PARTICIPATION, AUTONOMY, INVOLVEMENT

THEORY INTO PRACTICE

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I certify that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other higher degree or graduate diploma in any tertiary institution and that, to the best of the candidate's knowledge and belief, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except when due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

ABSTRACT

The researcher proposes that Education can base its program for administration development on a critical sociology of educational administration, aimed at restructuring educational institutions so that they respond to the needs of all groups in society. This perspective required participation, autonomy and involvement from all those engaged in schools and in the processes of cultural development.

The study considers the social change theory of Jurgen Habermas, the crisis in the Australian Capital Territory education system in the early 1970s and the new participative system of educational administration commenced in 1974. The study asks the question as to whether the operation of this new system exemplified the theory of Habermas. Had a fundamental change in the structure of the system, the development of shared control and the involvement in consensus decision making solved the crisis and had the change produced social betterment?

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A. CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

The study was based on the change that occurred in the Australian Capital Territory educational scene between the years 1974 and 1982. The change was brought about by the separation from the New South Wales government of the task of the delivery of education to students in the Australian Capital Territory. There had been agitation for change to local participation in the control of education since the mid 1960's by professional and parent groups in Canberra and this desire for autonomy was fostered by the new Federal Government elected towards the end of 1972. A crisis had developed in the education arena within the Australian Capital Territory during the late 1960's, but with a sense of confidence and a willingness to act, parents and professionals were anxious for change and the new political power, a Labor government elected in 1972, supported reform that led to local control.

The study considers the change in educational administration that occurred in 1974 with the commencement of the new Australian Capital Territory Education Authority. The changes in the administration for the education programmes in the Australian Capital Territory were an attempt to overcome the crisis that had developed in the 1960's. Had this change occurred in such ways as to support the principles of change as espoused by Jurgen Habermas?

It has been proposed by Jurgen Habermas, (Legitimation Crisis: 1975, Communication and the Evolution of Society:

1979), that the way to overcome crises in society is to develop a sustained and critical discourse over the norms and values, as well as the means and facts of organizational life. With a particular organization, or system, it would be necessary to completely restructure the system and to institute a process of corporate reflection. This must be a co-operative project involving the members of the organization, or system, working towards consensus about social action based on the mutual understanding and respect for participants as persons. Hence, in relation to the new educational system in the Australian Capital Territory commenced in 1974, the question to be addressed was the following. Had a fundamental change in the structure of the system, shared control and equality amongst the participants and the new processes and principles for the legitimation of the new structure, been assured by the opportunity given for free participation, autonomy and involvement in consensus decision making and control?

To help answer this question the expectations of the parents, professionals, public servants and principals regarding shared decision making and control in the new system are considered. Had, as suggested by Habermas, the proposed shared control and participatory decision making in a free environment brought about social betterment? Had there been a development of 'self', and a greater opportunity provided for the development of 'being'?

The investigation was concerned with the problem of theory into practice. Habermas had proposed that a crisis may be

solved by a fundamental change in the structure of an organization, and its legitimacy assured by free participation and consensus decision making in the 'ideal speech' situation - this time by all those involved in the cultural production and reproduction in schools. Was there a sharing pattern of control in educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory that would support the theory of Habermas?

B. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The first purpose of this study was to assess the degree of shared decision making and control that developed in the new system of educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory in the period 1974 to 1982. The report upon which the system was based (Hughes Report, 1973) emphasises participation, autonomy and involvement by the key personnel in the educational programme, i.e., parents, professionals, public servants and principals. It was this pattern of sharing decision making and control as perceived by these key personnel that would be considered.

The second purpose was to describe and analyse the changes in the pattern of control over educational decisions that took place between 1974 and 1982, and, on the evidence presented, decide whether those changes had led to social betterment for the participants.

The third purpose was to consider the changes in educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory

as exemplifying the social change theory of Jurgen Habermas. The study grew from this interest in converting theory into practice.

The overall purpose of the study was thus to ascertain the attitudes of parents, professionals, public servants and principals towards shared decision making and control in the new Canberra system between 1974 and 1982, and whether a real sharing of decision-making and control as described by Habermas had developed amongst the participants. If this shared control existed, and the government schools and the system were serving the human needs of self-development as proposed by sociologists such as Habermas, this emancipatory action in the area of educational administration would have benefited all using the government system. In this case the themes of change as proposed by Habermas, and in relation to the questions given above, would have been exemplified.

C. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

For the contemporary writers of the Critical Theory School, such as Habermas, the desire for a democratic public sphere and mass participation in the planning and management of social life replaces the ideas of revolutionary vanguard, state centralization and planning elites. Freedom for all members of society would only be possible through critical education, self-awareness and, thus, sense of being. Societal institutions would become rational institutions ensuring a

true, free, just and participatory life for all members of society.

