash of perceptions - what Young (1981) calls "assumptive worlds". This, then, creates five possible sources of "slippage" from "perfect administration.

We must now consider the reasons for formulating the directive in the first place. Williams (1982) and Hogwood and Gunn (1984), among others, conceptualise the creation of a directive as a response to a perceived problem. If this is so, then we have to build into our discussion of the nature of policy the possibility that the problem is wrongly or inadequately identified, or that it changes over time. This could lead either to incorrect goals being set for the policy or to incorrect or inadequate measures being proposed. Either way, something has to be changed, and policy review machinery has to be established. Hood presumably locates this in the control and communication system, although it does not receive adequate discussion. More importantly, it reveals the inadequacy of the unidirectional concept of policymaking. It is necessary to see at least a two-dimensional process at work: policy leads to an assault on a perceived problem-situation, which responds to the policy, which then undergoes adaptation in its attempt to target the problem more precisely. This concept is the basis of the cybernetic feedback loop, on which systems theory models of policymaking rest.

The need for some form of interaction between the practitioners and the policymaker, if we may keep with top-down terminology, has led to "implementation studies" developing as a separate dimension from "policy studies". Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), for example, argue that since policies usually include both statements of intention and related behaviours - they offer "to increase employment" as a case of the former, and "to hire minorities" as an example of the latter - they imply theories of causation between the initial conditions and the future consequences. Otherwise, there could be no presumption that the proposed actions would have any bearing on the situation being addressed. However, situations are mobile, and circumstances change:

"the passage of time wreaks havoc with efforts to maintain tidy distinctions. As circumstances change, goals alter and initial conditions are subject to slippage. In the midst of action the distinction between the initial conditions and the subsequent chain of causality begin to erode. Once a program is underway implementers become responsible both for the initial conditions and for the objectives toward which they are supposed to lead."

(Pressman and Wildavsky 1973, p. (xv).

Williams (1982) extends this point, commenting that implementation studies are finding it crucial to see organisations themselves as devices for working through complex problems. In this process, he argues, the degree of discretion needed and available at the point of action is significant, since it is the actors' behaviour over time which determines the outcomes of programmes. However, the exercise of discretion is shaped in part by the structure and internal process of the organisation.

We shall return to the internal dynamics of policy implementation shortly. First, we must incorporate another dimension into our discussion. Systems theory conceptualises the cybernetic feedback loop as occurring within an environment which has its own impact on the process of policymaking. The distinction is made between "inputs" and "withinputs" into the policy process (Howell and Brown 1983, Wirt and Kirst 1972). Withinputs are contributions which derive from inside the system itself - in effect, feedback - while inputs derive from the environment in which the system is operating. In the dynamic situation identified by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), where actors must respond to changing circumstances or the consequences of a badly aimed policy directive, feedback will occur both from the practitioner and

from the outsiders affected. Further, as we shall see shortly, outsider feedback may itself influence and alter practitioner feedback.

Hood (1976) recognises the importance of the external dimension through his condition of "political acceptability". This acknowledges that there is a pressure to which the writer of a policy-directive must be both receptive and responsive. Richardson and Jordan (1979) and Kogan (1975, 1978) have both demonstrated how this external pressure can arise from a multiplicity of sources and act in different directions. However, as Archer (1981) points out, organisations and systems have boundaries, which have to be crossed:

"outside influences do not flow into the system by an equivalent of osmosis They have to be transacted."

Archer (1981), p. 31

Typically, analysts working in the tradition of a policymaking/implementation dichotomy would see the task of responding to such influences as the policymaker's duty. Part of the leadership function of the senior direction-shaping decision-makers would be to patrol the boundaries of the institution and keep the gates properly staffed (Richardson 1973, 1975; John 1980). The gatekeeper inhabits the world of politics; the writers of directives, at each linkage point in the implementation chain, inhabit a nonpolitical world, protected by the gatekeeping work of their superior. However, it can be argued that this view is unrealistic. If our conception of policy as it has developed so far is tenable - as an attempt to deal with an essentially dynamic situation which in some way is undesirable or hostile - then our actors must respond to those dynamics, often in advance of any revised directive. They, too, will be able to observe political pressures building, even if they do not themselves feel under pressure. Their experience in the organisation or system may also alert them to possible undesirable

consequences of actions required by the directive. Further, as Archer (1981) points out, actors live within both the wider system and the organisation. We can expect them to transact some of the exchanges, unconsciously if not consciously.

These external pressures undermine the unitary nature of an administrative machine. Even if there is only one formal authority to answer to, actors bring into the system individual collections of beliefs and perceptions which influence both the degree and nature of their compliance with a directive. A significant dimension in management literature examines ways of ensuring that actors' beliefs and perceptions are in adequate accord with organisational goals so as to reduce the degree to which internal blockages can hinder their efficient achievement (see, particularly, Adair (1971); also, from the educational world, for example, Richardson (1973), Poster (1976), and Everard and Morris (1985)). This has replaced the emphasis on task specification of the "scientific management" school (Taylor 1911) and the concern with "hygiene" factors (Herzberg, Mausner and Snyderman 1959), although the development of the management competences movement (MCI 1990) may indicate a return to a "scientific management" perspective.

Hood (1976) recognises the possibility of varying beliefs in his characteristic three for the administrative system. However, as well as general societal pressures, other norms and ethos may be found in the professional training and socialisation which the actors may have undergone, and sometimes within the organisation in which they work. These training and socialisation-derived norms may stand in harmony with the norms of the administrative system, but it may be hypothesized that the greater the emphasis on a client-orientation as against one of administrative fidelity, the greater the potential for a disjunction between organisational and personal/professional norms to develop.

One reason for advancing this hypothesis is that an emphasis on service to a client carries organisational implications for the boundaries of discretion available to the actor: part of the task must involve diagnosing client need and formulating appropriate actions to meet that need within the bounds of the policy directive. Compliance with the directive is thus only one dimension of the wider phenomenon of responsiveness (see Scott 1989). Response to or compliance with a directive indicates that actors regard themselves as answerable to some form of external authority, not operating in isolation. The rhetoric of professionalism makes this claim. Although professionals may claim the right to identify the problem, define it and prescribe suitable action to remedy it, and to subject their judgments only to the scrutiny of their colleagues, they also claim that the person served by such exercise of judgment is the client whose problem is examined, not the administrative superior who pays them. Administrative discretion and forms of obligation intertwine to create significant potential disjunction.

Insofar as public policy is authored by elected representatives, it might be argued that they alone need to worry about being responsive to pressure. This argument ignores both the human problems of administering any policy in the face of knowledge of individual hardship or discomfort caused, and the extent to which public representatives are made aware of the impact of policies and of changes in circumstances. The first concern typically produces either a range of bureaucratic procedures which are set between public servants and the human dimension of their work, or a flight from implementing the policy altogether; the latter raises questions about the quality and effectiveness of the feedback mechanisms which allow for adequate policy adjustments to be made.

Lipsky's (1980) study of "Street Level Bureaucracy" exemplifies this. He documented and analysed the range of "coping strategies" employed by

workers in public services characterised by high levels of discretion in the delivery of benefits or sanctions. He claims (p. xi) that such people as teachers, social and welfare workers, and the police, "often perform contrary to their own rules and goals", and attributes this to conflicts experienced at the point of delivery. He suggests that

"large classes or huge caseloads and inadequate resources combine with the uncertainties of method and the unpredictability of clients to defeat their aspirations as service workers."

(Lipsky, 1980, p. xii.)

and argues that in order to cope with these conflicts

"At best, street level bureaucrats invent benign modes of mass processing that more or less permit them to deal with the public fairly, appropriately and successfully. At worst, they give in to favouritism, stereotyping, and routinising - all of which serve private or agency purposes."

(ibid.)

Lipsky argues that street-level bureaucrats process people into clients so as to categorise them for treatment. This is done along one or more of four dimensions: through the distribution of benefits and sanctions; by structuring the context of the interaction with the client; by teaching what he calls "appropriate client behaviour"; or by allocating psychological rewards and sanctions. In this way, a self-perception builds in the client which, over time, conditions subsequent behaviour and thus, indirectly, influences the demand on services, both quantitatively and qualitatively (pp. 59 - 63). More concretely, Lipsky shows how demand for services can be manipulated by "assigning costs" to would-be "clients" in terms of money, time or

information, and demonstrates this by discussing the variants of the simple queue which can be created, and how potential clients' willingness to accept a type of queue depends on its "appropriateness" to the importance of the task - a long queue merely to hand in a form is irritating, whereas people waiting to receive a tetanus injection will wait uncomplainingly if there is a more serious emergency (1980: ch. 7). Rein (1983) suggests that the problem can be more complex: social workers, for example, may cope with their desire to do good - a professionally-derived norm of conduct - by redefining the problem so as to be able to act within their resources:

"Low income families see the source of their difficulties in terms of lack of money, jobs, housing and medical care. Typically, social service agencies lack access to these resources, and, driven by the desire to do what they can, tend to redefine their clients' problems in more personal terms, such as personal competence or emotional stability. This discrepancy in the definition of social troubles leads clients to exit from the service by simply not returning after two or three sessions.

(Rein, 1983. p. 50)

Thus, even when the aim is to enhance the service rather than to reduce it to manageable proportions, the net effect can be the opposite!

Thus it is argued that street level bureaucrats seek to manipulate the demand for their services. Lipsky also suggests that managerial indicators of performance are so difficult to establish that they, too, are easily manipulated. For example, a requirement to complete a given number of cases in a particular time will be achieved by dealing only with the straightforward problems and leaving the complex and difficult cases on one side. Thus a move to increase efficiency in the delivery of the service has, arguably,

produced the reverse effect (Lipsky, 1980, ch. 4; see also, concerning performance indicators in education, Cave, Hanney, Kogan and Trevett 1988).

Systems also have to cope with external feedback. Richardson and Jordan (1979) demonstrate clearly how individual pressure rarely makes much impact on elected bodies. Limited measures may be feasible through machinery such as the various Ombudsmen, but this provision only serves to demonstrate how weak the individual is, that he must use an administrative service to bring his case to the forefront of policy-writers' attention. Normally, pressure-groups have to be seen as a more likely source of effective influence than an individual, and this reduces the impact of the individual still further. Richardson and Jordan further point out that the essence of pressure-groups is their formation around an issue: within the issue itself, there may be considerable negotiation and bargaining over the goals to be pursued and even as to the nature of the issue. The essence of effective pressure group activity, they argue, is the skilful use of compromise in building up coalitions of support for the change being sought. However, within the frame of reference of a particular issue, only certain pressure groups are likely to be deemed legitimate by elected members - and, indeed, by the policy-writers they seek to control: the environment of policymaking is neither homogeneous nor amorphous, but "segmented", and effective pressure-group action depends on building a strong group from within the particular segment or "issue community" deemed to have a legitimate stake in the matter under consideration (Richardson and Jordan, 1979, ch. 3; Kogan 1975). Systems theorists argue that pressure groups are critical elements in the process of issue emergence and demand conversion (Howell and Brown 1983; Wirt 1975). However, it should be mentioned that the categorisation of a given interest-group as legitimate within a particular issue community, and the relative weight given to competing interest groups within that

community, will depend on the values of the person being lobbied - a right-wing Conservative MP who advocates educational vouchers and a no-strike requirement for teachers will differ from a left-wing union-sponsored Labour MP in the relative weighting given to the NUT and the National Council for Educational Standards. We shall return to the question of values shortly.

Another source of disjunction is the nature of the information which flows through the channels which are open. Saran (1973) and Kogan (1975, 1978) have shown the importance of professional pressure-groups as agents of policy and influence. Lipsky (1980) and Rein (1983) have explored the nature of information which flows within the administrative/bureaucratic implementation system. In particular, Rein (1983) distinguishes between "hot" and "cold" knowledge. "Hot" knowledge is essentially "front line" knowledge: it is firsthand, personal, and often emotional or passionate - the knowledge which informs police action at the moment of a raid, or teacher action at the moment of trying to quell a rebellious class. Rein argues that it encapsulates the true purposes of the actor, and the true recognition of what has happened. However, it may not be wise, nor even psychologically possible, to recognise the "true" situation publicly:

"it is convenient for practitioners and administrators to reinterpret their failures as failures of communication. Concerns about their inadequate performances are difficult to acknowledge to themselves, much less to the world. Facing up to a persistent lack of technological competence would mean admitting to their clients, their funding sources and their professional peers that they may not be able to do their jobs. It is far preferable to admit to the lesser sin of administrative disorder."

(Rein, 1983, p. 64)

Consequently, actors create a post-hoc, rationalised "cold" knowledge to present to the outside world. This attributes causes, and thence the justification, to actions which may have been taken in less considered or less adequately understood circumstances. Cold knowledge is the knowledge expressed in official reports, formal memoranda and police evidence. Its language provides the model for the code in which information is channelled through pressure-groups and internal bureaucratic processes to the "policymakers". The problems identified may not be the "real" problems; instead, they may well be problems which it is professionally acceptable or politically expedient to recognise. Accordingly, policy modification may not occur in the direction needed to alleviate the immediate crisis for the street-level bureaucrat.

This discussion calls into question the utility of rational models of policymaking, founded as they are on concepts of rational decision-making. Lindblom and Cohen (1979) have pursued this when examining of the relationship between academic social science and public policymaking. Casting the net wide by coining the term "professional social inquiry" to cover a wide range of academic, Government, media-related and evaluation research, they argue that information and analysis is only one of a number of dimensions of what they call "social problem solving", and that professional social inquiry only provides one form of information. Instead, we must recognise that much social problem-solving is a form of value-resolution, and that this is frequently a non-scientific activity which rests on the deployment of a store of "ordinary" knowledge, which may take many forms: norms and facts, once-scientific knowledge and folklore.

Let us review the argument so far. Unidirectional conceptualisations of policy are inadequate, since they ignore the complex flow of information and perceptions into and around the administrative system concerned with

implementation. Although a "policy" or "policy statement" may be taken to be a statement of intention about practice, it is difficult to sustain the view that it is likely to be the only determinant of the practice to which it relates. It is more useful to see "policy" as a two-way process of problem-identification and adjustment, realised through forms of bureaucratic procedure and the exercise of professional judgment, and reacting to both pressure-group activity which is frequently rooted in negotiation and conflict and bureaucratic/professional information which is frequently rationalised interpretations of problems. This conceptualisation allows a number of reasons to be identified for differences between formal statements of policy and practical actions taken in their delivery, notably the data-base of the decisions which are then turned into directives and the extent to which judgment must be exercised. Clearly, the room for judgment can be minimised by increasing specification of tasks in the way that Patterson (1966) provides for in his hierarchy of decisions, but this sets up a longer chain of decisions in the implementation process, with consequences for the control systems needed. We have already hinted at the possibility of conflicts between institutional and individual goals, and between individual goals at different levels in the system, and Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) demonstrate clearly how lengthening the decision-chain increases rather than decreases the likelihood of slippage. The classical "scientific" management practice of detailed specification and circumscription of practice would seem to have only limited utility. Further, if the data-base on which the specification is established is faulty, the street level bureaucrat is left with an even more acute version of the fight/flight dilemma Lipsky (1980) has described.

Values, Interests and the Policy Process

We must now return to the question of the relationship between institutional and individual goals. Earlier (pp. 19 - 20) it was suggested that the greater the cultural emphasis on service to clients as against administrative fidelity, the greater the potential for disjunction between the norms of behaviour derived from outside the administrative machine and those of the machine itself. This is relevant to the quality of the data-base on which the policy rests, and opens up a wider set of concerns. Thus far, even our two-way concept of policy is established within a rather limited frame: that of policy as a set of directives requiring implementation or action. However, prior to the creation of such directives another set of decisions has to be taken. These may be explicit or implicit; they concern themselves with the set of intentions and ideal circumstances which allow the situation in which policy directives are generated to be perceived as a "problem". They rest on information, but they also depend on judgments being made about both the quality and meaning of that information. A policy directive is thus shaped by both the quality of its data-base and the set of values which guide the judgments of the policymakers. Further, the extent to which those values are in line with those of the "street level bureaucrats" or professionals who will act in pursuit of the policy will have a major effect on the degree of congruence between policy and action.

The term "values" has an omnibus quality to it, and, like policy, is frequently used without sufficient care. Kogan (1986, pp. 97 - 99) distinguishes between basic or fundamental values - those forms of belief or principles which guide our action and rest, ultimately, on statements of faith - and instrumental values which give expression to those basic values and form the articulated basis of decisions. Kogan further argues that if our value-systems rest ultimately on statements of faith - what he calls "self-justifying oughts" - we

should not expect them to be consistent, nor even coherent. Gross (1985) offers an analysis along similar lines, distinguishing between universal or absolute values, which are best described as open, non-finite and unattainable, and relative values which are both finite and attainable. Goals, says Gross, can derive from both absolute and relative values: further, values can be expressed both as static "anatomical" perceptions of right and as behaviours generated by those perceptions. He therefore offers a threefold categorisation of values to set alongside the absolute/relative dichotomy, distinguishing also between integrative values, which seek to integrate the individual into the collectivity, regulatory-directive values, which seek to control behaviour, and motivating values, which shape both needs and interests. Further, he argues that within the hierarchy between absolute and relative values, there is no necessary dependence on one fundamental: multiple pyramids can exist, and they are susceptible to change over time. There is, therefore, no a priori reason to presume internal coherence or consistency.

Thus we can expect ambiguity and conflict within the policy-framework of even the most securely-controlled political system and tightly-constructed bureaucracy. They require resolution at the point of action by the street-level bureaucrat, whose own action frame of reference (Silverman 1970) can be expected to contain within it contradictory values. And if our characterisation of the information put into the system about the actions taken to resolve the conflicts is correct (following Rein (1983) and Lindblom and Cohen (1979): pp. 24 - 25 above) then it is as likely that the feedback offered will exacerbate the ambiguity or move it to another point in the bureaucracy as that it will remove or resolve it.

As Richardson and Jordan (1979) have shown, however, the English policymaking system is not securely controlled, but reflects a wide range of

pressures some of which are uncontrollable. Such pressures need conciliation - as they say (p. 192), governments have always struck bargains with barons - and compromise necessarily involves further value-ambiguity. Confusion and clash therefore become more likely. Further, it is arguable that the essence of compromise is that everyone involved can claim victory: otherwise, compromise has no merit - one might as well give no quarter. This will mean not merely value-ambiguity but also lack of clarity over the areas where such ambiguity may be found. This has the advantage in a system dominated or heavily influenced by pressure groups that such lack of clarity will eventually generate a new set of problems needing resolution on more than an ad hoc basis, thus allowing relevant pressure groups the opportunity for renewed access to the policymaking arena and confirmation of their central role in this dimension of government.

Such ambiguity is not only important at the highest structural level of policy formation. It was argued earlier (pp. 23 - 24) that pressure-groups themselves are best seen as coalitions of interested parties which are seeking to carve themselves out a legitimate place in the relevant segment or issue community. For this reason, Gross's (1985) characterisation of value-systems may be helpful. The similarity to the classic military distinction between strategic and tactical decisions, which has found its way into management theory, is striking. But while this discussion emphasises the opportunity for confusion, uncertainty, value-ambiguity and obfuscation at every level of the policy-making and implementation process, it does not undermine the central position of values in that process.

Kogan (1986, ch. 5) suggests that not only are our basic values likely to be inconsistent: they are also likely to be influenced by our circumstances and our role. The interrelationship between responsibilities, the notions of accountability which they carry, the value systems of the individual and the

espoused and practically-expressed values of the organisation are complex. It could be hypothesized, however, that as one's position in a machine becomes further removed from the point of contact with recipients of the policy, more responsible for a range of points of contact and the intervening positions, and closer to the place where values and information are processed into policy directives, two conflicting things will develop: a greater commitment to the security and survival of the machine, with a consequent filtering of the information allowed through one's point in it, and a greater sense of obligation to the policymakers who are served, with a consequent recognition of their value-system and an adaptation of one's own. Hence the "first stage" rationalisation of action into professionally acceptable "cold" language then undergoes a second stage of rationalisation into administratively acceptable "cold" language.

Models of professionalism which see professions as unitary would take issue with this hypothesis. Bucher and Strauss (1961) summarise this unitary view as functionalist, viewing professions as homogeneous communities which possess a shared identity, shared values, shared role-definitions, and shared interests. Deviations from these shared perceptions are marginal, and neophytes are socialised by their peers into this cohesive and unified set of internal norms. Such a characterisation of professional beliefs and behaviour would reject any such differentiation as we have tentatively proposed. Bucher and Strauss, however, take issue with the view of professions they themselves summarised, suggesting that professions are themselves segmented. As they develop, these segments take on distinctive identities, a distinctive sense of the past and goals for the future, and organise distinctive activities which serve the segmental interest rather than that of the profession as a whole. To develop their argument, Bucher and Strauss explore the field of medicine,

because functionalists usually take it as an archetype of the unified profession. They claim:

"When backed to the wall, any physician would probably agree that his long-run objective is better care of the patient. But this is a misrepresentation of the actual values and organisation of activity as undertaken by various segments of the profession. Not all the ends shared by all the physicians are distinctive to the medical profession or intimately related to what many physicians do, as their work. What is distinctive of medicine belongs to certain segments of it - groupings not necessarily even specialties - and may not actually be shared with other physicians."

(Bucher and Strauss, 1961, p. 326)

The authors suggest that in at least the following areas there is no reason to presume universally shared values: sense of mission; work activities; methodology and techniques; clients; collegueship; interests and associations; and "spurious unity and public relations". For our purposes, four of these need examination.

In their discussion of work activities, Bucher and Strauss contrast the tradition of the "model physician" who sees the patient and diagnoses cures with the development of specialisms such as pathology, and with the idea of the specialist consultant who provides a service to other doctors. They demonstrate that within a specialist area - they choose pathology - it is easy to find different patterns of work, and that

"members of a profession not only weigh auxiliary activities differently, but have different conceptions of what constitutes the core - the most characteristic professional act - of their professional lives."

(ibid., p. 328)

This differentiation, they suggest, provides the basis of a new subgrouping, and what ties a man more closely to one member of his profession may alienate him from another (their use of the male pronoun throughout!). The pathologist who sees the core of his work as medical diagnosis will gravitate towards similar colleagues rather than to those who see the core as research or teaching. Thus, suggest Bucher and Strauss, we may fare better thinking not of professional collegueship but of internal circles of collegueship, which

"hold in common notions concerning the ends served by their work and attitudes and problems centring on it."

(ibid., p. 330)

Such a notion helps to account for the sorts of alliances which can be developed between segments of the profession and like-minded outsiders.

However, for Bucher and Strauss the two most significant points of differentiation are derived from the segmentation just outlined. Once such a segment has developed - and they are characterised as "social movements" by the writers (p. 332) - it must achieve a presence in the training institutions if only to emphasise its importance as an area to other specialists. Visibility in the training centre will help towards its acquiring resources in the hospitals and other health-care agencies, and generate status which allows it access to the councils of the profession. Bucher and Strauss suggest that the "spurious unity" of the professional codes of ethics reflects the state of power relations between segments within the profession, which will be reflected in changes over time in the regulations covering certification.

In pursuing their point that these segments are social movements, Bucher and Strauss argue that they are constellations of people which will undergo change as the membership changes, and that this will be influenced by changes in technology, conditions of work, and in the membership of other segments. This is important, for, they argue

"each generation engages in spelling out, again, what it is about and where it is going. In this process, boundaries become diffuse as generations overlap, and different loci of activity articulate somewhat different definitions of the work situation. Out of this fluidity new groupings may emerge."

(ibid. p. 332)

This argument suggests that, important though values are, interests may be more significant. This would be compatible with our earlier proposal, and we shall return to this point shortly. For the moment, let us stay with the question of values, for it could be argued that the suggestion of increasing organisational or system loyalty as one moves away from the point of delivery of the policy is still a very one-directional picture of the policy process. Two things make that criticism unfair. First, as we have already discussed by reference to Lipsky (1980), the dilemma between a sense of loyalty to the perceived policy intention and loyalty to the perceived needs of the organisation is acute at the point of action. This dilemma is to be found at every level of the administrative machine, and it is precisely because individuals are caught in the two-way flow of prescript and information that they are required to decide between the relative importance of the two. Thus, the coping strategies developed will be influenced by the immediate needs of the actor at a given point in the system: this will have a bearing on the relative weights attached to the competing elements.

This resolution, however, does not take place in a vacuum. Individuals in the machine are subject to a range of outside influences over and above "professional" or "administrative" pressures. Clearly, the nature of issue communities and the pressure groups within them will be one such outside influence on action: localized pressure-groups can often achieve "victories against the system" which affect practice at the action end without having any significant impact on higher levels, but serve to legitimate future interventions and so widen the range of interests served, or at least acknowledged, by the street-level bureaucrat. Further, the actor in the system will also have a life outside work, which will create its own set of expectations and attitudes which will influence action at work. This informal and diffuse range of influences which derive from social contact can be quite different from those experienced directly in the work-setting, and can act as a powerful additional input into the values mix. Thus the apparent unidirectional "policy chain" (Braybrooke and Lindblom, 1963) or "decision chain" (Pressman and Wildavsky 1973) is in fact subject to movement, amendment, reversal or even severance, depending on the impact of the intervening influences and the value-systems of the actors.

Policy formulation and implementation, then, can be seen as a two-way process of problem-identification and adjustment, realised through forms of bureaucratic procedure and professional judgment and reacting to pressure-group activity and to bureaucratic/professional information which is frequently a rationalised interpretation of problems rather than an immediate reaction to circumstances. Barrett and Fudge (1981) make a similar, but less extended proposition:

"rather than treating implementation as the transmission of policy into a series of consequential actions, the policy-action relationship needs to be regarded as a process of interaction and negotiation, taking place

over time, between those seeking to put policy into effect and those upon whom action depends."

(Barrett and Fudge (1981), p. 4.)

However, policy depends for its appearance and adaptation on the process of turning a particular constellation of values into statements of intended action, and on the process of combining those statements with other expressions of value-related intentions into practical action in response to immediate manifestations of the problems. This allows us to probe into the reasons why the parties in the negotiations act as they do, and why that interactive, negotiative process introduces the possibility of slippage or policy failure, exploring distinctions such as those of Gross (1985) or Kogan (1986) between varying forms of values.

For our characterisation of policy contains three critical characteristics. First, it is a value-based orientation to action. Second, if it is not to become simply a post-hoc rationalisation of practice - which the first characteristic would deny - it has to compete in the mind of the actor with other forms of value-based orientations to action. Third, it must therefore rest on some claim to authority over those other orientations. This set of characteristics still sidesteps the question of interests as an alternative source of orientations to action, but this will be drawn into the last part of our discussion.

Combining Values, Interests and Formal Policies: the problem of practice

Thus far, the discussion has presumed a difference between professional/bureaucratic norms and norms derived from the formal network of policy intentions. This analytic distinction cannot be preserved in this form. As Bucher and Strauss (1961) postulate, and Lipsky (1980) and Rein

(1983) demonstrate, norms are not timeless and permanent: they change over time. They grow by a process of accretion, which relates in part to the practical exigencies of the work to which they relate, and in part to the concerns of actors about the situation in which they are performing. This process can make them resistant to change; equally, change, when it comes, can be rapid within the group or segment which embraces it. Bucher and Strauss (1961) argue that a key characteristic of much segmental activity is concerned with making their construction of key roles and functions dominant within a particular institutional setting - that it is, in short, concerned with the micropolitics of power within the institution. Accordingly, we must see work situations and institutions - what we have been calling the administrative machine - in terms of the segments represented there, and not merely as places where people come and enact occupational roles. The values and interests of groups and organisations are intertwined.

Clearly, if norms are influenced by a combination of interests and task-needs, the work of the actors in the organisation has a validating role over those norms. We have also to reemphasise a point made at the outset, that policies never exist in isolation, but as part of a network of intentions and responses to a complex package of problems and concerns. Such a network increases the opportunities for ambiguity and conflict, which we can set alongside the segmental concerns of actors and the inherent ambiguities within a given policy intention.

If we pursue this in relation to the action-derived norms of individuals, we can see how likely it is that practice is a reflection not of policy but of a congeries of influences, values and interests located in a multidimensional setting. It was suggested above (p. 30) that bureaucratic preservation would become a priority motivation of a manager or supervisor, and we have also

indicated how professional norms, legitimated and reinforced by peer-group practice, may claim to promote the client at the expense of the institution. Another dimension, only touched on so far, is the institutional and organisational arrangements made to reinforce the two key constraints on day-to-day action: resource-deployment, and the patterns of formal and informal power and authority. If Bucher and Strauss (1961) are correct in seeing control of these latter considerations as key dimensions of the social action of segments of the "profession", then we can expect such day-to-day structural decisions to reflect not merely the inconsistencies of the formal policy network but also the inconsistencies which derive from power struggles between competing perceptions of the key relationships between policy, professional discretion, and action. However, the traditions of professional norms, structural and resource-dispositions, and the drive towards bureaucratic preservation serve to create a predictability about the actions related to clients which will have to be reflected in policy decisions. While policy decisions will have a bearing on practice and the dispositions which create it, they will only be one of a number of such influences. Indeed, it can be argued from this that successful policy changes - those which do actually bring about changes in practice in the direction indicated - will have attended to the successful influencing of norms and dispositions. This must pay attention to both the value-systems of the actors and to their perceived interests.

Official policy, then, is one influence on street level bureaucrats, as it is on their colleagues and managers. The more actors involved and the greater the distance between action and original intention, the greater the complexity of the web of forces and dispositions which intervene in the policy/action relationship. If we try to map the nature of the influences on the predisposition to act of each actor in the chain, we can expect to find

considerable and growing variation in response depending on the different value-positions of the individuals involved - and also, perhaps, their perception of their interests. For this reason, the methodology proposed for policy review by Elmore (1979/80) is significant.

Elmore argues that if we are to understand both the dimensions of a policy problem and an organisation's capacity to deal with it, we have to begin not from the policy statement but from the practice. We can then map in detail all the parameters of action related to the problem. By working back through the system, it should be possible to identify the sources of slippage from the original intention and target precisely the points in the system which have the greatest opportunity to influence practice. Elmore's position, like that of Williams (1982), is that organisations are potentially very effective at solving complex problems, and that the need is to understand how they can be flexibly constructed to be more responsive.

A key dimension of the policy/action relationship, untouched on as yet, but clearly revealed in Elmore's methodology, is that of the degree of discretion allowed to, exercised, or claimed by an actor in any given setting. Its sources and degree are various, and would appear to be related to the length of deregulated history prior to the introduction of bureaucratic administrative and/or policymaking structures. The most obvious example, which we have already met, is medicine. Indeed, Bucher and Strauss's (1961) discussion of professionalism locates the degree of discretion actually exercised in the centre of a complex institutional and organisational power-struggle. In their scenario, claims for discretion are socially constructed and relate to attempts to secure, strengthen and then make dominant an identifiable sectional interest within a profession. Interests, rather than values, are the basis of such claims.

Certainly micropolitical considerations need to be set alongside the wider historical context in our attempt to understand claims for discretionary authority, and must be seen as a significant member of the pack of competing norms seeking to devour policy control. However, the segmental perception of the nature of the work will not be the sole influence, for the degree of discretion claimed by the actors will have a bearing in its turn on what the nature of the work is seen to be. It will influence, and be influenced by, questions of status, technology, the qualities needed to carry it out, and the forms of ancillary and support services involved. As one aspect of this, Young (1981, 1983) has suggested that "implementation" can only be said to occur when there is minimal discretion.

Young's concept of "assumptive worlds" is important here. It is an attempt to cope with a perceived conceptual "overpopulation" in the area of terms like values, ideology, and beliefs. The assumptive world of the actor is the "total subjective experience" which integrates values, beliefs and perceptions, and provides the basis of judgments of what represents satisfactory and appropriate behaviour in any given setting. Young sees the assumptive world as comprising four interdependent and inseparable elements: the cognitive, through which the "facticity" of the world is recognised; the affective, which allows for the valuation of the aspects of the world which are apprehended; the cathectic, which represents the actor's sense of relatedness to the world as both created and experienced; and the directive, through which the actor is impelled to act upon the world. The outturn of the active process of construction which produces this assumptive world can be seen as a hierarchical structure of low-level beliefs or precepts, drawing their validity from an appeal to more fundamental, "middle-range" constructs which are used to manage the world as constructed. Above these stand the symbolic, generalised, taken-for-granted and untestable fundamental values which are

Figure 1

YOUNG'S CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE
POLICY/IMPLEMENTATION RELATIONSHIP

		Degree of value consensus	
		Discordant	Concurrent
Degree of control	Direct	Evasion	Implementation
	Diffuse	Variation	Assimilation

Source: Young, 1981, p. 45

suffused through our everyday actions and experience (Young, 1981, p. 42). Young claims that the assumptive world renders unnecessary the dichotomy between subjective values or ideology on one side, and behaviour on the other. Instead, it is replaced by attention to action, which is significant to the actor (behaviour, says Young, is significant only to the observer). By fusing together the subjective perception of the situation and the action taken within it, Young suggests that we create a tool for understanding the simplifying and ordering process which allows us to function in the world of everyday, and define a "lifespace" or, in the more bounded setting of our organisational activity, an "action space" in which to operate (*ibid.*, pp. 43-44).

In this active reconstruction of experience, the actor's response to the assumptive world may occur either through passive accommodation or through active manipulative intervention. Policy changes represent an intervention from outside in the stability of the assumptive world, and therefore require an active response. Hence, Young suggests that we should consider the policy/action relationship along two dimensions: the degree of value consensus or dissent between policy directive and actor, and the degree of control exercised by the director over the actor. The full matrix is shown as fig. 1.

Young's argument has two implications for the discussion of policy undertaken here. First, the proposition that the values/behaviour dichotomy is false has a bearing on the distinction between values and interests as a source of action. Young's construct of the "assumptive world" suggests that interests are perceived as part of the hierarchical mix which produces the everyday precepts to action. In a sense, it is another false dichotomy: the two coexist in a helical relationship rather than a linear one. Second, the development of segments within a profession, or pressure groups within issue communities, is itself coloured by the individual's active intervention in

the world as presented and reconstruction of it to allow for adequate "lifespace" or "action space". If these two points are allowed for, then it follows that the central focus of any research on the implementation of policy has to begin from the pattern of influences which are adapted into a workable environment for the "action space" of the implementer, and the position and status of the policy directive in that environment, both as intention and prescript for action towards the achievement of that intention. Accordingly, it is proposed that a starting-point should be a focus on the sources of norms and expectations, with norms, structures, and policy statements themselves being regarded, initially at least, as second-order phenomena.

Ten Propositions on the Policy-Action Relationship: a Basis for a Research Study?

It is appropriate now to summarise this discussion on the nature of policy and their implications for research in the form of ten propositions which may be deduced from what has been argued here. Thereafter, we will attempt to test them first by considering writings related to school culture and organisation, and then, if they appear supported by that literature, through the analysis of empirical material. First, the propositions:

- (i) the policy-action process is at least a two-way process involving both the passing of information and the negotiation of purposes at every level or point of action in the system;
- (ii) policies are articulated as part of a wider network of intentions held by those vested with or able to claim responsibility for the functioning of the service under consideration;
- (iii) intentions as to the proper functioning of that service are held by a variety of actors and interested parties within and outside

it, and these intentions enter the delivery system at a multiplicity of levels and through a multiplicity of routes;

- (iv) the information on which policies are based is frequently subject to amendment or distortion as it passes through the system: rationalisation of information is generated by both professional acculturation and situational demands;
- (v) both external pressure groups and internal professional communities are segmented rather than homogeneous, and are concerned to secure greater influence over the policy-making and action-generating systems; conflict rather than consensus can therefore be expected as normal rather than pathological in both the service and its environment;
- (vi) the location of actors in the delivery system influences their perception of the importance of the varying pressures and felt obligations and responsibilities, making the conception of what action is involved in a particular policy significantly situational;
- (vii) the complexity of situational, professional and external pressures combines with the possibility of intrinsic conflicts in individuals' value-systems to create inherent contradictions in policy directives and their relationship to the wider policy network;
- (viii) values influence the perception of a given situation as a "problem" situation needing policy articulation for its resolution;

- (ix) the value-dependency of problem-identification makes it highly unlikely that a clear and unambiguous statement of consequent means to its resolution can be made which will carry universal acceptance: the means/ends relationship is likely to be inherently problematic;
- (x) the complex of pressures acting upon a given actor in any service setting will contain inherent contradictions which can only be resolved by an active process of reconstruction by that actor so as to create an "action space" in which to function, thereby creating a further source of potential conflict between the intentions of the framers of the policy-directive and the actors in the system.

Chapter 3: A first test: Policy and Action in the School Curriculum

It is now appropriate to test the view of the policy-action relationship which has been drawn from the general literature on public policy by examining the literature relating to the subject of the research. This chapter will therefore examine briefly how curriculum policy has been conceived and seen to relate to curriculum practice. In doing so it will also examine how schools have been studied as organisations, and relevant literature on school culture. It will be argued that the literature discussed here gives good *prima facie* support for the propositions with which we ended chapter two, and that they therefore provide a good basis from which to develop the empirical part of this study.

The Curriculum as a Policy Problem.

Curriculum literature has demonstrated clearly how curriculum policies are part of a wider network of social and educational intentions. Thus Simon (1986) was able to quote DES civil servants who argued that control of the curriculum was a central part of a wider issue facing the government in the early 1980s: that of controlling the output of education in terms of social

engineering. Three key elements were identified as constituting the education policy problem: the need to maintain social control via lower economic expectations; the need to differentiate more clearly between the forms of education appropriate to different socio-economic positions; and the lack of control over the content of schooling which the distribution of authority then current gave to central government.

Simon demonstrates that the civil servants he quotes saw education as a vehicle for social control and perpetuation, with the curriculum being the means by which that was achieved. Access to different forms of knowledge for different groups of children would sustain or amend social stratification, and it was important that the decisions about the basis of such access should be taken by those responsible for society as a whole. This argument can be found stated, broadly sympathetically, by Holmes (1985), and critically by Marxist and neo-Marxist sociologists of education such as Apple (1979, 1982), Giroux (1981) and Whitty (1985). This description of the critics makes explicit the important dimension of such judgments about what the curriculum should contain and who should have access to it: they are political decisions. Thus, as the support of left-wing local authorities for comprehensive schools and right-wing authorities for selective systems demonstrates, decisions about the school curriculum affect not just content but school organisation too.

Against this view of the curriculum is one which sees it as essentially a professional domain (Lawton 1983, Skilbeck 1984). These writers do not deny that education serves wider social purposes - both, indeed, see it as a major vehicle of social change - but argue for a distinction between the broad purposes of education which the curriculum should serve and the definition of curriculum content. From this point of view, the purposes should be established through negotiation and the curriculum content, essentially, by

experts. Lawton has developed a view of curriculum creation which he calls "cultural analysis" which attempts to define the necessary elements in a curriculum and the procedures by which these should be transformed into detailed statements of content. In these procedures, teachers are deemed to have the claim to the major role, but it becomes clear that should some dispute occur over what the content should be, they should defer to academics in the relevant field. Teachers lay claim to the dominant role in curriculum creation on the basis of expertise, but that expertise is ultimately dependent on the expertise of other, more highly qualified academics in the field. This point has important implications for the analysis of our empirical data, as is shown particularly in chapters 10 and 11.

These two views of the curriculum and its definition - as politically determined as part of an arm of the state or as a professional arena of decision within the broad political purposes served by the education system - raise questions of the degree to which teachers are controlled or granted autonomy in their daily work, the extent to which discretion is needed, and how the way in which that discretion is exercised can be a source of disjunction between formal intention and practice: exactly the focus of our propositions. Further, how the schools are organised, which is argued to affect and be affected by the curriculum being offered, is likely to influence the work of the teachers through the network of meanings and expectations which organisational forms themselves create. We shall return to this point below. For the moment, however, we can state that this very brief outline indicates that there is support for our propositions two and eight: curriculum policies will be part of a wider network of intentions, and values will influence the perception of a given situation as a problem needing policy-articulation to deal with it.

Lawton (1983) attempts to distinguish between the variety of interested parties in curriculum decision-making by stratifying them into five levels:

national, local, school-wide, departmental, and individual. He also extends his model to include questions of assessment and pedagogy as well as curriculum content, arguing that they all derive from fundamental questions of purpose and values. However, he does not go on to develop any relationship between the different levels of the system: rather, he ascribes different types of decision to each level, with decisions about the detail of the course and most matters of teaching approach and assessment being left within the school. Becher and Kogan (1980), working in the field of Higher Education rather than schools, offer a similar model in that it distinguishes between the influences on practice or operations of individual values and expertise, what they refer to as basic units - the smallest organisational unit to which individuals belong, which in schools might be a departmental or pastoral team - institutional and national influences on academic work. By distinguishing between norms which are intrinsic to the unit of analysis at a particular level - individual, basic unit, or whatever - and those which are extrinsic to it, they postulate that the intrinsic norms of a given level become the extrinsic norms shaping that immediately within it. These intrinsic and extrinsic norms are argued to interact to shape the way in which the operational tasks of each level become realised, and the judgments of adequacy made on their performance.

Both models are important in that they indicate the central role of the individual as an influence on practice, and the possibility both of pressures internal to the organisation working on the individual and of the individual mediating those pressures through his or her own values and the pressures from outside influences which are brought into the workplace. These models, which connect well with Young's (1981) concept of assumptive worlds, support the view of the policy-action relationship which underpins propositions eight, nine and ten. They also draw us towards an examination

of the ways in which organisational pressures can influence practice, and how individuals may bring their own sets of pressures and expectations with them. However, in examining individual pressures we should not overlook the arguments of Apple (1982), Whitty (1985) and Meyer (1980), among others, that external pressures and expectations brought by individuals into organisations and mixed with organisationally-generated pressures to create each person's approach to their work are themselves broadly categorised by wider social expectations, and may therefore be acting as another transaction of social influence on the organisation as a unit (Archer 1981).

Schools as Organisations: formal and informal influences.

Schools can provide two distinct sets of pressures to influence teacher practice, one formal and one informal. The formal set emanates from the structure of the organisation, and the ways in which teachers are expected to behave in order to make the structure work. This includes the formal expectations of the organisations of the nature of the teacher's role. The informal set derives from the perception of the professional role and responsibilities of the teacher held by influential groups of staff in the school. The two sets of pressures interact constantly, and can coexist harmoniously or compete for dominance over the teachers in the school. We shall consider first the formal influences of schools.

As Ball (1987) points out, much of the literature on schools as organisations is written from an open systems perspective. This emphasises the unity of the whole organisation, and stresses how parts interact to generate that unity. Ball is critical of this perspective, which he sees as aridly functionalist, and as generating an emphasis on consensus and a view of conflict within the organisation as pathological. Instead of this open systems approach, he prefers to put forward a conflict-based view of schools as arenas of political

struggle. However, it should be pointed out that he chooses to ignore some of the sophisticated developments of open systems theory, such as the work of Weick (1976), which actually support his argument.

Bush (1990) offers a rather more sophisticated typology of theories of schools as organisations. He identifies five different ways of conceptualising educational organisations, which he calls perspectives rather than models: bureaucratic, collegial, political, subjective and ambiguity. Further, unlike Ball, he argues that these may be used in a contingent way rather than as single, mutually exclusive theoretical stances. Morgan (1986), looking at organisations more generally, adopts a similar position, arguing that our conceptualisations of organisations should be seen as metaphors rather than realities, and that different metaphors will emphasise different aspects of reality.

In essence, the distinction which Ball (1987) draws, and which Bush's (1989) perspectives preserve, is between views of organisations which see their goals as agreed and those which see them as contested. The basic unit of analysis for a view of organisations which sees the goals as agreed is the organisation, whereas a view of organisational goals as contented rests its analysis on individuals within the organisation. Thus Ball sees the basis of what he calls his micropolitical theory as resting in the phenomenological writings of Greenfield (1973), who argues that organisations only exist because of the people who work in them, and therefore must not be considered as entities in their own right.

Bureaucratic views of organisations (Packwood (1989), Harling (1984)) are conceived as resting on legitimate authority to set organisational goals being held by those who hold leadership positions, and on the authority to achieve them being delegated through formal systems of line management such as

those identified by Weber (1947). Key considerations for such systems are the distinction between the person and the office, unity of command, decision by rational procedures, and external accountability through the head of the institution. It is assumed that the means of achieving the goals of the organisation are clear and agreed. Bureaucracies are inherently hierarchical. In contrast, collegial organisations are deemed to be desirable where the workforce is largely possessed of high levels of expertise and the work is seen to require of them considerable degrees of discretion (Williams and Blackstone 1983). The key consideration here is seen to be the organisation of consent through participative decision-making processes. There is less emphasis on the importance of roles and responsibilities, and a greater sense that responsibilities are shared rather than allocated. Individual loyalty is seen as being due to the total organisation rather than to individual or sectional interests, and as gained through the participative decision-making structures which are created. However, these structures are frequently a network of committees, and, as Noble and Pym (1970) demonstrated, in elaborate committee structures it can be difficult to identify where decisions actually occur.

Clear empirical applications of either the bureaucratic/hierarchical or collegial perspectives to British schools are few in number. However, it is clear from the language of job descriptions and school "further particulars" sent to intending job applicants that the rhetoric of schools is towards collegialism and away from hierarchies, even as the content of the descriptions of the schools reveal an increasing emphasis on management hierarchies, distinguishing between "senior" and "middle" management. Ball (1987) has claimed that schools contain elements of hierarchy alongside characteristics of organisations peopled by professional and membership controlled staffs, which Collins (1975) is said to have identified as three

distinctive types of organisation. Ball (1987) also argues that schools can be structured as collegia or highly participative committee-structures but operate as bureaucracies or oligarchies.