Jurgen Habermas, the contemporary leader of the Critical Theory School, has presented us with a critical analysis of society relating the growing lack of confidence in social institutions in advanced capitalism to the increasing separation of administration from public control. He questions, implicitly, the scientific basis of administration. As the individual is progressively isolated from social decision-making, alienation is the inevitable result as the society becomes unresponsive to the individual. Habermas says that the legitimacy of such a society cannot last long and rational administration is then only possible at the expense of true democracy. He outlines four possible crisis tendencies in society, viz., (a) the economic, (b) rationality, (c) legitimation, and (d) motivation. Habermas maintains that in advanced capitalism the economic crisis can generally be contained, but that to solve the other crises, a fundamental change in the structure of the society or organization is required. This change includes the development of the ideal speech situation, where communicative competence is present, and agreement depends on consensus and that consensus is reached by the force of the better argument, the setting being free of any form of domination. In his Critical Social Theory Habermas explains clearly the tendency towards crises in advanced capitalist society and maintains the solution lies in:

(a) fundamental change in society by the transformation of the latent class structures existent in society so that all may participate equally; and

(b) by the development of communicative ethics - undistorted discussion and consensus. Habermas' approach provides a critical - emancipatory stance towards organizational studies.

The significance of the study is that it leads to an increased understanding of the changes which occurred in the Australian Capital Territory, and does so by considering these changes through the theoretical perspectives promoted by the Critical Theory School, and, particularly by those perspectives advanced by Habermas.

This theoretical perspective was most pertinent to the mood of the time as evidenced by the following statements:

(a) As Bowles and Gintis said in 1976:

> "Revolutionary educators...should vigorously press for the democratisation of schools and colleges by working towards a system of participatory power in which students, teachers, parents and other members of the community can pursue their common interests and rationally resolve their conflicts."

(b) and as a parent said in the Canberra Times on 20th July, 1982:

> "It must be a very complacent parent who can ever be totally satisfied with education in general. It is and always has been that only by continuing questioning of educational systems and methods by all those involved can improvements occur and as a result, society progress. It might also be said that, in this respect, government schools have been leaders, due no doubt, to the freedom given to teachers, parents and students in decision-making."

(c) and as David Bennett, a member of the Schools Commission, said in 1982:

> "They proclaimed their intention of opening up the school, of exploring new structures, expanding the curriculum, increasing participation by teachers, parents and students, and developing new relationships between the school and the community...funds should be controlled not by any central bureaucracy in Canberra or in a State Capital, but by democratic bodies responsible for conducting schools or organizing local services...a school must serve its local community - its clients - there must be a close relationship between the two...not only centralised bureaucracy but also hierarchies which exist within schools should be abolished."

Of great importance to this study is the proposal that the community of Canberra, and in particular the academic-professional group (sixty five percent of the population), realised that as far as education was concerned the State of New South Wales was not delivering on its promises (a rationality crisis emerged); that there was then an erosion of belief in the type of education system (a legitimation crisis) and with it a feeling that 'things' were not what they should be and that forces from 'out there' controlled the education of the children. The academic-professional group pressed for change and the atmosphere was present among parents, teachers, public servants and principals that a new structure of educational administration would restore credibility by teamwork, collaboration and integrated effort. The type of education stressed by the academic-professional group was one based on human needs rather than efficiency alone.

The new system of education began in 1974, based on participatory decision-making, the opportunity for free

discussion by as many participants as possible, and was thus planned to be free of domination by any particular group. There was to be shared control by parents, professionals, public servants and principals in school boards, standing committees and the schools authority council. This development may be viewed as a step forward in the Australian Capital Territory of the emancipatory action ideal of Habermas.

For the purpose of this study it becomes very significant to understand the following propositions:

(a) That the new structure of the educational system in 1974 may be considered as a transition stage in social structure for Habermas, reaching towards the ideal;

(b) That the academic-professional group commenced emancipatory action, the crisis was solved by the fundamental change in structure, and that the development of communicative competence led to shared decision-making in an atmosphere of freedom and lack of domination;

(c) That the administration reflected the early writers in sociology and administration who had claimed that man must participate in the life of society in order to find meaning in life;

(d) That if the shared control and decision-making developed in the system by 1982 there was in place a structure tailored to human needs, enhancing social betterment and able to serve as an example to other

regions where a crisis was evident and hence social change was needed.

D. CRUCIAL QUESTIONS

Prior to the establishment of the new education system in the Australian Capital Territory in 1974 it was envisaged by local education groups that there would be a mix of centralisation and decentralisation in any new system, and participation by the bureaucracy, the professionals, the community and the students in its decision making. The emphasis was on the devolution of control and the autonomy of the local school, with service facilities provided by the public servants in the school's office. Particular emphasis was placed on the participation of the parents and professionals, with both to have a greater degree of control than previously over curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation.

This emancipatory action regarding educational administration would mean taking a large degree of control from a centralised Head Office, with its domination of procedures, and giving control to the 'town meeting' of Habermas. Sharing by the participant groups would occur at the local level (school committees and boards), and the system level (Authority Committees and Council). All the writers of Critical Theory as well as ones such as Durkheim, Marx and Weber emphasise the domination of the individual in society and the need for change to free participation in social institutions. Many writers in

the field of educational administration also favoured this decentralised control. Thus the following propositions were addressed in the study:

(a) Patterns of sharing control in a group of educational organizations, schools, could reflect the social theory of Habermas.

(b) For this to be so there would need to be shared distribution of control amongst the participants in the Australian Capital Territory education system.

(c) If evidence showed that shared control did exist in the government schools and the system had served human ends by producing social benefit then a social change theory, as presented by Habermas, would be supported.

The crucial question for the study was the degree of control in organizational decision-making by parents, professionals, public servants and principals that developed in the new education system in the Australian Capital Territory, and whether such shared decision-making by these four groups, parents, professionals, public servants and principals, had led to social betterment. Was this an instance of social theory being exemplified in practice?

E. EXPLANATORY LITERATURE

In designing the administrative structure of an educational organization answerable to a Minister of the Crown

a frequently encountered problem to be faced is that of determining the appropriate pattern of control. Some of the literature on organization theory favours models of devolved control and participative decision-making. For this model the claim is made that organizations function more effectively when personnel close to the point of implementation are actively involved in the decision-making and, hence, in the processes of control. Some of the benefits to a system of using the devolved model of decision-making should arise from capitalising on the specialised knowledge of all the participants and some from the increased commitment of these participants as they become involved in planning and decision activities. On the other hand, it is also recognised that accountability and responsibility sometimes place constraints on what is desirable in the organization. Sometimes, also, it has been stated that the need for co-operation in large systems often limits individual autonomy. In addition, educational organizations have many special characteristics operating as they do with many young minds and with a professional workforce. Legal problems also place mandatory obligations upon them as does the economic situation of society at large. Consequently, reservations have been expressed that decentralisation of control over education cannot work on a large scale (New South Wales), or a small scale (Canberra). The literature review would involve writings on educational administration in the areas of decentralisation of decision-making, participction by school staff in

decision-making, participation by parents in decision-making, and the degree of participation by all professionals.

The literature reviews would present ideas on educational administration from the positivist paradigm of research but there has been little discussion or acknowledgement that it may be necessary to change structure completely in order to improve administration. This was the other area of literature the study would analyse - that of Critical Social Theory. The readings in this area act to change this attitude by showing the need for self-actualisation of the individual, in this case by participation and involvement in the process of cultural production and reproduction in schools. The history of this alternative paradigm in research is concerned with development of the human self rather than efficiency, and with freedom from domination. It is associated with the Frankfurt School and referred to as Critical Theory. This study is concerned with the social theory of Jurgen Habermas, the contemporary leader of the Critical Theory paradigm, who provides a refined critique of modern society. The critique has moved beyond the traditional Marxist analysis of the distinction between substructure and superstructure to show how the State has developed political means of altering society. Habermas points to crises that develop in advanced capitalist society, and presents a theory of social change based on free communication that will allow society to cope and prosper and the individual to develop the 'self'. The literature review will be used to explain the crisis in the Australian Capital Territory

education system that developed in the late 1960's, to show the development of a practical solution to the crisis, and to illustrate how the Australian Capital Territory system could be looked upon as a transition stage in the development of a true communicative society allowing for participation and involvement by all, as envisaged by Habermas.

The final area of literature to be examined would be that dealing with the participants in the education crisis within the Australian Capital Territory, and their solution for the future in the Australian Capital Territory educational administration. In the new participatory structure for the Australian Capital Territory this would mean the parents, the professionals, the public servants and the principals. The analysis of the literature would reveal the social perspectives on each group and each group's perception of shared control in the new structure.

The purpose of the literature review would be to present the ideas of sociologists on the development of self, social change in society leading to social betterment, the theory of social change as developed by Habermas, the formation of the participatory education system in the Australian Capital Territory, and the perspectives on decision making in educational organization as a basis for ascertaining the degree of shared control in the new system and so whether a liberating praxis was present.

F. ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

Introduction

The introduction to the study describes the purpose and form of the study, and the questions to be examined in the study. It gives a summary of each subsequent chapter and concludes with a statement on the significance of the study for improved educational administration.

SECTION 1: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR A NEW FORM OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

The purpose of this section is to present the theoretical base for a new system of educational administration. Emphasis is placed on the social change theory of Jurgen Habermas, administrative theory on shared decision making, and perspectives on shared control held by parents, professionals, public servants and principals.

Chapter One: Perspectives on society, social change and the social theory of Jurgen Habermas.

This chapter describes perspectives on society from the founding fathers of Sociology to contemporary Critical Theory. The importance of self, self-and-other awareness and being is emphasised leading to the grand theory and the emancipatory Critical Theory. Attention is paid

to the democratic public sphere, mass participation and planning in public life. The theory of Habermas is then detailed. Reference is made to crises in society, the reconstructivist approach, equality and consensus decision-making. The notion that development of communicative competence in the ideal speech situation provides the solution to crises by having shared control and integrated effort is presented in summary.