In making this point, Ball identifies an important characteristic of organisational models: they seem either to describe structures or to focus on processes. Bureaucratic models stress structure, and the collegial models which have been presented in relation to school (Wallace 1988, Campbell 1985) have sought to discuss the processes which are necessary to justify and enable collegial structures to exist. Other models emphasise the processes of decision-making and leadership to be observed, and in so doing separate process from structure: they are effectively independent of one another.

Once we leave the world of bureaucratic or collegial views of organisations, the focus of attention changes from the totality to the parts which make it up. In shifting the attention in this way, we also introduce the possibility that the rationality which governs holistic or systems-based views of organisations may not survive. Political views of organisations have much in common with collegial models in that the expectation is that individuals' consent to policy decisions will be needed if appropriate action is to follow, but they differ in seeing the process of gaining such consent to be one of managing conflict rather than seeking consensus. Thus the possibility arises that individuals or groups may have goals or expectations which stand at odds with those of the leaders of the organisation, or those formally stated to be the "goals of the organisation".

Hoyle (1986) and Ball (1987) conceive of the process of conflict management and of negotiation and bargaining between interest groups in schools as "micropolitics" - what Hoyle calls "the dark underbelly of organisational life" - rather than as politics. The difference appears to be a cultural reluctance to

acknowledge openly that such activities occur in schools, whereas Baldrige et al. (1978), who offer a "political" view of university decision-making in America, see the processes as openly acknowledged. Overt or covert, the key dimensions of the process appear to be the same in both conceptualisations of organisations in action: interest groups or, as Hoyle (1986) prefers, interest sets, which come together in coalitions to press a particular course of action in particular circumstances (Hoyle prefers his term because he wishes to emphasise the transient nature of such groupings, which he feels the term "groups" suggests to be more permanent than they really are); competing interests which may rest on immediate organisational considerations of resources and status, or may relate to more fundamental value-positions - Ball (1987) calls these ideological stances; and a need for the leadership within an organisation to control and manipulate the negotiation process so that the outcome is in accord with its own goals, and then further to control the implementation of the decision.

The fragmentation of the organisation as a concept goes further when we draw in Davies' (1976) point that education suffers, in organisational terms, from an unclear technology, which creates considerable need for discretion at the point of action. Teachers need to have room to judge how and when to impose a requirement in its entirety and when it would be inappropriate to do so. Thus, as a string of writers on the nature of teaching have pointed out, teachers have traditionally been left to work out their classroom approaches for themselves (Lortie 1975, Elbaz 1983, Lieberman and Miller 1984, Clandinin 1985). This view of the relationship between teachers in schools as essentially one of isolates led to Weick's (1976) concept of educational organisations as loosely coupled systems, in which subunits of the organisation are connected together and influenced by activities at the centre, but able to preserve considerable degrees of autonomy and separate identity. Further, they are

able to change that identity quite significantly without necessarily affecting the way other sub-units continue to function. Thus, for example, TVEI might have a significant impact on the Maths and Creative Arts areas of a school, but have no effect on the way the History department functions. It therefore recognises the potential strength of heads of subunits towards the organisation's leadership, but does not overstate this, since a loosely-coupled structure can also work to the advantage of the senior management of the school, in that it can isolate a weak department from the rest of the school so as to minimise its impact on the work of the others. However, as Bush (1990) points out, relationships between the subunits are unpredictable: some will be strong, others weak. There will be overlapping membership, for example, between academic and pastoral units, but this need not produce strongly compatible approaches to their work: as Young's (1981) concept of assumptive worlds demonstrates, the consequence of such overlapping membership may be to create conflicting pressures which the individual can only cope with by partial decoupling from both to form an "action space" within which to operate. Loose coupling can apply to individuals' relationships with organisational units as much as to the relationship of organisational parts to the whole.

The possibility of conflicting goals, fluctuating coalitions of interest sets, and loosely coupled units, creates a strong possibility of what Ball (1987) calls "baronial politics" within schools. This view of organisations certainly creates the likelihood that individuals may see themselves as members of subgroups rather than as members of the organisation. It copes comfortably with the expectation that the school will have an hierarchical structure, because it allows for the probability that members of senior management teams, or staff who have responsibilities for coordinating the work of a number of subunits,

will see their primary loyalty as being to the whole organisation, whereas less senior staff will direct their primary loyalty to a subunit.

This discussion has moved from a strongly rationalist view of organisations to one much more akin to the view of professional activity outlined by Bucher and Strauss (1961: see chapter 2 above). It provides strong support for many of the propositions: it identifies the possibility of multiple intentions (proposition (iii)), the segmentation of professional communities, and the normal nature of intra-organisational conflict (proposition (vi)); the problematic nature of the means-end relationship, leading to a demand for autonomy and/or discretion (proposition (ix)), and, although it has not been explicitly discussed here, the importance of values and the likelihood that teachers will need to create an action space in order to work effectively (propositions (vii to x)). In terms of the literature on schools as organisations, then, our conceptualisation of the policy-action relationship seems to be sound.

However, as well as considering the pressures deriving from organisational characteristics of schools, we need to consider how informal pressures are at work on teachers and their response to curriculum policies. Ball (1987) argues that it is important to distinguish between discussing teaching as a profession and studying schools as organisations. However, the expectations and attitudes which teachers bring to a school setting are a combination of personal, professional and organisational experiences, which often have a wider social basis than the individual organisation. We now need to examine these.

Wider Cultural Influences Working Within Schools.

The considerable body of writing on the nature of teaching can be divided broadly into two categories. One focusses on the extent to which teachers are professionals, while the other examines the nature of the influences which shape teacher practice, and the extent to which these are common across schools and school systems. Our concern is mainly with the latter, although the idea that teachers are professionals is an important part of teacher culture. We shall not examine the work of writers such as Ozga and Lawn (1981), whose concern is with the extent to which teaching has been deskilled and teachers proletarianised: our focus is on the extent to which there is a shared culture, and, if there is, how far it operates to unify teachers or to emphasise their isolation from one another. We can then consider the extent to which the culture of teaching works to support the view of schools as loose-coupled systems, and how far it supports our ten propositions.

A central consideration in this is the distinction Reid (1979) draws between "procedural" and "uncertain practical" problems. A procedural problem is essentially a technical question, which takes the goals of the activity as settled and makes only the means of their achievement problematic, whereas an uncertain practical problem sees both the ends and the means as uncertain. Thus the question is not, "how do I do it?" but, "what should I do?" Knitter (1985) extends this to distinguish between removable and enduring problems. The first may be embedded in the second, as when the question of what to eat tonight is embedded in wider questions of how to keep well-fed and sustain a sound diet. Uncertain practical problems and enduring problems require us to consider both the facts of the case and the enduring principles which lead us to consider "the facts" *as* facts. Knitter argues that we must therefore consider the possibility of multiple perceptions and definitions of any given situation.

Clandinin (1985) pursues this argument further. She explores how teachers develop a body of understandings and perceptions which allow them to regard a particular situation as a problem needing attention or as a normal event needing no intervention. She argues that teachers "leaven" the contents of their teacher education with personal and practical awareness, and proposes the concept of "personal practical knowledge", which is

"imbued with all the experiences that make up a person's being [...It is...] (t)hat body of convictions, conscious or unconscious, which have arisen from experience, intimate, social, and traditional, and which are expressed in a person's actions."

(Clandinin, 1985: p. 362)

Personal practical knowledge guides practice, which is a complex phenomenon. Clandinin claims that it

"involves the calling forth of images from a history, from a narrative of experience, so that the "image" is then available to guide us in making sense of future situations. Images are within experience and are not only in the logically defined worlds which specify their conceptual status. [...] (I)mages are embodied and enacted. Their embodiment entails emotionality, morality, and aesthetics and it is these affective, personally felt and believed meanings which engender enactments."

(Clandinin 1985: p. 363)

Further, such knowledge is value-laden and purposeful, tentative, subject to change and transient rather than fixed, objective and unchanging.

Echoes of Martin Rein's (1983) discussion of the nature of professional knowledge, and of Young's (1981) "assumptive worlds" resound through

Clandinin's paper. Her work is also easily related to the sociological studies of teachers by Lortie (1975) and Lieberman and Miller (1984), both of whom emphasise teachers' lack of publicly acknowledged dependence on "theory", as well as their readiness to close the classroom door and see themselves as cocooned with the children:

"you and me, and let's see what we can do alone"

(Lieberman and Miller 1984: p. 9)

was a very common attitude. Lacey's (1977) examination of the socialisation of beginning teachers suggests some sources of this attitude, which might be termed "pragmatic isolationism". He argues that, for the student teacher, "failure" in a classroom is both public and, because of the degree of investment made in the lesson, shattering:

"The search for material is the student-teacher's behavioural response to the problems posed by the classroom. It ties him to the classroom even though he is physically miles away from it and involves an investment of intellect and imagination that is particularly personal. It is this personal investment in the solution to the problem of the classroom that makes failure or even partial failure or rejection so shattering."

(Lacey, 1977: pp.82-3)

The problem is compounded by the typical arrangement whereby student teachers can only depend for advice and assistance upon teachers who will have a say in whether they pass their teaching-practice. The routine amalgamation of authority and confidant roles may be one significant dimension of the privatisation of teachers' work which is so frequent as to allow us to regard it as a norm.

One consequence of such privatisation is likely to be a dependence on practical and personal experience - precisely the form of knowledge Clandinin is exploring. Teachers work from recollections of what worked before, and tailor them to their perception of each particular situation. There is no private expectation of universal success: every situation is unique. Lacey (1977) sees this situational response as the working through of an "action-ideas system" which combines prior knowledge and experience with the values-complex of the actor, born of the professional culture and academic subculture in which she or he is located. This view of teaching would seem to emphasise both the tendency towards the short-term consideration at the expense of the long-term, and the probability of significant value-ambiguity within the educational system.

Two points need emphasising. First, we are once again faced with an insistence upon the personal nature of even theoretically public knowledge, and with the essential power which derives from ownership of that knowledge. It allows us to function in a given setting, and we are alleged to construct it so as to allow ourselves to function to our satisfaction in the setting where we find ourselves. Such power, as Ball (1987) would argue, can be exercised both in classroom and non-classroom settings, and could relate to skill in persuading meetings to accept a set of ideas, or to an ability to obtain additional resources, as much as it might be concerned with teaching abilities. Further, if we are concerned to turn a policy statement or requirement, at whatever level in the system it has been generated - for a departmental syllabus can be taken as a policy in this context - then we are dependent upon owning the ideas expressed in the policy and relating them to our own experience if it is to become reality. We are brought again to issues of power, ownership and dependence .

However, within the limits posed by such arguments, we are still faced with a difficulty. Notwithstanding the arguments of Clandinin, Rein and Young we have discussed here and in chapter two, certain recognisable similarities give reason and rationality to our experience. A junior school classroom is likely to be fairly easily recognisable as such, in spite of great variety between different examples. At the same time, it is not so obvious that a traveller in time projected forward fifty years from 1940 would necessarily recognise it so easily - even the size of the children may lead the traveller to see infant children as lower juniors! We appear to create points of reference by which to order and define our existence on a more than totally individualistic basis. So although the thrust of the culture of teaching is towards privacy and individualism, and away from public knowledge and collegiality, there are similarities.

To some extent these derive from the very set of social and professional pressures which cause teachers to treat their world of work as private. In Gross's (1985) terms, the integrative values of teaching are isolationist, and frequently overlap with equally isolationist regulatory-directive values, acceptance of which is a condition of admission into the collectivity. Isolationism thus becomes a powerful motivational value if teachers wish to be a part of the collectivity of teachers - a pressure which the public rhetoric of "professionalism" strengthens.

As well as demonstrating the danger of being seen to fail, Lacey (1977) also demonstrates how beginning teachers adjust to the demands of their longer-established colleagues. This usually involves moving away from a set of intentions to bring about changes in practice in line with the precepts of their teacher training towards a more traditional view of the teacher's role, such as is presented by older colleagues to whom they attribute authority. Such adaptation occurs in two ways: there is a pragmatic approach which he called

"strategic compliance", in which the new teacher adapts to the demands of authority figure and is seen to be good, and a more fundamental acceptance of the values of the authority figure which he called "internalised adjustment". More recent work on educational innovation (Fullan, 1982; Huberman and Miles 1984; Saxl, Miles and Lieberman 1988) suggests that strategic compliance can give way to internalised adjustment over a period of time, and this backs up Clandinin's view of the development of personal practical knowledge.

Meyer's (1980) arguments also provide a basis for identifying the broader similarities between teachers and schools. He proposes that societally-created "institutional categories" bring a measure of unity into the sum of individual experiences, and that these limit the degree of variation which can occur between practitioners operating within each individual category. Although we should not overstate either the degree of consensus underpinning the categories or the extent to which they are internally coherent, the importance of education to social and economic development, indicated in the arguments of the civil servants quoted by Simon (1986) and discussed at the beginning of this chapter, are likely to increase the pressure for what Meyer calls categorical conformity. Thus social pressures, created by parents, the teacher's own expectations and personal experience, the experience and expectations of colleagues and administrators, and the expectations of the children themselves, limit the degree of variation between classes of a particular subject and year group. Teachers will not wish their children to be regarded as inadequately taught by the teachers who take them the following year. Children will not wish to be regarded as failures, and parents will also be keen to see their children succeed. The wider social setting of the educational system as a whole creates limits to the degree of variation individual teachers and schools can allow. Judgments of the adequacy of a teacher's work rest not

on what happens in a particular classroom but on the degree to which that classroom meshes with the broader social setting of all classrooms containing children of a similar age being taught a particular topic or subject. Meyer argues that the constraints which such broader institutional categories create apply as much to the teacher's pedagogy as to the curriculum followed.

One consequence of this is that schools need to keep their offerings as far as possible in line with what is generally socially required. This places longer-serving teachers in strong positions when decisions are being taken about curriculum provision or pedagogical practice. Another consequence is that innovation, when it occurs, is likely to be connected in some way to existing practice, in order to give it status as an acceptable form of educational practice. Thus TVEI worked, in most cases, through traditional subjects. This argument matches with those of Goodson (1983) on the status of curriculum subjects, and suggests that subject background and length of service is likely to become a basis for exercising influence within the staffroom on the practice of others.

However, as indicated above, Ball (1987) also suggests that micropolitical skills are significant for carving out such influence. He argues that as well as a broad culture of individual private practice, there is a set of teacher subcultures which work to divide and stratify teachers within staffrooms. He connects this to Goodson's arguments about the different statuses of subjects, and to the ability of certain subject areas to obtain more resources per student than others. Thus, he suggests, Heads of Science subjects are likely to be more influential than Heads of History, but the differential access to resources are likely to create divisions within a staffroom. For Ball, subject subcultures are more important than the broad culture of teaching in identifying the culture of schools.

This discussion of the literature on informal cultural influences at work within schools stresses disunity and isolation rather than consensus and cooperation. The importance of the classroom, and the need to be seen to be in control there, generates a fear of being seen to "fail" as early as teaching practice, and leads to an emphasis on knowledge being private and experiential as the individual works out successful strategies for the classroom. The demand for the privacy and isolation of one's primary responsibility from that of one's colleagues appears to be long-lasting. It may also be a part of the basis for the teachers' claim to be professionals - although another part of that claim may rest on their need for discretion and judgment in handling children day by day, which was part of the reason why bureaucratic models were found to be inadequate descriptions of schools as organisations. Teachers claim professional status because they have to exercise discretion, which they do by calling on their store of personal practical knowledge. In the culture of isolation and privacy which is generated by the character of personal practical knowledge and the fear of failure, the claim of professional status becomes extended to a claim for considerable autonomy, or at least independence from control. They appear to seek this independence as much from their professional colleagues as from administrators or other outsiders.

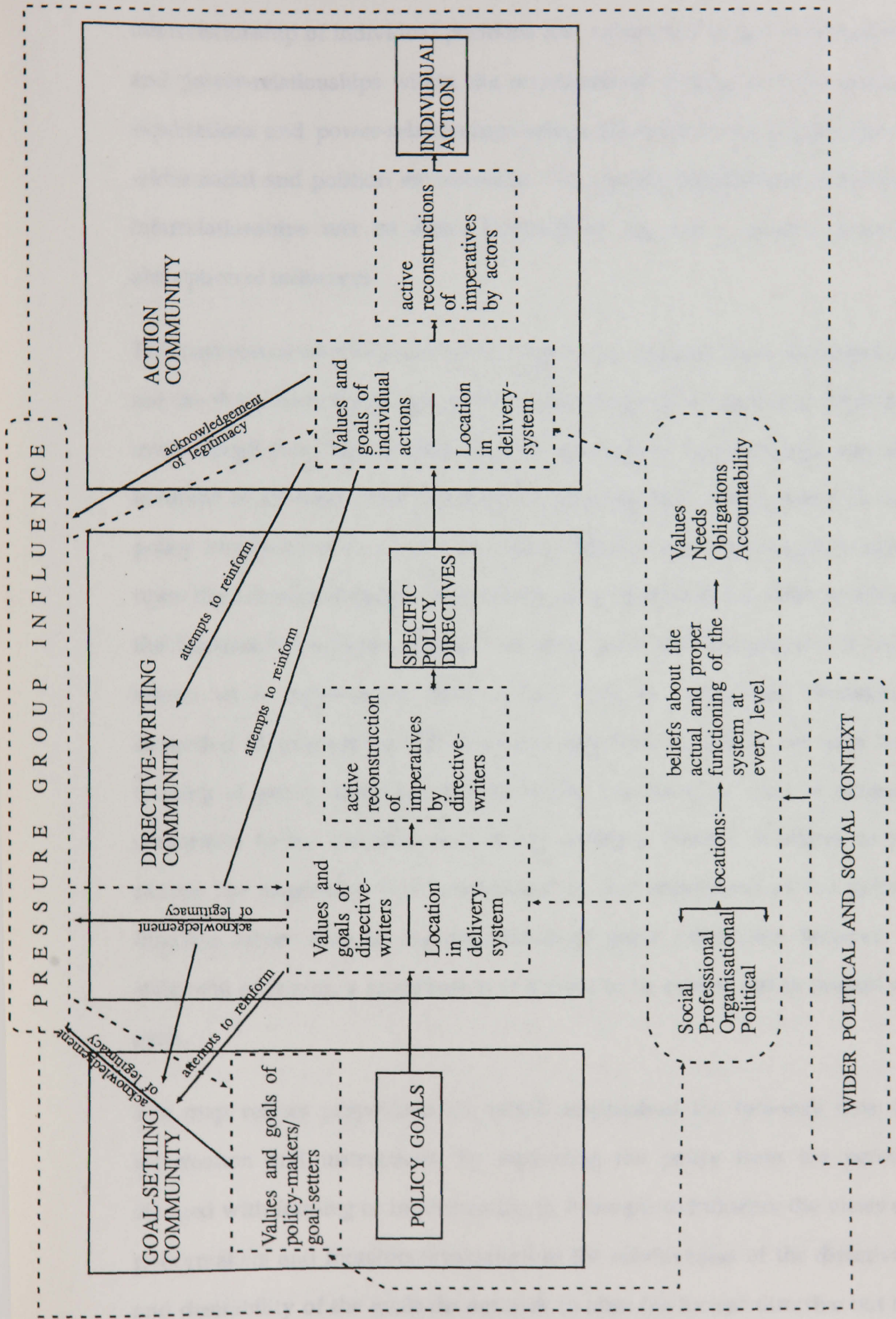
We can find support for a number of our propositions in this discussion. The segmentation of internal professional communities is in line with proposition (iv), and strengthens the expectation of conflict which our discussion of schools as organisations demonstrated. The nature of personal practical knowledge suggests that responses to policy issues will be highly situational (proposition (v)), and that there is likely to be conflict and contradictions between the policy directives which teachers create and the wider system, although the boundaries of this will be limited by the need for conformity to institutional categories (proposition (viii)). The significance of values as part

of personal practical knowledge makes the means-end relationship problematic, and the demands for isolation and privacy make it important for individual teachers to create personal action spaces within which to bring their personal practical knowledge to bear on the situation facing them (propositions (ix) and (x)). It is suggested, therefore, that we should be ready to analyse the data we find in terms of schools operating as loosely-coupled systems, with unpredictable relationships between the subunits, and plenty of room for micropolitical activity and conflict, and with divided and essentially private teaching staffs, who are loth to share their concerns and difficulties with their colleagues.

Chapter 4: Research Design and Methodology

The brief summary of curriculum literature in chapter three demonstrated how curriculum policies exist as part of a network of intentions and at different levels of specificity. The creation of local authority and, latterly, National Curriculum policies has established a hierarchy of obligations, with specific detail now being set down within defined parameters. Curriculum thus becomes a classic example of a set of policy directives, each dependent on prior general decisions for its creation and on specific decisions for its implementation. However, because it serves a variety of intentions, it is also potentially an area of conflict. Further, the broader political purposes which it is created to serve are themselves open to challenge, and the degree of control over teachers' classroom activity which is necessary and desirable for its implementation is a matter for dispute. We thus have in the area of curriculum policy implementation a potentially fruitful, if complex, area for study.

Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that it is helpful to connect together one's initial formulation of the key elements of the study into a "conceptual map". In our case we must connect together the view of curriculum as a classic



policy directive and our ten propositions, which emphasised the interrelationship of individual positions and values, the values, expectations and power-relationships within the organisational setting, and the values, expectations and power-relationships which characterise the organisation's wider social and political environment. They further emphasized that these interrelationships rest on active transactions and not a passive osmotic absorption of influences.

This conceptual mapping is shown in figure 2. It suggests that it is helpful to see the three elements of goal setting, policy writing, and action as distinct, even though they may be done by the same person, or individuals may be involved in all three. This allows us to recognise the various points in the policy implementation process at which influence may be brought to bear upon the actors, and either institutionalised or internalised in order to affect the relationship between original intentions and ultimate practice. It also allows us to hypothesize that, in line with the situational dimension suggested in proposition (vi), the more involved the actors are with the framing of policy directives, the more they are likely to want to achieve conformity to the directive as it finally emerges. Further, it allows us to pursue the suggestion that "curriculum" is best understood as the policy directive rather than as the articulation of goals: curriculum becomes a statement of means, a specification of actions to be carried out in pursuit of aims.

The map refines proposition (i), which emphasised the two-way flow of information and instructions, by separating the policy from the person charged with framing or implementing it. Attempts to influence the views of policymakers and monitors/evaluators of the effectiveness of the directives and desirability of the goals do not seek to alter the formal directive but to influence the people who have the authority or power to make the desired

alterations. The two-way flow of information is seen as a formal and depersonalised movement of instructions which then get reconstructed, and a combination of formal and informal, but essentially personalised, movement of information which is aimed at generating further reconstructions at the relevant level of authority. As well as amplifying on proposition (i), this adds another, more explicitly political, element to proposition (iv).

Another point is that the "directive-writing community" may be involved in progressive rewriting or explication of directives, and that the stage may therefore be iterative. Further, its separation of directive-writing and action communities is analytic rather than descriptive: we should not assume that the people performing the tasks are totally distinct from one another. In all services which are managed by staff drawn from the professionals who deal with the clients, those senior professional managers are for the most part also actors at the point of delivery.

What is more, for goal-setters to accord legitimacy to external pressure-groups may involve their regarding members of the action-community as legitimately involved in influencing the setting of goals: this would depend on the value-orientation of the goal-setters.

Establishing the focus of the fieldwork

This study started from the question, "has the promulgation of local education authority curriculum policies had any impact on teachers' practice?" Answering this question requires us to examine certain others, as follows:

is the curriculum policy of the LEA such that it is intended to influence teacher practice?

is the curriculum policy known to the teachers? Do they believe that they are implementing it or responding to it?

do the teachers acknowledge local authority curriculum policies as a legitimate influence on their practice?

through what means do teachers see local authority policies in general, and curriculum policies in particular, as having an effect on their work?

do teachers acknowledge other influences on their practice as more important than LEA curriculum policies?

where teachers find a mismatch between competing pressures on their practice, how do they resolve the tension?

To study these questions, we need two kinds of information. We must examine the character of the policy documents in the authorities studied, to see to what extent they placed requirements directly on teachers and, insofar as they did, in what areas of teacher activity these directives operated. In this, it is sufficient to rest our analysis purely on the documents themselves, although some amplification of the authority's intentions might be gained from interviews with chief advisers or other senior curriculum officers. Secondly, we must examine the influences which teachers acknowledge on their work. This will involve discussing with teachers what they do, and why they do it in the way they do. It might also involve observing teachers in action, although this is less certain.

Further, since we are hoping in studying the impact of LEA curriculum policies to test our ten propositions empirically, we should attend to the following concerns:

the intentions of actors: their values, beliefs and attitudes, and the ways in which they try to realise them in their daily work;

the impact of situational concerns, both internal and external to the organisation, and the ways in which those concerns are perceived;

the nature of the pressures perceived as enjoining conformity of action to some sort of norm: how their sources are perceived, what legitimacy is accorded to them and why, the degree of specification they involve, the extent to which individuals feel they have a stake in their operation, the degree of discretion perceived as being allowed, and how far the norms of conformity are in conflict with one another;

the scope perceived as available for adaptation and/or avoidance of these pressures, both externally (e.g., pressure groups, trade unions) and internally (informal and formal power systems).

Gaining access to data on these matters is a complex task, raising important questions about the scale and scope of the study and the number of authorities, schools and teachers to be investigated, and requiring us to consider how to ensure that our data are both reliable and valid.

Methodological Issues Addressed in the Research Design.

The first issue needing resolution is the methods required to collect the data sought on teachers' practice. Because the study focusses on aspects of teacher thinking, and so developed some affinity with the work of Elbaz (1983) and Clandinin (1985), observation was considered as a research tool. However, it was discounted as requiring a long period of time to generate trust and that what was observed was not a "special performance" laid on for the

researcher's benefit. Repeated observations would be needed, which would reduce greatly the number of teachers and schools which could be studied.

Further, because the study was intended to focus on teachers' perceptions of dominant influences on their practice, so as to gauge the impact of LEA curriculum policies, it was felt that what teachers did was less important than what they believed they did. For this reason, it was decided to rest the main data-collection on extended interviews with a range of senior and junior teachers drawn from different departments. By using semi-structured interviews (Wragg 1984) it was possible to ensure broad similarity between interviews, while using the schedule as an "aide memoire" allowed particular concerns to be pursued as the teachers raised them. Thus it was possible to include a question on religious beliefs and the extent to which teachers felt that these played an important part in shaping their work, and to raise it towards the end if it had not appeared explicitly earlier in the conversation, but to explore this area much earlier if the teacher referred to religion in response to another, broader question. This indeed happened, and although the same questions were asked, they were not necessarily asked in the same order. To have done so would have been to impose the researcher's perception of relationships on the interviewee, rather than exploring the interviewee's perception of them. This approach therefore has resonances with the approach taken by Becher in his recent work on "Academic Tribes and Territories", (Becher 1989), by Bush and Kogan (1982) and Bush, Kogan and Lenney (1989) in their work on directors of education, and Bush (1990) in his recent work on Grant Maintained Schools, which are pursuing similar kinds of data: impressionistic, individual, and subjective.

Deciding to use in-depth interviewing increased the number of subjects and settings which could be investigated. This was desirable, since a key element of the propositions is that individuals see situations uniquely, but that

situations themselves have a bearing on how each individual constructs the setting. This situational dimension might relate to a person's level of seniority in the organisation, to length of service, membership of particular subunits or departments within the organisation, the organisational or local context, or the nature of the LEA directives. By reducing our data-collection methods to documentary analysis and extended interviews, it became possible to explore more situations than would otherwise have been the case.

Unfortunately, simply relying on interviews opens this study to the danger that teachers might simply tell the interviewer what they believe he wants to hear, or dress their comments up in what they believe to be a favourable light. Qualitative studies attempt to triangulate their sources of data in order to increase the likelihood that the data collected are both reliable and valid. It is, however, difficult to see how it is possible to triangulate data on how an individual reconstructs a pattern of influences in order to create an essentially personal teaching response to constraints and requirements unless we were to take a very small number of teachers and work intensively with them, using a technique like Personal Construct Theory (Kelly 1955; Bannister and Fransella 1971). This would remove the benefits of a larger sample which was made possible by the decision not to use observational methods.

Some triangulation would be achieved through documentary evidence. It was also possible to verify information by having it provided by a range of respondents. Thus information about school culture and climate, the nature of colleagues, and perceptions of the role of advisers, inspectors, LEA policies and other external matters would be gained from a range of staff, and information corroborated from a number of sources, or even discussed with differing perspectives, given more weight than was attached to information from only one respondent.

Such cross-referencing could also produce unsolicited reinforcement of other interviewees' statements concerned with their personal feelings and relationships. For example, one teacher launched a vitriolic attack on her new Head of Department which was largely discounted as personal dislike and jealousy until two other staff in the same school, independently and unprompted since they were considering other issues, volunteered corroborative evidence of the unpleasant nature of the Head of Department concerned, and how she was perceived to have treated the first interviewee.

Such triangulation or verification would not establish that the individual's perception of influences, as portrayed to the researcher, was valid. More likely to achieve that would have been cross-checking between a series of interviews with the same individual (see, for example, Elbaz 1983). But such an approach, resting on the principle that trust develops over time and that later interviews are more "truthful" than earlier ones, is open to question: some respondents would argue that they will be more open with an outsider who is seen as detached from the institutional setting than with someone who is seen as becoming "part of the furniture". Further, the demonstration of such "truth" would need further work than simply taking the later statement as true, or asking the individual respondent to resolve contradictions: that is no more than was carried out in this study by asking the respondent to check the accuracy of the interview report.

For one approach which at least allows the researcher to ensure that what has been recorded is what the interviewee wished to have recorded is the technique of "respondent validity" (Bell, 1987). In this, the researcher feeds back what has been understood to the person being interviewed, and an agreed account of the interview is established. This was achieved by sending the report of the interview to the subject, with a request that it should be checked for accuracy and corrected as necessary. It also allowed anything

which it was not wished to retain in the report to be deleted, and for follow-up questions to be asked or clarification sought on matters which were not clear from the tape or the notes taken at the time.

Although it is not an established form of ensuring that the data are reliable or valid, another indication that teachers were being honest in their interviews is the value which became placed on the study by those involved. At four of the schools it was clear that people were talking about the interview to colleagues with some enthusiasm as a valuable piece of personal development, enabling them to reflect on what they did and why, and to consider the influences at work, and this allowed some teachers at least to begin to change what they did. In one school, teachers came and asked if they, too, could be interviewed. At three schools, teachers asked if they could have copies of the interview report for their own personal reference. At one school, where two members of the same department were interviewed, the recognition that they had both been playing games with one another and finding all kinds of different forms of words in order to avoid saying, "I don't know how to do this, can you help?" led to their establishing a much more open relationship with each other which was, apparently, communicating itself to others in the department. Almost none of the respondents declined to answer follow-up questions in writing, and several wrote long comments on the report. This suggests that much of what was said was genuine.

Establishing the nature and size of the sample

The decision to rest the study on interview data and documentary analysis opened the possibility of more respondents, and consequently of investigating more situations. This was important since the ten propositions stressed the process of reconstruction, the multiplicity of routes by which external influences could make themselves felt, the importance of the

interaction of influences and values, and the micropolitical character of much institutional life. This made it desirable to sample teachers in a variety of settings, influenced both by seniority in the formal system and by subjects taught. The propositions also encouraged us to consider a comparative examination of teachers in similar positions in different schools. This comparative dimension could be taken further to consider more than one authority, in the hope of examining whether different school-authority relationships affected the impact of LEA policies. Studying more than one authority allowed us to compare similar schools in the different authorities.

As well as taking account of different subjects and different levels of seniority in different schools in different authorities, it was also thought desirable to seek a balance of older and younger teachers, and of men and women, and to attempt to ensure that the balance of men and women was held constant across the different levels of formal seniority in the sample.

Accordingly, it was decided to research in two authorities, and to have similar samples of schools from each. To ensure comparability, the LEAs were similar in size, geographical location, socio-economic status, ethnic mix and political history. In selecting the schools, it was recognised that their status and character might have a bearing on their relationship with the LEA and also on their internal climate. In particular, aided schools, and especially denominational schools, might have different characters from fully maintained schools, and would stand in a different formal relationship to the LEA. Single sex and mixed schools might have differences of culture and attitude, as might selective and non-selective schools. In the event, problems of access to authorities with selective systems led to this last option being excluded. It was decided to seek to set up a study in a mixed, a single sex and an aided school in each of two authorities: six schools in all.

To take account of different teaching subjects and levels of staff seniority within each school, an attempt was made to define broad categories of subject and to seek similar combinations of staff within each category. Because of the different teaching circumstances in which they operated, and the possibility that this might influence their relations with their colleagues, teachers with responsibilities in the field of Special Needs were included as a separate category. These decisions produced a sample of ten teachers from each school, as follows:

one teacher from among the senior teachers/deputy heads;

one teacher with responsibilities in the area of special educational needs;

a Head of Department and another teacher from each of the following categories:

Maths and Science, including Computer Studies;

Languages and Literature;

Creative and Aesthetic subjects, including "vocational" subjects such as Home Economics;

Humanities and the Social Sciences.

In addition, all the Headteachers were interviewed, as were RE teachers at both aided schools.

The sample which was drawn was successful in providing extensive data susceptible to comparative analysis. However, it must be acknowledged that because of the sampling decisions taken, some areas of the curriculum, notably PE, were largely ignored.

The Interview Schedule and Analysis.

The concerns it was sought to address were stated above (pp. 66 - 67). They were investigated by asking teachers about

their individual work: how they conceived of their work, the tasks involved in carrying it out, the nature of the skills and expertise involved in performing them, and the extent to which others might possess such skills and expertise;

the curriculum planning undertaken within department or faculty, school and authority: its organisation, scope, and status; the extent to which it was seen as legitimate planning, and why. The extent to which guides to action were seen to exist, their status, and the degree of discretion perceived as allowed to the teacher in individual planning and action;

national and local initiatives; the extent to which they have been helped or hindered by groups, circumstances, colleagues and selves; reasons adduced for the initiatives being helped/hindered; and feelings about the initiatives and actions. Examples might be TVEI and GCSE, as well as asking about wider intra-authority initiatives in developing LEA policy statements;

the monitoring and evaluation undertaken at individual, school and authority level, and by whom these tasks were carried out; the status of such monitoring/evaluation and reasons for its having such status;

the planning, monitoring and evaluation tasks undertaken by staff within school and LEA, and the reasons why the persons undertaking them had the positional and informal standing they did; how much notice was taken of these individuals when they were acting in these

areas, and why; the tactics and strategies employed if evasion/avoidance was the order of the day;

the influences on intention and practice which were seen as legitimate, and why; also what were seen as intending influences which were non-legitimate and therefore needing resistance; and how legitimate and non-legitimate influences were responded to. This last returned us to the focus on the teacher's daily task with which the discussion began.

The initial interview schedule was overambitious: the first pilot interview lasted three hours and ten minutes! The respondent was invited to suggest ways in which our concerns might be investigated more economically, and in the light of these comments and a careful examination of the transcript, a second schedule was produced. This was tested on a number of respondents known to the researcher through informal professional contacts. By chance they all worked in two schools in one of the authorities eventually studied, and so their schools were excluded from the final sample. No attempt was made to generate a sample of testers which matched the final sample frame, although the teachers interviewed with the second draft of the schedule included teachers ranging from scale one linguists through scale three Art and Special Needs teachers to a senior teacher. Again, comments were sought from the teachers interviewed and the transcripts analysed, and further amendments made. In particular, the request for background information on the teacher's previous career, training, and length of service at the school was moved from the interview itself to a preliminary questionnaire which the teachers were asked to complete before the actual interview. It was also found that the teachers tended to talk in generalisations and were loth to offer concrete examples of the kinds of issues and occasions they were discussing. To give some concrete events to discuss if they were not raised in the

interview, therefore, teachers were also asked to describe on the questionnaire three recent incidents: one which they had dealt with on their own and without referring the matter to anyone or reporting it; one which they had dealt with on their own but had reported afterwards; and one on which they had sought guidance or direction before acting, or had referred to someone else for attention. These incidents helped to give an idea of the boundaries of discretion within which they saw themselves operating, and provided an opportunity to discuss this. This revised combination of questionnaire and interview was then used, and interviews usually lasted for between seventy and ninety minutes, though occasionally they lasted longer than this, especially when talking to Heads. Only two interviews lasted for less than seventy minutes, apart from one with a senior teacher responsible for Special Needs, who, having initially agreed to take part, was only prepared to give a short statement and not to answer any questions.

For analysis of the data a 13 x 7 matrix was prepared, following the procedure recommended by Miles and Huberman (1984), against which statements could be coded. This approach was adopted as a starting-point rather than intended to be a definitive framework. It sought to make explicit how the initial analysis of the data would be guided, in its initial stages, by the view of the policy-action relationship laid out in the ten propositions (pp. 41 - 43) and the conceptual map (fig. 2 above). An alternative approach would have been to have adopted the *a posteriori* approach to analytic categorisation of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1968), but it was felt that to have done so would have been to have ignored the assumptions which had guided the study to this stage. The matrix, though cumbersome and eventually abandoned for a revised framework, made those assumptions explicit as starting-points without making impossible the development of alternative coding categories, and, as we shall see below, it was extensively revised.

A distinction can also be drawn between the initial coding of data and the search for significance within the data of a particular code. By treating the coding frame as an explication of initial assumptions rather than as a straitjacket, it was, indeed, possible to move towards a more grounded analysis and presentation of the data which responded to the findings rather than constraining them.

The matrix, then, sought to develop categories from the ten propositions and the conceptual mapping drawn from them, and emphasised the essentially contradictory relationship postulated between structural and social pressures and individual values, needs and obligations. It identified the following structural and social categories:

structural/organisational, which subdivided into national, local, school and department;

professional, subdivided into training, experience, organisational culture/colleagues, and trade union;

social, subdivided into pressure-group, family, politics, religion and media.

There were also seven "dimensions" of individuals' work and their approaches to it, which were seen to be susceptible to influences which could be categorised in the way listed above. These dimensions were: values; needs; obligations; accountability (distinguished from obligations by the existence of a formal reporting relationship, as argued by Kogan (1986)); broad goals; limited or short term goals; and means.

Permission was sought to tape-record the interviews rather than trying to make notes, since the length of time the interview would run would make full and accurate recall difficult. In the event, two teachers declined to be tape-

recorded, and these interviews were written up from detailed notes taken at the time. Both reports were less detailed, and less rich in direct quotation, than were the reports of the interviews which had been recorded. Interviews were not transcribed in full, but extended reports were prepared, using extensive direct quotation. These reports were then returned to the teachers for checking, and the agreed report was then adopted as the basis for the analysis which followed.

Carrying Out The Research: adaptation, amendment, and coping with breakdowns.

Having identified the scale of the commitment being sought, two metropolitan authorities were identified which were similar in size, social and ethnic mix, geographical location, political composition, spending levels, and size of the educational service. They were approached with an explanation of the study, that it would involve three schools, and ten staff from each. Total anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed, and it was emphasised that no reporting back to the authority would take place. In spite of this, both authorities were prepared to cooperate, and both emphasised that it would not be regarded as in any way "sponsored" research. The Chief Inspector of one authority sought to direct the study to particular schools, but when it was pointed out that it was intended to match "pairs" of schools across the authorities he did not insist.

Individual schools were approached by letter and phone call. Five out of the six were happy to cooperate; one, a Church of England voluntary aided school, was more reluctant, and eventually withdrew, unfortunately after all the interviews at its "pair" school had been completed. Consequently it was necessary to approach another aided school in that authority, but this was a

Roman Catholic school rather than a Church of England institution, so the "pairing" was a contrasting rather than a similar one.

There was little attempt by the schools involved to control the sample of staff interviewed: the only major effort was made by the Head of the school which eventually withdrew. At two of the schools, the Head agreed to the study and left it entirely to the researcher to meet any staff he could persuade to talk to him and try to draw up a list of willing participants from which he could draw his sample. At a third school, the Head asked at a staff meeting who would be interested in taking part and sent a list of sixteen possible interviewees to the researcher. At a subsequent visit to meet these staff, further staff were identified who fitted the three categories still unfilled in the sample frame, and the researcher then had to persuade them to take part. At two of the schools, the Head or Deputy Head provided a list of staff who fitted each category in the sample frame and it was then for the researcher to decide who should be approached. In one of these schools not all staff would participate, and some categories were unfilled.

These schools were fairly systematic, or gave the researcher a free hand, in identifying possible interviewees. At the last school it was more ad hoc. Oversight of the project was delegated to the deputy head, who simply awaited the next visit of the researcher and then asked which categories had to be completed. The researcher was then taken to whichever appropriate teacher was free at the time, who was clearly expected to take part because the deputy head was ordering them to cooperate: it was therefore necessary to reassure the teachers that participation was not compulsory, and some withdrew. Eventually the researcher borrowed the timetable and the staff list and prepared a list of teachers who met various categories, and then matched their availability against his own. This list was presented to the deputy head, and the researcher said that he would contact them directly unless there was

any objection to this from senior management. Thereafter he had only to make his presence known when he arrived on or left the school.

The eventual sample obtained was close to that intended but not identical. There were several reasons for this. The first was that during the fieldwork a new teachers' salary structure was introduced. The original distinction in the sample between "senior" and "junior" teachers within the department had been drawn between grades two and three. Under the new salary structure, this would have made all incentive allowance holders into "senior" staff. To find staff willing to take part it was necessary to include holders of "A" allowances in the "junior" category, but the distinction between "A" and "B" posts appeared entirely arbitrary in some schools - a question of money available rather than responsibilities involved, perhaps. Further, in one of the schools overstaffing with teachers on protected posts meant that some main grade staff were working as acting unpaid Heads of Department.

A second reason was that some staff who originally agreed to take part did not keep appointments, either because of other commitments or demands, or because they did not want to take part but had been too polite to decline openly. It was emphasised to them that it was understood that it was an extra imposition on them at a busy time, and that demands of covering for absent colleagues or dealing with work-related situations should take priority, and this produced several "return visits", but in the last school studied the end of term prevented this, and it was in any case clear that at least one person was avoiding being interviewed. However, by then it was too late to replace him in the sample.

A third reason was that in some cases there were literally no teachers in the school in that category willing to take part. A fourth complication came from the fact that a number of staff gained promotion between agreeing to take

**TEXT BOUND
INTO
THE SPINE**

Deputy Head/ Senior Teacher	✓	✓(1)	✓	✓	✓
Special Needs	✓	✓	✓(3)	✓(4)	✓
<i>Heads of Dept:</i>					
Maths, Science, Computing	✓(5)	✓	✓(5)	✓	✓
Language and Literature	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Humanities and Social Science	✓	✓(6)	✓	✓	✓
Creative/ Vocational/ Technical	✓	✓	X	✓	✓
<i>Other teachers:</i>					
Maths, Science Computing	✓	X	✓(7)	X	✓
Language and Literature	✓	✓	✓(8)	✓	X
Humanities and Social Science	✓(9)	✓(9)	✓	✓	✓
Creative/ Vocational/ Technical	✓	✓	X	✓	✓

- (1) two Deputy Heads interviewed at St. Thomas More
 (2) two senior teachers interviewed at Sarah Lawley; one had responsibility for Special Needs
 (3) uncertain organisation in this area at Fotherby Wood led to three teachers in this field being interviewed. All had additional insights to offer in other areas, since they had other duties too.
 (4) this teacher at Great Witley would only give a five-minute prepared statement.
 (5) two teachers in this category interviewed at Sedbury and Sarah Lawley.
 (6) two teachers in this category interviewed at St. Thomas More.
 (7) two teachers in this category interviewed at Fotherby Wood.
 (8) the original teacher selected as teacher of English at Sarah Lawley was promoted to second in the English department before the interviews occurred. However, another teacher interviewed, who was selected as a Drama and Creative Arts specialist, in fact taught English and many of her answers focussed on her English teaching.
 (9) extra RE teachers were interviewed at Sedbury, and attention paid to their RE teaching in the interviews of Catholic staff at St. Thomas More, most of whom had some RE teaching duties, or had taught RE in the recent past.

part and the interviews finally taking place, and a fifth was that it was sometimes impossible to choose between two teachers in a category on anything other than a random basis. When this happened, it was thought better to interview them both.

The last reason was that in some schools teachers who were not included in the original sample came and asked to take part. When this occurred it was thought politic to agree.

The final coverage of the sample frame is shown in fig 3.

Teachers were asked to take part in a study which was examining the range of influences on teacher practice. It was felt that to ask them to take part in a study of the impact of LEA policies would be unwise for two reasons. First, it would cause them to focus on the LEA, whereas it was hoped that the study would be able to locate the influence of the LEA in a wider range of influences and so gauge its impact. Secondly, there was some concern that although the study was not being sponsored by the LEA and no reporting back was envisaged, some teachers might be reluctant to take part in what they might see as a "spying" study.

Teachers were given the questionnaire to complete, and asked to find a quiet place somewhere for the time of the interview. Permission was sought to use a tape recorder, and once this was agreed, all the arrangements were confirmed in writing. After the interview a full report was prepared and returned to the interviewee for checking. This gave them the chance to correct misunderstandings and to remove anything they did not wish to keep in the report: almost nothing was removed, although minor corrections were often made, usually of matters of fact. This procedure also gave the opportunity to ask follow-up questions which had either been overlooked at the time or not pursued because of lack of time in the interview.

One teacher refused to accept the report of his interview, and agreed to repeat the interview. The second report was accepted without demur. Close comparison of the two reports failed to reveal to the researcher what had caused the concern, but the first report was not used.

A problem occurred after two schools had been researched and the interviews written up. A change in the researcher's full-time employment created a one-year gap before the fieldwork could be resumed. Thus two schools were studied in the winter of 1987 - 8, and the other four in the spring and summer of 1989. This is taken into account in the analysis of the data. It became important to complete the fieldwork by the end of July 1989 since the first parts of the National Curriculum were to be implemented at Key Stage three in September 1989, and it was felt that this could significantly alter the role and influence of LEA policies.

After the interviews were completed for a school, the data were coded and a detailed site report prepared. The first three schools studied were analysed using the codes derived from the 13 x 7 matrix. They represented one of each type of school, two from one authority and one from the other. These site reports became extended case studies of the pattern of influences identified within each school, which both presented empirical data and sought to discuss these in relation to the ten propositions, and it was envisaged at first that, suitably revised, they would be included as empirical chapters in the study. It soon became apparent that this would not be possible, partly because they were too long, and partly because differences between the schools made cross-site comparisons difficult, so an alternative means of data presentation has been adopted.

The first three site reports all reflected the different emphases found in the schools and the "grounded" way in which themes and emphases were sought

from the coded data (Glaser and Strauss 1968). This produced different subheadings and made direct comparison across the schools harder than a standardised format would have done. Because of this, the three reports were reviewed before further writing up was done, and this identified common threads and provided a common framework for the presentation of the data in the remaining three schools. It also showed that a different coding frame was appropriate, which would allow a more closely focussed selection of raw data from the interview reports. This new frame identified:

perceived influences, both structural and derived from personal background;

the basis on which the influence was acknowledged - authority, expertise, epistemological sympathy, or resources;

the strength of the influence, either as perceived by the interviewee or as deduced from the data by the researcher;

whether the influence was felt directly or worked indirectly through other agencies;

the proposition to which this piece of data was relevant.

The final three reports were prepared from data coded and reorganised on the basis of these codes.

Both sets of codes were broadly effective, but each presented difficulties. The first frame tended to give rise to multiple coding if the data were to be reorganised in meaningful chunks: teachers would make a statement which related in part to one influence or category and in part to another, but separating them would have rendered both parts of the statement meaningless or distorted the data by not keeping the interrelationship visible.

In addition, certain of the "key dimensions" were rarely used. Indeed, in practice only the structural/social categories of the coding frame were of value for pulling together common material: the "key dimensions" then came into greater prominence when examining the reordered data.

The revised frame was successful in sorting data to pursue and amplify the common threads identified, while allowing for individual concerns to be given full emphasis, but the attempt to connect each piece of coded data to a specific proposition was not successful: material was frequently relevant to several propositions. The question of how far each proposition was free-standing is examined at length in chapter 13.

It could be argued, in the light of the problems encountered in coding the data, that the two coding frames were unnecessarily complex. This was indeed the case with the first 13 x 7 matrix, where in fact the categories along only one axis of the matrix were used for reordering the data. However, what Miles and Huberman (1984) argue for in the procedure adopted in this study is for clarifying the starting-point of the research, not sticking rigidly to it in all its particulars: indeed, they cite examples from their own research of coding frames which collapsed in use (1984, pp. 60-1). Thus, the attention to the "key dimensions" in the coding process declined as it became clear that multiple codes were frequently required; and sorting proceeded entirely on the basis of the structural/social axis of the matrix.

The move to a second coding frame represented an attempt to marry more closely the structural and social elements of the first frame with the empirical data, in the light of the first three site reports. Particularly important in this review was the separation in the second frame of the issue of direct or indirect influence from the actual source of the influence, such as

organisational or system structure, organisational or personal influence, or personal background and experience.

The themes and questions which were identified on the basis of the site reports of the first three schools analysed became the organising framework for the data presentation which follows. Rather than presenting case studies of individual schools, with the consequent repetition of issues, we have chosen to present our data synoptically, looking across all the schools and highlighting differences and similarities between them. The data presentation section begins with some background information on the two authorities and the schools studied. We then examine the perceived influence of LEA policies and officers, before broadening our discussion to examine local community concerns, with particular reference to the school's parents and governors. A section on national influences completes the discussion of what we have called "external" influences on teachers' practice. We then move via a short outline of the personal influences which teachers acknowledged to an extended discussion of the school's influence, beginning with the departmental role and moving on to wider questions of the role of senior management and the looser, but still powerful, question of peer pressure and organisational culture. Our last section then reexamines the ten propositions in the light of these data, and considers their adequacy, the adequacy of the conceptual framework established from the literature, and draws on additional literature as appropriate to generate a set of conclusions about the strength of LEA policy as an influence and the reasons for its strength or weakness.

The interview schedules used and the coding frames employed are included as appendices.

Chapter 5: Setting the Scene: the Authorities and Schools in the Study.

Because total anonymity was promised to all participants, all the names in what follows are pseudonyms. In an attempt further to ensure anonymity, the authorities themselves are described only briefly and in general terms.

Grantley and Hamley LEAs

Grantley and Hamley are average-sized metropolitan authorities. Both are situated on the outer edge of their metropolitan area, bordering on a shire county on at least one side. They do not border one another. Their populations exceed 200,000, and are similar in terms of social and ethnic composition. Both have light industrial areas which date back to the 1930s, but most employment is either in local services or involves commuting into the urban area of which they are a part. There has, however, been considerable office development in both the boroughs' major commercial centres. Both are well-connected by roads and public transport into the centre of their respective metropolitan areas, but sit athwart the main arterial routes, so that travel from one end of the borough to the other can be difficult.

Both authorities' housing ranges from large council estates built to rehouse inner city families to extremely opulent areas. For most of their history, they have been controlled by the same political party, though in the case of Hamley this has usually been with "independent ratepayer" support. However, both councils have also had periods of control by the main opposition group, and both have been "hung". Hamley's parliamentary representation changed in a Boundary Commission exercise from two marginal seats to three relatively safe seats, all held by the dominant local party, while Grantley's three parliamentary constituencies have moved from being one safe seat each for Conservative and Labour, with one marginal, to being three solid seats for the controlling group on the council.

The secondary schools in the areas covered by both authorities were reorganised in the early 1970s. Schools in Hamley were usually reorganised by amalgamating grammar and secondary modern schools together to make eight form entry schools. A few remained smaller. In the Grantley area all schools were simply expanded to five forms of entry and selective intakes abolished. Falling rolls have caused some amalgamations and closures, and in 1988 Hamley put forward proposals to deal with post-sixteen provision. This caused the governors at one of the schools studied to consider opting out into Grant Maintained status, but this did not receive sufficient parental support at an initial meeting to go ahead. At the time of the fieldwork, both authorities were operating admissions systems of full parental choice and open enrolment, although Hamley's aided schools all retained interviews since they were heavily over-subscribed. The aided schools also took children from outside the boundaries of their local authority, but no demand for this was indicated by any of the maintained schools studied.

The Curriculum Policies of the two LEAs.

Both authorities established curriculum policy statements in response to DES Circular 6/81, and instituted a review of them in accordance with the provisions of the Education (No. 2) Act, 1986. However, in both cases the revised documents had only reached draft form for consultation by the time fieldwork was completed in July 1989, having been delayed by the deliberations over the National Curriculum.

Hamley's curriculum policy statement, published in 1984, required each school to establish its own curriculum policy and keep it under review, and stressed a number of principles: balance, attention to children's ability levels, locating basic skills development in what it called "a rich and broad programme of work", and the overriding importance of effective language development. However, the detailed working out of these principles was left to individual schools. The 1988 draft proposals were more prescriptive, laying out aims and objectives for primary and secondary schools, emphasising the importance of HMI's "areas of experience" (DES 1981) and, at secondary level, attempting to connect provision with the planned National Curriculum and TVEI. The revised draft made reference to the need for "school-based curriculum appraisal," and to the importance of open access to learning, equal opportunities, and multi-racial education. It also referred to the authority's guidelines for specific subject areas, which it stated were under review. Current guidelines would be published as appendices to the final policy document.

Grantley also published a policy document in 1984. Entitled "The Curriculum 5 - 16: Guidelines on the 5 - 16 Curriculum", it claimed to result from an exercise involving all schools in preparing a detailed curriculum review, and further work by a "representative Borough Working Party" which had set up

a system of "continuous curriculum review/self-appraisal on a five year cycle", accompanied by full inspections by the LEA advisory team and an annual staff appraisal and development exercise. This last had foundered in the schools studied because of the teachers' pay dispute of the mid-1980s, which had ended shortly before the fieldwork began, but Heads were still required to submit annual appraisal reports. The 1984 curriculum guidelines document was short, acknowledging the HMI areas of experience (DES 1981) and laying out a broad philosophy of education. A revised document, published in 1989, continued to be very broad, but extended its coverage in the light of the 1988 Education Reform Act to include a statement on RE. Accompanying this second policy document, however, was a set of guidelines covering management, ethos, teaching and learning, the teaching programmes, cross-curricular areas, subject areas, assessment, monitoring and evaluation, staff development, and legal considerations, as well as appendices detailing the borough's policy on sex education, its code of practice on Health and Safety at Work, and its statement on Equal Opportunities. These guidelines were sent out for consultation to Heads and Governing Bodies, but the exercise was put "on ice" in the light of the Government's own National Curriculum documentation.

These documents show that towards the end of the period of fieldwork Grantley was becoming more directive in its thinking on the curriculum than Hamley, the two LEAs having taken similar positions when first approached for permission to study their schools. This was confirmed by a change in policy by the Grantley Chief Adviser in the autumn of 1989. All advisers were to plan their school visits around the monitoring and evaluation of specific aspects of practice relating to the implementation of the 1988 Education Reform Act. Prior to this, advisers had largely set their own agendas, but this change of plan resulted from discussions which had themselves occurred to

examine the implications of a "value for money" review of the advisory service commissioned by the council from a set of external auditors and submitted in June 1989. This will not be referenced in order to retain anonymity.

The Three Grantley Schools.

The Sarah Lawley School for Girls.

The Sarah Lawley School for Girls was founded in the 1920s. Originally sited in a well-to-do suburban area, it nevertheless drew many of its children from an area of low-cost private housing on the other side of the arterial road and railway line from its site. After the 1944 Act it became a secondary modern school, and when the Grantley areas schools were reorganised it became the only girls' comprehensive school in the locality, being redesignated and expanded in size. In the early 1970s the school was moved to a new site, closer to the estate whence many of its pupils come, and slightly easier to reach from a wider area of the authority. The buildings are pleasant, all on one floor, and in good repair. Most teaching takes place in the main building, but there are a small number of demountable classrooms which are associated with the TVEI project, in which the school was participating. Most departments had classrooms formally allocated to their use, but these allocations were insufficient to ensure that all departmental teaching occurred within its rooms. The staffroom, Head's study, and secretarial office are together near the main school entrance, and separated from the rest of the school by the entrance foyer and hall. The staffroom was rather small for the number of staff using it, and late arrivals at morning break might have difficulty getting a cup of coffee before the start of the next lesson. Coffee was brought in for the staff during morning break, but there were also facilities for making coffee and tea at other times. However, some staff tended not to

frequent the staffroom, but worked from their personal offices, departmental rooms, or the prep. room.

The new site was formerly part of the playing fields of the authority's only boys' school, which was also a former secondary modern. The two schools operate a joint sixth form, with staff sharing the teaching, and have a joint course as part of the authority's TVEI scheme: they submitted a joint bid to take part. However, there was little staff contact between the schools, and no formal pupil contact outside the scheme. Break time, for example, saw careful segregation of the pupils. Staff who had experienced both schools, such as the TVEI co-ordinator and the Head of History, spoke of very different cultures and uneasy collaboration, the boys' school emphasising sporting success and "manliness", while the girls emphasised what one teacher called the "ladies' collegiate" image, stressing academic achievement and community service.

Like all the Grantley schools studied, Sarah Lawley was a five-form entry 11 - 18 school. In 1986 - 7 there were 807 pupils on roll, over 80 of whom were stated to be in the sixth form. There were 50 staff including the Headmistress, who had been in post for just over three years when the interviews began in November 1987. The previous Head had been in post for some five years, but her predecessor had been appointed Headmistress in the early 1950s. It was thus a school with a stable history, and the influence of the long-serving Head's near thirty years in post was still felt by her successor but one.

The early years of the current Head coincided with the industrial action over teachers' pay in the mid-1980s, and she felt that this had affected her ability to develop her management style as she would have wished. She spoke of a wish to develop participation and consultation, and to encourage staff to develop professionally, even if this meant that they moved on to gain promotions elsewhere, since internal promotions were relatively rare. At a

later meeting, after the fieldwork was over, she spoke with obvious satisfaction of the promotions which some of the staff interviewed had gained since the research had been undertaken, even though in some cases they had been difficult to replace.

The staff itself seemed to get on well together. There was a sense of people sitting and talking professionally, even after a period of unpleasant industrial action. There was a small group of left-wing activists who were apparently regarded with some suspicion by the majority of teachers, but they were not necessarily viewed in a hostile way by the Head, who gave one of them an extra scale point to oversee equal opportunities issues in the school. No one teacher union was particularly strong, and all were apparently represented on the staff.

The school operated a 40-period week. Its academic organisation was departmental, and its pastoral system was based on Heads of Year. Some staff held both pastoral and departmental posts. There was a senior management team of five: the Head, the two deputy heads, and the two senior teachers, and this met weekly. It saw itself as essentially a policy development group, but this was not entirely accurate: for example, the Head and Deputies took complete responsibility for organising and counselling the girls on their GCSE options, instead of leaving that task to the third year pastoral team.

The school had a detailed staff handbook, which included job descriptions, clear statements of procedures, school rules, and uniform regulations. Uniform regulations were strictly enforced. The Head had been trying to publicise the school and its activities, and there were frequent parents' evenings to inform them of developments in the work. Great play was made of its success in winning a Schools Curriculum Award: it was to be found on all headed paper and on the cover of the information to parents. Parents'

activities were apparently well-attended, and it was felt that the parents were generally very supportive of the school.

Great Witley School.

Great Witley School, established in the 1820s as a trade school for one of the original urban centres in the borough, is one of the oldest schools in Grantley. Always a mixed school, it became a mixed secondary modern school after the 1944 Education Act, and a mixed comprehensive school in the early 1970s. The original buildings are still in use, although much of the school is now housed in modern buildings put up at the time of comprehensive reorganisation. The new buildings are in good condition: the old buildings, in spite of recent redecoration, are in need of extensive renovation. The school is fortunate, however, in having no temporary classrooms.

The school's teaching areas are allocated to subject departments. Since there are three separate buildings on the site, this has created some fragmentation of the staff: Maths and Creative Arts share one building, and Humanities and languages the old school, while everything else, including all the staff accommodation, the secretarial office, and the offices of the senior staff, is located in the main building. The staffroom is large, airy and well-appointed, with a large marking room adjacent and good tea and coffee making facilities. However, it was rarely full: many staff apparently preferred to take lunches and morning breaks in offices or stock rooms near to their teaching areas.

The school's local area is very mixed, with relatively expensive houses rubbing shoulders with Victorian terraces and villas from the older part of the town. Less than a mile away is a former mixed grammar school, which has preserved an academic reputation in the authority, and at the time of the fieldwork at Great Witley (spring 1989) had begun the process of "opting out"

under the terms of the Education Reform Act 1988. It provides stern competition for the local children, and in a period of falling school rolls - Grantley has closed two schools and is expected to close at least one more - Great Witley was having to work hard to keep its numbers up to its five forms of entry. Up to the time of the fieldwork it had managed to do this, but some staff saw this as having been at the expense of a balanced intake, with larger numbers of less able children being admitted, and also, in some years, considerably more boys than girls: the fourth year in 1988 - 9 was two-third boys. In 1989 it had 780 children on roll, including some sixty in the sixth form. It was also over-committed in promoted posts, and the Head, who had been in post since 1985, was trying to move towards what he called a "shadow" staffing structure, which was supposed to be in place by September 1989. He did not succeed in achieving this.

The previous Head, who had been in post at the school for over twenty years before he retired, had promoted many staff internally. A few teachers who held 'C' and 'D' allowances had joined the school as probationers. Among the staff there was a clear division of attitudes towards the new Head between those he had inherited and those he had appointed. Older or longer-established staff were concerned that his reforms were altering the character of the school and removing much of its distinctiveness. Some felt that it was no longer taking such good care of the pupils. One such critic was the deputy head who was interviewed, and it was clear that he was not respected by the Head - a feeling which he reciprocated.

Since being appointed to his first Headship at Great Witley in 1985, the new Head had carried through a number of changes. Most of these affected administrative procedures, and the school was more bureaucratic than any other studied. Some of these procedures affected teacher-pupil relationships, perhaps the most important being the replacement of the House system with

a pastoral year system, and the establishment of a precise procedure for dealing with disciplinary issues: different forms had to be filled out by teachers, depending on the seriousness attributed to the offence, and they were sent either to the Head of Department for minor offences committed in the course of teaching, or to the year head, for minor incidents in other settings. More serious incidents were referred in a similar way to senior staff. All procedures were set out in an annually revised staff handbook, which also included positional job descriptions and statements of duties, organisational arrangements for the school day, uniform regulations, and an outline of the curriculum structure. It was a very detailed document, including, for example, instructions to staff to clean their blackboards/whiteboards after use, and to report any unsatisfactory boards to their Head of Department, who must notify the Deputy Head in writing.

The academic organisation of the school was departmental, with capitation allowances being allocated to subject heads, so even where there was an overall departmental Head, such as the Head of Science, the expenditure was carried out through Heads of Physics, Chemistry, Biology. The Head had created a number of what were called "subject alliances" to try and promote cross-departmental links. There were also a number of working parties, which had been created to respond to various authority policy initiatives arising out of government legislation, but these were in the early stages of work and were viewed with scepticism by many of the staff. Much decision making within the school was seen as autocratic and arbitrary, and so unlikely to be influenced by any working parties. In any case, no clear reporting relationships were understood to exist between the working parties and the rest of the school.

The school had a senior management team of the Head, the two deputy heads, and a senior teacher. Its role was hard to identify, for although it was

declared to be a policy-making body, in practice it appeared to be an advisory group, with decision-making very firmly controlled by the Head himself. In part this may have been due to the bad relations between the Head and the senior deputy head, and it may have been that he was being marginalised and a cabal of the other three senior staff operating as the *de facto* senior management, but the Head indicated in interview that he viewed the nature of his staff as such that he had to take most of the decisions personally.

Postscript. Although not strictly relevant to the study, it may be of interest that in Spring 1990 the borough of Grantley published proposals to close Great Witley School. The outcome of the school's campaign to stay open is not known, nor is the degree of support it generated.

St. Thomas More Roman Catholic V.A. Secondary School

St. Thomas More opened as a Roman Catholic secondary modern school in 1962, on a small site in a prosperous suburban area of Grantley. It became a five form-entry comprehensive school in 1971. It is now on two sites, having taken over the former site of Sarah Lawley School when that school was moved to a new site in the early 1970s. These old buildings, which include what the Head of Science described as the oldest and worst science laboratory in the authority, accommodate the first two years. A sixth form block was added when the school became comprehensive. The main site is extremely cramped, and although it is in good repair the main building suffers from narrow corridors and stairways, and small lobbies outside the classrooms. However, most departments are able to operate with a nucleus of allocated rooms, although a lot of teaching occurs outside of these.

All the staffroom and office facilities are in a group along the ground floor, facing onto the reception foyer which the school arranges to be manned by

two children, who greet visitors on arrival and go to arrange for them to be taken to their host. The staff room is small and underprovided with storage facilities: it was the most stereotypical of the three Grantley staffrooms, with piles of exercise books, textbooks and newspapers on every occasional table, as well as on the small number of full-size tables there. But although there was little space there, it was well-patronised at break and lunchtime, partly perhaps because of the coffee, tea, buns and toast provided at break time for very modest charges by the school kitchens. Staff on the whole did not take breaks in departmental offices or store cupboards. There was a staffroom at the lower school, but it was small, poorly appointed, and little used.

In Spring 1989, when interviews took place, the school had approximately 870 pupils on roll, of whom about 120 were in the sixth form. There were 60 full and part-time staff, including the Head. A considerable number of the teaching staff had worked at St. Thomas More since it opened, or had worked there for a long time, having come to the school as probationers. Under previous Heads, particularly its first, who himself had been in charge of the school for some seventeen years, it seemed to generate a long-service loyalty among a group who settled into middle management positions. This also established a strong loyalty to one particular professional association, and produced what the current Headteacher, who came to the school in 1986, called a "very acute micropolitical situation" if any attempt were made to challenge traditional ways of working.

It was apparent from some of the interviews that the current Head had set out to break what she perceived as an alternative power base within the school. Several new appointments had been made at middle or senior level either immediately before she came or during her first years in post, and no internal candidate was successful. More recently, she had started to offer internal promotions to some younger staff, but it was clear that she regarded these

new appointments as an alternative source of influence on staff opinion. This policy had caused considerable resentment in some parts of the staffroom, but had also generated an increased staff turnover: almost half of the staff who would be at the school in September 1989 would have taken up their appointments since the arrival of the new Head.

The academic organisation of the school was departmental, and the school worked a 25-period timetable week. A senior team of five met regularly every week, and smaller meetings between the Head and individual senior staff occurred almost daily. This group was seen by members as split into two: the Head and deputy heads were the policy-makers, and the senior teachers joined them to work out the detail of implementation. However, one deputy head interviewed felt that there was, even so, a great deal of decision-making "on the hoof" by the Head personally without reference to her senior management team.

The pastoral structure had been altered two years before the interviews occurred, from a House system to one of Year Heads and Heads of Lower, Middle and Upper School. Older-established staff were generally opposed to this change, feeling that a House system produced a more stable unit for the children to belong to, as well as providing a vehicle for organising games and other activities. At the same time as the Year system was introduced, pastoral and disciplinary responsibilities were separated. Year Heads retained responsibility for pastoral matters, but matters of discipline were supposed to be dealt with within the subject department. The deputy head (pastoral) worked determinedly to ensure that this new division of responsibilities was adhered to, and this also caused resentment, with some teachers feeling that senior staff were denying them support when they were experiencing difficulties.

Under the current Head, all posts had been given job descriptions, which included not only the responsibilities and duties expected, but also their reporting relationships. However, there was some evidence that these were not regarded by many staff as particularly important.

There was a very detailed staff handbook, which included those job descriptions, and gave a range of other procedures and policies on ways of dealing with the children and one's colleagues. In addition, the school had a five-year plan which the senior management reviewed annually. It was clear that all the senior staff placed a great emphasis on the importance of these documents, and on having the procedures they laid down followed faithfully.

Great stress was laid upon the Catholic nature of the school. There is only one other, very small, Catholic secondary school within the authority, so this school is effectively providing for the Catholic community of the whole borough. This presents difficulties, for the school is not well served by public transport. Consequently, the Head was making great efforts to increase the school's public visibility, and was actively promoting a positive public image. Much was made, for example, of the events at the school's recent Silver Jubilee, at which Cardinal Hume had celebrated a Mass, and the string of eminent visitors which came to meet the sixth form General Studies programme was regularly featured in the local press. The Governing Body was also used to promote the school's visibility in the Catholic community. The school stressed the importance of a Catholic background when appointing staff, and adhered strictly for the most part to the diocesan policy of not appointing non-Catholics to posts carrying allowances higher than 'C'. Only two such appointments had been made: one to an atheist who believed that most staff would be amazed to discover that she was anything other than a devout Catholic, but the other, the Head of Languages, was a Jew who taught religious classes in his synagogue, and who made no attempt to

conceal his religious background. Indeed, he was used as a resource by the RE department when examining Judaism as part of the syllabus.

The Catholicity of the school, and its family character, was stressed by many of the staff interviewed, some describing it as a "carey-sharey" school. It was emphasised by some of the long-serving staff members that they were now teaching the children of former pupils of theirs. Nevertheless, the school was having to work hard to keep its numbers up, and although it had successfully recruited 150 children each year since the Head's arrival, it was almost a whole form of entry down on its target for September 1989.

It should be pointed out that it had originally been intended to interview at Grantley's Anglican mixed school, but when they withdrew in summer 1988 St. Thomas More was approached as the only aided school of any size in the authority. Thus there is a greater difference between the two aided schools studied than was intended.

The Three Hamley Schools

Fotherby Wood School for Girls

Fotherby Wood School for Girls is the only maintained girls' school in Hamley. It is thus the "pair" of Sarah Lawley School in Grantley, which it further resembles in that it is an 11 - 18 school, situated on the edge of a well-to-do area of Hamley, some distance from the main commercial centre. Like Sarah Lawley, too, Fotherby Wood's sixth form is taught together with the boys of the borough's only maintained boys' school. However, thereafter its circumstances differ. It is a split-site school, the result of being formed by amalgamation at the time of comprehensive reorganisation. It is also larger: in common with most Hamley schools, Fotherby Wood has a standard entry of

eight forms, against Sarah Lawley's five. There are over 1100 girls on roll, of whom over 100 are in the sixth form.

One other difference between the circumstances of Fotherby Wood and Sarah Lawley should be noted. Whereas Sarah Lawley is the only girls' school in Grantley, Fotherby Wood competes with a voluntary aided Roman Catholic school for girls some four miles away, which has an excellent academic reputation, and is heavily oversubscribed. Only practising Catholic families are likely to have their children accepted there, for the support of their parish priest will be needed. However, it may be that the existence of this alternative girls' school within the authority influences thinking about the school among both staff and parents in a way which is less likely at Sarah Lawley.

Both of the school's buildings date from the 1930s, the main school being the former girls' Grammar School while a former girls' Secondary Modern has been used for the first and second forms. An extra block was built at the upper school after reorganisation in the 1970s, and there are a small number of demountable classrooms on each site. Most departments had rooms formally dedicated to their use, although in most cases there was nothing to distinguish them from general purpose classrooms except the wall decorations, and other subjects were taught there as well. Space, particularly storage space, was at a premium. However, because of the equipment and furnishing there, there was little use of Science, Art, Home Economics or Business Studies accommodation by other subject areas. The computer facilities on both sites were heavily used. Other departments were acquiring equipment - English had some word processors, which were used especially by teachers working with slower learners, and Maths had just acquired a computer of its own, which however was located in a cupboard between two demountable classrooms: Maths teaching took place in this annexe, and so access to computer facilities was difficult for them.

Staff offices and the staffroom were scattered around the two buildings, although only staff concerned with the administration of the lower school had offices located there. At the upper school, the staffroom was close to the secretaries' office, and the Head's room was nearby, but no other senior member of staff had an office in the same part of the building.

The senior school staff room was large, and furnished with large, old tables, some easy chairs, and some old bureaux and desks. The layout and furniture inhibited cross-departmental contact, and some parts of the room had been "colonized" by departments or groups: there was a Maths table and an English area, for example. By comparison, the lower school staff room was much smaller. There was one large table, a ring of easy chairs around the wall, and staff lockers rather than bureaux. Several staff commented that there was no room for small groups to get together there: conversation in the lower school staff room was necessarily with everyone who was present.

The Head had been in post for ten years when the interviews were carried out. She was seen by the borough's Chief Inspector as a strong, if not, indeed, authoritarian leader of her school, who brooked no opposition. She had appointed all the senior management team of three deputy heads and two senior teachers, and of these, one of the deputy heads and both senior teachers were internal promotions: the deputy head, indeed, had started at the school as a probationary teacher sixteen years before. Unlike Sarah Lawley, where one of the senior staff was a man, all the senior staff at Fotherby Wood were women, as were all the pastoral heads (two of the five pastoral heads at Sarah Lawley were male). All the pastoral heads were internal promotions made by the current Head.

A small number of staff had been at the school for a very long time. As well as the deputy head referred to, one teacher, now holding a 'D' allowance, had

started teaching over thirty years before at the secondary modern school, and had taught there for her entire career except for one year away. However, most of the staff of the former grammar school had either retired or moved on, and some staff felt this was helping to bind the two school sites together more.

When the school was studied, in Spring 1989, it was organised on a departmental basis and operated a traditional forty-period week, each period lasting thirty-five minutes. Many subjects were taught in double periods of seventy minutes. There were no faculty groupings of departments, except for science. Pastoral guidance was organised by Heads of Year, each of whom had a deputy. The school had recently moved to a system whereby a Head of Year took the responsibility for a year-group from the moment they entered the school until the cohort left, or went into the sixth form, five years later. However, there was at the time of interviewing no formal pastoral guidance or course of Personal and Social Education: it was for Heads of Year or tutor group teams to decide on what should be taught.

The senior management team of three deputy heads and two senior teachers, together with the Head, saw itself as framing policy in the light of advice from departmental and pastoral heads' meetings, which were chaired by the relevant deputy head. The Head herself distinguished in interview between her meetings with the deputy heads, which were concerned with policy-making, and those which included the senior teachers, which she saw as discussions which served as training sessions for the senior teachers. The school laid out its policies and procedures in a detailed staff handbook, which included such details as proformas for letters to be used when contacting parents about poor punctuality or attendance by their children, or when informing them of forthcoming school trips.

Alone of the six schools studied, Fotherby Wood had some additional resources beyond those provided by the LEA. There were three long-established funds run by trustees, all of which were set up for particular purposes; the Head was also generating additional resources from industrial links which she had been working hard to develop; and there were also funds generated by the parents and from activities such as the school shop. Apart from the trustee funds, the Head kept control over these extra funds very firmly in her hands, usually earmarking them for particular projects the school had in mind. She said:

"I do not think I consult anybody. No, that is not true, that is made with the three deputies, but we have always been saving for something, ever since I came here we have been saving for something ... so it has not been a question of allocating that money, because it has been earmarked as soon as we have got it."

She said that the projects over the years had included new bicycle sheds, a language laboratory, a new office, new machines in the Business Studies area, and new curtains for the Hall.

In its publicity material, the school made much of its "thriving partnership" with the parent body through the parent-teacher association, whose job was clearly defined as fund-raising and social activities. There was, however, no mention of it in the interviews, and little reference to the parent body in general, except for problems the English department was having over the literature studied, to which some Jehovah's Witnesses objected.

Albemarle Park School

Albemarle Park is a maintained 11 - 18 mixed school in a prosperous working class area of Hamley. It is thus the "pair" of Great Witley School in Grantley. It

was opened in 1982, after the amalgamation of two single-sex schools, which would otherwise both have been closed, on the site of the former girls' school. The Headteacher was appointed at the time of the reorganisation; it was his first headship. The main buildings date from the 1950s, although there is a modern design block. At the time of the fieldwork, in summer 1989, they were in good condition, although the science teachers felt that the laboratories needed considerable modernisation. This, however, was as much a matter of the equipment they had available as it was the condition of the building.

The school has sufficient space for most departments to have specific rooms allocated to them, although there are some surprising omissions from this: the deputy head interviewed, whose main subject is English, spoke of teaching in rooms scattered all over the main building, and having to carry all her teaching materials with her all the time, rather than having easy access to a stock cupboard. The staff room, secretaries' office, and the rooms of the Head and the two deputies all open onto a corridor which is separate from the rest of the main building. The other senior staff occupy offices scattered around the school.

The staff room is large enough to accommodate all fifty staff quite easily. There is also a separate workroom attached to it, but this is small. The staffroom was laid out in rows of easy chairs facing one another across occasional tables, but it was clear that areas had been "colonized" by particular groups. There were not many convenient alternative places for staff to gather together in, and so the staff room was where most staff spent non-teaching periods.

The school was established as a five-form entry school, and its roll in summer 1989 was about 790, including a sixth form nominally of 80, but actually rather smaller. For 1990 entry it was oversubscribed, the first time it had

achieved that, and it was the only school in Hamley to achieve this other than Fotherby Wood and the authority's aided schools. It had fifty full and part-time staff in summer 1989.

Arising from the amalgamation, many of the staff have protected promoted posts. Although there are now very few supernumerary staff, the large number of senior staff in 1982 led to the Head creating a senior management team of 12. Against his original intentions, it became a conscious policy on his part to sustain a team image, and to replace people in the senior team as they moved on. Most of these senior staff were internal promotions, a policy to some extent forced on the Head by the need to absorb some of his supernumerary and protected posts. He maintained that when a member of the senior staff was ill, others in the senior team simply carried on and did the various duties as necessary: there was no need to reallocate duties formally until the absent member returned. It also provided an opportunity for team building, for developing expertise in more staff, and for keeping a more open flow of information between senior management and the rest of the staff, and vice versa. He further stated that he sought to develop this teamwork in all areas of the school, which was why he only produced very broad job descriptions. He said that this gave him room to encourage staff to develop their role creatively within broad guidelines instead of pinning them down tightly to precise tasks.

The senior team of eleven met monthly. Their meetings were supposed to be policy-making occasions, but in practice much time was spent discussing detail, as the staff involved brought their considerable knowledge of staff problems and difficulties to colleagues' attention. The Head felt that this led to more sympathetic handling of staff colleagues by senior management. Policy recommendations, where they were forthcoming, were the product of ad hoc committees which were made up from members of the senior team.

Senior management meetings discussed these, but the Head reserved the right to decide if he strongly disagreed with the drift of discussion.

There had been a considerable staff turnover in the seven years since the school opened. Almost all the staff of the old girls' school had retired or moved on, but a considerable number of the former staff of the boys' school were still teaching at Albemarle Park, and there was some comment that they provided a "club" within the staff room which made for difficult staff relations sometimes.

When it first opened in 1982, the school operated on a traditional forty-period timetable cycle and a departmental system, with Heads of Year and of Upper, Middle and Lower School to provide the pastoral care system. When the interviews were conducted, the timetable structure remained unchanged, but the organisation had been altered and a number of Heads of Department had been designated Heads of Faculty. Most of them were on 'C' allowances, but one, the Head of Humanities, was still on a 'B'. Because of the top-heavy nature of the staff profile, there were not, under the staffing system which preceded Local Management of Schools, sufficient promoted posts available for the Head to put all the faculty heads onto the same allowance, and indeed he had had to ask some teachers to take on additional duties unpaid: one of these was the acting Head of Biology, who was still on the main professional grade. However, an attempt to replace the pastoral system of year heads with a house system had been unsuccessful: although it was agreed at a full staff meeting, three of the Heads of Year who would have become Heads of the new Houses refused to accept the change in their job descriptions. Given the shortage of promoted allowances, the Head had had no option but to give way.

In common with most of the other schools studied, Albemarle Park had a detailed staff handbook which laid out school policies and procedures as well as providing detail about school organisation, job descriptions, and day-to-day details. There was an active parents' committee, and the Head stated that he felt able to take projected schemes and innovations to this group for informal discussion. Indeed, although there was little reference to this in the staff interviews, the Head made more of the involvement of parents here than at any of the other schools studied. The senior staff also involved governors on a working party on sex education, which was the most direct involvement of governors in the curriculum anywhere except at Sedbury, where the Chairman of Governors was closely involved in monitoring the curriculum.

Sedbury Church of England Voluntary Aided Secondary School

Sedbury Church of England School was the first school studied, in autumn/winter 1987 - 8. Originally founded in the eighteenth century, when it occupied a town-centre site close to the church in the main urban centre in what is now Sedbury, it became an aided secondary modern school in 1944. It moved to a site on the edge of town in the late 1960s, from when all the school buildings date.

The school is designed as a four storey block, with a single storey science extension and a PE/sports section. The latter includes both a well-equipped gym and an indoor swimming pool. There are two sets of demountable huts, and a recent sixth form block separate from the main school. Most of the classrooms are allocated to a subject, and most teachers in fact teach in their own classroom all the time unless they move for a purpose, such as showing a film or combining classes for a visiting speaker. The sixth form, however, is taught in its separate block except for PE/leisure pursuits and laboratory or workshop classes.

Unlike most of the other schools studied, where the main senior staff offices, secretarial unit and staffroom are situated close together, the offices and staff accommodation are scattered almost at random through the school: only the Head's room and the secretaries' office are close together, and they are at the opposite end of the main building from the staffroom. The staffroom itself is well-furnished, but lacks a separate marking or working room. Consequently, the occasional tables are stacked with exercise books, as are the few full-size tables which exist. These have for the most part been "colonized" by one of the subject departments: RE, for example, have taken possession of the table nearest the door. Most teachers use the staffroom at break and lunchtime, although there is a good range of lunchtime activities, for there are few alternative venues in which to gather. The Art department is a rare exception to this.

Whereas Albemarle Park and Fotherby Wood were created as comprehensive schools by amalgamation, Sedbury became a comprehensive by expanding, in the same way as the Grantley schools were reorganised. It is a six-form entry 11-18 comprehensive school with approximately 1000 pupils on roll and sixty five members of staff. As the only Church of England secondary school in the diocese, it draws its children from a wide area, covering the whole of Hamley, several neighbouring metropolitan authorities, and the nearer parts of the adjacent shire county. When its staff were interviewed it was a popular school, and application had to be made by intending parents during their child's third year at junior school if they were to have any chance of success.

The Head took up his position in the September prior to this study being undertaken, after a two-term interregnum since the departure of the previous Head to a new post at Christmas 1986 after some six years at Sedbury. Although the senior staff tended to move on after about four years - both the deputy heads have gained headships elsewhere since the school was studied -

there was a good number of staff who had taught at Sedbury for many years. Many of these were Heads of subject departments, and some had begun their teaching careers as probationary teachers at Sedbury. The Head of RE, indeed, who had been at the school since completing his teacher training ten years before, had previously been a pupil at the school.

The school was organised around subject departments rather than faculties, although there was a Head of Science. Pastoral care was provided by Heads of Lower, Middle and Upper School, each with an assistant. There was no pastoral curriculum or programme of personal and social education, although a small group of younger staff had initiated discussions about this and were working, unpaid, to try and develop such a programme. There was a senior management group, referred to as "the trio", which consisted of the Head and the two deputy heads. They met regularly. Heads of Department met twice a term, and there were occasional staff meetings. There was a strong sense of it being the responsibility of the senior three to keep external influences out of the school so that the teachers could get on and teach, and the deputy head interviewed referred repeatedly to the hardworking and busy nature of the staff, and the need to prevent them from being given unnecessary burdens.

Unlike the other schools studied, Sedbury had no staff handbook. New and probationary teachers had to find out about procedures and expectations by a combination of careful questioning and trial and error. This lack of information was one major criticism which younger and more recently-appointed teachers made of the senior staff.

The timetable was organised on a two-week cycle of fifty periods, each of fifty minutes. There were no double periods. There was a weekly form period of twenty-five minutes, balanced by an assembly for each year once a month. In addition to this, there was a compulsory communion service for each year

once a term, and a service for the whole school once a term at the parish church one and a half miles away in the town centre. Interestingly, however, and unlike St. Thomas More School, RE was not compulsory to exam level.

Contact with parents was not systematic, except for school reports and parents' evenings. There was no mention of a Parents' Association, and although the school was popular with parents and regularly oversubscribed, no attempt was apparently made to deal with any problems or complaints in an organised way. Individual teachers and departments handled parental contact as they saw fit, and the lack of coordination of this work was another criticism levelled at senior staff.

Chapter 6: Local Influences on the Teachers 1: the Local Education Authority.

Introduction.

This chapter is the first of two which explore the impact on teachers' practice of a number of formal and informal influences from within the local area but which are external to the day-to-day work of the school. It examines the impact of LEA curriculum policies and the work of LEA advisers and inspectors, while the next chapter studies the impact of school governors and parents, and the effect of the church. Government rhetoric has argued for teachers to reassess the place of governors and parents, to include them within the school community, and has sought to bring this about through legislation (Education (No. 2) Act 1986, Education Reform Act, 1988). They are discussed as local rather than internal influences, however, because the teachers interviewed clearly still regarded governors and parents as outside the school community.

The impact of LEA Curriculum Policies.

a. Formal policies for the whole curriculum.

During the period of fieldwork both the Grantley and Hamley policy statements were general in scope and expression, placing obligations on schools to frame detailed programmes within clear parameters rather than formulating programmes centrally. Under these circumstances we should not, perhaps, expect too much influence to be attributed directly to the authority's curriculum policy since the LEAs themselves saw their policies as being implemented through the mediating influence of school decisions. However, the policy statements were supposed to shape those decisions, and both authorities had advisers who were expected to monitor their implementation. Even if we need not expect much direct attribution of influence, we could still reasonably expect the local authority's curriculum policy, in place for three years when the first interview began and for five years when the last interview finished, to receive widespread recognition as a factor influencing at least the school and the department. This was not the case.

Many teachers did not know whether a formal LEA curriculum policy existed. Those who knew of it regarded it as a vague and woolly document, irrelevant to classroom practice and teaching content. In the two schools studied in 1987 - 8, only four staff knew of the policy's existence, and only the Head of Science at Sedbury saw it as influential. He attributed this influence to the policy being, in his view, closely in line with national guidelines which he was seeking to follow as he developed the Science faculty. Even the Deputy Head (Curriculum) at Sedbury did not know of the existence of an LEA curriculum policy document.

By 1989, the existence of a curriculum policy was more widely known. Half of all staff interviewed knew of its existence, and some Grantley teachers, usually more senior staff, possessed copies. However, it was still seen as a general document with little bearing on what should be taught and how: the Deputy Head at Great Witley School described it as "irrelevant", and although that might be a stronger word than most were prepared to use, it conveys the flavour of their opinions well.

Only one teacher - Gwen Nugent, Deputy Head at Fotherby Wood - saw LEA policies as having any significance for the school: they were expected to develop a school policy for the curriculum, which had to take account of LEA guidelines. She struggled, however, to make sense of what areas the policy should cover, and how far it should constrain Heads of Department or teachers: even at the school level, it should be more than the syllabus, but not just a statement of method; a statement of ideals, perhaps:

"Just that you would look for, I mean, equal opportunity, for sorts of racial, no racial discrimination, entitlement to all for all parts of the curriculum, so that you don't exclude people of lesser ability, say, from certain areas, unless the Head of Department felt it inappropriate to put them in the syllabus [...] I suppose they're sort of ideals that you would hope the teacher, as part of the school, had, and therefore would try to project [...] I don't think that the policy, school policy, would dictate how it was taught. Having said that, we have got a sort of policy where we're hoping for flexible learning, for different learning experiences within one curriculum area."

Some specific borough policies were acknowledged, in Special Needs, Personal and Social Education, and Careers Education, and these influenced the practice of the individuals who recognised them. Both boroughs had

Modern Languages assessment schemes and both the girls' schools were involved in TVEI schemes. The impact of these policies and initiatives varied, and shows how both the character of the innovation and the mediating influence of individual and senior management perceptions of it affect its impact on daily practice.

b. Policies on Special Needs.

Reference to LEA policies on Special Needs provision was made at schools in both authorities. In the borough of Hamley, the acting Head of Special Needs at Sedbury supported and actively promoted what she called the LEA's policy of integrating Special Needs children into mainstream classes. However, she was encountering considerable resistance within the school, and her status as an acting Head of Department on a temporary scale two post gave her, she felt, little status from which to work. Accordingly, she looked for assistance to the borough's adviser and advisory teachers. At Fotherby Wood School, however, integration was seen by staff as an advisory team preference rather than as a formal LEA policy. The decision there to give a teacher responsibility for promoting in-class support for Special Needs children was seen as one of the Headteacher's, not as emanating from the LEA. The Head of Special Needs at Albemarle Park, who had not been able to promote integration at all, saw the authority similarly.

The borough of Grantley was moving to a policy on Special Needs advocating in-class support for such children instead of withdrawing them from classes. Although the Head of Special Needs at Great Witley claimed that her department was in line with best Grantley practice, with teachers in every department being trained to work with small groups of Special Needs children, the school had been criticised in a recent full LEA inspection for too much withdrawal of pupils with learning difficulties, which occurred during

Modern languages lessons, a practice incompatible with the National Curriculum as then envisaged. The newly appointed Head of Maths, a strong advocate of integrated provision with in-class support, who had been in charge of Special Needs at her previous school, was scathing about the lack of integration at Great Witley:

"nothing is done at the moment - a few kids are withdrawn, and that's it. There's no extra help given particularly to bright kids or less able kids in the classroom in particular subjects [...] I have asked, if there are any members of staff, I want the support in the classroom, I don't want the kids taken out. I was told, 'yes, I will bear it in mind,' but that's as far as it's gone."

The fact that a working party is beginning to examine provision for Special Needs suggests that up until 1989 LEA policies in this area had, indeed, had little effect on practice in this school. Similarly at St. Thomas More, Christine Henderson saw her achievement of some integration as entirely due to the force of her personality: there was no policy back-up.

c. Personal and Social Education, Careers, and Work Experience.

Great Witley's move to create an integrated programme of Personal and Social Education in line with the 1988 Education Reform Act was at an early stage of development, and was seen by staff as a local authority initiative. In this area, provision in all six schools studied gave each team of tutors for a year-group considerable autonomy over what was taught. Further, some teachers felt free to approach topics in quite different ways from those laid down - the Head of CDT at Great Witley, Michael Anderson, had declined to approach the topic of friendship on this course in the way decided upon, even though he welcomed the idea of greater structure and direction for PSE and

in his own department expected fairly close adherence to the teaching approaches agreed.

A similar stance was taken towards Careers Education in Hamley. LEA guidelines existed for the Careers curriculum, and were followed at Fotherby Wood, but they were seen by the Head of Careers as deriving as much from the local association of Careers teachers as from the authority. She "supposed" that the guidelines on Careers teaching were set within a broader LEA policy context, but said she had never seen anything in writing about it. Another Fotherby Wood teacher's description of a working party which was trying to draw up borough-wide guidelines to standardise practice for work experience schemes in the authority's secondary schools suggested that there was currently a wide variety of practice across the borough in that area too.

d. Language Achievement Tests.

Both LEAs had developed schemes of Graded Tests for Modern Languages, but they were not compulsory. One school in each authority used them: Sedbury for German, and St. Thomas More for French. They were not employed for all languages taught in a school, even though both schools had "Modern Languages" departments of which German and French were parts. Other schools had decided not to use them at all. However, language teachers at Fotherby Wood spoke of pressure from Hamley's languages adviser to standardise syllabuses and schemes of work for GCSE: it had been accepted by the French teachers there, but was being resisted by the teachers of German.

e. TVEI.