Chapter Two: Perspectives on shared decision-making in the literature.

This chapter discusses the implications of positivist theory in educational administration for shared decision-making. The discussion proceeds by considering educational organizations as special types, the decision patterns within schools, decentralisation and participative decision-making, decentralisation and the community. The chapter concludes with a summary that supports participation, autonomy and involvement.

Chapter Three: Perspectives on sharing control by parents, professionals, public servants, principals.

An historical perspective on control is presented showing the gradual change to the concept of co-operation in organizations. This

is followed by detailed discussion of each group and its perceived attitudes toward sharing decision-making. Positive attitudes are noted except for some public servants.

SECTION 2: CONTEXT OF STUDY

CRISIS AND CHANGE

This section is used to illustrate the socio-economic mix in the Australian Capital Territory and the movement for educational administration change. It provides the detail in order to understand whether a social change theory has been exemplified in practice.

Chapter Four: Activities leading to a new educational structure.

This chapter begins with a socio-economic description of the Australian Capital Territory population illustrating its unique qualities. The education crisis within the Territory is described, and evidence of agitation for participation is presented. This shows the level of 'communicative competence' in the community and affinity with 'town meeting' ideals.

Chapter Five: Restructure and shared control.

The debate and political activities of the late 1960's and early 1970's are detailed. Features

of the Schools Authority Council, Schools Authority Office, School Boards and standing committees are reviewed. Tensions in sharing are discussed.

SECTION 3: THE INVESTIGATION

This section discusses the formation of the sample, the preparation of the questionnaire and the form of the interview-discussion. It then proceeds to analyse the data collected.

Chapter Six: Methodology.

This chapter presents an account of the methods to be used to ascertain whether the theory of shared decision-making has been put into practice. The questionnaire to be completed by a sample of parents, professionals, public servants and principals is described as the first part of evidence gathering. The second part of personal interviews is discussed with the format of interview described. Methods of analysis to be used are then reviewed.

Chapter Seven: Analysis and findings.

This chapter reviews the findings regarding participation and sharing in 1974 and the findings for 1982. Changes are observed for the period before discussing the observations made in interviews regarding participation,

involvement, sharing leading to being. Based on the evidence conclusions are drawn on the development of social betterment as a result of educational administration change.

SECTION 4: PRACTICE, CONSENSUS, SHARING AND BEING

Chapter Eight: Theory into practice?

This chapter uses the analysis of Section 3 to present findings on the question being investigated. Was there a sharing pattern of control in educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory that would support the social change theory of Habermas? The social theory of Habermas will be reviewed, the evidence in relation to the sharing in the new system summarised, and the relevance of the system to the field of educational administration clarified. Has there been social betterment by shared decision-making, autonomy and involvement?

G. OVERVIEW

The school administrator runs into the theory-praxis problem time and again. Schools should be administered and managed according to some social theory. Yet school principals perennially face the question of what the organizational response should be to such issues as equality of opportunity,

effective teaching and multicultural programmes. A critical evaluation of administrative studies and educational administration studies reveals a weakness, where, in the pursuit of scientific status, the cultural ramifications of functioning organizations are ignored. As a discipline Educational Administration could be restructured and reformulated. A critical theory of organizations would enhance the dialectical growth of the individual in society and administrators could begin to reconcile the theory-praxis problem by examining the role of the organization as a social entity. Education could base its analysis of, and program for, institutional development on a critical sociology of educational administration, using arguments from such fields as sociology and social linguistics, aimed at restructuring the modern educational institution so that it can respond to the needs of all groups in society. Educational Administration would involve "the design of organizational structures which meet certain redoubtable human needs - equality, justice, liberty, freedom - and it lies with the study of organizations to discover how modern educational institutions can cope with the practical dimensions of such issues" (Foster, 1980:2). It is necessary to rationalise our institutions so that they serve human ends and to develop a cultural science of educational administration. We need to develop a praxis of administration, one that, in combining theory and practice, attempts to overcome in organizations the structural weaknesses that result in inequality. (Foster: 1980:23)

Educational Administration had its roots in the era of scientific management. The coincidental emergence of the theory of scientific management with the growth of educational administration as a profession in the United States of America, legitimised by the development of university training programmes, established a business orientation from which educational administration has still to free itself. The picture that emerged of administration is one of men and women pre-occupied with practicality and efficiency, lacking in knowledge of, or concern with, educational, ethical or social theory. Consequently the goals of management in education have been defined in ways that closely resemble those proclaimed by industry. Educational administration has been primarily a technical process concerned largely with supply and demand and the control of production.

There is thus a need for a perspective that argues for the primacy of the interests, aims and objectives of individuals within the social context of the school. It is a perspective that demands participation, autonomy and involvement from all those who are engaged in schools and in the processes of cultural production and reproduction in schools.