Both girls' schools were participating in their authority's TVEI scheme. No reference was made to it by anyone interviewed at Fotherby Wood, although

supported self-study and flexible learning were both mentioned by the Deputy Head and the Head of Careers as new developments in school thinking which were being actively considered. By comparison, the two teachers at Sarah Lawley who had been involved with Grantley's TVEI scheme saw it as a significant influence. Ken Campbell, the Co-ordinator of the joint scheme with the neighbouring boys' school, saw the external policy requirements as very broad, leaving him considerable discretion. He distinguished between policies and detail as between the decision that IT was to be included within the TVEI programme (policy) and deciding on the syllabuses to be followed (detail). He also saw his role as including responsibility for promoting the broader policies of the TVEI scheme within the schools, and elaborated on the difficulties he was encountering in persuading the senior staff of the boys' school to recognise the importance of the TVEI's equal opportunities policy. But even in this tightly-monitored nationally-funded programme, he felt that his way of operating was largely independent of external constraint. In particular, he explained that the authority's Project Leader disliked his taking on any kind of pastoral or disciplinary role in relation to the children, but he disregarded this and acted as a "clearing house" for complaints from the staff of one school about children from the other. He also intervened directly: it was sometimes better to act immediately than to leave an incident to "fester" while he found the right pastoral head, and he gave an example of such an incident from earlier that day. He also worked out most of the teaching issues for himself, without reference to either the TVEI administration or the LEA advisory team.

The description of TVEI Life Skills at Sarah Lawley showed how a national programme operated through local systems could be loosely structured, and how staff roles could conflict with personal values. The course outline and materials had been agreed across the authority, and the boys' and girls'

schools had agreed their programmes, including differences to allow for elements which were covered in other courses. But there was no detailed syllabus, and much of the detailed lesson planning was actually done by the senior teacher responsible for the course, Naomi Woodward. She would have preferred her suggestions to have been used as "succour sheets" by her colleagues, but in practice,

"I'm doing the course, basically, if you like, I'm making it up as I go along, which I tell people - which isn't quite like that, but it depends a bit on me creating the lesson [...] So it's a bit difficult, because it hasn't got a syllabus, it is a bit dependent on me - we have regular meetings [...] I'm very happy for other people to come up with lessons [... but] because they're so busy and involved they're too dependent on me, really, to provide the lessons."

She also showed how her personal beliefs about the proper outcomes of teaching conflicted with the goals of the TVEI Life Skills programme, which emphasise problem solving, discussion, and process skills rather than learning subject matter: for one exercise her group had planned a three months' budget for a group living in a bedsit, living in a house, and at home, and she recounted the discovery that those who had lived at home had found they would be able to save, buy clothes and have a good time, whereas the others would have to go without:

"so it covered if you like all the points: they had the discussion, they had the problem solving, and at the end they had actually learned something, and maybe that's my puritanical work ethos kind of person, that at the end they had actually learned something which they could take away with them into life after school."

Comment.

It is clear that formal statements from the LEAs under examination were seen to have little impact on teachers' work, either directly or by influencing school-based decisions. It is also clear that where there is a direct impact, the way in which this affects teachers is influenced by their own perceptions of their proper role and function. Naomi Woodward's view of her duties as a teacher - to provide learning - had to be balanced against her obligations under TVEI to emphasise process skills rather than content. The attempts of some staff to bring about integrated provision for Special Needs were foundering on staff resistance, despite apparent support for this at LEA level. Perhaps the key reason for this limited impact is to be found in this evaluation of local authority policies by Anne McIntosh, teacher of Home Economics at Great Witley School:

"nobody ever checks them or bears them in mind [...] the people who produce these things, if you put them in front of kids in school, would fail miserably [...] You might occasionally look at them - if it's going to be the subject of something like a Baker day one feels obliged to skim through it, but most of these documents are so badly prepared that busy people who are not employed purely as document readers [...] haven't got time to go through them in the way that is intended."

The impact of LEA advisers and inspectors.

As well as through formal policy statements, LEAs can also influence teachers through their advisers and inspectors. Both Grantley and Hamley called these staff advisers, although Hamley had a chief inspector and senior inspectors (primary) and (secondary). However, they performed full inspections of schools, as well as monitoring probationary teachers. The Chief Adviser of

Grantley stressed that advisers are appointed to advise the authority, not the teachers, claiming that this removed any apparent tension which might be perceived between the advisory and inspectoral functions.

Overall, teachers in both authorities expressed low opinions of the advisory teams. They were seen as overstretched, out of touch, and out-of-date. Their main value was, occasionally, to be able to offer additional resources and access to inservice training to support innovations, and the innovations described were always school-initiated. The small teams of advisory teachers, who were seen as having no obligation to the LEA and no managerial or supervisory responsibilities, were valued more highly than advisers as sources of assistance. This was particularly true of the Maths curriculum support team in Grantley, spoken of warmly by Maths teachers in both Sarah Lawley and Great Witley schools.

Some Great Witley teachers were uneasy that the advisers were becoming a curriculum police rather than advisers to the teachers, which was what their proper role was felt to be. There was a strong sense that, although advisers could not offer any useful advice to a teacher, it was not in the teacher's best interests to be criticised by the adviser. All the staff who referred to the recent full inspection emphasised how they were not themselves criticised in the report: it was always others in their department! This attitude relates to the school climate, and in particular to the view taken of the school's senior management.

The view that advisers should respond to teachers rather than guide them and enforce LEA policies was expressed most strongly at Grantley's Sarah Lawley School. In only one case there - that of probationary English teacher Ruth Odell - was an adviser seen as an inspector, or as an agent of the authority, and the teacher was critical of the amount of support she had

received: he had only been to see her once in the six months she had been teaching, and then had only spent half a lesson with her. Wendy Edwards, the Head of English, commented that the English adviser operated in a very "laissez-faire" style, but continued that she did not think the Grantley Heads of English she knew would let their adviser operate any other way. Others confirmed this "bottom-up" perspective in the advisory team. One referred rather enviously to the Geography teachers' group which had been set up in the borough, which planned the INSET work and had also given rise to a consortium which had written the Geography GCSE syllabus in use in the school. Gail Hendry, the Head of Maths, commented that her initiative to introduce the GAIM (Graded Assessment In Mathematics) scheme had received little backing or support from the Maths adviser, although now it was under way and close to gaining national approval he was being more helpful.

However, the extent to which advisers could perform this "bottom-up" function was limited: humanities teachers at all three Grantley schools commented that their adviser simply had too many subjects to cover, and pastoral responsibility for too many schools. It was noticeable, too, that in line with the Chief Adviser's policy of "targeting" advisory visits around specific concerns, Grantley teachers interviewed in summer 1989 felt far less able to call on the advisers for assistance than had their colleagues interviewed in winter 1987 - 8, and said that their contact with the advisory service was much reduced.

Sedbury school in Hamley offered a more positive view of the advisory service. Deputy Head Geraldine Adley described a case where relationships between a Head of Department and the departmental staff had almost completely broken down, and staff were going to the senior management team and asking for action. The team had agreed some suggestions which

were put to the Head of Department direct. These having failed, they then asked for the minutes of departmental meetings, which revealed that decisions were being made but then not acted on. With relations deteriorating daily, senior management were considering calling in the subject adviser as a "neutral body" who could sit in and report back to them, rather than going in direct themselves, which might be seen to be undermining the authority of a Head of Department. It may be significant that chapter 12 will show that Sedbury's senior management was extremely weak.

Sedbury School also saw positive comment on the role of Hamley's Special Needs advisory team. For Sue Turner, the acting Head of Special Needs, they were a crucial support and resource. Although the school's formal policy was to integrate Special Needs teaching into mainstream classes, she was finding a great deal of resistance from her colleagues, as well as discovering forms of teaching which she felt were detrimental to Special Needs children. The adviser was a valuable source of ideas on how to handle such children, and also provided a means of importing into the classroom professional comment on the way other teachers were teaching. She felt that her status in the school, as an acting Head of Department on an old scale 2, made her unable to do this herself, and the staffroom norms of professional conduct prevented her anyway from commenting uninvited on a colleague's practice. Further, although the school's formal policy was to integrate, she did not feel she would have received any support from the senior management team if she had taken such a problem to them. The LEA advisory teacher did not stand in any hierarchical or managerial position relative to any of her colleagues, but could be seen as a source of professional advice - and the problem could always be presented in terms of, "what can we do about this particular child?"

However, other teachers in Hamley saw this advisory team differently. Dennis Ostler, Head of English at Fotherby Wood, stated that he received no

assistance from the Special Needs adviser to bring about changes in what he regarded as the unsatisfactory provision for such children, and William Randall, the Head of Special Needs at Albemarle Park, had not apparently received from the advisers the support he expected in bringing about the in-class support for which he had been lobbying and which Sue Turner at Sedbury had stated to be borough policy eighteen months before.

Interestingly, the Special Needs adviser was cited in the only example offered in Grantley of deliberate intervention, albeit indirect, by an adviser in school policy and practice. Theresa Harrison, a Biology teacher at Sarah Lawley School, wanted to work with less able children, and persuaded the Headteacher to let her undertake some work in "Special Needs Maths and Science". This was resisted strenuously by the Head of Special Needs, but supported by the borough's adviser, who arranged for Ms Harrison to go on relevant national and local in-service courses. Theresa Harrison saw this support as the adviser trying to initiate change away from an approach to teaching Special Needs children which she regarded as unsatisfactory, using a new teacher in the area to outflank the resistance of the Head of Department.

Alongside this rather uncertain view of the role and impact of LEA advisers, in which academic expertise and a lack of a perceived managerial accountability was weakened by a sense of pedagogic inadequacy and a need to take on too many tasks, stood two acknowledged functions. They were seen as a source of additional resources: extra equipment for the Art department at Fotherby Wood, or additional books for Sarah Lawley's Science department when an across-the-board ten per cent cut in capitation from the borough placed a new course in jeopardy. However, this budgetary control had been removed from Grantley's advisers in summer 1989. Their other acknowledged task was monitoring probationary teachers.

Even here, however, their work was subject to strong criticism. Positive views of the support they had received were expressed by three current or recent probationary teachers across the two authorities. These were offset by savage criticism by seven others. Advisers were accused of not coming to lessons, failing to give good or helpful advice, or of giving different reports to the Headteacher from those given to the probationer. In particular, Roberta Devonshire, completing her second year of teaching German at Fotherby Wood when interviewed, had clearly been struggling to make the grade during her probationary year, but had had to wait until the beginning of the summer term before her adviser saw her for the first time. She was then called into the Headteacher's study and spent a miserable hour while the Head tried to persuade her to resign rather than fail. In contrast, Eleanor Walsh's adviser during her probationary year teaching English at Great Witley had been supportive but unrealistic. For example, he encouraged her efforts to start a book club for younger pupils, and suggested that she might take the children to browse around the local branch of W.H. Smith's - unhelpful, she felt, given that children from the same school returning from a Geography field trip were suspected of setting fire to a motorway service area!

Comment.

It is clear that the local authority's influence on teachers' practice was seen to be weak. Their policies and procedures on resource-allocation, supply, and budgetary control do have an influence, if only by shaping the choice of books and teaching materials available, but these were not explored in this study, although reference was made to them by some Headteachers and two of the sixty-six teachers interviewed. Most staff recognised resources as a key

constraint, but saw them as a matter of internal decision-making within the funds allocated to the school.

A number of reasons for the weakness of the LEAs' influence may be suggested. The first is that neither LEA appeared to have made much attempt to publicise its curriculum policy. Insofar as such policies existed they were seen to have the status of guidelines rather than mandatory requirements. Nor was it clear that they had any intention of shaping practice decisively. Neil Allison, Head of Albemarle Park in Hamley, put the point well, suggesting that the borough's curriculum policy was based on an amalgam of existing school practice rather than being a statement of expectations. He commented,

"the idealist would have said that this is a guidelines document to allow appropriate implementation in school. The cynics would have said, this is a response to the need to produce a policy document. I tend to the cynical line on that."

His deputy, Nerys Edwards, suggested that it was "par for the course" for Hamley still to have no written policies on religious worship and sex education when we spoke in July 1989, even though they were legally required to implement them both by the following September. In spite of repeated injunctions, from DES Circular 14/77 onwards, it seems that these LEAs were not prepared to declare what they wished from their schools.

Reasons for this reluctance were not explored in detail, although Hamley's Chief Inspector said his concern was only to ensure a suitable balance of coverage across a range of subject disciplines or curriculum areas. One view which was apparently widely shared, however, was that of Henry Ashton, Head of Science at St. Thomas More School, who suggested that Grantley had not laid down clear policies in matters like the science curriculum because to

do so would imply a commitment to provide the necessary resources to deliver it - a commitment they were not prepared to make. Elected members in Grantley, he said, only approved policies which did not require resources to be committed to them.

This lack of clear mandated LEA policies may have prevented a clear picture being obtained of the perceived role of the LEA. There was some acceptance that LEAs could provide broad guidelines within which schools should develop their own curriculum policies, but that did not fit well with Hamley's Careers programme, which was far more detailed than such a role would allow. Both boroughs ran achievement tests for modern languages, but neither was compulsory. LEA influence on day-to-day practice in their schools, then, appeared to be as providers of ideas and services which individual schools, departments and teachers were free to take advantage of as they saw fit. The key route for this was through the work of the advisory service rather than through mandated requirements.

However, the lack of clearly defined policies may be the major reason for the weak influence of the two boroughs' advisory teams. Without policies on subject or school curricula, it is difficult for them to carry out any policing function, except in very general terms relating to the competence of individual teachers. Advisers exerted the greatest influence on the probationers interviewed, for the confirmation of their status as qualified teachers rested in part on the advisers' judgment of their competence. It was striking that young teachers in every school commented that once their probation had been completed, their contact with advisers declined sharply.

If advisers are not working to secure the implementation at the school level of LEA policies, then they must rest their claim to influencing practice on their academic or professional expertise being acknowledged for its own sake, or

on the force of their personality. Thus St. Thomas More's Head of Science commented that Grantley's new Science adviser had achieved more after only a term in post than her predecessor had achieved in twenty years of quietly pushing the same ideas. Criticisms such as those of Clive Lewis, St. Thomas More's Deputy Head, that many of the advisers were "lightweight", would lead to their having little impact on practice in schools.

A third reason is that even those advisers who did receive the professional respect of their school colleagues were too stretched to have a significant impact on many places at one time. This was partly recognised by Grantley LEA, whose advisers were being required to target their visiting to specific policy issues determined by the senior officers, ignoring other matters except for specific requests for assistance which seemed serious. This might increase advisers' effectiveness selectively, but at the probable cost that many other teachers view them as increasingly out of touch with what is going on, and less credible as a source of influence.

The uncertainty surrounding the advisory role was reflected in the different uses to which school staff put them. They were, variously, a non-managerial means of influencing practice and bringing about departmental change, weapons in Heads of Departments' fight with school senior management for additional financial or staffing resources, or means of senior management appraising problem departments. Whether deployed by senior or middle management, advisers were seen as agents of school management rather than of the authority's management, which matches the view expressed implicitly by senior staff at Sedbury and Sarah Lawley that their job was to keep external influences at bay so that their staffs could get on and teach.

If advisers were seen as external agents of school management rather than as agents of external quality control or policing, staff may have seen them as too

distant from their everyday routine to be significant. It may be that in teachers' work the immediate drives out the long term, and the specific takes precedence over the general. A statement of policy concerned with general aims and principles for educational provision across the whole authority will take second place to the immediate question of finding materials and activities which will allow the teacher to progress through the syllabus and retain control of the class and its learning.

This leads us to a final possible reason for the lack of LEA influence: quite simply, that other sources of influence are more influential and drive out that of the LEA. At least three can be suggested: a detailed specification of what should be taught which the teacher feels obliged to follow or wishes to pursue; some form of policing, such as assessment or control over resources; and positive values on the part of the teacher which lead to conscious decisions to act in a particular way.

Overall, we can state that these LEAs and schools operated in a very loose coupled arrangement (Weick 1976; Meyer 1980). Formal connections were weak. Stronger authority-based influences on daily practice appeared to rest as much on collegial patterns, such as the TVEI Life Skills or Geography INSET groups, as on the work of advisers.

Chapter 7: Local Influences on the Teacher 2: Governors, Parents and the Status of the School.

Four of the schools studied were maintained, and two voluntary aided - one Anglican, one Roman Catholic. This could have influenced teacher relationships with their Governing Bodies, and with their parent communities. In practice, it seemed more important a factor when considering the influence of parents on teachers than in relation to the role played by Governing Bodies.

The influence of Governors and Governing Bodies.

The period of fieldwork - autumn 1987 to spring 1988, and summer 1989 - coincided with the implementation of changes in the composition and powers of School Governing Bodies under the Education (No. 2) Act, 1986, but preceded the changes under the Education Reform Act, 1988. Nevertheless, governors were not seen as at all a significant influence on teachers' practice in any of the maintained schools. Peter Emburey, the Deputy Head of Great Witley, commented that

"the revolution in the effect of the governors on this school hasn't taken place yet,"

and these schools thought that their Head had "sewn up" the Governing Body. However, at St. Thomas More and Albemarle Park, governors were incorporated into school working parties: on curriculum modularisation at St. Thomas More, and concerning their statutory obligation to declare a sex education policy at Albemarle Park. Both led to the governors supporting the outcomes of the working party, although they were largely passive members. St. Thomas More staff were required to submit reports to the Governing Body on everything outside their usual routine, but this was part of the new Head's move to raise the school's profile within the Catholic community. It did not, apparently, influence teachers in their daily work. At Fotherby Wood, the Deputy Head met the Chair of Governors each term to report on future plans, but she stated that no attempt had been made to influence or change them. More significant, perhaps, was the decision of the Governing Body there to ballot the staff over seeking Grant Maintained status when Hamley published its plans for tertiary reorganisation, which would have caused the school to lose its sixth form. The staff voted against, and Hamley offered concessions which led to the idea of "opting out" being dropped.

Only at Sedbury was any direct influence of the Governors or the Governing Body perceived on teachers' practice. The Governing Body was seen as passive, in spite of its responsibility for the teaching of RE and its greater financial authority as an aided school: the RE syllabus had never been discussed by Governors in the eleven years the Head of RE had been on the staff, and the only impact of their financial responsibilities was that some staff who had worked in other Hamley schools felt that Sedbury was better provided for, although much of its furniture was old. However, the Chairman of Governors was extremely active. He attended most selection interviews,

was in school most days, and made a point of talking to staff. He took most school services, and often joined in assemblies. He had seen every syllabus, and had met every department to discuss them. Although he had never insisted on changes, he had challenged departments on their syllabuses, making it clear that he saw the governing body as defining the margins of acceptable educational practice in its school. However, he never took these discussions to the Governing Body. He only intervened directly in what was being taught on one occasion, when he responded to a parent's protest and banned a visit by a representative of one of London's gay groups, planned as a follow-up to a discussion initiated by some sixth formers. The decision was then brought to the Governing Body and approved, with only the teacher governors dissenting.

The Influence of Parents.

Most teachers talked down parental influence on their day-to-day practice, although all schools produced staff who told of individual complaints from parents about their children's experience. This was particularly noticeable over two matters: querying the set or class into which a child had been placed, and, particularly in English, complaining about the teaching materials. Fotherby Wood had some pupils from an active local group of Jehovah's Witnesses. Their parents complained about the use of videos and computers, and about much of the twentieth century literature read as part of the school's GCSE programme, but the Head of English had gained the Headteacher's approval to resist their complaints and continue the course unchanged.

Only a small number of teachers openly acknowledged that their perception of parental expectations affected their teaching. Typical of these was Peter Emburey, Deputy Head of Great Witley. He attached great importance to

good exam results in his personal work, and said that his emphasis on this gave him less trouble with the parents of more able children, who tend to monitor the work given to their children:

"it keeps you a bit on the spot: if you've got an able youngster going home and saying, I've not been set any homework this week, the parent rings you up and says, where's my boy's homework? - well, you want to do well for the youngster and the parent, and it's part of the job, I reckon."

Another Great Witley teacher emphasised an increased pastoral role for teachers, as conventional domestic situations became less usual. This probably reflected the changing status of the school in the local community as it suffered in the competition for pupils created by falling pupil numbers and Grantley's policy of free parental choice.

For although teachers did not necessarily recognise it, parental influence was quite clearly an influence on both what they taught and how they taught it, although the influence was often diffuse and generalised. Both authorities were experiencing falling secondary school populations, and all schools were competing for custom. Great Witley and Albemarle Park, as mixed comprehensives, were at a disadvantage compared with the other schools studied, which were distinctive as single sex or denominational schools. In spite of this, two of these distinctive schools, Sarah Lawley and St. Thomas More, had been undersubscribed, and the Heads were working very hard to raise the image of their schools.

The four schools which were seeking to raise their numbers were approaching the task through two broad approaches. One was to publicise the work of the school through a flow of evening meetings to inform parents of new developments and let them see what was happening. This was a

particular feature of two of the Grantley schools, Sarah Lawley and St. Thomas More, although Albemarle Park in Hamley also did this to a lesser extent. Such events created considerable additional work for teachers, and in some cases this was resented, especially if it was felt that the work passed unrecognised. An extreme case of this occurred at St. Thomas More, when a display of work consisting almost entirely of work by classes of one junior member of the department, and put together by that teacher, was passed off by the Head of Department as her own work.

The other policy response to the need to raise parents' interest was a stronger emphasis on school uniform and a stress on improved performance in public exams. For some staff, attention to children's dress and demeanour was routine, but others found it intrusive: at Sarah Lawley, for example, Brian Reynolds, Head of History and Head of Fifth Year, was irritated by the amount of time devoted to uniform issues at Heads of Department meetings, at the expense, he felt, of academic matters. There was considerable frustration at Great Witley, where the Head's insistence on full uniform led to pupils going on Geography field trips in full uniform even if there were no changing facilities at the site, and to staff having to police the school changing-rooms on sports day - a departure from previous practice.

Thus the need to satisfy a potential and actual clientele created policy decisions which had an impact on teacher practice. This was also visible where there was a clear clientele, as at Fotherby Wood and Sedbury, both of which were consistently oversubscribed. Fotherby Wood was still able to trade on its former status as the girls' grammar school over fifteen years after comprehensive reorganisation, while Sedbury was the only Anglican school in the diocese, let alone the borough. St. Thomas More School, too, though having to fight for numbers, had a clear market: Grantley's Catholic population, and if necessary that of neighbouring authorities.

Some Hamley teachers referred to the growing strength among parents of an instrumentalist view of education, which placed a premium on examination success as a passport to employment (not, be it noted, to higher education), and emphasised "functional" subjects rather than expressive or creative ones. This had made Art less important at Fotherby Wood, where it was now incorporated into a Design "carousel" in the lower school, and had caused them to abandon CPVE, which was not seen to have currency in the job market, and replace it with a scheme of GCSE Mature provided through supported self-study - the first school in the borough to do this. At Albemarle Park, Music had declined in importance, and Geographers there had ruled out one possible GCSE syllabus because it involved separate papers for the more and less able pupils. Before GCSE, parents pushed for their children to be entered for 'O' level, and, as Heather Lenthall, the Head of Geography, put it,

"we'd got fed up with fighting our case with the parents and the children."

There was also a strong sense at Sarah Lawley that public examination success was important: Head of History Brian Reynolds was convinced that the main reason he had defeated a planned consortium arrangement for the school's sixth form, in which he would have lost his 'A' level teaching, was his demand that the Head write to all the parents of 'A' level students explaining how it was now possible to gain 'A' level success on only six periods per week of study instead of eight.

The strongest sense of parental influence on the daily work of teachers, however, came from the two aided schools, where staff emphasised how the children's membership of the Christian community from which they came made for better staff-pupil relationships and easier teaching. They could

concentrate on academic rather than disciplinary issues. It is likely that the absence of such cohesion in other schools was a factor affecting teachers' work, but it was not acknowledged. Its absence there must be inferred from the emphasis it received at Sedbury and St. Thomas More.

The dominant emphasis at Sedbury was a Protestant utilitarian work ethic. Children were expected to be worked hard: lots of writing, and plenty of homework. Parents were ready, and sometimes quick, to complain if they found that their children were not receiving homework, or if they found that their children's books were not being marked frequently. On the other side, the children were compliant: teachers spoke of their "incredible" self-discipline. Louise Alton, a Geography teacher, commented:

"you could easily get into the habit of literally walking in through the classroom door, saying open your books at such a page and do the exercise, and the children in this school, the vast majority of them, would just do it. And if you said, jump out of the window, they would do it."

Teachers denied that their colleagues were that complacent, saying this was partly from a sense of obligation to the children - well-behaved children deserved good teaching and thorough preparation - and partly because parents were ready to contact a teacher and, indeed, were apparently encouraged to do so by senior management, which made little attempt to channel such contact. There being no formalised procedures through which parents could raise issues with the staff, individual teachers could be involved in extended correspondence with parents over a term or more, without anyone, apparently, having to be informed. Sometimes, however, it was conducted through a third party, such as the relevant pastoral head or the Head of Department.

This utilitarianism downgraded other educational activities, which longer-established teachers said they regretted. Alan Rowse, the Head of Computer Studies, commented that parents interpreted exam success as a passport to good employment, and had little interest in non-examination subjects like General Studies, and this attitude communicated itself to the pupils. Andrew Youds, teacher in charge of lower-ability science and senior Housemaster, saw this as a reason why the school had lost, over the previous five years or so, much of its extra-curricular work and charitable activity.

In spite of these reservations, there was a sense of a homogeneous and generally supportive pupil and parent community at Sedbury. Religious issues did sometimes cause controversy, though. Bernard Roberts, the Head of RE, described complaints from some "more evangelical" parents over his first year syllabus which included a section on myths, and the book he was using to teach it, which included a section on superstition including some discussion of ouija boards. Although he played it down, it sounded as though feelings ran high. He claimed that he withdrew the book from use because it was withdrawn from publication rather than because of external pressure, but then discussed at length the expectation of some parents that RE teaching should avoid contentious or controversial issues, arguing that if the school tackled such matters head on the teachers could keep control of the discussion and ensure that a Christian position was clearly stated. However, this was possible, he said, because of the school's Christian ethos and the generally supportive position of the parents.

The Catholic culture at St. Thomas More was rather different: less conformist to what some staff saw as the prevailing national culture promoted by government policies on education and training. Clive Lewis, the deputy head and a committed Catholic, believed that the school's commitment to Christian values caused the staff to challenge more readily than might happen

elsewhere what he saw as central government's move to alter the value-base of the school curriculum through TVEI and CPVE: it posed a service ethic to stand in contrast to a production ethic. He claimed that children on the school's CPVE course were more likely to establish "mini-companies" to provide services to the community than to go into production.

For the Head of Sociology, Claire Rundle, a lapsed Catholic convert, the key consideration was the nature of the families who came to the school. It was not, she argued, a Conservative school, because Roman Catholics in England, by and large, are not Conservatives: the political connection of the Catholic church is with Labour. Because of this, she commented that she has never been accused of indoctrination, although sometimes the displays in her room could have produced such accusations in other schools in the same authority. However, the Jewish Head of Modern Languages, Lester White, said that one reason he felt so at home in the school was that as a Liverpudlian he was used to a strong Irish connection, which this school also has, and the same point was made by the Art instructor Grainne Gilmour, who was a fully qualified Irish teacher.

One reason for the "family" atmosphere of St. Thomas More being stronger than that of Sedbury was the strength of family connections with the school. Long-standing teachers could claim to have taught six or more brothers and sisters, and two or even three generations of the same family. Claire Rundle, who lived locally, said that former pupils now in their late thirties and forties would talk openly to her about how they saw the school. This feeling had been strengthened by the pastoral House system, which had however been altered to a year system some two years earlier, a change regretted by most older staff.

The impact of the Church on the Aided Schools.

One aspect of this has already been indicated in the previous section: Sedbury's Head of RE argued for the Anglican school to take on board controversial issues so as to present a Christian viewpoint. A similar stance was taken by St. Thomas More's Deputy Head (pastoral), Patricia Routledge, who saw it as essential that only Roman Catholic staff discussed matters like contraception with the children, so as to ensure that the correct teaching was presented.

Both schools had certain similar characteristics in their relationships with their local dioceses. RE syllabuses needed approval, but not materials, although comments were made on possible choices by the Catholic diocesan advisers. Eucharists and Masses were held regularly. There were diocesan advisers for RE. The connection between the Catholic Church and St. Thomas More, however, was undoubtedly closer than that between the Church of England and Sedbury. For one thing, Sedbury was the only Church of England secondary school in the diocese, which gave it a status not shared by St. Thomas More. Its RE department tended to talk to the diocesan adviser from a position of expert authority which St. Thomas More's staff could not claim - for example, its syllabus and scheme of work had been accepted without comment and now stood as "diocesan policy" on RE in secondary schools. St. Thomas More's RE department had to listen more carefully to their diocesan adviser.

Only in one sense was Sedbury more closely connected to the Church than St. Thomas More. Because of its origins as a parish school, the vicar of Sedbury was Chair of Governors, and we have shown in the first part of this chapter how active he was. No such contact existed between St. Thomas More and any Grantley parish. However, Sedbury staff saw it more as a consequence of

the personality and interest of the local vicar than of any structural aspect of the school's status.

Another consideration was staff appointments. All RE teachers at St. Thomas More had to be Roman Catholics who possessed a Catholic RE Teachers' Certificate. At Sedbury, not all the RE department were members of the Church of England. Most teachers said there was a bar on non-Catholics gaining an incentive allowance higher than a 'C' at St. Thomas More, though it was not publicly acknowledged and could be overridden: Lester White, the Head of Languages, had been appointed to a 'D' although he was Jewish and taught at his synagogue, and Christine Henderson, responsible for learning support in the upper school, and a Head of Year, had been accepted on redeployment with her 'D' allowance and was, indeed, being given more responsibilities, although she was an atheist.

Perhaps because the Catholic church's control over staffing was stronger, the culture of the two staffrooms was different. No teacher at St. Thomas More questioned their obligation to conform to the teaching of the Catholic Church, stated bluntly by Patricia Routledge, the pastoral Deputy. Diocesan policy statements on such matters as sex education were regarded as binding, even by non-Catholics. Christine Henderson explained why:

"Nobody tied me up in chains and made me work in a Catholic school. I work here from my own choice, so [...] it's up to me to toe the party line [...] I lead assembly every Friday [...] more vigorously I would say than many others. You join a club, you obey the rules - or don't join the club. I don't think many staff know that I'm an atheist."

Sedbury was different. Unlike St. Thomas More, RE was not a compulsory examination subject in the Upper School. A number of teachers emphasised the importance of their personal faith, stating that they were willing to make

that commitment public in the staffroom and in their teaching. They saw the impact it had on the way they treated the children as important. Alan Rowse, an ordained Anglican priest, emphasised that discipline in the school was not harsh, and that the school recognised that older pupils may well be resisting their parents' Christian teaching:

"there is a sense of give-and-take in the school: you don't ram religion down their throats."

Not all the staff interviewed were Christian. Some of those who were not still recognised the importance of the Christian background of the children and its sympathy with the broadly espoused values of the school in generating the kind of teaching atmosphere in which they worked. Thus Anna Randall and William Henderson, neither of whom was a Christian, both spoke warmly of the impact of Christian thinking and values on the children. However, the Christian emphasis stressed by some interviewees was seen by others less positively. Sarah Quine, a History teacher, felt unable to profess her Christian commitment among her Humanities colleagues, who struck aggressively anti-Christian stances in the staffroom. Fred Ellis, the Head of Science, commented that he had moved from sympathetic agnosticism to all-out atheism during his time at the school:

"I think the hypocrisy I see among supposed Christians in this school [...] has I'm afraid switched me completely off Christianity. The very people I see standing up in assembly telling children of their beliefs, of the need for fair play, and for having vision, all the Christian virtues which they are promulgating in assembly, they are then completely dismissing by swearing at the children in the next lesson."

The kind of leadership provided in the schools may be a factor here: as will be discussed in chapter 12, there was at Sedbury a virtual policy vacuum within

the formal hierarchy, allowing others to dominate agenda setting and making senior staff very cautious about how they proceeded, whereas, as we shall see, the Head at St. Thomas More had set about introducing a much stronger degree of central control which would overcome such a situation, which she had inherited. However, it seems likely that the strong commitment to upholding Catholic doctrine had been there long before she came, and rested not on her dominant and forceful style but on two other things: the policies which had been followed throughout the school's existence of appointing practising Catholics to senior positions, and the strength of the Catholic church in establishing an image of duty and obligation to discharge the role the priests would expect, which was communicated very early to the non-Catholics who joined the school.

Comment.

Although Governors were not seen as significant influences on teacher practice, parents were influential, and this was particularly true in the denominational schools which were able to operate admissions criteria relating to public commitment to the Christian faith. Indeed, church and parents combined to make powerful and pervasive influences through the character of the children and the expectations this created of their teachers.

However, it is also clear that such influences were strongly mediated by the character of the school senior management and its policies, or lack of policies, adopted towards them. Stronger or proactive senior management might seek coherent and centrally directed responses, as at Great Witley, St. Thomas More and Sarah Lawley; weaker management might seek to buffer such influence, or simply leave it to individual staff to find their own ways of coping, intervening as requested by one side or the other. This was the case at Sedbury. Either way, it is clear that as Archer (1981) argued and as we have

proposed, the local influences identified here do not operate in a single direction or by osmosis: they are transacted through a multiplicity of routes, and are susceptible to influence themselves. This chapter having appeared critical of the management of Sedbury School, we should point out that, the school was consistently heavily oversubscribed. Presumably the school has satisfied expectations - or succeeded in adapting them over time so they are satisfied.

Chapter 8: National Influences on Teacher Practice

Distinguishing between local and national influences is sometimes difficult. It is clear, for example, that some of the influences discussed in the previous chapter were strengthened by central government policies to increase the opportunities for parents and governors to influence teachers. We shall suggest that local pressures, particularly those created by falling pupil numbers and the consequent overprovision of school places, also work to increase the impact of national influences.

This chapter examines those national influences which mainly operate directly on the individual, rather than being mediated through groups or structures within the LEA or the immediate local community. It examines them under two sub-headings: the National Curriculum statements related to the Government's National Curriculum created under the 1988 Education Reform Act; and the examination reforms which introduced GCSE for first examination in summer 1988. Since our fieldwork spanned the period autumn 1987 to summer 1989, we can reflect on the development of the impact of this innovation on the teachers interviewed. Because it arrived on the scene first, we shall begin with GCSE.

The impact of GCSE.

GCSE was introduced very rapidly, and many interviewees felt there was inadequate training and support for the teachers putting it into operation. The consequence was high levels of uncertainty and insecurity in the early stages. Andrew Youds, a teacher of seventeen years' experience at Sedbury School, interviewed in December 1987 just after his first GCSE group had taken their 'mock' exams, lamented the absence of specimen papers and demonstrated that although he knew what CSE had involved he still had no clear idea of what he should be aiming to prepare his pupils for only one term later. His was an extreme but not atypical example of the feelings expressed by staff at Sedbury and Sarah Lawley in the autumn and winter of 1987 - 8. By summer 1989, however, this had disappeared: teachers had seen one set of exam papers and experienced two completed rounds of coursework moderation, and so understood better how the assessment related to the syllabus statement. In Reid's (1979) terms, the problems had become proceduralised.

More widespread and longer lasting was the impact of the new exam on departmental syllabuses, patterns of teaching and assessment, attitudes to colleagues, and the role of Heads of Department. Departments, or Heads of Departments, frequently exploited the introduction of GCSE to introduce new teaching practices or programmes. English teachers at Sarah Lawley, Great Witley and Fotherby Wood, languages teachers at Fotherby Wood and St. Thomas More, and Science teachers at Sedbury, St. Thomas More and Albemarle Park all described how GCSE legitimated what they regarded as best practice in their subjects, and provided a vehicle on which to hang its introduction. There was considerable evidence, too, that decisions as to which examination board to select, and which syllabus to choose, were frequently taken collaboratively, although sometimes Heads of Departments prepared a

shortlist of options. This collaborative decision-making was particularly prevalent in the Humanities, though it was also present to a lesser extent in the Sciences.

Thereafter the impact of the change varies considerably, and the key variable appears to be individual and departmental characteristics rather than anything to do with the particular school. Some teachers, including a science teacher at Sedbury, a German teacher at Fotherby Wood, and a mathematician and a historian at Great Witley, regarded the new syllabus and its related course material as bibles, and would not deviate from it at all. Strong control was also visible in the way some Heads of Department exploited GCSE coursework moderation to increase their monitoring of their departments. Examples of this included two Heads of Science, at Albemarle Park and St. Thomas More, two Heads of English, at Great Witley and at Albemarle Park, and the Head of History at Fotherby Wood.

The English department at Sarah Lawley provided an interesting example of GCSE as a vehicle for innovation. Wendy Edwards, the Head of Department, was a recent appointment, and her ideas of English teaching, though shared by her Headteacher and her second in the department, also a recent appointment, were not those of the other, longer-established English teachers. She exploited the uncertainty of the first run of GCSE to help her colleagues to question their practice and ask for advice. The need to "get it right for the exam" legitimated collaboration in a department which had hitherto placed individualism at the pinnacle of teaching values - there was, for example, no departmental syllabus when she took up her post. Although it was usually less formal than at Sarah Lawley, where Wendy Edwards was trying to gain more control over her department's teaching, GCSE nevertheless seemed to be generating noticeable weakening in departments in all six schools of the

traditional autonomy and individual privacy of the teacher's classroom reported by many staff interviewed.

However, smaller departments in particular might dispute that this increased collaboration resulted from a desire for more control. The importance of coursework was causing some departments to co-ordinate not only the criteria for assigning marks but also the timing of setting particular pieces so as to avoid disadvantaging one class compared to another. However, many of the departments where such coordination was taking place were very small, comprising only two or at most three teachers, and the ambience which was conveyed in most departments of that size in all six schools was one of considerable routine informal collaboration and discussion. Greater formal collaboration in these settings need not imply greater control of their work by their Head of Department.

Small departmental units, indeed, often seemed able to operate as a counterweight to the general pressure to "stay private", although the collaboration was usually over dealing with new content or new problems. This is discussed in more detail below, in chapters 10 and 12.

There was considerable evidence, too, that the arrival of GCSE had provoked widespread review of lower school syllabuses, sufficient for the Chief Adviser of Grantley to have expressed concern in her annual report for 1989 that it was causing too much lower school teaching to be led by the dictates of the 16+ exam. It was not just the sequential nature of subject matter which was impelling teachers and departments to review their lower school work, although this was stressed in particular by mathematics and science teachers: more generally, it was the need to prepare children to cope with the new forms of assessment required of them. Typical was the stance and reasoning of Fotherby Wood's Head of Maths, Patricia Anderson, who said that GCSE

involved a new approach to teaching: more practical work and investigative study was essential, since part of the assessment was based on it. Children could not be faced with this for the first time at the beginning of the fourth year: they had to be prepared for it. The lower school course was inadequate for this, since it did nothing to generate initiative and undervalued practical work, so she was altering the syllabus in the lower school, beginning with the first year work in the following September.

Fotherby Wood's Art teacher Heather Ryton argued that pressure for cross-curricular programmes and increased numbers of integrated courses was detrimental to subject rigour, and to children's GCSE chances. She believed that

"Good GCSE should be right from the first year"

because children needed to be practised in basic skills - how to hold a paintbrush, trace, or mix colours on a palette. The integrated "design" course in the lower school has prevented this, and so she has to cram basic skills training into the GCSE course, at the expense of what ought to be there: the development of individual artistic skills from a basic starting point.

The conduct of this general review of teaching and syllabuses varied, again, between departments and schools. In most cases the initiative was seen as the responsibility of the Head of Department, but not all departmental members were prepared to join in. Resistance occurred for many reasons. Science teachers in particular spoke of the impact of subject loyalties and tradition, but it was also strong in the Creative Arts: Michael Anderson, the Head of CDT at Great Witley, only achieved any curriculum review when both the teachers he inherited resigned. Traditionalism and busy senior postholders within his department made it difficult for Harold Anderson, Head of Science at Albemarle Park, to make progress with the departmental review he

regarded as essential, and high staff turnover among science teachers at St. Thomas More left almost the entire task of syllabus review in the hands of Head of Science Henry Ashton. In all these areas, the consequence of the syllabus review was, again, to emphasise testing and assessment and prepare both children and staff to keep more detailed records.

New Heads of Departments could find the problems of moving staff towards such reviews overwhelming. Mary Cultrane, the newly-arrived Head of Maths at Great Witley, struggled to bring it about in a department which had, apparently, ignored GCSE entirely prior to her arrival. Faced with a Maths scheme which would not meet National Curriculum requirements, an interim GCSE course which would be discontinued the following year, and a secretive and inflexible department, she found that the children were not prepared for the investigative problem solving which would be required for GCSE the following year. Consequently, she was embarking on a crash programme of preparation, beginning with the third years who would be starting on the GCSE work in the coming September, and who needed desperately to have some preliminary experience of the sort of work their exam course would require.

The Head of Department's importance in developing collaboration on GCSE work, coursework preparation, marking and moderation, and lower school syllabus review, was emphasised by several teachers. Fiona Thompson, coordinator of Lower School English at St. Thomas More, was the most graphic. Her Head of Department prior to September 1988 had promoted widespread discussion of GCSE, involving all departmental staff in the decisions. With the arrival of a new Head of Department, such discussion ended almost overnight, and even coursework moderation was increasingly centralised. Two other examples involved History teachers: at Fotherby Wood, all decisions on coursework grades were taken by the Head of

Department, who also wrote all the worksheets for new parts of the course, while at Albemarle Park, all that was agreed was that all coursework would be marked at the end of the course, prior to moderation, but no agreement was sought over marking scales or criteria. Further, the Head of Department had declined to take any initiative to review the syllabus for the Lower School, so Andrea Carter, the main grade teacher in the two-person department, was doing it herself for her own classes.

Comment.

These data show clearly that GCSE was perceived as a major influence on teacher practice and a major catalyst for change. A key reason for this appears to be that it is by its very nature a policing system. However, it was apparent that the form and pattern of that influence, though acting directly upon the school, was mediated by factors internal to the school, of which departmental leadership and membership is the most important. It is also influenced by the department's epistemology, which, taken together with the character of the department's members, affects how that policing role is interpreted and developed. These two factors will form a major part of our discussion of school-based influences on teacher practice.

Local external factors appear to strengthen this influence. The increasing importance of examination results, and the possibility of more open enrolment under the 1988 Education Reform Act, led to GCSE being a form of external policing. Parents are seen as regarding GCSE as a key performance indicator by which to judge the effectiveness of a school, and in a time of increasing competition for pupils this is clearly important.

Another reason for the importance of GCSE may be sought in teachers' own backgrounds. Most of them succeeded in the academic system and see their

position in the school as legitimated by their qualifications. Emphasising the importance of examination success strengthens the importance of their own achievement, confirming the legitimacy of their authority. If a department is providing education in a particular area, it is sensible for it to appeal to its pupils' success in its area as a basis for its continuation in the curriculum. Indeed, it was striking that one of the most traditionalist of the teachers interviewed, Great Witley's geographer Charles Mitford, sought to emphasise the lack of "scientific rigour" underpinning the Government's policy decisions, the lack of academic merit in the basic skills training which he saw the education service as being required to do under new developments, and, even as he boasted, when returning his agreed interview report in September 1989, of his Geography department's good performance in the summer's GCSEs, the lack of rigour in the new course and assessment system.

The National Curriculum

Our fieldwork was completed before the National Curriculum was introduced at Secondary School level. However, because interviews occurred in two separate phases, in Winter/Spring 1987/8 and in Spring/Summer 1989, the National Curriculum proposals developed during the fieldwork from a general intention expressed in a consultative document to a set of consultative papers on subject areas, in varying stages of completion, and a range of decisions about the assessment which would underpin it. Consequently, teachers interviewed later were aware of what might be involved in the new arrangements in a way that those interviewed earlier could not have been.

The resulting difference showed outright fear and hostility mellowing into a more resigned and acquiescent anger, tinged sometimes with the reassurance that the detailed proposals were very much in line with what they wanted to

do anyway. We can attribute much of this development to two things: more information about what would be involved, which removed some of the wilder concerns expressed in 1987/8, and familiarity with the idea of a national curriculum through its extensive discussion. However, it should be stressed that interviewing was completed before any National Curriculum schemes were in place, and many were not even in interim form. Even English and Mathematics, due to begin Key Stage 3 in September 1989, were not available in their final, definitive format. We therefore cannot say that the National Curriculum was having a significant direct impact on teachers' approach to their work.

The later interviews revealed two kinds of response to the National Curriculum. One was a felt need to respond to some kind of as yet undefined threat, and the other, once the threat was clearer, a need to consider what was needed in terms of general or longer term planning. How each problem was treated varied, as with GCSE, according to a teacher's status in the school, and the nature of the particular department involved, its members and its leadership.

Because there were no definitive requirements as yet, most teachers could not respond immediately in their teaching to the National Curriculum. Instead, staff responded to existing worries, according to their particular sense of obligation and duty. Olive Green, Fotherby Wood's Head of Careers, who had taught in the school for twenty-nine years, saw the school as obliged to obey the DES, not just in statutory requirements like the National Curriculum, but in other initiatives: if the DES said technology for all, then technology for all it had to be.

Another Fotherby Wood teacher who saw the National Curriculum as of limited importance was Christine Appleby, teacher of History and English. A national curriculum did not worry her, for

"it's important for certain subjects to be done and done properly"

but it would not achieve this

"unless you've got a school that is really prepared to sit down and say, 'we're going to do it this way' and really get it going."

This statement was coloured by her strong feelings against her Head of History, whose management style left her isolated and bitter.

Some staff saw a more definite influence. Usually more senior, they had to ensure that the school was prepared for the demands of the National Curriculum. At Fotherby Wood, Gwen Nugent, the Deputy Head, saw her role primarily in terms of identifying national trends and generating feasible responses:

"I look to see the trends that need to be continued like, we're working as a school policy towards delivering technology for all, looking at the National Curriculum and the requirements of that, and seeing how we can deliver that within our whole-school policy, making sure that not only the desirable curriculum is down on paper but that we can physically develop that and we can also present it on a timetable that will work with these specialist subjects."

Her stance was reactive, and her view of professional relationships strongly hierarchical:

my job is really to look at the trends and to look at the requirements, to assess them, and then to present to the staff the way in which the school is going re curriculum - with discussion, obviously."

Such discussion was less "obvious" to the other teachers at Fotherby Wood.

Great Witley's Headteacher had formally acknowledged the National Curriculum's emphasis on cross-curricular links by setting up a working party to document the extent of their existence. One member of this was Head of English Leslie Ventura, who advocated the need for such links and planned developments, partly because of his earlier experience of a department where no syllabus had existed at all, and no monitoring of work had been accepted:

"for example, when do you teach business letters? Some people won't teach them at all, some teach them in the first year, others in the third year. People will be teaching different ways of setting out letters. You need [...] to get down to say, we'll use this format, this is what's acceptable to most employers, and [...] if we can link it into the word processor that means liaising with IT, and therefore that means doing it with a particular age group and at a particular time, and to make sure that we're reinforcing it in the exam [...] or with a written assignment [...] and so you can see that just by getting together and agreeing you expand the range of what can be done [...] to ensure from one teacher to another an equivalent learning experience."

More typical, however, were the views of his colleagues Michael Anderson, the Head of CDT, and Anne McIntosh, the Home Economics teacher, who both saw the development as reflecting changes started by GCSE, so not causing much concern, but as underresourced and over-rapidly introduced. Both were enthusiastic about the National Curriculum's cross-curricular

emphasis, but saw significant problems in bringing them about: Michael Anderson because of the uncertain status of the working party on the subject, and Anne McIntosh because of issues of departmental status which caused her department to be disregarded by the "heavyweight" departments such as Maths, Science, and English. Notwithstanding Leslie Ventura's apparent enthusiasm for cross-curricular developments, his English department, she said, was one of the most resistant to collaboration.

This suggests, again, that the impact of the National Curriculum was significantly influenced by the internal dynamics of school and department. Further evidence of this is to be found in the view of Heather Ryton, the art teacher at Fotherby Wood, who saw the establishment of Art as a Foundation subject in the National Curriculum as giving little protection from the onward march of technology which had already caused her department to lose one member of staff and an art room, and her to be relocated, equipment and all, to the lower school. The National Curriculum would not generate any significant change, she said: its impact would be limited by the cheeseparings which she said was necessitated by underresourcing. This was a major influence on her practice, and resulted as much from decisions by school management as from those taken at LEA level.

Resourcing worried Fotherby Wood's Head of Mathematics, Patricia Anderson. Her department faced a major cross-curricular responsibility for computer literacy, but in spite of TVEI funding and the school's associated "technology for all" initiative, they had only one computer, provided out of PTA funds, which was located in a cupboard in a demountable classroom which could not be made secure. She had promoted extensive in-service training in the area for her departmental colleagues, but that was not enough on its own: faced with poor resourcing, staff shortages, part-time teachers

sharing classes, and, in her view, no support from the top, how many of its obligations would her department be able to fulfil?

Comment.

The National Curriculum had undoubtedly influenced teacher behaviour, if only by generating discussion. Staff interviewed in 1989 were well-informed about developments in their subject area, which were clearly starting to influence the GCSE-inspired reviews of lower school work, and, in some cases, the worksheets they were preparing. However, it was also apparent that factors internal to the school were affecting the strength and character of the influence of National Curriculum documents. This was particularly clear in the irritation of teachers like Patricia Anderson at Fotherby Wood. Undoubtedly some of these comments can be attributed to the need for hard-pressed teachers to moan to a sympathetic outsider. Part of it, too, may be put down to a perceived contradiction in the government's requirements that teachers should give better value for money through both greater obligations and fewer resources. What is also clear, however, is that the two school-related factors of personal status and responsibilities and departmental circumstances were key mediators of this particular national influence.

Other national influences.

Occasional reference was made to other national influences. One teacher, a union activist, felt the NAS-UWT provided valuable comment on developments nationally and internationally. One mathematician made reference to the Mathematics Association, and two science teachers spoke warmly of the Association for Science Education - one referring to a set of A.S.E. booklets as his "bible" on the Balanced Science scheme he had introduced. Two other teachers made reference to HMI publications.

Summary

Although the National Curriculum was starting to influence teachers' planning, and to affect their daily teaching through the worksheets they prepared, the major national influence was the GCSE reforms. The demands of the exam syllabuses were being reflected in the approaches being taken towards lower school teaching, in terms of the objectives being pursued, syllabus content, and the styles of learning. This response appears to have been a reflection of the teachers' own academic backgrounds, and also of the increased visibility of exam performance as a means of demonstrating the quality of education provided by a school, seen as a necessary element of the school's response to Government policies of open enrolment in a period of falling rolls. Other national influences, such as HMI or professional associations, seemed weak.

National structural pressures, then, were on the whole stronger influences on teachers' practice than the pressures emanating from the local authority. This is a major change from the conventional expression of national and local relations, which sees the local authority as more important. In particular, the growing significance of the perceived demands of public exams as a justification for professional practice is worth noting, as is the nature of the pressure producing it, which weaves together professional, cultural and environmental threads. However, within that general pressure are a complex of other pressures, originating in the teachers' background, training and experience within the school. We turn now to an analysis of these personal and school-based influences on the way teachers operate.

Chapter 9: Personal Factors Influencing Practice: the Impact of Background, Experience and Training, and Personal Values

It is becoming clear that the strongest influences which the teachers acknowledged were internal to the school. These mediated and influenced the impact of national and local policy pressures, and provided the context in which individuals responded to external influences, including parents and governors. However, teachers brought a background of training and professional experience into their work, which itself affected the pattern of interaction and expectations developed within the school. Before we examine structural and processual issues internal to the professional functioning of the school, therefore, we must review the data on teachers' individual backgrounds, training and experience, and the values they brought to bear on the situations they described.

The relative values of initial teacher training, in-service training and experience.

Most teachers played down the significance of their teacher training, emphasising instead the importance of their experience as teachers. There was some distinction between academic training in a subject, needed for teaching more advanced level classes, and educational theory, which was usually seen as unhelpful or irrelevant. This applied as much to teachers who had come into teaching through the B.Ed or Cert. Ed routes as to those who had gained a subject-based first degree and a PGCE.

Typical of these attitudes were those of the Great Witley staff. Mary Cultrane, Head of Maths, had little positive to say about her initial training, but had gained an Open University degree to 'top up' her Cert. Ed. so as to be academically capable of teaching 'A' level classes, without which she believed she would not be considered for appointment to Head of Department. However, an in-service Diploma course on Mathematics for low-attaining pupils, taken when she had been Head of Special Needs at her previous school, had been valuable. Head of English Leslie Ventura, who had taken an MPhil and hoped for an academic career in Higher Education before turning to school teaching, spoke warmly of his academic studies at university, but was savagely critical of his PGCE. The only thing of value he could find in that year was the "gentle introduction" which teaching practice gave him to the rigours of classroom teaching.

A similar view of teaching practice as the only worthwhile part of his teacher training was taken by the Deputy Head of St. Thomas More, Clive Lewis. Only his MA in Curriculum Studies, undertaken as he was moving into a senior management position, had allowed him to see any value in educational theory.

Some staff offered a different criticism of their initial training, finding "method" classes useful but teaching practice a poor preparation for the real thing. Fotherby Wood's Scottish probationer, Brenda Scott, found that teacher training had been helpful in learning approaches to the teaching of Mathematics, but said that there was more to teaching than that. Even her two teaching practices, in strongly contrasting schools which made her value the role of senior management more than some of her colleagues, had not taught her about discipline, because she could walk away from the problems as her teaching practice would soon end. Now she was in full time teaching, and

"they're dependent on you for their exams, and for the classroom topics they study: you're responsible."

One teacher deeply regretted not having done a PGCE. Wendy Edwards, Head of English at Sarah Lawley, who until the previous year had taught for the whole of her twenty years in girls' grammar schools, felt that most trained teachers did not recognise how much they had been prepared for the technical questions of teaching as well as the "tricky and tacky" tasks of discipline. She went straight from a Cambridge English degree to teach in her first girls' grammar school, and

"a great mistake it was: there I was bursting with academic ideas and without any idea of how to treat a child in the classroom, and I made every mistake in the book. And if you do that in a permanent post, rather than on teaching practice, you have to live with the consequences."

A few staff, usually but not always young, inexperienced teachers, emphasised certain useful elements of their teacher training, particularly a basic format for the preparation and delivery of class lessons, the factors to be

taken into account in lesson planning, and, occasionally, the importance of being aware of wider policy questions such as racism and sexism. This last point was raised by teachers in their first appointments at Sedbury, Sarah Lawley and Great Witley as showing how far their schools were from what their teacher training had suggested was desirable practice.

Most teachers who devalued their teacher training coupled together education lecturers, LEA advisers and sometimes LEA officers as teachers who had fled the classroom because they could not cope. But occasionally a different view emerged. Roberta Devonshire, in her second year of teaching German at Fotherby Wood, who had only just succeeded in passing her probation, saw the value of teacher training in terms of practical techniques:

"the emphasis on oral skills, on speaking the language, and on listening; the idea of variety, of using drama, of using pictures, of using the tape as well as the book."

However, she indicated that during her probationary year GCSE and inadequate departmental support had tended to force her back on a strict adherence to the textbook. Here we seem to have a young and inexperienced teacher trying to hold on to an ideal model of teaching which circumstances - experience - are preventing her from achieving. One wonders how many of the teachers who cried up experience at the expense of their training had experienced the same destruction of their ideal, as opposed simply to finding their training unhelpful and unreal.

This may indeed have happened to Christine Appleby, who taught History and English at Fotherby Wood. A late entrant to teaching, who restarted her formal education with GCE 'A' levels after bringing up a family, and then took her degree and teaching certificate as a full-time mature student, she was after seven years at Fotherby Wood thoroughly disillusioned. She had

experienced two Heads of Department who did not value her work, and left her to her own devices with less able or younger students, keeping all the more academic teaching to themselves. Yet she had a good honours degree, and the prize for the best History teaching on her PGCE programme. Her teacher training gave her

"all sorts of things: confidence in myself; knowledge; a feeling I could actually stand on my own two feet and do things [...] I still remember a lot of what my tutor at [College] used to say about teaching [...] she was a real inspiration [...] a lot of hints and tips that she gave us [...] Seeing things from all different aspects - not just giving it to them and saying, this is what happened [...] and I try to do that sort of thing sometimes [...] the trouble is, though, it's time, with this wretched having-to-get-to-a-certain-stage-by-Christmas, that you are limited."

Later, she said,

"coming to this school hasn't done me any good at all, but I find it difficult to move now, because - age-wise doesn't help. I think if I keep [my training experience] in mind, and the enthusiasm, I'll manage to get through, I think."

In-service training achieved a higher status than initial training, provided it was "practical". It was often seen as providing survival skills to cope with changing situations: good examples of this are Theresa Harrison, the Biology teacher at Sarah Lawley, who found it useful as she became interested in Special Needs work, and Eleanor Walsh, the English teacher at Great Witley, who was asked to take over a GCSE course on Media Studies and was sent on a university Diploma course. Occasionally, though, mid-career in-service training was given a wider value. At St. Thomas More, Henry Ashton, the Head of Science, was impressed by the hands-on, practical nature of his

training, but felt that teachers needed an opportunity to stand back from the day-to-day once they felt competent, to consider wider educational questions and prepare for promotion. The school's Deputy Head valued his MA in curriculum studies for just that reason. For Andrea Hackett, Head of Home Economics at Sarah Lawley, her initial training had been a complete waste of time, but her induction programme in ILEA sensitised her to political issues around her subject area which she developed through an in-service BEd she undertook before leaving ILEA. That course had led her to become involved with a national group of teachers and advisers who were promoting a particular view of her subject area, and she now took part in in-service work herself. Reflection, generated through in-service training, had created an ideological and political commitment to a view of education and the role of her subject in it.

Generally, however, experience overlaid and sometimes neutralised teacher training unless it was found so negative that teacher training was held on to as a motivating inspiration. This experience usually pointed in the same direction: towards a valuation of the academic, focussed on their teaching subjects, an emphasis on practical teaching skills rather than on reflection, and lower status for teachers who had taken a career route into pastoral care or special needs work. This greatly influenced how teachers responded to change. At Sedbury School, a major reason why Head of Computer Studies Alan Rowse was worried about his subject becoming "cross-curricular" under the National Curriculum proposals was that by losing its "slot" on the timetable it would cease to be academic. Further, he would cease to be demonstrating his personal teaching competence and shouldering his proper load:

"there isn't room on the timetable for wandering consultants: I have to teach classes."

His colleague Sue Turner, acting Head of Special Needs, who was trying to move the school towards integrating Special Needs teaching into mainstream classes, had to accept that she must play the part of teacher's aide since Special Needs was not "academic", but also realised that she had to take the full class occasionally to prove to her colleagues that she could do it, and wasn't just claiming an "easy ride".

Valuing the academic above the non-academic extended, sometimes, to downgrading non-traditional routes into teaching. At Fotherby Wood, Christine Appleby found herself discriminated against by the Head of History because of her non-standard route into Higher Education, while Margaret McLeod, in spite of an HNC in Chemistry and an OU degree specialising in sciences, was deemed capable only of taking young children and low ability classes.

If academic learning was the most highly-valued element of teachers' university or college experience, and "methods" and "theory" the least valued, we can see how teachers come to emphasise "content" rather than "process". Naomi Woodward's worries over TVEI Life Skills at Sarah Lawley, discussed in chapter 6 (pp. 119 - 120 above), are a good example. It led Charles Mitford, the Geography teacher at Great Witley who also held the pastoral post of Head of fourth year, to want plenty of writing in his pupils' folders. We can identify key elements of a teacher culture in all six schools, which emphasises academic expertise and downgrades the status of anyone without it. It also stresses the individual teacher's personal responsibility for the children in the classes taught, which emphasises the privacy of the classroom.

The concept of a "teacher culture", or at least a "school culture", is important, and was discussed in chapter 3 by reference to Lortie (1975), Lacey (1977), Elbaz (1983), Lieberman and Miller (1984) and Clandinin (1985). A key

dimension of "experience" is the expectations of those with whom one works. The belief that only through getting into class and teaching a full timetable can a new teacher learn how to cope with the demands of the job lives among older staff and communicates itself to their younger colleagues. The words "cope with" were common in interview, for the teachers often found it hard to talk of mastering the classroom situation. In coping, colleagues' expectations were very important. The schools appeared to have a culture in which teachers were expected to cope and in which use of the disciplinary referral system was regarded as failure. This will be examined in more detail in chapter 12: for now, we need only to state that such an expectation feeds on and nourishes the wider expectation that teachers will operate as separate, autonomous agents in private classrooms.

The existence of an identifiable "teacher culture" suggests that we must examine if its manifestation in a school is influenced by its institutional setting, or by other factors. Before this, however, two other points need briefly to be made.

A small minority of teachers had either undertaken other careers before teaching or pursued alternative employment alongside their teaching work. The range was wide, covering academic research, manufacturing and production industries, finance and the army. Almost all of these staff spoke of the difference between their expectations and those of teachers without that experience: the latter were typified as having limited vision, and found it difficult to separate themselves from the behavioural expectations of the children they taught. Interestingly, those whose outside experience had taken their academic careers furthest were less concerned with "academic purity" than their teacher colleagues. They thought much of what children learned at school needed to be relearned at a more sophisticated level later, so felt that adequate coverage of facts was less important than a good conceptual

grounding and an inquiring mind which could learn quickly and adapt to new settings.

Two teachers regarded their individual family backgrounds as important: Ken Campbell, the TVEI Coordinator at Sarah Lawley, had suffered from a bullying father who had stripped his son of self-confidence, and Wendy Edwards, the Head of English at the same school who had finally taken the plunge into comprehensive education after twenty years as an advocate of it who nevertheless taught in grammar schools, spoke of her mother who had ingrained into her daughter through her example a sense of the moral obligation of the articulate and able to stand up for the rights of individuals against those more powerful than themselves, both on their own behalf and for those less able to do so.

Personal Politics and Religious Values.

Very few teachers acknowledged any political or ideological content in their teaching, either directly or as an influence. Andrea Hackett, Sarah Lawley's Head of Home Economics, was one of the few who declared an ideological stance: she stated that she had been appointed by the previous Headteacher to change her subject into an applied science examining food and nutrition, but she had also brought to the school a strongly feminist and socialist insistence on challenging school policies with which she disagreed. She refused, for example, to operate the school's referral system on the grounds that it was an unfair agent of social control. Also at Sarah Lawley, biologist Theresa Harrison saw herself as "colluding" with problem children to try and assist them to cope without getting into trouble in the school.

Where political stances were taken, they were usually very general. Thus Christine Appleby, History and English teacher at Fotherby Wood, the girls'

school in Hamley, tried to work against the common attitude she found among her twelve- and thirteen-year old pupils, that Higher Education was not for them, because their future lay in word-processing at age sixteen and marriage at eighteen. At St. Thomas More, Head of Sociology Claire Rundle was quite happy to tackle contentious issues, and spoke of posters of Karl Marx or Greenham Common adorning the walls of her classroom, but emphasised that although she was herself a Labour Party member she took pains to ensure a balance of coverage and presentation. Her acknowledgement of political allegiance was both rare and atypical: the small number of other teachers who acknowledged a party political view saw themselves as "mild" conservatives.

Reference has already been made to the religious stances of staff at the two aided schools. State school teachers made little reference to religious feelings or beliefs, except at Fotherby Wood, where half of those interviewed expressed some form of religious commitment. How this affected their work varied: Roman Catholic Brenda Scott and Anglo-Catholic Olive Green declared that it had no impact whatsoever, whereas "low church" Anglicans Sue Allen and Margaret MacLeod, and Methodist Christine Appleby, spoke of an obligation to respect the children and to treat them as they would wish to be treated. This was little different from the values articulated by other staff elsewhere who espoused no religious commitment. Fundamentalist Protestants Roberta Devonshire and Gwen Nugent experienced tension. Both wished to express their faith openly, to argue for it, and to proselytise, but felt forbidden to do so by the maintained status of the school. Gwen Nugent, the Deputy Head, said it was particularly difficult not to proselytise on occasions when she felt that her Church community could offer guidance and security to a girl facing pastoral problems. Roberta Devonshire said her faith was the main source of inspiration in the dark days of her probation when she was

being advised to leave teaching: she said she prayed frequently for guidance and inspiration, and often felt that she clearly received it.

Comment.

Teachers who emphasised the academic content of their teaching and stressed good examination results as a key measure of success were the most insistent on the apolitical nature of their work. It seemed that they were seeking to depoliticise their work and make it uncontroversial. Reasons offered for this must be speculative, but it is suggested that a key consideration was a desire to preserve classroom autonomy and maximum discretion in their day-to-day work. If their work was non-controversial it would not need tight control; if their work produced good examination results it would not need close monitoring, and they would be allowed to continue to exercise discretion in their daily teaching. The strong emphasis we found on their academic background would lead us to expect a strong attachment to subject departments rather than to other possible organisational units, such as pastoral teams; the desire for classroom autonomy would circumscribe the acknowledged authority of the Head of Department and other senior staff; the demand for discretion would reduce the extent to which teachers are directed, rather than guided, by the syllabus. At the same time, different kinds of academic backgrounds will emphasise different kinds of outcomes, the achievement of which may depend on greater or lesser degrees of restriction of the discretion allowed to individual teachers. When we turn to an examination of the structural influences at work on teachers within their schools, this is exactly what we find.

Chapter 10: The Centrality of the Department 1: Subject Identity, Physical Location, and the Head of Department.

Introduction: the Department as a "Basic Unit"

Becher and Kogan (1980) developed a model of institutional and personal operation in higher education which distinguishes normative and operational modes at the levels of the individual, the basic unit, the institution and the central authority. Each level generates values and norms of conduct which form the structural and processual mix of influences on professional academic life. The key unit of influence is the "basic unit", which they define as

"the smallest component elements which have a corporate life of their own"

(Becher and Kogan 1980: p. 79)

and which provides crucially important support for academics in their daily life.

This analysis matches well with the school data presented so far in this study. We have repeatedly indicated the mediating impact of factors internal to the organisation on the external influences we have discussed. The subject department has been a crucial element in such mediation, but it was not the only internal influence, nor was its influence uniform. Although it was the most common basic unit, alternative social groupings were developed if for some reason it did not produce satisfactory support for its teachers.

We have identified four overlapping factors affecting the internal organisational influences on teacher practice: the degree of centrality of the department; the form and extent of contact between individual teachers and departments and the senior management; the informal hierarchy of status and influence in the school; and the importance attached to teacher autonomy and discretion. Although there are points of overlap between them, we shall take each one separately. The next two chapters will focus on the department, while chapter 12 takes up the other, school-wide factors.

The degree of centrality of the department will be approached by referring to a number of specific factors: what we have called the extent of a shared subject identity within the department; its physical setting, both in relation to the rest of the school and in terms of individual staff teaching circumstances relative to one another; the character of the Head of Department; the implications of the prevailing "epistemology" within the department; and the number of staff it contains. This organisation of data is, however, a construct: the factors interrelate. This chapter concerns itself with the first three of these, with the last two being dealt with separately in the chapter which follows.

The importance of a shared subject identity in creating strong departmental loyalty and a strong departmental identity.

This was crucial in determining the extent to which the department represented a secure base from which teachers operated. A shared subject identity involved a broad agreement about what the subject involves, or a belief that departmental colleagues share a commitment to its importance. Such a subject identity was a natural consequence of the emphasis on individuals' academic background discussed in chapter 9. The stronger a shared subject identity, the more informal collaboration and discussion occurred over course content, teaching approaches, and other teaching-related concerns. A weak subject identity, or strong but competing conceptualisations of the subject, was not associated with much liaison. However, a weak subject identity could create a strong negative impact on a teacher if it led to an active search for an alternative basic unit. Also, subject departments with strong shared subject identities in one school might have weak shared subject identities elsewhere, and strong and weak subject identities coexisted in every school researched.

A strong shared subject identity was not so much an epistemological stance as a basis for social contact which could counter potentially divisive forces. It was important that teachers shared either a broad agreement about what the subject involved, which was an epistemological stance, or believed that colleagues shared a commitment to its importance. We shall see in chapter 11 that the subject epistemology itself affected the departmental members' perception of the role of the teachers within it, and thence the kind of contact which occurred between them, but we concentrate here on examples of how the strength of a subject identity allowed for collaboration to develop in some circumstances but not in others.

Two contrasting examples are provided by the Mathematics and Modern Languages departments at Fotherby Wood. The Maths department had fourteen members of staff, seven of whom were either part-time staff or taught Maths for only a fraction of their timetable. There was considerable liaison between teachers, partly through necessity as some of them shared classes and had to know what the other teacher was doing. It was seen as important for the two probationers to seek and receive advice. Teachers who were perhaps only teaching Maths for one tenth of their timetable were grateful to be given clear and detailed guidance. There was a "Maths table" in the staffroom, and the department kept a "complaints book" in which teachers recorded particular problems they had encountered. Partly because there were so many inexperienced or part-time staff, teachers were ready to discuss such problems, and to use the "complaints book" as a basis from which to decide how to handle problems when they arose.

As almost the only non-probationary full time Mathematics teacher, the Head of Department was accorded great status. This was emphasised by the way in which the school's Deputy Head, who was the previous Head of Department, insisted that her former colleagues had to turn to the new Head of Department, and made a point of deferring publicly to the Head of Department over issues on which she would, only a year before, have been taking decisions on others' behalf.

Whereas Maths was either the only subject a teacher taught, or something peripheral to their main concerns, the Modern Languages department encompassed three languages. Teachers taught either French and Spanish, or German. Consequently, it actually operated more like two departments than one. Informal liaison between the teachers of French and Spanish appeared to be increasing, largely provoked by GCSE developments, whereas the German teachers were completely separate. Insofar as they collaborated at all, it

appears to have been the Head of German telling the other, who was only in her second year of teaching and had nearly failed her probation, what to do.

Most teachers began by insisting that unity and collaboration characterised the departments in which they worked. Thus Charles Mitford, a long-established Geography teacher at Great Witley, spoke of "total and utter" collaboration with his Head of Department colleague in the two-person department. Later, however, he emphasised that he was a traditionalist who stressed plenty of written work and learning of content, whereas his Head of Department emphasised process rather than content, and had been criticised for this in the recent LEA full inspection of the school.

Great Witley's History teacher, William Elster, also emphasised extensive collaboration in a response typical of those from members of small departments. The two teachers wrote the syllabus together, split the teaching of 'A' level and GCSE classes, so they had to collaborate on what was taught and when, and were free to pass through each other's classrooms to go to cupboards, see children, or speak to one another if it was convenient. Sarah Lawley's History department was strikingly similar to this. Elster said that he would not depart from the exam syllabus, but felt free to digress from the lower school programme on occasions because he had helped to write it. As an owner of it, he was free to change it - a very different view from that of Leslie Ventura, Great Witley's Head of English, who saw agreement to a policy or form of action as a commitment to uphold it, and a justification for his being very severe on any member of staff whom he subsequently found was not following it.

The desire for informal contact and collaboration was one important element in the establishment of a strong shared subject identity. In Great Witley's History and Geography departments we find another: the individual

teacher's wish to preserve some classroom autonomy. Nowhere was this tension better demonstrated than in the Art department at Fotherby Wood. There was no doubt that a strong subject identity provided a firm base for Heather Ryton, and that she felt on good terms with her Head of Department. She had, indeed, been acting Head of Department for a year, and had continued with some of the duties after her Head of Department returned until this arrangement was overruled by the Head. But there was little direct collaboration: there was no formal departmental syllabus, and the two teachers agreed the programme at the beginning of the year and then went their own way, only ensuring that they started each new project together. What had happened in the past was that the two teachers had felt free to go into each other's art room and to gain inspiration from the work that was being done, and to discuss, informally, each other's pupils' work. This was no longer possible now that they were located in different buildings, and Heather Ryton felt this isolation acutely.

Not all departments offered even the semblance of such cooperation. If the History departments at the Grantley schools were reported as places of collaborative decision-making and participative teaching, the opposite was apparently the case in at least two of the Hamley schools studied. At Albemarle Park, History teacher Andrea Carter emphasised how little collaboration she achieved with her newly-appointed Head of Department, who had taught in the school since it opened and was previously a teacher at the boys' school which had amalgamated into Albemarle Park, and how she was going her own way with revising her third year syllabus. She sought collaboration within the first year Humanities programme on which she taught, apparently finding a kindred spirit in Heather Lenthall, the Head of Geography who also had overall responsibility for the first year course. This was more a personal relationship than a connection into a departmental unit,

for the course was taught by teachers from across the History, Geography and RE departments, which in practice meant the three teachers just identified and the two other Geographers. Apart from Andrea Carter, all of the team had worked on the course since the school was established, and collaboration was notional rather than real: Heather Lenthall took it on herself to socialise Andrea Carter into the course's requirements.

Christine Appleby, who taught History and English at Fotherby Wood, experienced a similar sense of isolation. She described the Head of History as highly directive and inflexible, requiring the course to be covered completely since it was all tested, but she also felt disregarded and devalued. Her timetable was entirely younger or less able groups, and she was similarly used in the English department. Her ideas were ignored in what departmental meetings occurred. Her identity within the school was, she felt, more as a lower school teacher than as a subject teacher, yet she wanted to be a History teacher.

Other teachers at Fotherby Wood found that they were also drawn to the Lower School as a unit rather than to their subject department: these included Heather Ryton, the Art teacher, and Margaret McLeod, a probationary teacher of Science. It was perhaps significant that the Science teacher found herself at odds with the subject heads in her department over issues such as the assessment policies for less able pupils, which may have encouraged this accepting an alternative "home".

Christine Appleby's interview called into question some of the claims of her Head of English, Dennis Ostler. He described the department as operating consensually and participatively, but she said she felt disconnected from it. However, he also said that he was concerned that the circumstances of a split

site reduced the involvement of the lower school in the department as a whole, thus reinforcing the point we have just made.

Comment.

The centrality to teachers' thinking of a department with a shared subject identity was reflected in the strong rhetoric of cooperation and collaboration expressed early on in most interviews. However, some of those who were loudest in this rhetoric later articulated quite different value-systems at work between departmental members in their everyday work. It seemed that what was important was the sense of a secure location within the school, a small unit to which an individual could belong, and a sense of loyalty to their subject was a powerful spur towards making this the department: so much so that it took some time for staff to concede that their collaboration with departmental colleagues was less than total. Almost all departments other than Maths, English, Languages and Science numbered three people at most. Collaboration was considerable in many cases: teachers shared the teaching of classes, discussed resources, and collaborated in assessment work, particularly on GCSE. In some cases, however, personalities or values were so much at odds that individuals were operating in effect in isolation, and physical isolation could also be an issue.

The physical setting of the department.

The physical setting of the department has wider implications than the isolation caused by being part of a split-site school. The extent to which a department had a distinct physical identity - a set of identifiable laboratories or workshops, or a suite of classrooms dedicated to its teaching and used almost entirely for that purpose - was a factor in promoting both a sense of collective identity and a sense of separateness from other teaching colleagues.

Stock cupboards usually opened into classrooms rather than corridors, so teachers would pass through others' lessons to get equipment or simply to work in the stockroom/office. When this occurred it was possible for them to be drawn into the lesson in progress. This was particularly true in subject areas such as Art or CDT, where it was seen as legitimate for a teacher to comment favourably on the quality of an individual pupil's work, but it also occurred in the History departments at Great Witley and Sarah Lawley (Brian Reynolds and his colleagues would happily turn to a passing teacher if a subject was being discussed and say, "I wonder what Mr ... thinks on this issue?"), and in Sarah Lawley's English department.

Where a teacher was allocated a room and taught exclusively in it, however, there was less room for such casual collaboration and breaking down of barriers, and it was noticeable that where that was described as happening, the Head of Department felt less able to influence the character of work in the subject. If the rooms "belonged" to the department as a whole, more control and oversight was possible. Thus Sedbury's Head of Science, Fred Ellis, said he did not know what his teachers were doing since they had "private" laboratories, while his counterpart at St. Thomas More, Henry Ashton commented that he would never allow a teacher to work all the time in "the lab at the end of the corridor". Like all Science departments except Sedbury, there was no hesitation at St. Thomas More about going into a laboratory where someone else was teaching to get a piece of equipment or go to the prep. room. Further, lab. technicians would work alongside teachers, setting up and dismantling equipment. It apparently came as a shock to St. Thomas More's Deputy Head (Pastoral), Patricia Routledge, who was a science teacher, to find when she first obtained whole-school responsibilities that this "open-door" attitude to one's classroom was not universal among teachers.

Close physical proximity of departmental classrooms, then, could help promote greater staff willingness to open their classroom practice to others' observation, however casual. It was not necessarily the case, however: although the Spanish and French teachers at Fotherby Wood had started filing worksheets centrally so others could use them, they were often inaccessible since the filing cabinet stood in the Head of Department's classroom and no one liked to go in to interrupt. At Great Witley, a Maths suite had done nothing to encourage cooperation between the staff.

When departments shared general purpose classrooms, an "open door" approach to teaching was less likely. Albemarle Park's Deputy Head, Nerys Hughes, taught each of her English classes in rooms scattered around the school. This made her reluctant to send down to the departmental stock cupboard for additional materials or different books because it took too long, whereas if it had been nearby she could have been in and out very quickly. Consequently, scattered classrooms became more secure against interruption. This was strengthened in some cases by a statement from some teachers and Heads of Department that on principle they would never go into another teacher's class, an issue which is taken up below.

If grouping departmental rooms together helped promote a departmental identity by helping teachers to accept a colleague's presence in their classrooms, it also created a tendency to fragment the staff of the school as a whole and strengthen the department as the basic unit. This was most obvious in the Science and CDT departments, which had their own prep. rooms, but it also affected others. At Sedbury, the Art department's rooms were on the top floor and reached by the staircase furthest from the staffroom, which was on the ground floor. The art teachers tended to spend break times up in their rooms, which had a pleasant store cupboard with outside windows and space for a table and chairs. At Sarah Lawley, where

the idea of dedicated rooms was taken further than anywhere else, English and History teachers tended to use their offices as the place where breaks were spent, and this was recognised by the Head and senior staff, who sought to counter the tendency by being seen to spend time in the staffroom. At Great Witley, the Maths and Art and Design departments shared one block and Science and CDT another. All these departments had access to offices, and their staff were rarely seen in the staffroom.

Not all schools had this form of organisation of their physical resources. Only laboratories and workshops were "owned" by departments at Albemarle Park. Fotherby Wood's departments were nominally allocated sets of classrooms, but space was at such a premium that these allocations were frequently not operated. Further, there were no departmental offices and storage was limited. Only the English department had a stock cupboard which could double as an office. In these two schools, and to a lesser extent at Sedbury, where there were no departmental offices, staff congregated in the staff room but sought other ways of expressing their territorialism: distinct "Maths" and "English" tables at Fotherby Wood; an "RE" table at Sedbury. Smaller departments had to "share" tables, but had their "areas" of the staffroom, and some individuals had particular chairs, in the stereotyped tradition of school staffrooms. Even at Great Witley, where many staff did not use the staffroom, those who did used identifiable areas: PE staff always sat in the corner facing the door, for example. Thus staff segmentation was clearly identifiable.

The most obvious curriculum area in which this phenomenon was to be found was in the science department. Only at Sedbury was it not functioning as a semi-separate entity, and two reasons can be offered for this which relate to physical and locational questions. The departmental prep. room was a converted dark room which lacked outside light and heating, and a

proportion of the science staff held senior pastoral posts and possessed their own offices. It appeared to be the former rather than the latter which was crucial: several science teachers at Albemarle Park held senior posts, and had their own offices, but they congregated in the prep. room rather than the staff room when they were not engaged in pastoral or other duties. At Sarah Lawley, the History department consisted entirely of senior staff, but they still tended to congregate at morning break in the Head of Department's office, which he had equipped with a coffee machine. This action raises another consideration, which is taken up shortly: the character of the Head of Department.

In at least two cases the science departments operated as major social and micropolitical units within the school. At Sarah Lawley, the department met every afternoon in the prep. room for a cup of tea, and there was much banter as well as serious discussion of matters relating to subject teaching. Sally McGregor, the Head of Physics, commented that it provided an atmosphere in which individuals could "have a go" at one another without taking offence, and where stances could be agreed: towards particular children who were causing difficulties, or relating to a particular initiative within the school. In the staffroom, or in full staff meetings, the department "banded together against attack." A very similar picture was painted at Great Witley: indeed, this was the only school at which another teacher sought to join in an interview: on all other occasions, teachers who came into prep. room, office, or empty classroom where the interview was taking place simply apologised and withdrew, but in the Great Witley prep. room it was clearly the norm that conversations were public affairs and one could 'chip in' if one wished.

Both departments were presented as units in which there was considerable academic discussion and sharing, though the character of this debate differed. At Sarah Lawley it was clear that the Head of Science was seen as the

representative of her colleagues to senior management and the rest of the school, whereas at Great Witley the pattern of decision-making was more difficult to ascertain, varying between the dictatorial and the collegial. It appeared that if a decision was announced by the Head of Science as coming from the LEA or the Headteacher, there was no discussion.

By comparison, Wendy Edwards, the Head of English at Sarah Lawley, emphasised how her department was not cohesive, and how she was having to work very hard at the personal level to create any willingness to cooperate among her staff, even in the testing circumstances of the first run through a totally new public examination. Only her deputy was readily forthcoming. This returns to the point referred to above, that her Head of History colleague Brian Reynolds encouraged staff to share his office by making coffee available. Physical circumstances were not in themselves enough: the use individuals made of that space was significant too. And the most significant individual was the Head of Department.

The character of the Head of Department.

The character of the Head of Department can be seen as the key intervening variable between physical location and subject identity and their impact on teacher practice. Indeed, the extent to which departments in similar physical circumstances developed similar subject identities was sometimes directly attributed to the character and personality of the Heads of Department concerned. Thus Andrea Carter, History teacher at Albemarle Park, and Christine Appleby and Margaret McLeod, Historian and Science teacher respectively at Fotherby Wood, attributed their search for an alternative basic unit to the failure of their Heads of Department to provide leadership in a way which encouraged followership and collaboration.

Leadership was seen as the key task of Heads of Department, and the personality of the Head of Department appeared to be one of two interrelated factors in its provision. The other factor was the basis on which such leadership was exercised, and it is this point which provides our connection into our discussion of the epistemological character of the department which occupies the next chapter. We shall therefore examine first the personality question.

It was not only strong leaders who were able to generate and work within strong and positively functioning departments: at Sarah Lawley, for instance, there was evidence that the Head of Science was seen to some extent at least as the mouthpiece of her colleagues, rather than a leader of them. She successfully ensured that good practice was sustained, and promoted review and innovation, but the collegialism of the department created a democratic rather than a hierarchical pattern of operation. By comparison, at least two Heads of Department who appeared to be powerful had achieved their influence over practice by either forcing out the departmental staff they had inherited or taking advantage of staff turnover, and putting in staff who shared their values and who would accept their leadership. At Sarah Lawley, Head of Home Economics Andrea Hackett imposed a new syllabus immediately she took up her post and forced her staff to report in detail on how they were putting it into operation, so that eventually they resigned. The new staff were left under no illusions as to what they would be doing, and were expected to report in similar vein to those who had resigned. However, she also claimed that appraisal was an unacceptable restriction on teacher professionalism, and declared she would never go into a classroom and observe a colleague in action. Great Witley's Head of CDT, Michael Anderson, had also introduced a new philosophy of teaching and curriculum

practice into his department, and this had caused both the staff he inherited to resign, and one to leave teaching altogether.

Departmental leadership was a factor at Sedbury, where the science department did not operate from a separate base from the rest of the staff, partly due to the unpleasant physical character of its prep. room. Fred Ellis, the Head of Science, commented on the entrenched positions of his staff concerning both content and teaching method, but seemed unable to change them, possibly because they saw him as pursuing personal ambition. His ability to monitor his department's work was also limited by his belief that he should not go into the classroom nor tell specialists how he wanted them to teach - an issue to which we shall return shortly.

The story of the English department at St. Thomas More school provides a good example of the importance of the Head of Department's character. A department which was described as supportive and sociable, with the Head of Department assisting junior teachers to prepare for promotion interviews, where teachers were given both support and freedom to develop their own teaching styles, and where decisions were taken collaboratively, changed dramatically under a new Head of Department so that discussions with colleagues took on the character of an 'A' level tutorial, meetings to moderate GCSE coursework became described as "black with tension", and the department became so fragmented that teachers in other departments started to avoid contact with them. A third Head of Department, appointed from within after the death of the second, achieved a meteoric rise, being appointed on an 'A' allowance at Christmas and gaining an 'E' allowance as Head of Department two terms later, but was ostracised by many of the staff because she was so unpleasant - a situation serious enough for the Headteacher to feel she had to intervene. Personality, it seems, was a major factor here.

However, although personality was important, the basis on which leadership was exercised may usually have been more important. The departments studied could be grouped into two categories: those in which the primary claim to authority was made by the Head of Department on the basis of the office held, and those in which it rested on academic expertise. Departmental colleagues also conceded authority to the Head of Department on one of these bases. For effective leadership to occur, the basis of the Head of Department's claim had to be in accord with that on which departmental colleagues conceded it. Sometimes this did not occur: in the case of Sedbury's Science Department, Fred Ellis rested his claim on office, whereas his colleagues for the most part would only acknowledge it on the basis of academic expertise.

Examples of Heads of Departments who rested their authority on their office could be found in a range of subject areas across all the schools. Reference has already been made to two teachers in the area of creative arts and technology - Andrea Hackett at Sarah Lawley and Michael Anderson at Great Witley - who believed that their appointment to be Head of Department gave them a specific brief to bring in change, apparently at whatever cost. While they may have gained their office because of their subject expertise, it was the office which gave them the authority to act in the way required.

A similar stance was taken by Leslie Ventura, Great Witley's Head of English. He saw himself as the central source of advice for teachers on how they should approach their work, but also put forward an image of his department as operating on a collegial basis within the basic parameter that as manager of the department he had the ultimate responsibility for decision-making:

"ultimately it's my say but I also like everybody to have their view and certainly they are able to influence my thinking - I certainly think six heads are better than one, and so I never say, 'we're doing it this way,'

I say, 'I propose this, how do you feel?' But if I find, once it's been agreed, people are not, then I come down [...] and I give a pretty sharp, acid, you must toe the line [...] it works far better, because people do feel they are involved in decision making process that many of them value. Where it's a two edged sword is that people then feel you're giving the illusion of decision making [...] and that it isn't and it's what you're going to do anyway [...] I make the parameters quite clear, I say, 'look the ultimate decision is mine, but there are a lot of things where my mind could be changed or where I haven't seen the problems' [...] I've never pretended it's a democracy but I've found that sort of team work works very well."

He saw the department as having policies on such matters as profiling and GCSE coursework marking procedures, which were essential if there was to be continuity between teachers and a commonality of experience for the children. He stressed the importance of coordinated work, certainly within a department, and ideally across departments, as in the example of business letters cited in chapter 8 (p. 155). He liked to observe his colleagues, and said he encouraged them to observe him, and although this was partly to enable him to monitor the department's work it was, he said, mainly to share approaches and expertise.

Ventura's statement moves us towards the fundamental consideration of what we shall call the department's prevailing epistemology, and we shall see that others in the department did not share his perception of it. His statement's importance at this stage, however, lies in its emphasis on his managerial role.

Another clear managerialist argument came from Harry Anderson, Head of Science at Albemarle Park, who claimed that he had the responsibility for

setting and monitoring departmental policies. He interpreted his role as representing both senior policies to the department and departmental concerns to senior management. The latter obligation created the need to bring about discussion and consensus in departmental decision-making, which presented problems in a fragmented department - even one which operated from a base separate from the main staffroom.

Other departments revealed more confusion. Ruth Henderson, the Head of Physics within Great Witley's Science department, had great difficulty in deciding on the basis of the authority of the overall Head of Science. She distinguished eventually between matters decided by senior management or the LEA and questions decided internally:

"normally if it's his idea then I would think it's democratically decided. Obviously if you are one in six you've got to adhere to it. If it's then come from above, then although we can say we don't like it you just conform as best you can."

Sarah Lawley's Science department apparently thought more clearly. The only basis on which the Head of Science could overrule, say, the Head of Physics within her subject area would be greater expertise in Physics. Consequently, decision making was collegial rather than hierarchical. Theresa Harrison commented:

"it's not a dictatorial department. Our Head of Department is very good about discussing things with people, and she will not force any ideas onto any of us that we're not happy about. She has been very keen in the past to do particular things and she has met with a very poor response and she's dropped it: she's a very democratic and reasonable person."

Sarah Lawley's Head of English, Wendy Edwards, thought similarly, arguing that the only basis on which a teacher could gain the cooperation of her colleagues was through gaining their respect first, as a teacher, an academic, and as a person. She knew that the English staff she was inheriting were traditionalists, and that GCSE would force changes on them,

"but I couldn't change them until they trusted me, and they wouldn't trust me until they liked me, and therefore I had got to get to know them and make them feel that I valued the work that they were doing. Now I set that as a conscious job: that I must let them know that I value what they are doing, but in the course of it I found myself getting to like them very much anyway - as one does."

She began to rewrite the syllabus over the summer holiday, and began a series of departmental meetings to progress thinking around her first ideas, but this activity was overtaken by the pressures of GCSE moderation and other details. Consequently,

"I've come to value bits of time that we get during the course of the day, for the opportunity it gives me to talk to colleagues about what they're doing, and I do think that this is a very very important way of becoming more confident with your department and gaining rapport with them, if you're prepared to sit down with someone and say, 'I did such and such, what did you do?' [...] we ought to use each others' brains more."

This discussion leads us towards the subject matter of the next chapter. Before examining departmental epistemology and its impact on internal practice and relationships, however, one other aspect of departmental composition needs attention, since it has a bearing on the perceived basis of the authority of the Head of Department and the extent to which it is recognised. Within the

secondary schools studied, Heads of Department stand between main grade teachers and senior staff in a hierarchical structure. However, in almost every case, these senior staff teach. In two of the schools studied, the Heads had substantial teaching commitments. As class teachers, senior staff were responsible to the Head of Department who was structurally junior to them. Sometimes this was sensitively handled, as by the Deputy Head at Fotherby Wood who was careful to protect the authority of her new Head of Maths. Sometimes it created tension: at both Sedbury and Albemarle Park, the Head of Science felt that senior staff teaching in his area did not acknowledge his authority, carrying on regardless of departmental policy, and at Great Witley the Deputy Head admitted openly in his interview that he ignored departmental policy when he disagreed with it, for example continuing to drill children in the four rules of number in spite of a direct order from the previous Head of Department.

Earlier, we stated that the basis on which authority was claimed by a Head of Department had to be in line with that on which it was conceded. The examples of dissonance between the two bases were presented in terms of the department not conceding positional authority. An interesting variant on this was found in the History department at Sarah Lawley, whose Head of Department felt unable to claim positional authority because he believed that his colleagues, all senior staff, had so much more expertise and experience than he did. However, they were quite prepared to concede positional authority to him, for instance agreeing to the imposition of a new lower school syllabus structure which laid out the content for every lesson and declared certain lessons to be obligatory, a move which he declared to be necessary because there was too much variation between the experience of the children in different classes in each year.