This perspective is supplied by the recognition of the contemporary critical social theory of Jurgen Habermas as presented in "Legitimation Crisis" 1973. Habermas has explained the tendency towards crises in advanced capitalist society and he maintains that the solution to such crises lies in fundamental change in society by the transformation of the

latent class structures existent in society and by the development of communicative ethics - undistorted discussion and consensus. This reconstructivist approach provides a critical-emancipatory stance towards organizational studies.

In relation to education this process of corporate reflection must be a co-operative project involving the members of an organization, the school, the members of society, the school system, all working towards consensus about social action based on mutual understanding and respect for participants as persons.

The new system of education in the Australian Capital Territory had set up a process of education whereby the opportunity had been provided for participation, autonomy and involvement. The critical social theory of Habermas provided for social betterment by:

(a) necessitating a fundamental change in the structure of the system;

(b) necessitating shared decision-making and control amongst the participants;

(c) having the legitimacy of the new structure assured by the opportunity for free participation in a truth situation leading to consensus decision-making.

If the evidence of the study showed that shared decision-making had developed and that there had been social betterment this would be of great significance, for this new education system would provide a path towards social transformations as man was able to develop a sense of being as he participated in an area

that was his. Similar systems of participative administration and shared decision-making could be developed in other regions. Educational Administration could be a science of praxis concerned with participation, autonomy and involvement - inside the school, outside the school with the local community, and at the system level.

The study is limited to this basic idea and does not endeavour to analyse the machinations within such groups as the Council of the Schools Authority or the Teachers' Federation in the Australian Capital Territory.

SECTION 1: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

THEORETICAL BASIS FOR NEW FORM OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Chapter One

Perspectives on Society, Social Change and Jurgen Habermas

The world in which one lives is not completely arbitrary. There are regularities for one knows what is expected of one in most situations and one expects others to behave within a certain framework. However one's expectations are not always the same as other people's and sometimes one misinterprets the world because of one's own uncertainty about appropriate behaviours or because the world has changed in a way one never anticipated. The relationships that may occur between man and society are unlimited and so there must be many perspectives in sociology, and any sociology can only be a partial account of the world. Some scholars, like Parsons in this century and Marx in the 19th Century, tried to encapsulate the world into an all-embracing theory. They built complex models which certainly help with understanding of the world and the many organizations in it, but they do not accommodate the many idiosyncracies of the individual.

Each person is a unique individual because of the family into which he was born and the home in which he lived and the street in which he played and the friends with whom he played.

In turn, the street and the friends are different because of his presence. People are products of so many things - genes, history, economics, politics and tradition - and so the characteristic of each of the perspectives on sociology is a result of the dialectical relationship between a person and society. A person is a product of a society but also helps to make that society, for each of us lives in our own unique world, and that world is ever changing. In trying to identify the relation of individual consciousness to society the sociologist elaborates on the theme: 'How can I live?' in different ways, but in all can be seen an emphasis on individuals, conforming and innovating, as they cope with the demands, opportunities and restrictions of the situation in which they find themselves.

August Comte is considered the founder of sociology in the sense that he first named it in his book 'Cours de Philosophie Positive' in 1838. Comte's writing is an analysis of the contemporary European society during the first two decades of the 19th Century. Comte's theory of social change maintains that societies live and die and are replaced by new forms, with each society built upon what has gone before in a truly organic manner. Comte's contemporary society, passing from theological/military to scientific/industrial was, of necessity, in a state of chaos. He believed that the reorganization that would happen in society would occur not by revolution, but by the sciences becoming dominant, by their synthesis and by the application of a positive political

system. He considered that sociology as a positive science could enhance the development of the emergent society and realise a new social order. He emphasised managerialism as the key of the new society, but recognised the importance of the unity of workers and owners, and saw individual private interests as capable of working together in harmony (Inkeles, 1964:3).

Comte cannot be regarded as having given sociology much else of substance, apart from influencing later writers such as Durkheim.

Durkheim thought his principle objective was to extend scientific rationalism to human behaviour. Durkheim was convinced that we could understand the social world in much the same way as the natural scientist understands the material world, that through reason, rational thought and the pursuit of logic, the complexities of the social world could be grasped by man. As Clegg and Dunkerley state, (1980:22):

> "His work had a curious mixture of philosophical stances. On the one hand he was a staunch conservative, on the other hand it is possible to find him having a great deal in common with Marx in his general analysis of social change. Where he differs from Marx and other social writers is in terms of the political nature of the movement. He also abhors the idea of violence and violent clashes between social classes. His solution is to be found in his concept of 'organic solidarity'. The theory based upon this concept emphasised that changes in society should be for the benefit of all."