Chapter 11: The Centrality of the Department 2: Departmental Epistemology and Departmental Size.

The importance of a departmental epistemology.

In the previous chapter we suggested that the department was a crucial influence on teacher practice, and that within that basic unit teachers looked for opportunities to explore problems and seek advice. In particular, they looked for leadership from the Head of Department, but the basis of accepting that leadership was not usually the fact of their office, but the academic or professional expertise which was expected to underpin their claim to office. Very few departments indicated that the Head of Department was not respected: indeed, apart from Christine Appleby, who taught History and English at Fotherby Wood, and who had little respect for either of her Heads of Department, and Andrea Carter, the History teacher at Albemarle Park, who was contemptuous of her Head of History, the main postholder who was talked down was the Head of Special Needs, who was not seen in a positive light in many schools. As chapter 9 indicated, however (p. 165), the case of Special Needs provision was special.

The Head of Department's role as a source of advice on teaching content or method was significant for Heads of Science, for in all six schools the Science department was a collection of subject units. Teachers sought advice, therefore, from the teacher with responsibility for a particular subject area or course, who might, incidentally, also be the overall titular Head of Science.

This raises two questions. What were seen as public, as opposed to private concerns, which teachers would discuss openly, or accept guidance or direction over, rather than reserving them for their personal knowledge alone? Secondly, how did teachers within departments characterise the interaction and decision-making which occurred? The answer to both of these questions appeared to depend on which of two conceptualisations of the teacher was dominant within the department.

Teaching involves both an appropriate level of competence in a subject area or areas and appropriate pedagogic skills. We can distinguish between departments which see the teachers as "specialists" and those which see them as "experts". The "specialist" is a subject specialist - a Physicist, perhaps, or a Chemist - who shares with other specialists a competence in teaching, while the "expert" is a teacher with particular skills - in handling group discussion, for example, or teaching poetry - while sharing with other experts a particular subject competence. Specialist departments emphasise the teacher with responsibility for a subject area specifying what is to be taught, the materials to be employed, and the forms of testing and assessment which will show that mastery of the material has been achieved. Because it is often the case in secondary schools that non-specialists have to teach subjects, these specifications of subject matter and assessment will often be extremely tight. Often they will require the systematic following of a commercially published course, or a set of worksheets prepared by the teacher with subject responsibility. These will be subject to amendment in the light of the

experience of the teachers, but the final decision on what changes should be made will be taken by the teacher in charge.

By comparison, expert departments leave the subject matter of individual programmes far more to the discretion of the individual teacher. At the extreme, both content and method are left to the individual, but more usually there will be a scheme of work laying out skills to be acquired or experiences to be undergone within a stated period of time.

This distinction is close to those drawn by Bernstein (1971) between subjects with strong and weak classification and framing and by Becher (Becher and Kogan 1980, Becher 1989) between Higher Education departments according to the degree of subject boundary permeability and content cohesion. Becher and Kogan (1980) suggest a broad relationship between closed boundaries and high content cohesion and subject areas which conceive knowledge as an objective reality, learned through sequential study and susceptible to empirical test according to agreed rules of procedure, typified, says Becher (1989), by the "hard" sciences. At the other end of the scale, departments with "permeable" boundaries and discrete content relate to subjects which have a more relativistic view of knowledge as a socially-constructed vehicle for developing intellectual processes, and which expect neither sequential learning nor passive study. Literature and, to some extent, sociology, are particular examples.

An important aspect of this classification of departments according to their view of knowledge, its creation and acquisition, and the rules governing its verification and assessment is that it is seen to influence individual perceptions of the world and the importance of tasks. It affects profoundly the facticity which shapes the individual teacher's assumptive world (Young 1981; see chapter 2 above pp. 39 - 41). Objectivist or realist views of

knowledge create a view of "right" ways to act which are best understood and laid down by specialists. In the departmental context, subject expertise becomes the only acceptable basis of positional authority. Relativist or nominalist views of knowledge create a perspective which sees multiple outcomes as acceptable and enhances the discretion of individual teachers to develop their own ways to those outcomes.

Thus the perceived facticity of the world and the epistemological values which underpin it are important to the functioning of a subject department and the role of its Head. It will be difficult for a department which espouses an expert epistemology to be run by an autocrat who emphasises positional authority, for the assumption underlying an expert epistemology is that teachers are all competent to make key decisions for themselves. A thoroughgoing expert epistemology requires a collegial framework, or at the very least a strongly participative one, in which final decisions are the responsibility of the Head of Department only because of the external expectations of accountability created by a hierarchical structure which is itself created by the national salary structure. Further, it circumscribes the areas in which a Head of Department's writ runs, allowing greater discretion to the individual to amend or depart from the syllabus. By comparison, a specialist epistemology has within it a strong logic of hierarchy. Although it does not rest on positional authority, and could exist in a collegial mode between specialists, where there is only one specialist, or one person given responsibility for the discharge of the specialist area, the drive is towards hierarchy. Autocratic management styles will lead a department towards a specialist epistemology, or thrive on it if it exists. Individuals deliver the programme as laid down. Within their own specialism, they have discretion over methods, but if they are working outside their specialism, as is often the

case in lower school Science, for example, then even method may be prescribed.

This discussion of epistemologies has assumed a degree of concord within the department, which can produce strong departmental identities even when teachers feel free to operate largely as individuals, as chapter 10 showed. Where that concord does not exist, then not only is the department likely to be weaker as a basic unit, but conflicting facticities produce conflicting assumptive worlds, with increased likelihood of reconstruction or evasion of instructions (Young 1981).

Ruth Henderson, Head of Physics at Great Witley, gave a good description of the specialist Head of Department in action. Specialist scientists had to cope with the competing pressures for inclusion in the lower school curriculum by accepting forms of general, combined, or integrated science programmes. They also had to provide for less able pupils while allowing the most able to get to grips with the specialism, so as to prepare the specialists of the future. At Great Witley, every science teacher also held a responsibility allowance for either academic or pastoral work, so duties and responsibilities were fairly clearly identified. The science syllabus was integrated in the lower school but single-subject from the third year onwards, with a modular science programme in years four and five for those not deemed able enough to take single-subject sciences. Teachers with subject responsibilities had to prepare all the worksheets and schemes of work for their area. Not all single-subject work could be taught by specialist teachers, and indeed, in the lower school and modular science programmes, this was not expected. Ruth Henderson said that a key consideration was therefore to ensure that non-specialists had the guidance they needed. The programme was clearly laid out, lesson by lesson, in a specified order. Standard tests were set to all classes at the end of each topic, and other checks were made: Ruth Henderson gave the technician

a list of equipment for the next lesson in her subject, and any other orders which differed substantially from hers were checked with her before they were put out. She routinely scanned exercise books. But although she expected to give clear guidance and to have close adherence to her schemes of work, she did not expect the other Physics specialist to be so slavish: providing her Physicist colleague did all that she asked of her, then she could do other things as well.

Her definition of teachers' areas of discretion also made clear the boundaries of what she identified as specialist knowledge as against pedagogical considerations: she laid down coverage, and specified contentious issues of method, such as which experiments should be done as demonstrations with less able children, but could be performed by children in high ability groups, whereas individual teachers could decide on matters like how to report or write up an experiment. She claimed that

"personal influences are still there, it's not, 'I'll go in and be a robot,' [...] it's suggestions, ways of letting the kids go about experiments, and then bring them back together and it's up to you how you handle it."

but personal influence was limited, as her handling of the science department's policy on testing showed:

"I look at my objectives and I look at the topic and there are actually key stage questions, and although I don't direct the questions exactly at what they've been doing, it will be applicable to these objectives that I set, and the teacher should know that I want these objectives maintained."

Ruth Henderson had not been in post long when she was interviewed. However, one's length of service appeared to be less important than one's

epistemology and the training of one's departmental colleagues, as the following comparison between two Geography departments shows, even allowing for the reservations expressed over the data from Albemarle Park. Both departments espoused a strongly specialist, subject-focussed epistemology: only in Albemarle Park's first year was there any Integrated Humanities.

Heather Lenthall had run Albemarle Park's Geography department for over twenty years, ever since she had arrived as a probationary teacher at the predecessor girls' school to find the Head of Department had emigrated without telling anyone. The other three Geographers had all taught at one or other of the pre-amalgamation schools, so there was a long-established and largely informal nexus of contact. Formal departmental meetings were rare; the official requirement that the teachers in the department pass their record books to the Head of Department was "a ritual"; she never checked that exercise books were being marked because

"I know they are."

Although she shortlisted the three GCSE syllabuses they should choose from, it was apparently a consensus decision, as was the decision not to extend the first year humanities course into the second year. Details of the GCSE syllabus were prepared by individuals and shared; a planned central record of all the relevant resources for each topic had not transpired, but everyone apparently felt free to ask each other for resources they were known to possess. The impression was given of a well-established collegial department of specialists who knew what they could do, knew who to turn to for help, and knew that help would be forthcoming if they asked. In the absence of any corroborating data, it all seemed too good to be true! Certainly the entire

interview with Heather Lenthall has been treated with caution in this analysis.

By comparison, St. Thomas More's Geography department was more centralised. Until September 1989 there were three teachers teaching Geography and Economics, plus a number of non-specialists such as the deputy head (curriculum) taking occasional classes. Economics was only available at GCSE and 'A' Level, but Geography was taught throughout the school. It had a detailed scheme of work, which laid out each lesson in sequence, with clear aims and objectives, a statement of the examples or cases to be used, and a list of resources. Syllabuses were reviewed every three years unless changes were caused by alterations elsewhere. But Graham Osborne, the Head of Geography, who like his opposite number at Albemarle Park had taught at the school since he was a probationary teacher, stated that the syllabus was not intended to be a straitjacket: if a specialist Geographer wanted to divert from the programme, he would ask for details, but could not imagine his refusing to allow it. However, he would expect to be asked before the teacher went ahead. The syllabus was, apparently, simply intended to ensure continuity between teachers from year to year, similarity across classes within a year, and, perhaps most important, to provide clear guidance for the non-specialists who took classes sometimes.

Albemarle Park's Head of Geography projected a collegial departmental image. Notwithstanding her strong emphasis on control and direction, Ruth Henderson sought to project a similar overall view of Great Witley's Science department, emphasising how much informal discussion of worksheets occurred in the prep. room-cum-departmental social centre. Scientists interviewed at Sarah Lawley put forward a similar view of both the central role and responsibility of the subject specialist and the importance of collegiality. Indeed, it was argued that it was necessarily so, since academic

specialist expertise, not formal role or position, was the only basis upon which anyone was allowed to insist on teachers altering what they were doing and conforming to what was laid down.

This implies that a strong epistemological coherence was most likely to exist when the department had a physical unity and spent time together. This is important, because it relates to the extent to which departmental members concede access to their classroom territories. We discussed in chapter 10 the open-door practice of most science departments. This both allowed Heads of Science to observe casually the teaching of colleagues, and afforded colleagues the opportunity to observe them. Much informal discussion of success and failure could occur. This strengthened collegialism in the sense of open discussion of academic and pedagogical problems, deciding on changes to worksheets or syllabuses, and suggesting issues needing representation to higher authorities. But some departments which espoused a specialist epistemology did not acknowledge such openness. The languages departments at Fotherby Wood and St. Thomas More both had Heads of Departments who denied their right to go into a colleague's class when she or he was teaching, and Great Witley's newly appointed Head of Maths found no openness or collaboration at all, although apparently teachers followed at least the GCSE programmes to the letter. Even the apparently ultra-collegial Head of Geography at Albemarle Park, Heather Lenthall, denied the right to check on such well-established colleagues as hers - she "knew" they did what was needed.

An objectivist or realist epistemology emphasizing academic specialism, then, can create a departmental climate which requires deference to colleagues within their specialisms, particularly if the person concerned is also the designated person responsible for that subject. Such a position of authority must rest on recognisable academic competence: positional and academic

authority are interdependent. Mary Cultrane's decision to gain a Maths degree in order to be eligible for Head of Department posts (chapter 9, p. 160) may be recalled. The realist department emphasises teaching content, careful and regular assessment of pupil progress, often through uniform tests for the whole of a year group which allows for results between classes to be compared, and monitoring which may or may not include formal observation of class teaching. This focus on content makes it easier to overcome an important aspect of teacher autonomy, which will be raised again in chapter 12: the fear of being regarded as a "failure". Where teachers can conceal that they are seeking advice under an appearance of cross-checking their work with a specialist, the data suggest they are more ready to do so.

In contrast to the specialist epistemology of the departments just discussed, which established the right of a subject leader to require conformity from non-specialists, was that of some English departments. Here the emphasis was placed on the expertise of teachers in dealing with the teaching of particular skills, or identifying issues to emphasise in discussing particular books or poems. The difference came primarily from the scientists' perception of their subject-matter in strongly objectivist terms, whereas English teachers emphasised subjective and expressive purposes. Scientists spoke of knowledge of facts and understanding of concepts, whereas English teachers, though they usually acknowledged the importance of technical writing and spelling skills, spoke much more of affective and process objectives. The technical objectives of English teaching were frequently seen as being best taught through other work, rather as the constant use of bunsen burners in experiments would first establish and then reinforce proper methods of handling them safely. Thus the central driving force of English departments was less cognitive knowledge rules, which were very weak, but an affective value-laden approach of responding to needs, which stressed the

circumstances of individual classes, and the need to maintain maximum flexibility as to what would be done when. Erica Denselow, the second in the English department at Sarah Lawley, would change an entire lesson from what she had planned if she felt in the wrong frame of mind to tackle the intended subject matter, let alone what atmosphere and pupil behaviour she found when she met the class. All her colleagues at Sarah Lawley stressed the same need for flexibility, even though the Head of Department, Wendy Edwards, was quite clear that she was trying to inculcate appropriate attitudes to literature, which she saw as a reflection of key values, and a means of promoting them:

"the whole idea that lies behind everything we're doing in education, that you're trying to assist them through adolescence and give them preparation for the adult world, in English boils down to the kinds of reading that you do with them and the kinds of topics that arise out of that, which may be the present traumas of adolescence or the future problems that they're going to be coping with fairly soon."

So if she found that a class was ignorant of an area of literature which she had taken for granted they knew something of, she might change her plans and explore that instead, or if they responded to an exercise which asked for stories about either creation or destruction by writing about destruction,

"then maybe you decide all of a sudden that you'll do some love poetry."

Ruth Odell, the probationary teacher of English and Drama, took a similar line. There was no lower school syllabus, although the novels and books of poetry were shelved in the stock cupboard according to the year in which they should be read, so she worked on a rule of thumb which she had learned on teaching practice - one lesson language work, one lesson literature, and

one lesson poetry. However, she had reduced the amount of poetry she read with older pupils because she had found them resenting it.

This strong commitment to individual choice and flexibility was reflected in the way that teachers regarded advice as something which needed to be considered in the light of circumstances rather than uncritically adopted. Ruth Odell probably made the clearest statement of how English teachers' epistemology created a major plea for autonomy and discretion:

"Because I teach the class, so I think I would be inclined to discuss or find out why they think that and say what I think and because I am in close contact with the class - despite my lack of experience - if I thought it was unsuitable for the class then I wouldn't want to do it, but you see there is such a grey area where you can adapt - if someone says you ought to do this book [... then] if I don't particularly like the book then we do it very quickly or we do something else."

By comparison, the Science departments gave the strong impression that once a worksheet or experiment had been trialled, analysed and filed, everyone would follow it exactly.

The epistemology behind the English department, then, was essentially weak in its statement of knowledge rules. Instead, English departments were typically driven by a set of values which stressed individualism and individual growth, while not denying the importance of socialisation. These did not encourage formal assessment, and so differed in their consequences significantly from the epistemology of the science departments discussed. Wendy Edwards, Sarah Lawley's Head of English, put it clearly when she argued that the essence of English as a subject was that, unlike other subjects, it was not cognitively driven:

"English, by its nature, is different from other subjects in that it's easy to make the syllabus up as you go along. I mean, if you've got a Maths syllabus you've got to go along with it because there comes a point at which it is tested. And the same is true of a Language syllabus, and if the classes aren't all at the same point this will be very visible."

Because the examinations now are much more open-ended than in the days when a lot of grammar work was done,

"it would be very easy for me to write a high quality syllabus and for everyone to accept it and then go away and do something totally different."

Other English departments also stressed individual freedom. The participative management style described in chapter 10 by Great Witley's Head of English, Leslie Ventura, which emphasised consultation and then acceptance by all involved of management decisions, was not seen similarly by all his staff. Eleanor Walsh, who had worked with him for three years and found him supportive and always ready with non-critical advice, indicated that the agreed departmental policies were all essentially matters of procedure: there was no overall philosophical coherence to the work of the school's English teachers except that provided by the GCSE syllabus:

"within the department we do work very differently [...] aiming for different things with our pupils. Overall we had a departmental policy, and we had the GCSE syllabus to guide us to what we should be doing, but [...] our personalities are such that we work in different ways with our pupils."

Such friction was visible in Leslie Ventura's interview: he had felt obliged to take on the entire work of moderating the GCSE coursework, since within the department the issue of the 1265 hours of directed time is now

"a very very vexed question, because there is so much preparation and administration and no payment made."

It would also be wrong to understate English teachers' technical emphasis on writing and spelling. Alone of all the departments studied, the English departments at Sedbury, Fotherby Wood and Great Witley had marking policies, which the Heads of Departments enforced as firmly as they could. Sedbury's main grade teacher of English, Kathleen Imbert, stated it was the only school policy she was aware of, and she would not dare to break it, so sternly did her Head of Department enforce it.

Compared to an objectivist or realist epistemology, then, a strongly subjective or relativist epistemology tends to emphasise diffuse goals, and, by raising the importance of affective and process objectives, to stress individual choice and flexibility. Decision-making in departments which rest on such an epistemology can be collegial, but is more likely to be individual, and the style of the department anarchic rather than ordered. With diffuse goals making it easy for teachers to turn them to their own wishes, staff need to consent actively to the goals and methods proposed, and to the pattern of work laid down: mere acquiescence in the specialists' goals, sufficient in departments adhering to an objectivist epistemology, will not be enough. This makes seeking advice or assistance under a cloak of checking subject-matter harder than it is in more objectivist departments: "failure" is easier to identify. From the point of view of the Head of Department or senior colleague who is asked for advice, the consequence of this looser coupling is that a person asking for advice would not feel under any obligation to follow it.

If the basis of specialist authority is academic standing, the basis of expert authority is experience. This was demonstrated by the way Sarah Lawley's English department was moving from total individuality to considerable collaboration. The arrival of two new staff began the process - one the librarian, who was then promoted to second in the department, and the other the Head of Department - but at first they found themselves collaborating with each other, with the other staff keeping their distance. However, the Head of Department was not prepared to let that happen, but sought to bring them into collaboration:

"but I couldn't change them until they trusted me, and they wouldn't trust me until they liked me, and therefore I had got to get to know them and make them feel that I valued the work that they were doing. Now I set that as a conscious job: that I must let them know that I value what they are doing, but in the course of it I found myself getting to like them very much anyway - as one does [...] I've come to value bits of time that we get during the course of the day, for the opportunity it gives me to talk to colleagues about what they're doing, and I do think that this is a very very important way of becoming more confident with your department and gaining rapport with them, if you're prepared to sit down with someone and say, 'I did such and such, what did you do?' [...] we ought to use each others' brains more."

When Erica Denselow joined the staff as librarian and English teacher, she found no departmental coherence or openness such as was described for the science department. However, GCSE had done a lot to break isolationism down. Teachers felt they had had to work out the implications of teaching and assessing the new course with inadequate help from the LEA and the examination boards. Consequently, teachers who had never discussed their classroom teaching were now able to do so, and could blame the need to

acknowledge problems on a third party - the Secretary of State - who had changed all the "rules of practice". The result was a lot more discussion developing within the department, and, at the last training day, a decision to tackle the fourth year work on a collaborative basis, to overcome some of the difficulties which had been experienced the previous year.

Changed circumstances, then, enabled these staff to seek help and cooperate with each other. Experience was no longer relevant to the new rules of the game. The challenge for this Head of Department would be to sustain such collaboration as had been brought about once a sense of security had been reestablished after two or three years under the new examination system.

The size of the department.

Much of the discussion in these two chapters has focussed on the impact of larger departments on the teachers interviewed. However, most subject departments in secondary schools consist of two or at the most three staff, and many comprise only the teacher in charge and possibly some fragments of others' time. The size of a department may change the relative importance of the different factors we have discussed. In particular, the possibility of sub-departments disappears, and the importance of the character of the Head of Department increases. Most small departments studied were declared by their members to be collegial, but occasionally it was clear that the Head of Department decided and her colleague followed, as in the German department at Fotherby Wood. Departments of two existed wherein there was no collaboration - the History department at Albemarle Park - or in which significant disagreement occurred - Great Witley's Geography department.

Comment.

The extent to which a departmental identity was created depended in varying degrees on the five factors discussed in chapters 10 and 11. Although we have discussed them separately, it will be clear that they interpenetrate one another significantly. The degree of physical isolation, and the opportunities for social meeting in departmental areas, both affect the extent to which contacts can occur to facilitate both social cohesion and group identity. The extent of such contact also affects the development of a coherent departmental epistemology, and the assumptions about knowledge in their turn affect the limits of group cohesion and individuals' roles within the group, and their use of space. Also important is the character of the Head of the Department, and the extent to which he or she wishes to promote a culture of monitoring or control.

This discussion has suggested, however, that the departmental epistemology is the fundamental consideration. It connects together both immediate school-related considerations and the wider frame of values derived from individual teachers' backgrounds and training, and allows us to consider the internal dynamics of decision-making of each department.

Most departments presented a public image of collegialism. The vast majority of departments studied consisted of two or at most three people, but in the larger departments there were two quite different styles of collegialism at work. Science departments were collections of specialist Physicists, Chemists, and Biologists, and in two cases Biochemists. However, the structure of lower school courses, and the demands of the timetable, meant that individuals were routinely teaching outside their specialism. Although this was usually at a relatively elementary level, it was clearly seen as important that they should

ground the children thoroughly in the basic skills and concepts of each subject, all of which were seen as sequential in character.

By comparison, no such differentiation was at work in English: teachers did not see themselves as specialist grammarians or exponents of literary criticism. Although they recognised individuals' particular expertise in relation either to teaching aspects of the course or knowledge of the works of particular authors, this sort of academic expertise was not usually significant except in sixth form teaching; what was more likely to be significant was ideas on presenting material or developing ideas for teaching.

Accordingly, the patterns of collaboration and collegialism in the Science and English departments represented two extremes of the contrasting forms of collaboration which might be identifiable within subject departments. Collaboration in science departments was a collaboration of specialists: individuals looked for leadership and direction - not guidance - to subject specialists through the use of worksheets and objective tests, to ensure that the children were thoroughly prepared for when the specialists took responsibility for teaching them. A strongly objectivist epistemology ruled. By comparison, collaboration in English departments was a collegialism of experts, looking to one another for inspiration and assistance rather than direction. This sort of collaboration, resting on a more subjectivist and experiential epistemology, placed the character of the Head of Department and other postholders at the centre of any willingness to collaborate, whereas in the case of the Science department it could be argued that the nature of teachers' conceptualisation of the subject matter they wished to teach created the need for collaboration. The character of the Head of Department was still important, for an abrasive, arrogant or tactless person could reduce individuals' willingness to give up their autonomy: but it was not, as it appeared to be in the English departments, a necessary starting point.

Chapter 12: Wider Influences Within the School

Although most teachers saw a particular department as their basic unit, which had a major impact on their approach to their work, it was not their only basic unit. Many taught more than one subject, and most had pastoral responsibilities as form tutors, and so were attached to year or house teams. Further, senior staff have responsibilities for coordinating the work of different departments. The work and decisions of staff responsible for these other functions are a potential influence on teachers which must be examined.

Social and informal pressures within the staff community were also important. We saw signs of it in the tendency, discussed in chapter 10, for some departments to socialise away from the wider staff room. This could become a defence against wider school pressures. Accordingly, these pressures need our attention.

This chapter considers three aspects of the wider school context which were identified as factors influencing teachers' practice: the form and extent of the contacts between departmental staff and senior management; the informal hierarchy of status and influence in the school; and the importance attached within the school culture to teacher autonomy and discretion. It also suggests

that central to the nature of the relationship between individual teachers and their colleagues is the extent to which they feel trusted by, and able to trust, other teachers. The role of senior staff, in particular Heads, appears to be crucial to the development of such trust, but it also depends on the extent to which the individual value-systems (Becher and Kogan 1980) of senior staff, as expressed in statements or in actions, are in tune with those of other key opinion formers on the school staff.

The form and extent of the contact between departments, staff, and senior management.

This factor affected departmental influence in a number of ways. First, teachers who wished to claim a strong departmental allegiance also wished their department to be able to take professional decisions in its area of responsibility and expertise. However, it was usually acknowledged that certain decisions, like a wish to make major changes to the syllabus, might have resource implications which needed to be balanced against other possibly competing claims on the school's finite resources. Senior staff also spoke of their responsibility to ensure that proposals matched the school's espoused philosophy and goals, but other staff did not speak of this. Given the likelihood of competing claims, it was important that departments were seen to be able to influence policy decisions, and then accorded what was seen as appropriate discretion to conduct their own affairs. This can be discussed under two broad headings: responsiveness and support.

Responsiveness

Staff at Sarah Lawley, Albemarle Park and Sedbury thought senior management gave departmental heads the opportunity to influence decisions, take initiatives and have room to operate without unreasonable restrictions.

There was a strong sense at Sarah Lawley that the Head 'owned' the school to the extent that only things she wanted would occur, but the ideas were not necessarily hers. As the TVEI co-ordinator Ken Campbell put it:

"if you can sell it to the Head, it'll happen."

Naomi Woodward, senior teacher at Sarah Lawley, stated that Heads of Department were expected to initiate ideas for the senior management team to discuss. Individual departmental heads were satisfied that there was freedom to initiate ideas and that on the whole they would get support. Initiatives were a two-way process, too: the Science faculty had agreed in one academic year to review its lower school programme and introduce a new course. However, faced in the following September with a borough decision not to order the necessary equipment because of an across the board ten per cent cut in capitation, they refused to go ahead with it. The science adviser found additional money, but the event showed that departments were not cowed by the senior staff.

In this example and others, there is a clear sense of decision-making at Sarah Lawley being a two-way process, with commitments being recognized on both sides. In particular, it is apparent that senior staff's agreement to a departmental initiative includes a commitment to provide the necessary resources. Albemarle Park was similar. Both schools therefore saw resource-allocation as a crucial planning activity, unlike the deputy head at Sedbury who described it as a "grumble job".

Sedbury staff, indeed, saw Heads of Department as more powerful than their senior colleagues, although there was little talk of new projects. The Head of Science and the acting Head of Special Needs made reference to new initiatives, and the Head of German expressed frustration that his ideas on German teaching could not be put into operation, blaming his Head of

Languages rather than senior staff, thus emphasising the strength of the role. Unlike their counterparts at Sarah Lawley, senior staff at Sedbury saw Heads of Department as barriers to change, and their own job as keeping the pressure off the Heads of Department so that they could go on doing their job with a minimum of disruption. In part this appeared to be the legacy of the recently-departed headteacher, who had not been receptive to others' ideas and had tended, apparently, to make snap decisions and announce them *ex cathedra*. Anyone who challenged him at a Heads of Departments' meeting was likely to be reprimanded. Such autocratic behaviour was apparently accepted because there were very few written policies and almost no monitoring of daily practice.

Sarah Lawley Heads of Department regarded their meetings with the Head as valuable opportunities for genuine debate, though not decision-making fora. However, even here there was some feeling that they were used too much for passing on information or examining trivia. The combination of such discussions and a procedure which required a Head of Department to work through the resource and timetabling implications of any possible innovation with the Deputy Head (Curriculum) prior to submitting it to the Senior Management Team for consideration gave the Heads of Department interviewed a sense that senior staff were responsive to their ideas.

Heads of Departments' meetings occurred in all schools except Sedbury. Headteachers always presented them as proof that management and decision-making was participative if not democratic. Meetings usually operated in cycles, beginning, as at Fotherby Wood, with a senior management meeting, after which matters were sent for discussion to Heads of pastoral units and thence to Heads of Departments. Heads of sections were expected to discuss matters with their staffs and bring their colleagues' comments to their meetings with the Head. Comments from the Heads of

sections' meetings were then studied and discussed further by the next senior management meeting. Full staff meetings stood apart from this cycle, and were clearly seen as events for reporting decisions, although at Albemarle Park some staff saw the Head as bringing the decisions of senior management to the staff for ratification at staff meetings.

Although the official rationale for these meeting cycles was always that they provided a consultative machinery, the overwhelming majority of staff, especially at St. Thomas More, Great Witley and Fotherby Wood, saw them as a combination of information-giving events and cosmetic consultation. Initiatives in these schools were seen either as coming from senior management or, perhaps, a chance coincidence of someone's informal idea striking a chord with something the Head was already considering.

At all these three schools, the Head was seen as the autocratic and frequently arbitrary decision-maker, often overruling decisions properly made by Heads of Department. At Fotherby Wood, for example, the Head of Art was forbidden to delegate any tasks to her main grade colleague. Heather Ryton, the art teacher, also told of the attempt to organise a first year's outing. Discussions among the year tutors had led to a decision to take the girls to a zoo, but the Head had overruled this without explanation. After an acrimonious meeting with a Deputy Head, at which no further guidance was apparently given, two staff were dressed down by the Head for their comments at the meeting; one, the Head of First Year was also told that she should have decided where the trip was to go. When she said that she preferred to decide such matters democratically, the Head apparently stated,

" this school is not run on a democratic basis."

St. Thomas More's Deputy Head, Clive Lewis, reported that the Headteacher had overturned a senior management team's decision, to which she had been

party, not to change the GCSE curriculum structure until the introduction of TVEE because one person asked at a prospective parents' meeting if Latin was taught. The administrative work caused by her insistence that it should be included in the options was to no avail: no one chose it, and it was dropped.

A sense of unresponsive and arbitrary decision-making created resistance to open communication. Staff saw little reason to put ideas forward and work at them if no notice was taken of them. This was particularly evident, apparently, in the difference between opinions expressed at union meetings and those offered at "official" meetings, although this did not prevent hostile feelings or criticisms being voiced through other, less formal, channels. However, staff were cautious, because at two of the schools - Fotherby Wood and St. Thomas More - teachers spoke of "staffroom moles", who ensured that dissent was reported to senior staff. This could produce rapid results - staff at both schools spoke of having been called out of class and taken to the Head's study for a dressing-down during the lesson after the break when they expressed the undesirable opinions, while another retailed a story, which she said she had no reason to disbelieve, of a Fotherby Wood teacher being disciplined by the Head at the other building within twenty minutes of uttering the unacceptable remarks. However, such "moles" could also be exploited: Fotherby Wood's Head of English, an internal promotion, was appointed on an acting basis, as was his deputy. After a year without their being confirmed in their appointments, the Head of Department let one of the "moles" know that he and the second were both actively looking to move. Their posts were confirmed within the week.

Support

How far senior staff were seen as supportive of their colleagues also shaped contacts between teachers significantly. All six schools had pastoral systems

and formal procedures for dealing with disciplinary problems, and all except Sedbury had staff handbooks which laid out school rules and procedures, as well as details on staff appointments and responsibilities. How teachers saw and used the support systems, and allowed them to influence their contact with senior colleagues, depended on the extent to which they were seen as being flexible means to an end rather than ends in themselves. In general, responsive senior staff were also flexible and supportive in their use of systems and procedures, seeing them and causing them to be seen as means of helping teachers in the primary task of teaching children. Autocratic senior staff tended to see support procedures as control devices rather than means to better teaching.

At Sarah Lawley School, the best example of supportive senior staff, staff interpreted the rules flexibly. This was known to senior management, and was clearly not seen as a problem. For example, the girls were supposed to wait outside a classroom if their teacher was not there when they arrived, but if the teacher was delayed this could disturb other classes and the lobbies outside the groups of classrooms were not very large. Also, if a class had consecutive lessons in the same classroom with different teachers, it was seen as absurd to expect them to leave the classroom only to return a few minutes later. So Brian Reynolds, the Head of History and Head of Fifth Year, whose pastoral duties could delay his getting to teach, told his pupils to wait inside the classroom. Senior management knew this was his deliberate policy, and accepted his reasoning.

By comparison, senior staff at Great Witley insisted on absolute adherence to rules and procedures, even when this caused great inconvenience. The Head's insistence on full school uniform was mentioned in chapter 7 (p. 135). Pupil discipline procedures were specified precisely: different coloured report slips for different grades of misdemeanour, the exact words spoken to be recorded,

the slips to be sent to named people, countersigned with actions taken, filed in a particular way. Consequently, if staff did not follow these procedures, action was difficult to obtain: one second year class had caused a lot of teachers problems, but the Head refused to do anything about them because he said there was no evidence: people had not filled out the relevant forms.

Staff under such circumstances felt unprotected, and also sensed that the systems were more concerned with policing their work than supporting them in it. Although concrete examples were hard to find, staff spoke of the Head "keeping it tight" and reducing discretion - for example, he checked every letter sent out, and even after eighteen years at the school, grade 'D' allowance holder Charles Mitford, a Head of Year, found that almost every letter he wrote was altered. His statement - and his reaction - was typical:

"We're told to report back to senior management - he likes to keep it very tight. So I can never give direct answers - usually I have to pass the problems through someone else, and then it comes back through them [...] it doesn't allow any initiative on my part [...] initiative is not encouraged, because senior management are a bit paranoid about what the Head thinks all the time."

Similar examples of this lack of support were to be found at St. Thomas More and Fotherby Wood. At St. Thomas More, the coordinator of Lower School English, Fiona Thompson, told of a problem pupil who began threatening teachers with a pair of compasses, until eventually a group of staff went to the Head, styling themselves a deputation, and asked for help. Not only was none forthcoming, but Fiona Thompson alleged that the staff involved were seen individually by the Deputy Head (pastoral), Patricia Routledge, and told not to do so again.

Indeed, the attitudes Patricia Routledge expressed made clear that she regarded her job as supporting the children, not the staff. One of the reasons why she liked working for the new Head was apparently that she was going to make the teachers do their jobs properly. When asked what would happen if a teacher came to her for assistance with a problem child, she said,

"They don't. If children behave badly, really badly [...] you go to the Head of Department, who goes through things with you, like, find out if this child is behaving like this right across, etc. If not, why is he doing it in your lessons? Have you got him sitting in the wrong place? Are the lessons pretty boring? Are the pupils being given things that in other lessons people don't expect them to do? [...] It's up to a Head of Department to support his staff and sort out what the problem is. If there are three groups on at the same time, and you think it might be some sort of personality clash, the Head of Department will then change the child's group, so he can then see, is it the child, or is it the teacher, is it the style of teaching? And I see that as departmental. We're not there to sort out problems that departments should sort out for themselves. We're here to support children to get the best out of their education."

Other teachers confirmed that she did not support them in cases of disciplinary or pastoral issues. Claire Rundle, a former Head of House who took early retirement after over twenty years at the school, and then was asked to return as Head of Sociology, described the constant disruption of a fifth year GCE class by two particularly difficult girls. She asked Patricia Routledge to arrange to remove the problem girls from the class for a week so that she could get some hard work done with the others. Routledge's reaction was to say,

"Certainly not. You're paid to teach,"

and walk off. Christine Henderson, a Head of Year who was also responsible for Learning Support, which Routledge saw as a major resource for problems, agreed that many so-called disciplinary problems were actually pedagogical or curricular, and were properly handled by the Heads of Departments, but was similarly dismissed by Routledge when she was concerned over a problem child who was taking drugs. She commented:

"Now the number of times that I've actually come to ask advice you could count on the fingers of one hand and still get change [...] Perhaps it was wrong of me to expect her to read into [one sentence], 'look, I'm worried about this boy, and I've got teachers who are worried looking to me to do something about him, and I just don't know what to do.'"

Right or wrong, the message certainly was not picked up.

St. Thomas More was also the only school where senior management checked systematically on children's work. Each week, a class would be identified and a random group of children asked to give all their exercise books to senior staff. The actual reason for this was stated to the researcher to be to ensure that work was being properly set and marked: to check on the teachers rather than the pupils. In addition to this, teachers' record books were called in every half term. Other schools expected that to be the work of the Head of Department.

These and other incidents clearly implied coercive contact between senior staff and others. By comparison, Sedbury's senior management was unsupportive because it had virtually abdicated, leaving a policy vacuum at this popular, well-regarded and over-subscribed school. Few written policies

existed and little effort was made to enforce those that did. The Languages and Maths departments continued setting their children in spite of all lower school children being officially taught in mixed ability classes. Deputy Head (Curriculum) Geraldine Adley demonstrated how the directional force at the school was provided by Heads of Department rather than senior management when she said that she disagreed profoundly with the philosophies of several departments, but

"the Head of Department must operate in the way she sees fit."

Two Heads of Department were critical of this. The Head of Science, Fred Ellis, with all the authority of his twelve schools in thirteen years, was extremely harsh:

"it shouldn't depend on personalities, it should be policies. Here the school is totally dominated by personalities. It is crazy - I've never come across this before [...] Everyone does everything their own way: it's sixty-five members of staff doing sixty-five different series of principles. Which is why simple school rules like not having your bag on your shoulder, or going up the staircase on the left, are simply not observed, because people just interpret things however they feel."

Head of RE Bernard Roberts, a former Sedbury pupil who had returned straight from university to begin work as a probationary teacher, also wanted clearer leadership, although he hid behind the children:

"I wouldn't want sort of, you know, the ten commandments on the wall, as you might say: in other words, this is what you've got to do, but at the same time I think the pupils want a bit more guidance too: as I say, it's a bit woolly."

Comment.

Where senior staff were seen as responsive, Heads of Department felt they could "manage upwards" - be open and forthcoming, propose initiatives, and work to improve their department's work and, through it, the work of the school as a whole. It was recognised that they would not always be successful, because senior management had to balance a range of potential initiatives and commitments, but it was still important to ensure that one's departmental interests and ambitions were fully represented where they were likely to be affected. Bargaining and negotiation was seen as part of their role, and the system allowed for it.

Unresponsive senior management generated negative attitudes towards them. Making suggestions, taking initiatives, or responding to requests for comment was pointless. Instead, staff worked covertly, through informal networks, to subvert initiatives they did not like. We turn now to examine the nature of these informal networks.

The informal hierarchy of status and influence in the school.

Alongside the formal structure of roles and responsibilities, all schools revealed a network of informal contacts, individually constructed on the basis of having been sources of good advice and confidences preserved. In all the schools except Sarah Lawley, there was also a strong and significant alternative hierarchy, to some degree at odds with the formal norms promulgated by senior management. They were always important, but the reasons why varied according to the nature of relationships with senior staff in the formal hierarchy, and within the staffroom as a whole, particularly the extent to which staff felt able to trust their colleagues.

Staff who felt able to "manage upwards" did not express a need to generate an alternative culture through the informal networks which existed in their school. In this situation, as at Sarah Lawley, informal networks were groups of like-minded staff who provided mutual support. They were often but not exclusively departmental: political opinions, length of service at the school, and personal friendship could be as important. Where values differed from the formal policies articulated by senior management or from the espoused school culture, it was a case of effective management upwards rather than counter-cultural manoeuvring: finding some people better at giving advice or support than others, teachers by-passed the less effective or manipulated them so as to gain the kind of advice they were seeking. Structures, therefore, became a starting-point from which action was developed rather than a straitjacket, and this was accepted by senior management.

Elsewhere, informal networks generated and sustained counter-cultures to the school's publicly articulated systems. At Sedbury they dominated senior management and effectively made most school policy. They were so strong that senior management shied away from appearing to exercise positional authority. Geraldine Adley emphasised several times that the staff was "extremely tricky" and resisted change, always claiming that it would lower standards or waste valuable time. Such arguments, however, were not put forward at staff meetings: when Hamley LEA asked the new Headteacher if Sedbury was going to participate in the first round of TVEI extension, he called a staff meeting to ask for staff opinion. Very few staff spoke, and all who did spoke in favour, but although the Head decided to go ahead Adley soon heard a lot of opinion against it. This hole-in-corner resistance was so frequent she would not operate by directive even when she felt she had the authority to do so. Negotiation and compromise was necessary, ensuring that

the ground was well-prepared and that any measures taken were seen to be necessary and backed by broad agreement.

Elsewhere, senior management was more assertive. Nearest to Sedbury in character was probably Albemarle Park, where Heads of Department were seen by senior management as a powerful barrier to much development, needing extensive encouragement to accept the managerial dimensions of their role. This counter-cultural network was weaker than at Sedbury, built around and largely consisting of staff from the former boys' school, many of whom held supernumerary posts surviving from the amalgamation. Their resistance was visible in the attitude they created towards the support and referral systems available for disciplinary or teaching difficulties, and in manoeuvrings around certain staff appointments and specific reforms: though a smallish minority of the staff, they nevertheless blocked a reform of the pastoral system which had overwhelming staff backing when three of them, all pastoral heads, refused to accept the changed responsibilities without additional salary, a condition the Head could not accept because of all the supernumerary posts carried.

Informal hierarchies were peopled largely by teachers of middle rank who had worked in the school for many years, often gaining early promotion but then not advancing further: Heads of Department, Pastoral Heads, or teachers with other responsibilities. Their influence was based on their length of service at the one school - often fifteen or twenty years, or even more. As long-serving subject teachers, often with responsibility allowances in subject areas, they laid claim to both subject expertise and professional skills. At Great Witley and St. Thomas More, they also included key union activists, who sought to draw other, more recently appointed staff into their ranks. Their strong union affiliations made it important for school management to deal with them carefully, and this had been overlooked by reforming Heads

in both schools, so that a "Thatcherite" approach to staff relations was perceived to exist. Aggressive management had increased staff turnover - at St. Thomas More it was almost half the total in four years - and allowed new staff more sympathetic to the Heads' views to be appointed, but at the expense of driving almost all the rest into the camp of the informal, alternative hierarchy.

Such informal hierarchies married a strong appeal to teachers' values (see chapter 9) to a powerful and potentially dysfunctional attitude towards senior staff. If the classroom was where teachers learned the craft skills which allowed them to survive, then long-serving teachers, who had held on to their classroom teaching rather than seek promotion, had a *prima facie* claim to the respect of their colleagues. They had also added to their classroom expertise years of devoted service to the children and families of the school. Teachers entering the profession because they believed in the value of service to the community would be likely, at first, to accord such apparent selflessness considerable respect. They could offer advice on the children, based on close everyday contact with them. They could also help new teachers come to grips with the school's systems and procedures. Where there was a dissonance with the formal expectations of the school or its senior staff, this could easily be incorporated into their advice. Just as advisers were not seen as competent in the classroom, so senior staff, especially those who reached senior positions while still young, could be accused of opting out of teaching into "management" - by implication, because they could not cope.

Except at Sarah Lawley, then, the informal network of influence was homogeneous, and at odds with the espoused values of the senior management. It stood for tradition and the status quo, departmental autonomy, the importance of classroom teaching and the need for individual teachers to be largely autonomous in planning and carrying it out. Thus it

opposed senior management attempts at school-wide planning, introducing new courses or teaching arrangements, or introducing staff appraisal systems. Indeed, at Albemarle Park and Sedbury there was some resistance to the idea of unity of approach within a department, or that the Head of Department should monitor the work of other teachers of the subject. At Albemarle Park, it was only the appointment of Harry Anderson to be Head of Science that caused John Underwood, after ten years teaching Science among colleagues whom he had joined as a probationer, to feel able to talk openly about classroom approaches.

The emphasis on demonstrating competent classroom practice affected curriculum reorganisation, especially in Special Needs. The importance to Sedbury's Head of Computing, Alan Rowse, and their acting Head of Special Needs, Sue Turner, of being seen to be competent classroom practitioners who could cope with full classes, was discussed in chapter 9. It faced all the teachers of Special Needs, in whatever guise they worked: their work combined dealing with "low status" children who could not cope with what legitimated teachers' authority and working in small groups rather than "proper" classes. Informal hierarchies were on the whole opposed to integrating Special Needs provision into the mainstream, and Special Needs teachers had no status within them.

It also affected approaches to disciplinary questions. Informal hierarchies propounded the view that competent classroom practitioners did not need to use support or referral systems, so those who did use them were by definition not competent. Consequently, most teachers were reluctant to use these systems, preferring to try and deal with their difficulties on their own. When this became impossible, they sought assistance from individuals whom they had found to be supportive, or whom others had said had been supportive to them. These colleagues were often found in early days at the school, when

they had "befriended" the new teacher who was getting to know the systems and procedures. Within the broad informal hierarchy of influence, there were smaller networks, analogous to those existing at Sarah Lawley: staff who joined the school at the same time, especially if they joined as probationers, would be a typical example. Such groups were encountered at Sedbury and Fotherby Wood. Providing it remained within the group, information about problems and difficulties would be shared between members and ideas offered on what to do, or who to approach for assistance. However, whereas at Sarah Lawley the discussion was largely in terms of how to get effective assistance, in the other schools it was also about how to avoid losing face or being seen to be "inadequate" or "a failure" by the more conservative, traditionalist groups of the informal hierarchy: problems were discussed quietly, with people who would not "bandy them abroad", as John Underwood, Albemarle Park's acting Head of Biology, put it. His view of the staff as a whole perhaps sums up the school: that although the system was supportive and the Head of Science was working hard to open up discussion within his department, as far as the staff room was concerned it was unwise to be too open, and impossible to be too quiet.

Teacher Autonomy and Discretion.

Most of the data relevant to this section have already been presented. We have discussed the impact of informal hierarchies on emphasising autonomy, so will touch on it only briefly here. On our way to that, we will refer to two other aspects of teachers' attitudes to colleagues outside the department: the expressed attitudes of senior staff towards teachers' autonomy and discretion, and the potential tension between departmental and individual autonomy.

It will be recalled that senior staff attitudes to teacher autonomy varied, with Great Witley being the most directive, Sedbury the least directive, and Sarah

Lawley the most flexible. Even where there was strong direction to staff to follow procedures exactly, however, some senior staff were at pains to emphasise that individual teachers had to decide whether to activate the procedures, and how to organise and run their classes. Great Witley's Deputy Head, Peter Emburey, stressed that the internal organisation of the classroom was the teacher's responsibility, and even as senior manager in an increasingly directive system he defended his own behaviour in refusing to follow his Head of Department's instruction to stop drilling his students in basic mathematical skills. He believed it was necessary, and knew no evidence that it was dysfunctional to pupil learning or inferior to other teaching approaches, so he would defend his practice to the Head against the Head of Department if necessary. In his view every teacher had to make the same judgment.

A major reason offered for this attitude was that teachers deal with people, not technical processes. Several teachers argued that because they taught children rather than checked invoices they had to feel comfortable with the procedures they operated. This was particularly strongly argued at Great Witley, but it was also apparent at Sarah Lawley, where flexibility was clearly acknowledged in the senior management approach. It could be argued that the move at St. Thomas More to delegate all disciplinary matters to the department, which some staff saw as abdicating all responsibility for serious problems, was attempting to recognise exactly this need for comfort and flexibility, and allow individual departments to agree what the parameters of acceptable student behaviour were. This was, however, not senior management's stance: the deputy head (pastoral), who was criticised harshly by her colleagues, saw the policy move which led her to refuse to take two children out of the Head of Sociology's class, or to discuss a boy who was

constantly absconding and was thought to be taking drugs, as making teachers do their job instead of ducking out of the difficult bits.

Many teachers found it difficult to resolve the contradiction between wishing to work unsupervised with discretion and needing support when in difficulty. There was a strong sense that as staff became more senior they became more concerned to control the work of their subordinates. For example, St. Thomas More's Deputy Head (Curriculum), Clive Lewis, wished to sustain as a Deputy Head the kind of detailed knowledge of the teaching in his area of responsibility which he had acquired as a Head of Department, and had to be asked by the Head not to embark on his intended programme of classroom visits, because its resonances with staff appraisal would have created a major industrial relations crisis.

Clive Lewis's interest in sustaining a close involvement with the day-to-day teaching of his colleagues leads to our second concern here. Chapter 10 showed some Heads of Department, such as Andrea Hackett, Sarah Lawley's Head of Home Economics, bidding for autonomy in their area so that they could dictate practice to their departmental colleagues (pp. 183 - 184). Chapter 11 demonstrated that the epistemological character of the department affected critically the extent to which departmental identity and autonomy limited individual teacher autonomy. Teachers working outside their specialist areas - even experienced senior teachers like the two deputy heads at St. Thomas More - were happier if the specialist Head of Department gave them a detailed specification of content and method. Within their academic areas, English teachers emphasised discretion and autonomy far more than Science teachers.

If coping with children created in teachers' thinking a demand for autonomy which could be reduced by the requirements of specialist subject teachers, but

should not be constrained by significant limitations from senior management, especially if these were administrative procedures, it also created another tension. Teachers wanted support from senior management with disciplinary problems, but often the informal hierarchies created a culture in which problems could not be acknowledged without undermining the claim to professional competence on which the demand for autonomy was founded. Autonomy thus became a constraining as well as an enabling device: it reduced the extent to which lessons were discussed and curriculum review and development could take place, and limited the extent to which teachers could improve their practice or be reassured that problems were not theirs alone. As the example of the Great Witley second year (p. 215 above) showed, teachers might moan about a class, but did not refer them: they coped. Failure to cope was "professional" failure.

The Issue of Trust

Underlying all of the structural problems of contact between senior and junior staff examined in this chapter has been the extent to which individuals felt they could trust others. If the essence of good management is delegation, then it must rest on the manager's willingness to trust the delegatee to get on with the task, and the delegatee's willingness to trust the manager when monitoring the work. Only at Sarah Lawley School were senior management prepared to volunteer that trust to their staff, and it was the only school in which staff accorded any significant level of trust to senior management. This chapter concludes by considering the reasons for this, and some of its more obvious manifestations. We shall examine three different forms of relationship which rest on trust. In deference to the formal hierarchies of the schools, we shall call them downward, upward and sideways trust.

Downward trust is the basis of delegation, and was observed both as a "positive" decision, and as an "involuntary" recognition of a situation in which senior management could not perceive how to restrict the exercise of discretion by those less senior - resignation rather than trust, perhaps. In its positive version, its development apparently rested, first, on an act of faith by the senior person in the relationship, thereafter growing as the subordinate delivered what was required. As this occurred, so the extent of monitoring and boundary-setting was reduced, and the subordinate gained more discretion in doing what was required. This was visible at Sarah Lawley in the relationship between the Head of English and her deputy, and between the Headteacher and some of her Heads of Department, but not between the Head of Home Economics and the rest of her department. In its involuntary form, it was most in evidence at Albemarle Park and Sedbury schools, where the power of the Heads of Department limited the authority of the senior management. At Albemarle Park, Deputy Head Nerys Edwards saw her task, and that of all senior staff, as cajoling the Heads of Department into doing their jobs although often they would not do this in the way that was seen as appropriate. In particular, she saw them as defensive territorial rulers, rather than as contributors to whole-school development, and described her unsuccessful efforts to persuade many Heads of Department to participate in a cross-curricular in-service week she had organised on Information Technology. Sedbury's Deputy Head, Geraldine Adley, spoke similarly of her staff.

The situation at Fotherby Wood was different again. Here, Heads of Department had little impact on policy making: this was the preserve of a small group of senior staff, aided by a shifting group of favourites. But Heads of Department were left to get on with running their own departments, and the kind of interference in internal departmental operations described above

(p. 212; see also p. 175) by Art teacher Heather Ryton was unusual. Teachers, too, were expected to sort out their own *modus vivendi* concerning classroom discipline and teaching approaches. Here, trust appeared to rest on a downward flow within tight boundaries, but these did not extend to receiving feedback or initiatives which might challenge the policy direction decided by the Head and senior staff.

If these four schools show different forms and degrees of downward trust, all producing different kinds of relationships between the school's senior management and its departmental heads, the other two schools studied were striking for the lack of any kind of widespread trust emanating from senior management. At both Great Witley and St. Thomas More one sensed increasing central prescription, with the Heads in particular binding increasingly tightly the role of their teachers and the procedures they should follow. This had progressed further at Great Witley, but the attitudes at St. Thomas More, where the Head had felt compelled to break what she saw as the power of the Heads of Department clique by importing new staff, showed that many staff did not feel that there was any downward trust.

Though downward trust must begin with an act of faith, upward trust need not rest on a similarly frail foundation. Junior staff must render a formal accountability to their seniors. Upward trust allows that formal relationship to progress beyond its minimalist character to create a broader sense of accountability and obligation towards the senior partner in the relationship. It allows the formal relationship to be discharged fully. A trusted senior colleague will be more fully informed about difficulties than one who is not trusted, who may not be informed at all. The basis of upward trust appeared to be that support, advice and assistance was given when it was sought, without advantage being taken of it.

Different patterns of upward trust were visible in the six schools. At Sarah Lawley, staff developed informal systems to ensure that support was forthcoming as required, but this was seen as using the system rather than fighting it. At Albemarle Park, the sense that senior staff followed disciplinary issues through relentlessly had increased staff support for them, and providing exclusion facilities for difficult children also helped them. The comparison between John Underwood's view of this provision and his view of his first Head of Department, who had left him to sort out his own problems unaided, showed how senior management had won his trust and support, and the freedom he felt to use their assistance had increased his self-confidence as a teacher.

Where such support was not felt to be forthcoming, senior staff were not seen as meriting the teacher's trust and relationships became formal and distant. The two Sedbury Heads of Department cited above (pp. 217 - 8) as seeking more guidance and support from the top of the school showed how they resented senior management's failure to deliver. Why have senior management if it does not provide what its junior colleagues need? A similar view was visible at St. Thomas More, where the pastoral system was widely seen as an irrelevance. According to the Head of Sociology, Claire Rundle, under the previous House system the five Heads of House had effectively run the day-to-day life of the school. Now, although Christine Henderson, the Head of Third Year, made a similar claim for her role, other staff believed that no one would apply for the vacant Head of Fourth Year because the post was not worth having. At Great Witley, the perceived lack of senior staff support added to the lack of downward trust to create an unpleasant "ducking and diving" atmosphere in the school.

As this suggests, upward and downward trust feed on each other and grow or decline to some extent together. Sideways trust - trust between equals

rather than between people in superordinate/subordinate relationships - is perhaps rather different, in that the relationship is similar from both sides. It was not much discussed in the research, except when the senior management role was either seen as absent, as at Sedbury, or very domineering and centralist, as at Fotherby Wood and Great Witley. In each case the manifestations of trust were limited and different.

At Sedbury the absence of managerial control allowed significant baronial infighting to occur between departmental heads, with barriers erected around their possessions. The Head of RE's territorialism created difficulties for his departmental colleague's attempts to develop a wider involvement in other aspects of the school. Staff attitudes to Sue Turner's attempts to integrate Special Needs provision into mainstream classes show this in action, while Anna Randall, Head of Art, bemoaned the lack of cross-curricular activity and the failure of senior management to promote it. At Fotherby Wood departments were left very much to their own devices, and isolation appeared to be encouraged. Occasional senior staff initiatives were not promoted on a collaborative basis but imposed, and interpreted by each department in its own way. Great Witley had some formally created cross-departmental networks, but their impact was patchy: something appeared to be developing between the English and Languages departments, but nothing else was discovered, and the Head of CDT indicated that they were more or less told what to do by the Head.

Comment.

Trust is seen here as the crucial basis for all cooperation and collaboration. Its centrality to the discussion of all the data presented in the last seven chapters is demonstrated by the importance of the basic unit (Becher and Kogan 1980) revealed in Chapter 10, where teachers were found searching for alternatives

to their subject department if it did not deliver what individuals needed. Without trust there will be no sharing of problems, no talking about one's work, and little discussion of ideas.

Trust is also crucial as a basis for allowing teachers discretion or autonomy, in the classroom or the many other aspects of their work surrounding it. The relationship between trust, discretion and autonomy is complex. It is not simply that as trust grows between parts of an organisation, so discretion increases and greater autonomy is gained, for Sedbury showed that autonomy, pushed to extremes, can undermine trust: senior management could not trust Heads of Department to accept their authority and this reduced their ability to manage. At Sedbury, Heads of Department did not claim discretion, for that would have acknowledged some other person or body's authority to define the boundaries of their discretion. Their Deputy Head claimed this in interview, but in practice conceded - not delegated - it to the Heads of Departments themselves. By comparison, autonomy denies such an authority to any other person or group. It was apparently claimed by some Sedbury staff, and, according to their Deputy Head, by some of the former boys' school staff at Albemarle Park.

Trust is also reciprocal, resting upon the ability of each side to meet the other's expectations. It grows or is sustained if each party to the relationship does what the others require. Upward expectations are of support and assistance with problems, and an openness to requests for assistance without fear of "comebacks". At Sarah Lawley, the second in the English department described her Headteacher's sympathy and flexibility when her mother had been seriously ill: not just granting leave to go and visit, but also evidence of personal concern - asking after her when they passed in the corridor, coming to ask how the school might help, and other actions which left the teacher concerned not simply trusting of, but strongly loyal to the Head. Downward

expectations look to tasks completed as required, and the extent to which this occurs will determine the degree of monitoring felt necessary.

We have not yet considered whether trust is offered to the office or to the person holding the office. It is relevant because the data presented here could suggest that teachers tend to look to individuals rather than to roles as they develop their personal networks of support and assistance. This would support our development of proposition one in the conceptual map in chapter 4 (fig. 2). However, this discussion has taken an implicitly structural stance by its terminology of upward, downwards, and sideways trust, which connects the offering and acceptance of trust to formal roles in organisational settings. It is suggested, following writers in Glaister (1989), that there may be two forms of trust: a minimal trust which adheres to the office and a broader trust which becomes attached to its incumbent. Where even that minimal trust is not fulfilled, a search begins for alternative repositories of trust. Superordinates may find other ways of completing the tasks, or turn to tighter definitions of responsibilities and closer monitoring of work. Subordinates are likely to find alternative sources of support, creating departmental or other subcultures and informal hierarchies. The relationship between the development of trust and the delivery of needs and expectations is also relevant to chapter 9's discussion of teachers' feelings towards advisers and inspectors, their experience of inservice education and training and, retrospectively, to their teacher training.

This discussion of trust concludes the presentation of empirical data. We now return to the ten propositions which the study has sought to test. We shall now consider each in turn to try and judge whether the data we have presented have given us sufficient reason to sustain them, and whether they have any utility when considering policy implementation in educational settings.

Chapter 13: Reviewing the Propositions: are they any use?

This review of the ten propositions will attempt to connect the data presented in chapters 6 - 12 with our earlier discussion of the literature in chapters 2 and 3 to test their validity and utility for policy analysis. We shall also attempt to evaluate the extent to which the empirical work has succeeded in addressing the concerns identified by the propositions.

For convenience, we begin by restating the propositions in full, before examining each in turn. They were:

- (i) the policy-action process is at least a two-way process involving both the passing of information and the negotiation of purposes at every level or point of action in the system;
- (ii) policies are articulated as part of a wider network of intentions held by those vested with or able to claim responsibility for the functioning of the service under consideration;
- (iii) intentions as to the proper functioning of that service are held by a variety of actors and interested parties within and outside

- it, and these intentions enter the delivery system at a multiplicity of levels and through a multiplicity of routes;
- (iv) the information on which policies are based is frequently subject to amendment or distortion as it passes through the system: rationalisation of information is generated by both professional acculturation and situational demands;
 - (v) both external pressure groups and internal professional communities are segmented rather than homogeneous, and are concerned to secure greater influence over the policy-making and action-generating systems; conflict rather than consensus can therefore be expected as normal rather than pathological in both the service and its environment;
 - (vi) the location of actors in the delivery system influences their perception of the importance of the varying pressures and felt obligations and responsibilities, making the conception of what action is involved in a particular policy significantly situational;
 - (vii) the complexity of situational, professional and external pressures combines with the possibility of intrinsic conflicts in individuals' value-systems to create inherent contradictions in policy directives and their relationship to the wider policy network;
 - (viii) values influence the perception of a given situation as a "problem" situation needing policy articulation for its resolution;

- (ix) the value-dependency of problem-identification makes it highly unlikely that a clear and unambiguous statement of consequent means to its resolution can be made which will carry universal acceptance: the means/ends relationship is likely to be inherently problematic;
- (x) the complex of pressures acting upon a given actor in any service setting will contain inherent contradictions which can only be resolved by an active process of reconstruction by that actor so as to create an "action space" in which to function, thereby creating a further source of potential conflict between the intentions of the framers of the policy-directive and the actors in the system.

Proposition (i): the policy-action process is at least a two-way process involving both the passing of information and the negotiation of purposes at every level or point of action in the system.

This proposition addresses the process of translating a formal policy statement into action. It rests on a hierarchical model of policy formulation and implementation. However, the study showed that although schools are hierarchically structured, there is a strong normative pressure for them to operate within a collegial perspective (Becher and Kogan 1980; Kogan 1984; Campbell 1985). Nevertheless, teachers acknowledged that policies, by their very nature as statements of required action, had status: the discussion was about how they should be promulgated and influenced.

There was considerable evidence for this proposition. Insofar as local authority policies on the curriculum existed, officers of both LEAs clearly wished to work with their teaching staffs to implement them with their

support and cooperation. Further, in Hamley in particular, the range, scope and character of the policies were themselves clearly open to negotiation.

There is further supportive evidence in teachers' attitudes to GCSE and the National Curriculum. Indeed, we could extend proposition (i) from a statement about what is observed into a normative statement about what is necessary if a policy or initiative is to be successful. Most teachers expressed concern about both of these national initiatives: in 1987 - 8, there was great uncertainty about the impact of GCSE, largely because of a lack of information concerning what the children would have to do. Much of the information available was seen as contradictory. By 1989 teachers were more confident, having seen examination papers and had the opportunity to comment on them had they wished. Further, coursework moderation had incorporated more teachers into the examination system than under GCE, though more may have been involved in CSE when Mode Three was at its height. Similarly, National Curriculum worries were less pronounced in summer 1989 than in winter 1987 - 8, and this again may be attributed largely to the increased information available: the most worried staff taught in subject areas where statements had yet to be produced. The degree of concern expressed over all these national developments seemed to have been affected by the lack of influence teachers felt able to exercise over them. National initiatives were seen as operating on a one-way system of information-flow, and as not being susceptible to negotiation. By comparison, local authority initiatives were seen as open to influence.

The same was true of school based policies. The school whose policies and procedures most satisfied its staff - Sarah Lawley - was that at which clear procedures for influencing them were coupled with receptiveness and sensitivity on the part of the senior staff. Thereafter, dissatisfaction increased as schools showed either less clear procedures for influencing policy or less

senior management receptiveness to colleagues' ideas. At Fotherby Wood there were clear structures but an unreceptive and autocratic Head, while at Sedbury there were no clear policies and procedures to influence. Information has to flow both to and from the policy makers, and at Sedbury there was little flowing from them.

However, this proposition fails to address the complexities surrounding negotiation. The previous paragraph implies that where there was a framework for negotiation, it could take place and, thereby influence the nature of the policies. This was indeed the basis of the conceptual map in chapter 4. But negotiation in the policy-action relationship can take place in other ways, as other propositions claim, particularly proposition (x). The previous paragraph offers a highly rational view of the policy implementation and amendment process, such as is argued by writers such as Harling (1984), Packwood (1989), or indeed Weber (1947). But negotiation can take place in other ways, and in less formal settings. The discussion of informal networks and hierarchies in the previous chapter has suggested a micropolitical model of organisational and professional behaviour (Hoyle (1982), Ball (1987), Bucher and Strauss (1961)), emphasising bargaining and the operation of interest-groups. This model was particularly strong in the views of staff who saw themselves as members of strong departments, such as the science departments at Sarah Lawley and Great Witley, where the responsibility of the Head of Department was to defend the interests of the department as well as representing the school to the department. Indeed, in strong and cohesive departments, the latter, top-down view of the Head of Department's role was much less evident.

Micropolitical negotiations need not take place only outside formal settings. Such bargaining can take place within formal settings, as when a departmental head represents the agreed or perceived interests of her

department against those of others at a Heads of Departments' meeting, or more informally. This was visible over capitation allocation at Sedbury, Fotherby Wood and St. Thomas More: at Sedbury the Deputy Head responsible described it as

"a grumble job - the infighting is intense"

while at Fotherby Wood and St. Thomas More formulae had been created but not implemented, since the Head herself chose to negotiate the allocation individually. Staff at all three schools indicated that they negotiated privately with the Head or Deputy Head responsible, as well as in any formal arenas where discussion of capitation occurred.

Departmental policies existed, most obviously syllabuses, and were frequently interpreted flexibly. A major difference was found between science departments and those in the humanities and literature fields in the perception of the teacher's role and how far individual teachers could and should be bound by syllabuses and schemes of work. This could lead to considerable negotiation as individual teachers sought more discretion within the boundaries of the syllabus, or tighter control over individual teachers: examples include the History department at Sarah Lawley, which agreed to establish compulsory lessons within a new syllabus framework, the Home Economics department at the same school, where the Head of Department insisted on absolute fidelity to both syllabus and scheme of work, and the science departments at Sedbury and Albemarle Park, where new Heads of Department were trying, without much success, to bring about greater standardisation of coverage and practice.

Proposition (i) also makes no statement about the extent to which practice remains congruent with policy expectations, apparently assuming that negotiation will bring this about. This is not necessarily so. The practical

outcome of the negotiation of purposes could be considerable divergence of practice from the formal policy statement. Negotiation of purposes could remain *de facto* within the policy frame, or produce alliances between staff to countenance unofficially divergence from the formal expectations of the policy. It also allows for practice to differ from the formal directive, while remaining in touch with the articulated purposes the directive is supposed to serve. Thus at Sarah Lawley School policies on pupil discipline and behaviour between classes were seen as means to minimise disruption to other classes and start work on each lesson quickly. Within that, each teacher was permitted to work out a particular way of ensuring that the goals were achieved, even if that meant that formally prescribed procedures were not always adhered to by the teacher concerned. By comparison, at Great Witley School there was a strict and rigid adherence to the rules and procedures, so that even when staff were expressing widespread concern about the disciplinary problems surrounding one particular class the problem was denied by the Head because people had not been submitting referral slips.

This discussion of proposition (i) has shown that it needs to be reformulated to take account of different ways in which negotiation can occur. It has also moved ahead to take up issues which relate to other propositions, particularly proposition (v), with its emphasis on segmented communities, and proposition (x), which is concerned with the way teachers create an "action space" around themselves in which to function, and the values-related propositions which precede it.

Proposition (ii): policies are articulated as part of a wider network of intentions held by those vested with or able to claim responsibility for the functioning of the service under consideration.

This proposition seeks to define a policy and establish the accountability which underlies it. It was not a significant element of the study, although a number of findings were relevant. It was certainly possible to discern wider networks of intentions in the responses of LEA officers, Heads and other teachers, but the empirical data suggested that the existence of a network of intentions was less significant than the ways in which policies were articulated, and the extent to which organisations were loosely or tightly coupled (Weick 1976).

It is useful here to refer to Rich's (1976/7) typology of policies: as goal formulation or ideology, as procedures or programmatic decisions, and as external requirements or rules of conduct. Even at the level of whole school or authority wide policies, goal formulation and ideology statement was limited and kept at a very high level of generality. External requirements and rules of conduct, other than those created by the public examinations system, were limited mainly to the areas of employment regulations and conditions of service. Even these were sometimes disregarded: some teachers at Fotherby Wood felt that the Head expected her teachers to dedicate every waking moment to the needs of the school. What existed, particularly at the school and departmental level, was the second category of policy: procedures and programmatic decisions. These created the requirement for a flow of information between policy-maker and actor to keep practice in line with policy, and also created the possibility that alternative practices to those laid down might nevertheless achieve the same broad purpose.

Such programmatic decisions might be taken at any level within the system. However, how far they were observed depended on whether they were seen to be promulgated by people with authority to lay them out. For example, advisers created guidelines and "policies" in their areas, but it was clear that teachers did not see them as backed by any formal expectation that they had to be pursued. Similarly, how far a teacher acknowledged the right of another to lay down requirements on questions of subject matter or teaching method could be crucial to departmental unity and coherence. The epistemological base of the department, and its consequence for individual assumptive worlds, was the most important factor here, and we found different concepts of departmental obligation coexisting within schools.

Teacher attitudes to wider procedural policies also varied. Some externally imposed requirements, such as completing school attendance and dinner registers, were accepted without demur. There was less agreement about the extent to which school disciplinary procedures and arrangements were accepted, as events at St. Thomas More and Great Witley Schools revealed. Sometimes this attitude became the school's expectation of its staff: Fotherby Wood apparently expected each teacher to sort out an individual regime for classroom management and discipline, and senior staff indicated that they would support any teacher if the discipline was satisfactory. Consequently, some departments had departmental detentions, for example, while others did not.

Given this variation, it is not surprising that teachers' acceptance and following of programmatic decisions and procedures varied considerably. Further, the extent to which teachers acknowledged the right of decisions to influence their practice was a key limitation on the extent to which participation in decision-making or having formal channels to influence policy-making was important. Teachers allowed for different decisions to be

taken in different arenas, but frequently reserved the right to dissent from a decision if they disagreed with it. Our findings suggest strongly that Hoyle (1986) is right to place a great emphasis on Weick's (1976) concept of schools as "loosely coupled systems" in which considerable autonomy is achieved by the sub-systems.

This discussion suggests that the proposition has some potential value, but needs considerable further development if it is to be useful, to take account of the level within the system or organisation at which the policy is formulated, and the nature of the policy. Such discussion is also relevant to proposition (iii) which follows.

Proposition (iii): intentions as to the proper functioning of that service are held by a variety of actors and interested parties within and outside it, and these intentions enter the delivery system at a multiplicity of levels and through a multiplicity of routes.

This proposition attempts to extend proposition (ii) in terms of the process by which intentions get articulated and to connect it to proposition (i) and the structural relationship of actors to the system and its wider environment. The preceding discussion of proposition (ii) is also relevant here, as is the discussion of national and local policies, and on patterns of negotiation, related to proposition (i). They demonstrate the multiple purposes and points of entry into the system, and the variety of ways in which the school can respond.

One aspect of this proposition needing further attention is the extent to which intentions can be regarded as "policies" and expect to be implemented on the basis of authority as against being forms of pressure which depend on influence to be translated into practice. This is visible, for example, in the

contrasting attitudes towards the National Curriculum proposals, LEA advisers' guidelines and approaches, and the churches' impact on their aided schools. Indeed, although this will be examined when discussing propositions (vi) and (viii), teachers' political and religious beliefs, and the impact of their background and training represented important routes through which external influences made themselves felt. There is a close relationship between this proposition and propositions (vi) and (viii), which, given the overlap between the discussion of propositions (i) - (iii), suggests that they need considerable reformulation.

The contrast between the impact of the National Curriculum and the effect of advisers' plans and guides showed how different sets of external intentions about the work of the schools could be transacted quite differently and with quite different levels of impact. National Curriculum proposals frequently caused concern, usually about resourcing and feasibility, but it was never disputed that it had to be done, although some Sedbury teachers thought there would be plenty of opportunity to subvert it. This, the first school to be researched, was notable for the lack of central authority exercised there: senior management saw its job as keeping external influences off the teachers so that they could get on with their job. Advisers were seen almost universally as just the sort of influence which should be kept off teachers. Their ideas were seen as personal and lacking any formal status. Where they were accepted it was either because they were liked by the teachers concerned, or because they were supported by other influences which were accorded more formal authority. For example, St. Thomas More's Head of Languages ultimately agreed to the adviser's suggestion for a new lower school course because the Head was pressuring him to do so, whereas advisers for Special Needs, all advocates of integrating such pupils into mainstream classes, seemed unable to give any significant support to the

Special Needs teachers who were trying to bring integration about in their schools. As was argued in chapters 6 and 8 (pp. 128 - 130 and 146 - 151), the key reason for accepting an external policy or influence was its ability to police itself or sustain sanctions. It will be interesting to see if teachers in these schools continue to resist parental influence on resources and teaching approaches if their schools get into more difficulties over pupil numbers.

A particularly interesting contrast between the formal and informal entry points of influences was provided by the two aided schools, one Anglican and one Roman Catholic. Catholic St. Thomas More revealed a much stronger Church influence than Anglican Sedbury. In part this was a structural matter: the Catholic school made RE a compulsory subject to GCSE, whereas it was only compulsory to the age of 14 in the Anglican school, but both schools made church membership a condition of entry, the Chair of Governors was a priest, and regular services were held at roughly equal frequencies. What was different was the attitude taken to staff appointments, and the attitude of staff to religion. At St. Thomas More there was a diocesan ban on non-Catholic staff gaining posts above a 'C' allowance, although two teachers had breached it. This did not exist at Sedbury. Considerable emphasis was laid on St. Thomas More's Catholic ethos, and all staff were expected to lead prayers in the morning with their classes. This was apparently checked. The daily staff briefing always opened with a prayer, as did all staff meetings. Thus formal expectations were created and structurally reinforced within the school, in a way which did not occur at Sedbury. Consequently, perhaps, staff at St. Thomas More acknowledged that they had chosen to work in a denominational school and should therefore acquiesce in, if not actively support, the school's promotion of its Catholicity. "Lapsed" Catholics, several of whom were interviewed, emphasised this obligation even though they did not themselves subscribe any longer to the beliefs the school promoted. By

contrast, Sedbury staff included a group of teachers who not only were non-Christians but actively made it difficult for Christian staff to proclaim their beliefs openly. Structural support was not forthcoming within the school for those who privately professed the publicly espoused principles of the school to make their own profession of them public. Intentions hostile to those of the institution were privately transacted into the system and served to make pursuit of the school's public values more difficult.

Proposition (iv): the information on which policies are based is frequently subject to amendment or distortion as it passes through the system: rationalisation of information is generated by both professional acculturation and situational demands.

This proposition is concerned with the process of policy formation and review, and connects with the preceding discussion and with that following in propositions (vi) and (vii). It also draws the organisational analysis and study of policy implementation taking place to verify the propositions into a micropolitical rather than rational systems frame of reference.

The clearest area in which limitation of information could be identified was pupil discipline. The discussion of informal hierarchies and trust in chapter 12 demonstrated teachers' reluctance to pass information into the system. There was often a belief that information submitted through formal systems could be used against you by the school's senior management. It was particularly strong at Great Witley, where it will be recalled there was a very considerable breakdown in trust between the Head and his staff, and among younger staff at Sedbury. It was also strong among particular sub-groups of teachers, regardless of school: Scottish teachers, and those who had come through non-traditional routes into teaching, regarded it as especially important not to be seen as a "failure". It appeared to be related to a

perspective which required the teacher to be in full control of all aspects of the children's behaviour, and saw independent work and pupil autonomy as undermining such control. This point relates, once again, strongly to proposition (viii), which emphasises the centrality of personal values. It also has strong connections with the work of Elbaz (1983), Clandinin (1985), Lacey (1977), Lieberman and Miller (1984) and Lortie (1975), discussed in chapter 3, who have all argued in different ways for the significance of teachers' professional and situational acculturation.

This widespread attitude meant that teachers simply did not pass on a lot of information to pastoral heads and senior management which was relevant to effective policy evaluation and review. Incidents were kept private. Staff might invoke a commitment of confidentiality to the child, as was often the case with Sedbury's Head of Computer Studies, an ordained Anglican priest who hid behind the confessional relationship. Teachers who talked about confidentiality indicated they would only break the commitment and pass on information if it was a matter which it was in the child's interests should be known to particular staff, such as certain domestic problems, or if it were a legal matter such as sexual harassment.

Information which was passed on was frequently doctored. Great Witley system referral slips rarely contained the blow-by-blow accounts of incidents, including the exact words spoken, which they were supposed to contain. Instead, teachers would present a more considered explanatory account of the incident. Teachers' perceptions of what needed to be included in incident reports, taking care to present a "professional" image of the teacher in action and avoid providing any hostages to fortune in the information placed on one's file, matched exactly Rein's (1983) characterisation of "cold", as against "hot", knowledge.

Doctoring of information was also identified in more overtly micropolitical settings. Staff spoke of adapting the information to departments' needs for resources, or of emphasising particular aspects of a plan in order to improve a department's interests. The case of Brian Reynolds, Sarah Lawley's Head of History, arguing for his departmental interests at the expense of an 'A' level consortium which the school as a whole would have found more resource-efficient, is one example. The Head of Department's approach to GCSE implementation sometimes facilitated the creation of a more collegial approach to lesson preparation among departmental members, and it was clear that information concerning both the nature of the innovation and possible solutions or responses to it was carefully tailored. Sometimes such tailoring was top-down: the senior management at Sedbury, who tended to let the departmental managers lead rather than providing leadership themselves, were careful about what was said and to whom. For example, Geraldine Adley, the deputy head, described how she had to listen carefully to what was being said in "dark corners" of the staffroom and corridors, and then tailor her own comments extremely carefully, to try and persuade the staff to accept in practice the introduction of TVEE to which they had appeared to consent at a full staff meeting.

Information distortion and adaptation, then, is not merely from policy implementers to policymakers: there is much distortion in the other direction. Staff in middle ranking positions, such as Head of Department, frequently carry out such actions towards both superiors and subordinates. This strengthens the argument of proposition (i) about the two-way nature of the policy-action relationship, and also gives further validity to the arguments about situation and level within the organisation which were addressed in relation to proposition (iii), although the discussion of proposition (vi) on location finds it wanting. Further, the micropolitical dimension which

proposition (iv) stresses gives reason to accept a key tenet of proposition (v): the normality of conflict as against consensus.

Proposition (v): both external pressure groups and internal professional communities are segmented rather than homogeneous, and are concerned to secure greater influence over the policy-making and action-generating systems; conflict rather than consensus can therefore be expected as normal rather than pathological in both the service and its environment.

This proposition addresses the relationship between structure and process. In seeing conflict rather than consensus as the norm in both the environment and the organisation, it proposes a micropolitical rather than rational analysis of the policy-implementation process. In doing this it plays down the rationality of organisational processes, such as is argued by Weber (1947), Harling (1984) and Packwood (1989), and questions the collegial model of management (Noble and Pym 1970, Campbell 1985) which emphasises the generation of consensus and commitment. However, it has a potential weakness which must be put right, for the data show that collegiality and conflict can stand together.

The data offered considerable evidence for the segmentation of the internal school communities, but much less concerning the external communities. Advisory teachers appeared to operate as collections of disconnected individuals, all pursuing their own approaches without any formal authority behind them. There was little evidence about segmentation of either governors or parents: indeed, teachers rarely referred to either group except when asked specifically about them, and played down their impact on their practice. As Peter Emburey, Great Witley's Deputy Head, commented,

"the revolution in the powers of the governing body hasn't reached here yet!"

Internally, however, there was considerable evidence of segmentation. It will be recalled that considerable emphasis was placed in the data presentation on the importance of the department, or, if the department itself was not strong, on teachers finding an alternative basic unit (Becher and Kogan 1980). These departments would fight for their interests and try and promote their own position. For example, Sarah Lawley's History and Science departments and Great Witley's Science department were prepared to argue against broader school policy in defence of their interests, and departmental members saw this as a key part of their Head of Department's role. Within these departments, however, there could be a considerable degree of consensus about their work and interests. Such small-group consensus was often the basis of very strong segmentation of the school community when seen as a whole.

Not all departments were as coherent as those just mentioned, and the basis of coherence was not always consent. In two departments, the Heads of Department had forced out colleagues who did not accept their ideas and had brought in others who were prepared to comply. Some departments were on the move from one identity to another, with those who resisted the change being forced out. St. Thomas More's English department could perhaps be described thus, although another view of it was as a department falling apart, changing from a high level of collaborative work and homogeneity towards a fragmented unit which teachers saw as having no coherent identity. Some departmental units were anything but homogeneous, as was demonstrated by the History departments at Fotherby Wood and Albemarle Park, and the Science department at Sedbury. Members of such departments looked to other basic units rather than to their departmental colleagues. Others were

strongly segmented and requiring particularly hard work from Heads of Department to move them away from collections of autonomous individuals towards a more collective identity. The best examples of this were Sarah Lawley's English department and the Science area at Albemarle Park.

Apparently central to the degree of departmental coherence, consensus and collegiality is the departmental epistemology discussed in chapter 11. As our discussion of proposition (i) indicated, which of the three departmental models was acknowledged affected the extent to which collegiality and consensus could be created, and also influenced how collegial or consensual operation was expressed. Sarah Lawley's English department was moving towards collegial course and lesson planning, with the implication that what was collegially devised was then collectively owned and would be implemented. Three Science departments operated on the basis of specialist teachers preparing schemes of work and worksheets for their colleagues to follow. The implication of this was that individuals deferred to the judgment of their specialist colleagues, and that specialist expertise was the basis of contributing to what might be seen as collectively accepted decisions.

Internal segmentation of the school community meant that inter-departmental collaboration was difficult to create and sustain. Very little was found, and where teachers spoke of it it was in frustration. Sometimes staff who expressed enthusiasm for it in their interview were cited by others as major resisters. At Fotherby Wood, where the Deputy Head was responsible for running termly cross-curricular weeks, they were created by diktat, and amounted to little more than ensuring that every department was working on similar broad themes. This matched the school's insistence on individuality in matters like disciplinary policies.

The organisation's wider culture is also important when considering the degree of conflict or consensus within the school. Alongside different patterns of intra- and inter-departmental activity stood the wider social and micropolitical context which was discussed in chapter 12. Informal hierarchies served to increase the likelihood of conflict rather than consensus, except insofar as a consensus surrounded the desire to protect individual autonomy. Proposition (v) assumed that consensus and collegiality lead to agreement to procedures and policies which are then faithfully adhered to. It is therefore important to acknowledge that the autonomy-emphasising frame of reference within which teachers cast their concept of their role and responsibilities towards their colleagues could itself lead to conflict between individuals and units as a matter of course, but nevertheless rest on a consensus.

The variety of patterns of departmental interaction and character identified in the research suggests that conflict between individual teachers and basic units in the organisation is not necessary but is normal. This conflict rests on the emphasis on teacher autonomy discussed in chapter 12. Turning conflict or autonomy into collegiality or consensual operation of the basic units is a major management role for departmental heads, and a key factor in their success is the departmental epistemology discussed in chapter 11. The degree to which departmental members see themselves as part of a team of specialists rather than experts will affect both the extent to which collegiality and consensus can be created and the nature of its expression. This proposition, then, is strong: well supported by evidence, and leading us towards espousing a particular analytical perspective.

Proposition (vi): the location of actors in the delivery system influences their perception of the importance of the varying pressures and felt obligations and responsibilities, making the conception of what action is involved in a particular policy significantly situational.

This proposition returns our attention to the importance of structure. It states that Heads, senior staff, Heads of Department, and main grade teachers will have different perspectives on problems and issues because the nature of their work and their responsibilities affects their priorities. Although apparently self-evident, this proposition is actually more problematic than proposition (v). We can certainly identify differences between roles and responsibilities, notably between the chief advisers interviewed and the Heads of the schools studied, and between advisers and teachers. We can also identify differences between members of staff in different schools, such as between the Heads of Science at Sedbury and St. Thomas More. The epistemological differences discussed in relation to proposition (v) also appear to generate different expectations among teachers, both of their colleagues and of their pupils, and this may be more important than one's level of seniority: similarities were found between the English teachers at Sarah Lawley, whereas the differences between the Head of English there and any of the Heads of Science interviewed were considerable. Indeed, it would appear that people's epistemological stances were as important as their positions within school structures in influencing their perceptions of both problems and potential solutions, and their judgments as to what was acceptable and satisfactory.

However, some differences were found even within what might be called epistemological categories. Thus far, we have tended to group epistemological differences by subject: English and Science teachers have been particular examples. However, these categories are not as secure as

some of our discussion might imply. For example, the attitude of St. Thomas More's English teacher, Fiona Thompson, was substantially different from those she attributed to both the last two Heads of English. Her beliefs about what she should be doing, how it should be influenced by others, and how her role as coordinator of Lower School English should relate to other English teachers, appeared to have been shaped by their predecessor, and she found herself increasingly at odds with her colleagues and distant from them. A similar distance was identified between Nerys Edwards, the deputy head at Albemarle Park who taught English, and her Head of Department, and, at the same school, between science teacher John Underwood and the new Head of Science on one side, and the former Heads of Chemistry and Biology on the other. The difference was always between teachers who believed that colleagues should feel able to discuss difficulties and seek advice openly, and plan and develop work collaboratively, and others who believed that teachers should sort out their own problems and syllabuses should be laid down by the Head of Department. What could not be determined was how far these differences resulted from philosophical differences or were simply personality clashes. Some very strong personal dislikes were expressed, sometimes amounting to distrust and contempt, but it is not possible to judge if the disagreements between these teachers would have been so strong if personal feelings had not been supported by apparent epistemological differences, or different conceptualisations of the role and responsibilities of the teacher.

This proposition therefore needs further consideration, to decide if the influence of location on practice results from people's structural location or their processual, interpersonal location among particular colleagues. Further, the location of the institution within the broader system, and within its environment, might also be potentially significant: St. Thomas More School

apparently emphasised what some staff called a "carey-sharey" ethos, but this received only occasional mention in the other Grantley schools. The two girls' schools saw senior staff placing much greater emphasis on the importance of technology in the curriculum than was the case in the other four schools studied.

Proposition (vii): the complexity of situational, professional and external pressures combines with the possibility of intrinsic conflicts in individuals' value-systems to create inherent contradictions in policy directives and their relationship to the wider policy network.

This returns to the internal/external relationship discussed in propositions (ii) and (iii), taking account of the location of individuals and organisations within the educational system and sub-systems. However, its articulation in terms of the directive-writing community rather than the delivery community as a whole raises difficulties. Chapters 6 and 8, on local authority and national influences on teacher practice, showed how, in Rich's (1976/7) terminology, the number of external requirements or rules of conduct was small, and how much of what counted for "policies" was actually personal preference. It was also argued above in relation to proposition (ii) that much of what counted for policies at the school level was made up of procedures or programmatic decisions.

Because of this, data relating to this proposition are not widespread. However, chapter 4 (pp. 66) argued that conceptually, the directive writing community might be coterminous with the action community, especially where considerable discretion was required, or collegial management and policy making occurred. We can therefore examine this proposition in relation to school-based directives, seeking data which show teachers

wrestling with contradictions in the directives and their relationship to the wider policy network.

Two elements of the study are relevant, although both show the micro-level contradiction between the publicly espoused values of the policy directive and the intrinsic values or operational actions of the policy makers and implementers, rather than contradictions in the directives themselves. We observed the first at Great Witley School, where the Head created open-access working parties and an apparent ethos of consultation and collaborative situation analysis as a basis for policy formation, but almost nobody joined them because previous experience had shown that he would try and dictate their conclusions to them, or ignore them if they resisted him.

The other area, Special Needs policy and provision, gets nearest to the contradictions between policy and practice on the one side and policy and the wider expectations of the network on the other which are put forward in this proposition. Hamley's public policy was to integrate provision for Special Needs children into mainstream classes, with the specialist teacher in the area of Special Needs working alongside the subject teacher. This contradicted the traditional view of the proper organisational pattern in which the teacher-pupil relationship was transacted, best expressed by the Head of Computer Studies at Sedbury, when he said, to explain why he did not wish Information Technology to become a cross-curricular theme,

"the timetable doesn't have room for wandering consultants: I have to teach classes."

Sedbury's teacher of Special Needs had to work alongside her colleagues in all kinds of ways beyond helping children with learning difficulties, often taking the class herself in order to demonstrate that she was competent to do it. Albemarle Park's BTEC course for less able students had become a "sink

group" for disaffected fourth and fifth years, producing classes of 20+ instead of the 8 - 10 for which it had been designed. This resulted from timetabling decisions by senior management, even as they decided to release the Head of Special Needs from formal timetable commitments for fourteen periods out of the forty period week, so as to allow him to move towards more classroom-based integration.

Proposition (vii), then, received little support from this research, but this may be more a criticism of the study than of the proposition. There was evidence of significant value-conflicts between espoused articulated policy and practice, and perhaps this needs to be reflected in a reframing of the proposition.

Propositions (viii) and (ix): values influence the perception of a given situation as a "problem" situation needing policy articulation for its resolution; and,

the value-dependency of problem-identification makes it highly unlikely that a clear and unambiguous statement of consequent means to its resolution can be made which will carry universal acceptance: the means/ends relationship is likely to be inherently problematic.

These two propositions stand so intimately related that they are best taken together. They argue that the structural and processual pressures already postulated as sources of dissonance between policy and practice are underpinned by individuals' value-differences. The study found a lot of implicit and explicit references to individual values, and it was also possible to infer individual values from some of the statements made. However, the relationship between "problems" and policies was not discussed much. There

was more discussion of how far practice reflected the needs which were perceived as a result of a problem being identified.

Much of this discussion was at the level of individual problems, indicating once again the central importance to teachers of how far theirs was an autonomous role or one which was subject to monitoring and control. Probationers and young teachers on the whole sought more guidance than was usually available, while older and more experienced teachers emphasised the importance of autonomy, often questioning if such monitoring as some Heads of Department and senior staff carried out was legitimate. More teachers acknowledged the right of the Government to demand particular forms of work from their employees in 1989 than had done in 1987 - 8. There was considerable irritation at attempts by LEA advisers to direct their work: in spite of their legal responsibility to advise the authority and monitor the teachers, they were usually seen as advisers to the teaching staff, who denied them any policing authority.

The emphasis on autonomy or discretion was a major consideration underpinning how teachers considered their position relative to their school colleagues. Although local authority policies were largely denied, the need for school-based policies was accepted. Even at Sedbury, where these were not much in evidence, younger and more recent staff appointments concurred in looking for more direction and guidance from senior management. The area where this was wanted in all the schools was pupil discipline, and it was clearly expected that senior staff would themselves be strong disciplinarians who could provide support for less senior staff when things became difficult. At the same time, some staff who had established their own *modus vivendi* found it difficult to accept instructions from senior staff to tackle certain pupils in a more disciplinarian way than they had themselves become accustomed to employ. This conflict of values was revealed in the criticism of

St. Thomas More's Deputy Head (pastoral) reported in chapter 12 (pp. 216 - 7), as against a Great Witley teacher's refusal to be stricter with a difficult pupil with whom she had begun to develop a more positive relationship - he was even doing some of the homeworks she set him. In its extreme form, this emphasis on the senior staff being supportive rather than directive of teachers had caused Sedbury's senior management to allow the generation of a policy vacuum and pass the key decision-making role to the informal hierarchy of older-established middle ranking staff.

Such values do not appear to be simply "individual", but the result of processes of professional and organisational acculturation which created epistemological identities and teachers' adherence to a basic unit in the school, departmental or otherwise. However, other values do appear to be individually held, rather than being individual expressions of a collective value. Few teachers indicated any political feelings at all, and even those who did rarely indicated that they were active politically, nor that their views were especially strong. Individual religious values, where they were expressed, were more important.