This social solidarity was his preoccupation throughout his career - what keeps societies together rather than falling apart. He argued that in earlier societies 'mechanical' solidarity determined the individual's behaviour through

traditions and beliefs of his society. He is born, has his existence as a child and adult, marries and dies in the manner of his ancestors. Throughout life he knows his obligations and the rights he has. As the population of society grows in size the division of labour becomes more complex and the nature of social solidarity changes to 'organic'. This is sustained by the dependence we each have on each other. We need the services of hundreds of others to sustain our daily life - people to provide our energy, food, attend to our health, leisure and education - in turn we also contribute to the sustenance of others. Durkheim thought that his division of labour made a social system based on co-operation rather than conflict. Giddens states this in the following manner (1978:22):

> "An embracing moral consensus is indeed a necessary condition of social solidarity, but only in simpler societies. It is only one type of social cohesion, to which Durkheim gave the name 'mechanical solidarity'. As we approach modern times, it is increasingly displaced by a second type, 'organic solidarity'. This is indeed a form of cohesion based upon relationships of exchange within a differentiated division of labour. But it cannot be understood as the natural outcome of self-interest. Rather, it expresses the emergency of new moral precepts; 'co-operation', Durkheim stressed, 'has its intrinsic morality'."

Since the division of labour in society is produced by differences in functions, Durkheim argues that it also allows for differences in individual personalities. Furthermore, different functions performed by individuals allow them to develop their individual personalities. Thus to Durkheim everything flowed from the division of labour within society

and this division created classes. He argued that social order cannot be explained in terms of the enlightened self-interest of individuals. There must be something apart from purely individual tendencies binding individuals together into social wholes. This 'something' was his social solidarity. In simple societies this form of social solidarity rests upon collectively held sentiments and ideas. In advanced societies it rests upon the division of labour which is not just an expedient device for increasing human happiness, but a moral and social fact whose purpose is to bind society together. Durkheim recognises, however, that the division of labour does not in fact always produce social order. In many cases differentiation of function is actually accompanied, not by reintegration, but by conflict. In order to overcome this conflict Durkheim says the reintegration of the social order will be brought about by the organization of men into occupational groups, whose professional ethics will not merely integrate each group within itself, but also relate it to the other groups in the large society.

He does have the merit of having formulated what must be the central question of modern social organization - 'When the old social order based upon kinship and the tribe breaks down, what will be the elements from which the new social order will be built up?' In suggesting the occupational groups he provided an alternative to the individualistic and family-centred ideal. Durkheim said that participation in a social and normative order was essential for human happiness,

and this would flow from the division of labour, for as individuals perform different functions suited to their personalities, social solidarity occurs as the occupational groups co-operate. He believed that social harmony and progress would be achieved by social policies based upon science and reason with education providing the appropriate climate and enlightened leadership. As Giddens points out (1978:17):

> "...for Durkheim, the state can and should serve as the vehicle for the realisation of social reform through furthering equality of opportunity."

Other writers start from this basis of everything in society flowing from the division of labour but conclude that the division of labour is the very thing that leads to social divisions and particularly to class conflict. Such a writer was Karl Marx.

Marx's influence has been less on the substantive development of the sociology of education than on the way of thinking about education and society. He was born into a prosperous, middle-class family of lawyers in Trier, Germany on 5th May, 1818. He came to London, as a political refugee in 1849, and remained until his death in 1883.

The driving force for Marx's system stems from the relationship which we have with the means of production; in other words the control we have over our labour, its inputs, outputs and the necessary technologies to complete the tasks. Marx argues that under capitalism man's real condition is one of alienation. Man is also alienated from the product of his

labour in that he is just an appendage to the production process, a machine-minder or bureaucratic paper-mover. Man is also alienated from his self in that his labour is forced, with the result that the man is turned into an animal. Finally, man is alienated from his fellow man. The relationships of the workplace permeate the whole of life so that man becomes what he is in labour.

The nature of man therefore, depends upon the conditions determining his production. Even the system of beliefs which we hold, ideology, is a consequence of the division of labour. The ruling group in a society controls not only the productive forces within society but also the ways of thinking. They legitimate what is right and acceptable and provide the very framework within which thought is possible. The problem presented by Marx is how to transcend this framework, how to remove the class bias in one's own thought. To understand ourselves and our society we must ask critical, irreverent questions about the organization of our society, its institutions and its culture.

The appeal of Marx's view is the seeming inevitability of change; the poor, through struggle, will inherit the earth and the rich will be overthrown, but it is interesting to note, as Hansen points out (1976:95) that Marx dreamed of a revolution in which an established society is changed from within to form a new society. He thus saw capitalism as a necessary stage in man's journey to a Utopian future. This new Utopia, as viewed by Marx, is seen in the following quote from Robinson (1980:8):

> "As soon as the distribution of labour comes into being, each man has a particular, exclusive sphere of activity, which is forced upon him and from which he cannot escape. He is a hunter, a fisherman, a shepherd, or a cultural critic and must remain so if he does not want to lose his means of livelihood; while in a communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can be accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it impossible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, shepherd or critic."