Teachers who expressed a clear religious commitment saw it as influencing their obligation to the children, and, in the one maintained school where this was observed, difficult to sustain because of the broader values of the school in which they worked. Most Roman Catholics saw their faith as having no impact on their work at all, although a small number of them made it clear that their religious commitment was deeper than adhering to formal rituals. These staff argued that their beliefs gave meaning to their work, and so affected their attitude to the children and the culture of the school. These were the teachers who described St. Thomas More as the "carey-sharey" school.

Active members of Protestant congregations also saw their commitment as an important aspect of their teaching. By coincidence, the Protestant fundamentalists who saw themselves as having to witness most openly and actively to their belief both worked at Fotherby Wood, and clearly resented its maintained LEA status, which they saw as being non-Christian. Consequently, although they were influenced in their daily work and approach by their beliefs - one, Roberta Devonshire, indicated that she believed that prayer, and the inspiration it had given her in terms of both determination to continue and practical ideas on what to do in particular situations, was a major factor in her completing her probationary year successfully - both felt that they had to be careful to leave their beliefs outside the school gate.

This discussion of propositions (viii) and (ix) suggests that the problematic nature of the means-end relationship was not significantly addressed in this study. Individual religious conviction was clearly important in shaping a person's response to a disciplinary or pedagogical problem, and its emphasis from some teachers and not others suggests that the means-end relationship is ultimately value-based rather than rational. However, very little of this discussion has concerned the relation between institutional or individual values and the formal policy or directive, and what has just been discussed may belong properly to the area of proposition (x) below. The nearest we have come to the relationship between institutional or individual values and the formal policy or directive was the pupil discipline issues at Great Witley and St. Thomas More Schools discussed in chapter 12 (pp. 214 - 7), and there it appeared that the problems arose not in the articulation of the directive, nor in its implementation, but in its acceptance. Teachers who followed the system at Great Witley did so because they felt unsafe not doing so. Teachers resisted the new definition of responsibilities and obligations between senior

staff and others at St. Thomas More because it was at odds with what they personally believed, but had no choice but to accept it because no disciplinary support was forthcoming from its traditional sources. The failure of both systems to meet the needs and individual values of the staff led teachers to develop informal support systems. This suggests that the argument that the means-end relationship is problematic because the definition of the problem is value-based is more important at the individual than at the institutional level. It is when they perceive a problem differently from the way the directive-writers perceive it that the relationship between problem, intended solution and action becomes problematic. This is the subject matter of proposition (x).

Proposition (x): the complex of pressures acting upon a given actor in any service setting will contain inherent contradictions which can only be resolved by an active process of reconstruction by that actor so as to create an "action space" in which to function, thereby creating a further source of potential conflict between the intentions of the framers of the policy-directive and the actors in the system.

Much of the preceding discussion is relevant here and will not be repeated. In many respects this proposition summarises the arguments of the previous nine, emphasising that the point of action is individual teachers, who must balance the pressures from authority, school and department with individually perceived needs of the children if they are to meet the obligations the various pressures create. These may or may not conflict. This chapter has shown that the study revealed considerable evidence of conflicts between all these levels in the expectations they laid upon teachers and the ways in which teachers sought to ensure that those expectations were fulfilled - if they did. The importance of trust and autonomy throughout the study

gives further meaning to the argument in this proposition for an "action space" in which teachers construct a frame of reference in which they can work without too much contradiction.

Teachers sought discretion over many different areas of their work, but there was no overall agreement about where that discretion should be given, or to whom. Epistemological stances affected the attitude to discretion: Humanities and Literature teachers claimed more discretion than scientists and CDT teachers over what should be taught, when and how. There was considerable agreement that only specialists should receive such discretion, and even senior staff from humanities and literary backgrounds, who argued for teachers needing discretion in those areas, looked to Heads of Department and other subject colleagues for advice if they were teaching areas in which they were not specialists. Most Heads of Departments sought discretion over syllabus content and resources, and much of the discussion around this centred on their response to national pressures: GCSE and National Curriculum. LEA pressures were not usually seen as significant. There was considerable disagreement about how far teachers should be constrained by procedures for maintaining pupil discipline, and we discussed at length the ways in which teachers felt able to "trim" their adherence to the policy laid down. In all these ways, teachers were creating a workable compromise between their own intentions and requirements - those goals and purposes which were entering the system through their own feelings and ideas, in the language of proposition (iii) - and pressures they were experiencing which contradicted their personal intentions and requirements, which were originating elsewhere inside or outside the system.

But seeking to create "action space" need not mean attempting to increase personal freedom to operate. There were cases where it meant finding a way of satisfying the demands of the Head of Department even though the teacher

in question disagreed with that Head of Department's philosophy. For example, Sedbury's Deputy Head, Geraldine Adley, had to cope with a number of pressures: she was expected to teach a syllabus she did not like, by a Head of Department whose philosophy she did not accept; that philosophy was nonetheless coherent and well thought through; she believed in the importance of the role of the Head of Department, whose job it was to lay down such philosophies and ensure that they were adhered to; and senior management in the school, of which she was a part, deferred to middle ranking staff over many matters which their colleagues in other schools might have thought properly to be in their area of decision. Faced with the micropolitical consequences of apparently defying a Head of Department, Geraldine Adley created space for herself to work in the classroom and maintain satisfactory relations with both her Head of Department and other middle ranking colleagues by doing most of what was required.

Comment

Proposition (x) draws together the themes of the previous propositions to stress the active personal process of reconstruction. As a set, the propositions attempted to move our conceptualisation of policy implementation beyond a concentration on systems and structures, important though they are, to emphasise the processes and actions involved, individuals' perceptions which guide their actions, and the value-bases of those perceptions. Although this discussion has found weaknesses in their framing, and significant points of overlap, the overall conceptual stance seems to have been supported by the data gathered. This stance argues for a view of the policy-action relationship which sees it as a process of adjustment, negotiation and adaptation, in settings where other pressures compete with policy directives for legitimacy and influence, in which conflict is a normal aspect of life rather than a

pathological state, and where personal and social values are strong and often contradictory influences so that individuals have to create room in which to operate so as to cope with the conflicting pattern of pressures. It is a stance which finds Weick's (1976) concept of loosely-coupled systems very powerful, and which locates the variations in practice and response to pressures, which loose coupling allows for from a structural perspective, in the competing pattern of values at work and the unique response of each sub-unit to those competing values. In the case of secondary schools, it is suggested that the fundamental values which create those unique responses are, in the sense of the term used in this study, epistemological.

By demonstrating the range of competing influences in schools, the multiplicity of levels at which they work, their multiple sources and the many routes of entry they employ, the data support the conceptual rejection of rational models of policy implementation which underpins the ten propositions tested in the study. They also demonstrate the strengths and weaknesses of the "conceptual map" created at the start of chapter 4 to assist in framing the field research. Its strengths lay in its emphasis on the active reconstruction of policies by actors, the importance of seeking to influence others in the organisation and the wider system, the significance of one's location in the system, the according of legitimacy to actual and potential influences on policy and practice, particularly those external to the educational system, and the centrality of individual values to these processes. Its major weakness is its over-rationalised and hierarchical view of the relationship between policy and practice within which the essentially value-based processes just indicated take place. It assumes a rational downward flow of policy goals and directives, which are mediated by individual values and circumstances, and influenced through formal and informal feedback. This is reasonable when policies are both promulgated and acknowledged.

However, it was frequently the case that no policies existed, or that they existed only at high levels of generality which had not been transformed into formal directives, or, indeed, that teachers either did not know of the existence of policies or even denied their legitimacy if they were known. What was deemed "reconstruction" in the conceptual map was often in fact a process of active creation of guiding principles for the development of individual practice.

This raises another doubtful element of the discussion of the "map" at the start of chapter 4, which separated the two-way process of negotiating purpose and practice into the formal, depersonalised passing of instructions and the essentially personalised attempt to influence those instructions. Reconstruction clearly involved individuals investing a considerable amount of themselves in the directives they produced or the actions they carried out. The attitudes of the reforming Head of Home Economics at Sarah Lawley School and the Head of Design and Technology at Great Witley demonstrated this, suggesting that formal, depersonalised instructions are only the minimum element in the communication of policy intentions or requirements even within hierarchical and rational systems. What we have called trust is also crucial, as we shall emphasise below.

Without necessarily embracing the micropolitical analysis of Ball (1987), with its emphasis on power-relations, ideology and control - although he might seek to argue that the individual's attempt to create an action space is only another dimension of power-relations, as the individual seeks emancipation from control - the data support the view that teachers' approach to their work rests on creating concord between the integrative, regulatory-directive, and motivational values postulated by Gross (1985). They also demonstrate the dysfunctional nature of the key integrative professional values identified from the literature reviewed in chapter 3, and found to be strong in the

schools studied. These key values, of isolation and the private nature of professional knowledge, were resisted by teachers through their search for secure basic units in which confiding and supportive relationships could be established, even as their stress on personal classroom experience as the basis for professional knowledge reinforced them. The different patterns and degrees of resistance to these key values were shaped by a non-integrative epistemological dispute, deriving from academic backgrounds rather than professional acculturation, which produced varying patterns of relationships within the basic units created.

This point leads us to consider some important aspects of the policy-implementation process in these particular settings which are either not covered adequately by the propositions or operate as underlying variables influencing the development of the stance which the propositions express. In our final chapter, therefore, we summarise briefly what we see as the main findings of the study and discuss these underlying considerations, which seem to us now to be more important than validating the propositions.

Chapter 14: Summary and Conclusions.

Introduction

This study sought to establish a view of the policy-action relationship in order, initially, to examine the influence of LEAs' curriculum policies on teachers in their schools. It studied six schools in two authorities, matching as far as possible the schools across the authorities and the teachers interviewed within each school. On the basis of the ten propositions and the conceptual map formulated from the literature, it was deemed necessary to examine more than just the impact of formal authority policies: the impact of other influences, both formal and informal, from the wider national scene, the wider local environment, and teachers' professional backgrounds needed to be studied, as well as exploring in some detail the factors internal to the schools themselves which influenced what teachers did. We have considered the empirical data from the six schools in relation to the ten propositions which guided our research design, and have found that there are other issues not covered adequately by the propositions which need some attention. As a basis for such discussion, we now summarise briefly the findings of the empirical work, before considering those additional issues.

Summary of Key Findings

1. LEA influence on teacher practice was marginal. Most teachers either did not know if LEA policies existed or ignored them. Advisers were seen as pursuing personal rather than official approaches to teaching and curriculum organisation, and were seen as unimportant except for approving probationary teachers. Their professional status was low as they were not classroom practitioners (chapter 6).
2. Parents and governors were seen as marginal influences, although parents were becoming more important. In particular, their ability to choose their children's schools and their access to examination results contributed to the high importance attached to GCSE as an influence (chapter 7).
3. National influences were much stronger than formal local influences. GCSE was seen to have policing power, which was reinforced by teachers' own perception that exams were important because they were the basis of teachers' own demonstration of subject competence. Teachers were increasingly acknowledging that the Government had a right to dictate content (chapter 8).
4. Personal values emphasised teaching experience against teacher training, and placed a premium on advice gained from other practitioners rather than advisers or other "refugees from the classroom". Academic ability was shown by possession of a degree (chapter 9).
5. Teachers attached great importance to belonging to a basic unit, and the preferred unit was a subject department. The key variable which influenced the importance of the department and the character of its

influence appeared to be how far its members shared a common concept of the subject and the impact that had on their obligations to each other. The degree of autonomy and discretion, and the extent and type of collegiality of a department, was influenced by the epistemology to which the department subscribed, and the extent to which teachers saw themselves as "specialists" or "experts" (chapters 10 and 11).

6. Within the wider school framework, teachers looked to senior staff for support in clearly defined areas such as pupil discipline, but such support had to match the broad expectations of the school staff. If it did not, informal hierarchies were created, and these could undermine and even depose senior management as an influence on school practice and value-setting (chapter 12).

Conclusions

Three key considerations arise from these findings: the importance of policing powers to external agencies and authorities if they are to be able to ensure an impact on practice within a unit or sub-unit; the interrelated influence on individual teachers of school structures and departmental epistemology; and the importance of trust in the functioning of organisations, particularly loosely-coupled systems such as schools. These are crucially important in shaping teachers' perceptions of who and what has the right to influence their work.

The significance of policing power

Teachers obeyed external demands if they felt that they had little choice. Public examinations were seen to have the power to compel teachers to conform, but local authorities, for the most part, were not. Teachers could not

ignore the demands of public examinations: to do so was to handicap their pupils, since public examination results were the basis on which children's abilities were judged by the outside world. Thus the policing power in the case of public examinations rested partly in examination boards' ability to fail pupils, and partly in parents' power to protest if the school failed to provide satisfactory exam-related tuition for their children. However, we also suggested that the examination boards' policing power was strengthened by the authority which they gained from being the major source of legitimation of the teachers' own position. As successful products of the public examination and higher education systems, it was in teachers' interests to acknowledge the validity of examination success as a criterion of pupil achievement. Further, teachers emphasised their subject loyalties. If teachers are helping children to learn a subject they are themselves competent in, and the agreed basis of judgment of a child's knowledge in a subject is ultimately performance in a public examination the teachers themselves took, then their competence as both teachers and subject specialists is ultimately judged by the quality of the examination results their classes obtain. Personal position and values, then, strengthened if they did not create the policing power of the GCSE Boards.

The situation concerning the National Curriculum was more complex. The fieldwork was undertaken between the publication of the first DES paper proposing a National Curriculum (DES 1987) and the July prior to the introduction of Key Stage Three in Maths, Science and English. Over that time a majority opposed to the central definition of curriculum content became a majority acknowledging the Government's right to lay down curriculum content providing questions of method were retained as a professional judgment. It was recognised that testing was likely to ensure that teachers followed the curriculum, and some staff expected test results to be made

available to parents. Once again, then, a central policing element was parents' ability to act against the teacher or the school which was disadvantaging their children by obtaining poorer test scores than other schools.

Policing power, then, should not just be seen as some kind of authority within the system to require conformity. It can also work through the knowledge that others who had indirect sanctions to apply would use them if results were unsatisfactory. In teaching, direct sanctions were not broadly available, but value-based sanctions were, resting on sustaining the legitimacy of teachers' own qualifications, the professionally-generated and reinforced need to demonstrate academic competence through the success of one's pupils, and the sanction of poor local reputation which would ultimately threaten their jobs by threatening the school they taught in.

School structures and departmental epistemology

As was stated at the end of chapter 13, this study supports the view that educational organisations do not run as tightly controlled organisations but are best conceptualised as loose-coupled systems (Weick 1976). Departments operated in very different ways within the same school; indeed, although this should not be over-stated, there was some evidence that departments teaching the same subjects were more likely to operate similarly regardless of school than were different subject departments in the same school. The difference in style between the English and Science departments at Sarah Lawley School, or the Science and Maths departments at Great Witley, indicated clearly that individual departments had considerable *de facto* ability to order their internal affairs as they saw fit. Although the policy-making authority of the senior management team might be generally recognised, few teachers accepted that they were then bound by those policies except in very general terms. Thus, Albemarle Park had established a homework policy, but

it was clear, according to the Head of Science, that it was not observed. It was also, he said, his job to enforce it. Departments, then, were key means of enforcing policies, and this gave them considerable opportunities to develop their own means of carrying them through. Departmental autonomy was considerable: the role of senior management was problematic and the degree of tight control over individual departments limited.

The discussion of departmental epistemologies in chapter 11 demonstrated how far that opportunity for departmental variety was needed and exploited. Departments varied far more than the schools, from the strongly centralised through the coordinated to the *laissez faire*. A strong rhetoric of collegiality pervaded most departments, although a small number of Heads of Departments declared a more authoritarian stance. The form of collegiality, however, varied between a relatively straightforward pattern of leadership and followership, dependent on the degree of specialism possessed by the different characters relevant to the task and their formal positions within the department, and a more complex pattern of interaction which related to people's particular strengths and expertise but paid little attention to hierarchy.

The degree of collegiality within individual departments, and across the school as a whole in such fora as full staff meetings, was also influenced by how far teachers regarded themselves as autonomous individuals or as part of a collectivity. The collegiality of individuals sharing ideas as equals tended to rest on a view of the teacher as an autonomous operator in the classroom, whereas the collegiality of specialists tended to rest on a view of the teacher as a specialist who also had to operate as a generalist, and who therefore needed to accept and follow instructions in the areas where others' specialist knowledge was greater.

These two perspectives established fundamentally different views of the right to influence a teacher's practice. The teacher as an autonomous agent surrendered that autonomy to whatever degree he or she felt necessary in any particular situation. The Head of Department attempting to generate a less individualist approach to teaching in a department whose teachers thought along these lines had constantly to persuade them to yield their individual authority into the collectivity. By comparison, the collegium of specialists had already surrendered that individual autonomy by acknowledging that subjects were specialist areas and that specialists should dominate. This did not prevent disputes between specialists in the same area, of course, and these were observed.

Schools as institutions, and the staff who worked in them, struggled between a rhetoric of collegiality and a hierarchical structure. Teacher career expectations are influenced by the existence of such hierarchies (see Lyons 1981). How this struggle resolved itself varied between institutions. At one extreme, Sedbury saw a virtual abdication by senior management, but in favour of an alternative hierarchy rather than a true collegium. At the other extreme, Fotherby Wood was seen by most staff as an autocracy which allowed considerable individual autonomy: collegialism was a threat to both. Great Witley and St. Thomas More were witnessing attempts to create strong hierarchical structures, but many staff there felt that autocracy rather than hierarchy or bureaucracy was the goal. Only at Albemarle Park and Sarah Lawley was there a balanced tension between the demands of hierarchy, largely concerned with forms of accountability, and the rhetoric of collegialism. Both schools had strong senior management teams, which emphasised the importance of coordination and approval - innovations had to receive the approval of senior management, which would not be given until after the resource implications had been fully examined - while allowing

considerable flexibility to departments in their internal organisation and operation and recognising that they had sectional interests which they would seek to maximise.

The importance of trust

This was discussed with particular reference to St. Thomas More and Great Witley Schools, where its absence made it an issue. It needs some attention here, since it did not figure in the discussion of the propositions. The cases of Sarah Lawley and Albemarle Park, which have just been described as holding a balance between hierarchy and collegialism, show that it was important for trust to underpin such a balance. Senior management had to be trusted to be positive towards innovative ideas: otherwise, the response of Heads of Departments would be likely to be that of Charles Mitford at Great Witley, that there was no point in taking innovations forward since they would only be used for political purposes by the Headteacher. All the innovations in Geography teaching which had been under discussion at Great Witley when the Head arrived had apparently been put on ice, partly because of Government initiatives but also because they did not feel they would get any support and so saw no point in developing them. Conversely, departments had to be trusted not to work to destabilise the organisation and culture of the school as a whole, if they were to be given the freedom to operate and to fight their corner.

How far departmental colleagues felt able to trust each other was also crucial in shaping both the extent and the form of departmental collegialism and the strength of the department as the basic unit of the school. Staff who had worked together ever since the school was created, such as the Geography department at Albemarle Park, were likely to trust each other more than those working in departments which had seen rapid turnover of membership.

This was not a guarantee, however: there was a high degree of stability within the membership of the science department at Albemarle Park, but this had not produced such collegialism as was claimed for Geography. What seemed to have been important in this case was the very first move at the time of the school amalgamation, when the Geography teachers sorted out the new syllabus for the new school collectively and achieved a level of consensus. By comparison, the teachers appointed Heads of Subjects within the Science Department at the new school had unilaterally imposed their ideas for a syllabus and expected conformity, but had not sought to ensure it except through a minimalist testing scheme. Opportunities for autonomous teaching were considerable, and were exploited in an environment where the Heads of Department did not support teachers who were having disciplinary difficulties, arguing that individuals should sort these out for themselves.

Teachers need considerable discretion to cope with the demands of twenty or more children in a classroom at a time, and even the most tightly controlled lesson plan, such as was found in some science departments, must still allow the teacher to adapt what is being done if things go wrong, it is not understood, or the class is largely absent. Teachers have to be trusted to exercise their judgment, and the teacher, ideally, needs to trust the school to provide support where necessary. When the formal system is found wanting in providing such support, then teachers will find alternative sources of assistance.

Individual behaviour, then, rather than role or structure, determined the extent to which trust existed. Teachers usually created their own informal network of support for disciplinary and pedagogical problems. They often started with the formal system, but would only continue within it for as long as it delivered the help they felt they needed. When this was not forthcoming, the result was a breakdown in trust which could seriously damage the wider

functioning of the school, as at St. Thomas More, where the failure of the deputy head (pastoral) to provide support and assistance in major disciplinary or pastoral matters led to her being widely distrusted by her colleagues, and to that distrust being extended to much of the senior management.

A final return to values

We argued in chapter 13, particularly on pp. 257 - 261, that individual values shaped the way pressures were interpreted and prioritised, so that each teacher could make sense of the obligations involved in any set of actions and create the necessary space to complete the work. That is clear again in the way teachers sought satisfactory advice and assistance, turning to those whom they found provided it even if they were not those specified by the formal system of roles and responsibilities. What counts as satisfactory advice is the extent to which a teacher feels able to accept and act on the advice, and this is strongly influenced by what the teacher feels it is right and good to do: it is no use telling a teacher who believes that a child with behavioural problems should be counselled and supported that he should punish the child severely for classroom misbehaviour, or a teacher who sees breaches of school uniform regulations as insignificant that all such breaches should be punished with detentions. Such actions were encountered, and led only to teachers bending the rules, turning blind eyes to misconduct, and looking to other teachers for assistance in their refusal to follow instructions. There were clear networks of like-minded teachers at all the schools: some were politically linked through union activity or, sometimes, a left-wing connection (no right-wing teacher groups were discovered, unless the group of largely middle-aged women at Fotherby Wood, who made the lower school staffroom rather than their department their basic unit, was also a right-wing

group. It seemed more traditionalist than right-wing). There were also small groups who shared religious values. These networks provided important value-based sources of informal support and assistance alongside formal support networks, and this strengthens our argument at the end of chapter 13 that the integrative values of "teaching" were identified as dysfunctional.

Chapter 9 referred to teachers' background and training, and the importance they attached to experience. Experience is a key determinant of trust. How far the policing power of the examination boards was acknowledged and its requirements followed depended on the nature of teachers' backgrounds and training, both in general terms, as people who had succeeded within the academic system, and in particular cases, as specialists or experts whose own authority rested on demonstrating that those they taught were properly prepared for tests of their knowledge of the academic areas in which the teachers were themselves prepared. The values embedded in particular epistemological stances, and inculcated through personal training and education, as well as professional experience, influenced teachers' perception of who and what had the right to influence their decisions about what they would teach and how. These influences were then adapted through the creation of a value-based action space into the particular individual pattern of decision-making and action which made up the work of each individual teacher.

This dissertation began with the relatively narrow issue of the extent to which local education authorities affected curriculum policy and practice at the point of delivery. In order to evaluate this question it extended its focus to analyse forces internal to the schools which affect the curriculum and may limit the opportunity of the LEA to influence the education it funds. The most potent of these internal factors appeared to be, firstly, the relationship teachers established towards their departmental colleagues, and in particular

the way in which their perception of their needs and obligations as teachers of particular subjects affected the opportunity of departments as management units to influence their work and require conformity to external requirements; secondly, the quality and character of relations between teachers and their senior staffs, and the extent to which informal networks of power and influence operated as counter-influences to those of the formal hierarchies; and thirdly, the personal values which teachers brought to their work, in particular the emphasis on classroom experience as the only satisfactory basis on which advice or assistance can be offered, which cried up the importance of the teacher as expert and emphasised the need for teachers ultimately to be autonomous in deciding how best to handle situations in their classes.

Although the emphasis in this study has been largely on personal and within-school factors, this is not to dismiss the importance of exogenous factors. The changing circumstances of the period of the fieldwork suggested a changing authority being afforded to central government, and it would be interesting to see if a study undertaken in these authorities when the provisions of the Education Reform Act (1988) have been fully implemented produced similar findings. What is interesting is the support which these findings give to the arguments of writers such as Lieberman and Miller (1984), and others discussed with them in particular in chapters 3 and 9, that the work of teachers by its very nature demands a flexibility and autonomy which must undermine any attempt by an agency outside the school, and even outside the classroom, to prescribe in detail what happens inside it.

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**APPENDIX ONE: QUESTIONNAIRE CIRCULATED TO TEACHERS
PRIOR TO INTERVIEW.**

**PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE:
Research On Influences On Teacher Practice.**

So as to save your time in our discussion, I wonder if you would be prepared to answer these questions and let me have the form back when we meet? I assure you that this, as well as the interview, will remain confidential: it is purely for purposes of analysis. Your name will be replaced by the pseudonym in my records.

Thank you very much.

1. Name

2. Please complete the following table with details of your academic qualifications above GCE 'A' Level:

title of degree(s)/ diploma(s)/ certificate(s);	institution where you studied for it/them;	whether full time or part time	whether obtained before you started teaching, during a break from teaching (other employment, motherhood, etc) or during your teaching career
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3. Have you had other careers prior to, or during a break from, teaching?
If so, could you state briefly what they were?
4. What is your position in the school?
5. How long have you held this position?
6. Do you have a job description? If so, please could you attach a copy of it to this questionnaire?
7. How many schools or colleges have you taught in (excluding teaching practice)?
8. How long have you been teaching in this school?

13. It would be helpful if we could have some specific events which have occurred recently in your lesson planning or teaching. Could I ask you to write three short paragraphs in the following spaces, each outlining a recent event which fits the description at the head of the space?
- a) a situation in which you were faced with a decision, but were able to deal with it on your own, without feeling the need either to seek advice, guidance or direction from someone, or to report the problem to anyone.

b) a situation in which you were faced with a decision which you could deal with on your own, without feeling the need to seek advice, guidance or direction from someone, but felt you ought to report the problem or incident to someone.

c) a situation in which you were faced with a decision which you felt you could only deal with after having checked with someone else or sought advice, guidance or direction as to what you should do.

Thank you very much: I look forward to our discussion.

Nigel Bennett.

**APPENDIX TWO: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED WITH
TEACHERS OTHER THAN HEADTEACHERS.**

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE:
Research into Influences on Teacher Practice.**

Make the interview as much as possible a chance for the respondent to talk freely: the questions should be prompts rather than questions.

Section A.

I'd like to begin by talking about the content of your work, what you do and what it involves.

A.1. Tell me first of all what your job entails.

(A.1a. What teaching do you do?)

A.2. In doing your work, what decisions do you find yourself having to make?

Prompts:	content:	sequence, mastery, methods what to teach, how to teach it, when to move on to a new topic, whether to set homework
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priorities: prepare lessons or administer;
teach/administer or deal with
problem pupil; new lessons or
repeats

administration: resources, procedures, which task to
undertake.

A.3. Which decisions are:

- the most frequent?
- the most important?
- the easiest?
- the hardest?

(A.3a. What makes these the most important/easiest/hardest?)

Section B

Can we now think about the way you make up your mind about what to do when you have a decision to take?

B.1 When you are making up your mind about what to do, are there any sources of advice or guidance you habitually turn to?

- Prompts:
- a) steer them through the various types of decision they've identified;

 - b) suggest particular books/writers, colleagues, friends (inside or outside schools), family, formal requirements; tradition or experience;

Follow up with: Why these, on these occasions?

B.2 Has it ever happened that you have sought advice or guidance on how to act in a particular situation and the advice you have received has been at variance with what you felt you ought to do?

If so, how did you cope with the situation?

(B.2a If this were to happen, how do you think you would act? {Accept their advice or follow your own feelings?})

B.3 You don't always seek advice on what to do when faced with a decision. What do you think inclines you to act in a particular way when making the decisions you have talked about earlier?

Prompts: past experience; training;
 religious/political beliefs; a sense
 among your colleagues on the staff of
 "this is the way we do things here".

Follow up with: How do these influences make themselves felt?

B.4 Are there any colleagues or formal requirements which on occasions you are supposed to look to for advice or guidance, but which, in practice, you prefer not to turn to?

If so, why?

B.5 Have you ever found yourself at odds with particular requirements or instructions you are expected to follow?

If so, what action did you take?

Prompt: avoidance/disobedience; seek to change it - if so, how?

B.6 Do you feel limited in what you can do in the situation we're talking about. Why (not)?

B.7 Do you feel limited in any way as to the sort of advice you can seek, or the sort of information you can give to people when seeking advice?

If so, How, and why?

B.8 If you are seeking help, as opposed to advice, from a colleague - for example a head of Department, or a pastoral head - do you feel constrained in any way about the information you can give to them?

If so, How and why?

B.9 Are there any areas of your work in which you would like to see clearer guidance or more formal direction given? What would you like it to contain?

B.10 Do you talk about your work outside of school? How much influence do the people you talk to have on the way you do your work?

B.11 What do you think has the greatest influence on the way you act in the classroom - what makes your teaching like it is?

(When you get, "the kids", point out that other teachers deal with the same kids, but not necessarily in the same way!!)

APPENDIX THREE. INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: HEADTEACHERS.

Preamble

Thank you for agreeing to let me interview you. I am studying the impact of LEA curriculum policies on teacher practice, and the extent to which the spelling out of such policies leads to changes in that practice. A key factor in bringing in such policies, according to the literature on school effectiveness is the role of the Head, and I would like to explore that with you. I interviewed staff from your school in (Winter/Spring 1987/8//Spring/Summer 1989), so I'd be grateful if you can look back to the situation at that time, so far as you can.

Can I emphasise again that this interview is confidential, the authority and all participants are being pseudonymised, that you and I are the only ones who will see the report of the interview, and that your additions and amendments to that report will be incorporated into it before any analysis is undertaken.

I'll begin with three background questions, then ask you about your work, and then raise some more specific questions.

Background

1. How long have you been Head at this school?
2. Is it your first Headship? If not, how many Headships have you held, and how long have you been a Head altogether?
3. Have you had any career within education, but outside teaching - as an adviser, education officer, or HMI? Have you had any career outside education altogether?

General Questions about Headship [AIM: to find out what the person's view of Headship is, and the extent to which it is being pragmatically tailored.]

4. What would you identify as the key tasks/areas of work involved in being a Head?
5. In a normal/typical week, how long would you expect to spend on each of these [rehearse them back to interviewee]
6. Do you have a senior management team at this school? If YES, please can you tell me how many people are involved in it, what their posts are in the school, how often it meets, and what its responsibilities are.

[Be prepared to get interviewee to distinguish between the work of individual postholders in the senior management team and the work of the team.]

Specific Questions [AIM: to find out how the Head sees the school as functioning, and the extent to which that view chimes with his/her view of Headship.]

7. What duties do you personally carry out in relation to the curriculum of the school? Do you carry these out because you believe they ought to be done by the Head, or is it because you are best equipped among your senior staff to do them? IF THE LATTER, are there any curricular duties which you believe the Head ought to carry out in his/her capacity as Head? IF YES, What are they, and why are they specifically a Head's responsibilities?

8. How are resources allocated in the school? [Prompt if necessary by referring to capitation; staffing replacements/redeployments; access to private funds; fundraising ventures.]

9. What procedure is gone through if a department, or a Head of department, in your school decides to make a major alteration to its syllabus or its teaching approaches? [ensure that the Head talks about the school procedures, not those within departments, unless (s)he insists on a procedure being followed by a department prior to coming forward with a proposal.] IF the Head claims to insist on a department going through a procedure: How do you ensure that procedure is followed? What do you do if you have reason to believe it has not been followed?

10. Is it possible for a department in your school to adapt/amend its syllabus or teaching approaches without reference to you? If YES, could you give me some examples of what sorts of changes can be brought in by a department without reference to you, and what you would require to be referred to you? If NO, is there any scale of change which the department might decide on which you would NOT require to be referred to you for approval? [*This is hoping to get them to give examples of the degree of independence and discretion allowed to HoDs: it has a bearing on the sort of control mechanisms they have/might have, which relates to the degree of freedom to bend a LEA directive which might exist at school/department/classroom level*]

11. Has it ever happened here in your time as Head that changes within departmental practice have been sought and not approved? If YES, could you give me some examples, and say why they did not get approved? [If the answer is essentially resource-related, ask if approval has ever been sought and withheld from a change which did not have any resource implications]

12. Has it ever happened in your experience as Headteacher here that you have come across syllabuses or teaching approaches within a department of which you have disapproved, not because of the competence of the teacher but for some other reason? If YES, what did you do?

13. What procedures existed in (1987/8//1989) for monitoring the syllabuses and teaching approaches employed in the school?

14. Since you have been a Head, [if they're not in their first Headship, add: either here or in your previous Headships] have teachers ever sought your advice, guidance, or direction concerning teaching methods or matters of syllabus or academic content? If YES, could you give examples, and say how you reacted?

15. What do you see as the proper sources of advice, guidance and direction for a teacher concerning teaching approaches and syllabus/academic content?

The questions I've asked you so far have been about your relations with your staff. I'd like now to ask you a number of questions about your contact with people in the education system outside the school, and the contacts of your staff with such people and organisations.

16a. In 1987/8//1989, how much contact did you have with LEA advisers? How much of this contact is related to the content school curriculum and teaching approaches? Could you give examples of curriculum-related contacts? Has the nature of this contact changed since I was interviewing your staff? If so, how?

16b. In 1987/8//1989, how much contact did you have with LEA officers? How much of this contact was related to the content school curriculum and teaching approaches? Could you give examples of curriculum-related contacts? Has the nature of this contact changed since I was interviewing your staff? If so, how?

16c. In 1987/8//1989, how much contact did you have with your Chair of Governors? How much of this contact was related to the content school curriculum and teaching approaches? Could you give examples of curriculum-related contacts? Has the nature of this contact changed since I was interviewing your staff? If so, how?

16d. In 1987/8//1989, how much contact did you have with individual governors? How much of this contact was related to the content school curriculum and teaching approaches? Could you give examples of curriculum-related contacts? Has the nature of this contact changed since I was interviewing your staff? If so, how?.

16e. In 1987/8//1989, how much contact did you have formally with your Governing Body? How much of this contact was related to the content school curriculum and teaching approaches? Could you give examples of curriculum-related contacts? Has the nature of this contact changed since I was interviewing your staff? If so, how?

17a. How much contact do LEA advisers have with individual departments and teachers? How much of this contact is related to the content of the departmental syllabuses and teaching approaches used? To what extent do you facilitate or encourage this? Or try to control this contact and filter it? Could you give examples of how you encourage/filter such contact?

17b. How much contact do LEA officers have with individual departments and teachers? How much of this contact is related to the content of the departmental syllabuses and teaching approaches used? To what extent do you facilitate or encourage this? Or try to control this contact and filter it? Could you give examples of how you encourage/filter such contact?

17c. How much contact does the Chair of Governors have with individual departments and teachers? How much of this contact is related to the content

of the departmental syllabuses and teaching approaches used? To what extent do you facilitate or encourage this? Or try to control this contact and filter it? Could you give examples of how you encourage/filter such contact?

17d. How much contact do individual Governors have with individual departments and teachers? How much of this contact is related to the content of the departmental syllabuses and teaching approaches used? To what extent do you facilitate or encourage this? Or try to control this contact and filter it? Could you give examples of how you encourage/filter such contact?

17e. How much contact does the formal Governing Body have with individual departments and teachers? How much of this contact is related to the content of the departmental syllabuses and teaching approaches used? To what extent do you facilitate or encourage this? Or try to control this contact and filter it? Could you give examples of how you encourage/filter such contact?

18. How much influence should these different people and bodies have on the curriculum and teaching of the school? [Try to get the Head to offer personal views rather than just what the law requires.] How much do they have? could you give examples of the influence they have?

19. How much influence should parents have on the curriculum and teaching methods of the school? [Again, go for personal views if possible!] How much do they have? Can you give any examples of this influence, and how you handle it/expect it to be handled?

20. Is there a LEA curriculum policy? What does it contain? At the time of my interviewing members of your staff here, how much notice were you taking of it? What influence was it supposed to have on the detail of syllabuses and teaching? Was it monitored by the authority - if so, how? What did you do at that time to monitor its observation in your school?

21. Are there any other LEA policies which you see as having a major impact on the curriculum of your school, and particularly on the syllabus content or teaching methods employed? If YES, ask for detail.

22. The issue of accountability in education has been important for the whole of the last decade. I've been asking you a lot of questions about the amount of control you wish to exercise over the work of the staff in your school, and the amount of control you actually are able to exercise. Can I finish, then, by asking you who you see yourself as accountable to for the work of the school, and how you are able to render that accountability?

23. How do you ensure that you are accountable for what really happens in your school?

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: CHIEF INSPECTORS.

Preamble

Thank you for agreeing to my request for an interview. I am studying the impact of LEA curriculum policies on teacher practice, and the extent to which the articulation of such policies leads to changes in that practice. I interviewed teachers in three schools in this authority in winter 1987-8//spring/summer 1989. I am hoping now to ask you about the way the advisory service in your authority was trying to shape teaching and learning in the borough at the time of those interviews. Can I emphasise again that this interview is confidential, the authority and all participants are being pseudonymised, that you and I are the only ones who will see the report of the interview, and that your additions and amendments to that report will be incorporated into it before any analysis is undertaken. Thank you, too, for letting me tape record our interview.

I begin with one or two background questions about your experience in the education service and beyond, and then move from fairly general questions about the nature of the adviser's work to specific questions.

Background

1a. Can I check your title? You are ... ?

1. How long have you been Chief Adviser/Inspector? Were you an LEA Adviser/Inspector before taking up this post? If so, how long have you been in the LEA advisory/inspectoral service, and in how many authorities?

2. Before you became an LEA adviser/inspector, had you been a Head? If YES, of how many schools, and for how long? if NO, how long did you teach, and in how many and what kind of schools (ie, primary, secondary, grammar or comprehensive, or special, etc.), and how high did you get up the hierarchy?

3. Have you had any kind of career outside education? Or in areas of education other than teaching and the LEA advisory service?

General Questions

6. What did you see as the key tasks of an LEA adviser/inspector in the period 1987 - 9?

7. In a normal/typical week in that period, how long would you have expected an adviser/inspector to spend on each?

8. How would you have distinguished between the roles adopted by an LEA adviser/inspector towards Heads, senior management, Heads of department, and classroom teachers? Can you give concrete examples of the circumstances

in which an LEA adviser/inspector would be in contact with each kind of teacher, and the sorts of tasks which would be involved?

9. What role was adopted by an LEA adviser/inspector towards governing bodies? Towards parents? Can you give an example of each in practice?

Specific Questions

10. What did you regard as proper and legitimate areas of activity for an LEA adviser/inspector to offer advice in to: a Head; a senior manager in school; a Head of Department; a classroom teacher. Please give examples.

11. Do these proper areas vary between types of adviser? Please give examples.

12. What should be major sources of advice, guidance and direction for teachers about the academic content and teaching approaches of their lessons?

13. Would routine sources of advice for teachers be any different from these?

14. What can an LEA adviser/inspector do to ensure that these sources of advice, guidance and direction are both available and used?

15. [Only if any of these were not mentioned in answer to qq. 10 - 11: then ask about the omissions only, confirming the others]Should an LEA adviser/inspector advise at either Head of Department or subject teacher level on syllabus content? On method? On resourcing? On departmental management?

16. How should an LEA adviser/inspector go about giving advice, guidance and direction to a Head of Department? A classroom teacher? Is this how it is done in practice? Please give examples of how it is done for each.

17. What happened in the period 1987 - 9 when an adviser disagreed with a Head of Department about appropriate content and/or method? Please give examples of this happening.

18. How much influence could an adviser/inspector exert over syllabus content and teaching approaches in the period we're talking about?

19. Are there any ways in which an LEA adviser/inspector can offer advice, guidance and direction to a teacher or Head of Department which you do not regard as a proper or legitimate use of their office? If YES, what are they? What would you do if you found they were being employed by an adviser in your authority? Has this ever happened?

20. Were there in the period 1987-9 any policies in your LEA on monitoring, evaluating or appraising teachers? If YES, did the advisory service have any role in any of these activities? If NO, did the advisory service carry out any

monitoring, evaluation or appraisal of teachers? If so, how was it done? Was it at that time an acknowledged function of the advisory system?

21. Was there in 1987-9 a formal local authority policy on the curriculum? If YES, what was its form? What was its intended impact on classroom teaching? Did advisers have to bear it in mind in their work - if so, how? If NO, what was done to fulfil the LEA's obligations under circulars 6/81 and 8/83? Were there any policies which the advisers had to bear in mind when undertaking their work with teachers?

22. Apart from formal curriculum policy statements, were there at that time any other policies which the authority had established which were intended to have an influence on curriculum provision and practice? How did these influence the work of the advisory team?

23. Apart from formal curriculum policy statements, were there at that time any other policies which the authority had established which, though not specifically intended to have an influence on curriculum provision and practice, nevertheless did have that effect? How did these influence the work of the advisory team?

24. What was done to monitor the advisory team in its work?

25. Who is the advisory team formally advising: the authority, the schools, or the teachers? [If only one is mentioned as the formal duty of the advisory team, ask] Do you find any tension between delivering your formal advice and advising and assisting the others whom you advise? [If they say that they formally advise two or three of these groups/bodies] Do you find any tension between these different advisory roles? Could you give examples of when this tension shows itself, and how you resolve it?

APPENDIX 5: Coding: The Initial Framework

There are three main categories: structural/organisational; professional; and social. Each subdivides. There are also a number of key dimensions which need to be addressed within each subdivision of each category: values; needs; obligations; accountability; broad/long-term goals; specific/short-term goals; and means. This produces the following ninety-one categories. Miles and Huberman (1984) regard such a coding framework as manageable: it is helped, in this case, by the ease with which it can be reduced to a 13 x 7 matrix for purposes of recall.

The Coding Frame. KEY DIMENSIONS

Categories	Values	Needs	Obligations	Account- ability	Broad Goals	Limited Goals	Means.
Structural /Organisational							
National							
Local							
School							
Department							
Professional							
Training							
Experience							
Orgal.Culture							
Union							
Social							
Pressure-group							
Family							
Politics							
Religion							
Media							

The full coding frame is as follows:

STRUCTURAL/ORGANISATIONAL	
ST: NATIONAL: VALUES	ST:N:VAL
ST: NATIONAL: NEEDS	ST:N:NEEDS
ST: NATIONAL: OBLIGATIONS	ST:N:OBLIG
ST: NATIONAL: ACCOUNTABILITY	ST:N:ACC
ST: NATIONAL: BROAD GOALS	ST:N:GOALS/B
ST: NATIONAL: LIMITED GOALS	ST:N:GOALS/L
ST: NATIONAL: MEANS	ST:N:MEANS
ST:LOCAL: VALUES	ST:L:VAL
(this then repeats as for National)	
ST:SCHOOL: VALUES	ST:SCH:VAL
(et. sim.)	

ST: DEPARTMENTAL
(et. sim.)

ST:DEPT:VAL

PROFESSIONAL
(codes for dimensions as before)
P: TRAINING
P: CAREER
P: ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE
P: UNION INFLUENCE

P:TRNG
P:EXPCE
P:SOCIAL
P:UNION

SOCIAL
SO: PRESSURE-GROUPS (itemise)
SO: FAMILY
SO: POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS
SO: RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS
SO: MEDIA

SO:PG
SO:FAM
SO:POL
SO:RELIG
SO:MED

APPENDIX SIX: THE REVISED CODING FRAME.

The frame was prepared on the basis of an analysis of the first three schools for which full case study reports were prepared, and amended further in the light of the fourth school. Additions resulting from the fourth case study school are marked with an asterisk (*). An attempt was also made to gauge the basis upon which the influence was acknowledged, its strength, and whether it was an enforceable influence. In addition, an attempt was made to link each item coded to one of the ten propositions, to see to what extent they had explanatory potential.

Replacement codes for Analysis.

1. Perceived influences.

A/Pol	Local authority policy.
A/AI	Local authority advisers or inspectors.
A/AT	Local authority advisory teachers.
A/Off*	Local authority officers
L/Gv	Local influence: Governors.
L/Pt	Local influence: Parents.
L/Sb	Local influence: Subject Association.
L/Un	Local influence: Teacher union.
N/Cs	National Curriculum Statements.
N/Dpt*	DES Circulars.
N/Ex	National Examination Board statements or syllabuses.
S/Hd	School: the Head.
S/Sm	School: the senior management.
S/HoD	School: the Head of Department.
S/Dpt	School: Departmental colleagues, policies or syllabuses
S/Col	School: other colleagues.
S/Pr	School: procedures.
S/Pos*	School: one's personal status or office
S/Phys	School: one's physical teaching circumstances
S/Pol	School: formal school policy statements.
Sub	Subject background
Pers Exp	Personal experience outside education not categorisable elsewhere
Prof Val*	Espoused professional values.
T/Trg	Teacher Training
Pol Val	Political Values and Beliefs
Rel Val	Religious Values and Beliefs.

2. Basis of recognising/allowing the influence.

Leg.	Legal authority, including that derived from "position".
Exp/k	Expertise: "knows what the job is like"
Exp/s	Expertise: knows the subject.
Exp/t	Expertise: a good classroom teacher.

Epist	Epistemology/culture of teaching in tune with, or at variance from, one's own.
Res	Resources.

3. Extent of Influence.

S	Strong
M	Medium
W	Weak.

4. Direct or Indirect influence.

Dir.	Direct: can enforce/require conformity.
Ind.	Indirect: cannot enforce/require conformity.

5. Proposition-related.

Flow-Neg.	Information flow and purpose-negotiation
Frwk	Network of intentions within which policy located.
Mult Int.	Multiple intentions, multiple entry points to system.
Inf. dist	Information distortion from professional or situational demands
Seg/conf	Segmented community, therefore conflict normal.
Sit	Situation influences perception of what needed/obligation.
Contra	Complex pressures and inconsistent values create contradictions.
Val-Prob	Values influence perception of a problem needing action ...
Means-End	So means-end relationship problematic.
A/Sp	Contradictions coped with by action space for actor, therefore extra potential conflict.