There are many interpretations of what Marx intended in parts of his theory, but there is no doubt that he stressed autonomous man, free from domination, and able then to create a truly human social order. The value of his work to education lies in its illumination of conflict. One may cite as an example the methods used in primary schools and high schools by teachers for children and the nature of their eventual employment. The former stress individual autonomy, creativity, discovery and innovativeness while the employer requires uniformity, regularity and conformity. The Marxist analysis ties down this contradiction to the economic class relations of production, and, thus, the domination by one group of another in society. In our society class conflict occurs between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the form of strikes, high crime rate, school drop out and political dissent. In a capitalist society, where the worker performs only one small task in the division of labour and is paid not for his creativity, but for his labour, the alienation reaches its peak. It can only be eliminated when man can genuinely control

his own labour and participate in his world.

For Marx, the true course of consciousness was in individuals' actions, and hence in their systems of production. If we are to be free we must recognise our slavery; we must see that modern capitalism rose out of the same source as other movements of history - changes in technology that give rise to conflicts in social relations and generate new ideas, ideologies and religious beliefs. Hence, to Marx, it is necessary to understand individual men and women, to understand one's self-and-other involvement, and to understand, also, society in order to remove the inequities in human life. There must be freedom, then involvement in society.

Another with a view of autonomous man struggling to change society was George Herbert Mead. Born in 1863 in South Hadley, Massachussetts, he taught philosophy and Social Psychology at Chicago University until his death in 1931. Mead placed particular emphasis upon the social world asserting that we must discover how to change ourselves intentionally and our society without destroying those things that are valuable. Mead's solution was to remember that each individual was unique yet we all live in the same world. Mead maintained that we must develop the ability to see the world as others see it and so this led to his tantalising idea that we can be unique only by being part of our community. This is his concept of self-and-other awareness.

The self was not a product of a basic personality structure which would have been much the same as it is if you

had been left on a desert island from birth. Rather the self is formed in interaction with others. Self emerges and, importantly, continues to emerge and change. Mead views the individual actively participating in the social world rather than passively responding to events. C. Wright Mills expressed a similar idea (1974:6):

> "We have come to know that every individual lives from one generation to the next, in some society; that he lives out a biography, and that he lives it within some historical sequence. By the fact of his living he contributes, however minutely, to the shaping of this society and to the course of its history, even as he is made by society and by its historical push and shove."

To Mead, this interdependence of self and others meant that rational men and women could live in harmony and order, without the need for an all-powerful, constraining ruler.

Only in a coherent society could the self appear. This perspective is basically similar to Marx and Weber, and looks to individual action as the basic element of order and change. Hansen (1976:31) points out that Mead argued the world was an "organization of the perspectives of all the individuals in it. And every individual has something that is peculiar to himself". It is in this vision that we see the possibility of a society of organizational individuality. The individual is both the active creator of the world and, at the same time, the product of the world.

Thus Mead found a key to the ideal society:

> "...individuals would act in their individuality, yet, self-and-other aware, recognising how their individuality links with that of others in mutual interest - they would act in creative unity with others. Their societal awareness would be part of their self-awareness; their

> self-involvement would include a societal involvement. Even conflict would be creative leading not to destruction but to negotiation and reform that increase the human satisfactions and coherence of both individual and society."(Hansen, 1976:67)

Thus Mead focussed his critical sociology on the need for self-awareness and involvement for human growth in society.

Max Weber faced the same basic question that had driven Marx - how can humanness and freedom survive under the inescapable progress of capitalism? The difference for Weber was that it was not capitalism that was to be feared but the organization of control that it spawned. Weber was born in Erfurt, Germany on 21st April, 1864, and died in 1920, and his initial training was in law and history. Weber (1964:88) defined Sociology as 'a science concerning itself with the interpretive understanding of social action and thereby with a casual explanation of its course and consequences'. In understanding reality the social scientist develops what Weber calls 'ideal types' of behaviour. An ideal type is arrived at not by taking an average, but by taking the logically extreme form. In developing an ideal type of teacher, one would not look for the qualities which all teachers have in common but for those which each has in extreme. The conceptual model thus developed becomes the mark against which actual teachers can be compared.

It is for the development of the 'ideal type' of organization, bureaucracy, that Weber is remembered so well. Marx had failed to see the "organizational revolution" that had already begun in his time. To Weber it was clear: the

incentives of poverty were gradually replaced by organizational incentives - not ownership, but administrative status was becoming the main focus of the individual's actions. Not property (as in feudal societies), not even wealth (as in capitalist societies) but status - one's prestige and position in society - was becoming the most important key to success in a bureaucratic order. To Weber, rationality meant that the means men use are appropriate to the ends they have in mind. In a bureaucracy, those ends appear to be clear cut: to administer effectively a legislative programme, to increase productive output. What, then, is most rational in a bureaucracy? For Weber it was efficiency. An organization is most rational when the most efficient means are used to attain its goals. This means that rational bureaucracy is necessary to any complex economy, polity and society.

But Weber was disturbed because, in the functional reality of the bureaucratic organization, the individual becomes a simple cog. Weber looked deeper into this alienation and found that as industrialism expanded, organization throughout society - not only business, but government, law and education - developed in a way that was ever less responsive to the needs and lives of all members involved. Hence to Weber, it was that concern for the individual again that revealed a general phenomenon of the times: alienation is the result of the organization that men form in response to new technologies. It was not capitalism, but the bureaucratic organizations which it spawned that were the threat to society.

To the existential question: How can I live? Weber believed that the answer must be found in terms of individual freedom, creativity and responsibility, and life and thought centred on these problems. Both Marx and Weber were masters of exploration and criticism, but before all else, Marx was a social critic, Weber a sociological explorer.

Another strong influence on the development of sociology of education and organizations was the structural functionalism of Talcott Parsons. Like Marx, Parsons was attracted by the grand scheme, an overall theoretical framework within which both man and society could be encompassed. Parsons saw reality as a social system in which the parts are related to the whole, and which are explained in terms of their function for the whole. Thus classrooms are explained in terms of their function for the school, the school in terms of the educational system, and the latter in terms of its function for society, and so on.

Parsons' 'grand theory' begins with an explanation of individual behaviour. He argues that all action is goal-oriented and that, in pursuit of our goal, we take into account the purposes of other people. This is not meant, in any sense, as having consideration for others in moral terms, but simply recognising the social nature of our acts. In each of our acts we are confronted by five dilemmas, the first of which is the dilemma between affectivity and affective neutrality. This is the choice between viewing one's act as an end in itself, or as part of some wider plan, as a means

towards the attainment of some further goal. The other dilemmas are specificity and diffuseness, or regarding the person with whom one is interacting in narrow specific terms such as 'shop assistant', or in wider terms such as 'close friend'; universalism and particularism, do you treat everyone in the same way or focus on some idiosyncracy; self-orientation and collectivity-orientation, the dilemma of viewing one's action as it benefits the self or the wider group; and finally the pattern variable of achievement and ascription, the dilemma of treating someone in terms of what they have achieved instead of who they are. As an illustration of the pattern variables, a father would treat his child in ways which are affective, diffuse, particularistic, ascriptive and collectivity-orientated in the sense of acting for the benefit of the family as a whole; conversely an institute of higher education would tend to treat students in ways which were affectively neutral, specific, universalistic, achievement-oriented, and also collectivity-oriented.

Parsons also said it is possible to analyse each social system by the response it makes to four functional prerequisites. These are the requirements of adaptation - finding resources for life from the environment; integration, or preserving the commitment of the members of the social system to the whole by developing organizations such as religion, education and the legal system; goal attainment, achieving a consensus about the goals which are to be worked towards for each society must have a means of deciding how it

will be organized; and finally pattern maintenance, or the repair of any damage to system parts which arises from the working of the whole. The individual must be able to reconcile conflicting roles imposed on him by different subsystems. In using a systemic model, functionalism has the advantage of directing our attention to the boundaries of the model. In this analysis Parsons recognises different classes in society, but makes the assumption that all social systems share the same values, that beneath surface differences there is a consensus as to the fundamental values. This is its weakness - the assumption of value consensus - for it may be the case that in society there are incompatible values such as those which support the individual's freedom as against those which support the individual's responsibility to collectivity, or his domination by an elite class (Clegg and Dunkerley, 1980:171-185).

Parsons thus says societies have needs which can only be fulfilled by co-operation of individuals, and because of the culture of society individuals behave in such a way that these needs are satisfied.

Much of the contemporary work in sociology has drawn from Weber with, for example, the work of Schutz and Garfinkel. However, Marx's writings have led to the development of a critical sociology with writers intent upon examining the ways they believe the ruling class dominates society. Critical Theory caught the imagination of students and intellectuals in the 1960's and 1970's. As Held points out (1980:13):

> "Partly because of their rise to prominence during the political turmoils of the 1960's, and partly because they draw on traditions which are rarely studied in the Anglo-American world, the works of these authors are frequently misunderstood. Yet, in their writings, they opposed various schools of thought now being brought into disrepute (positivism, for example) and did so more cogently than many critics today. The critical theorists directed attention to areas such as the state and mass culture, areas which are only just beginning to receive the study they require. Their engagement with orthodox Marxism on the one hand, and with conventional approaches to social science on the other, provided a major challenge to writers from both perspectives. Critical of both capitalism and Soviet socialism, their writings pointed to the possibility - a possibility often sought today - of an alternative path to social development."

Critical theory, though, does not form a unity as it does not mean exactly the same thing to all its adherents. The tradition of thinking that I refer to as Critical Theory is divided into at least two branches - the first centred around the Institute of Social Research, established in Frankfurt in 1923, and the second around the more recent work of Jurgen Habermas. The term 'Frankfurt School' generally refers to the writings of Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Lowenthal and Pollock and the central figures of what is now termed Critical Theory are Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse and Habermas (Held, 1980:15). Following Marx, they were preoccupied, especially in their early work, with the forces which moved society towards rational institutions - institutions which would ensure a true, free and just life.

However, they were well aware of the many obstacles to radical change and sought to analyse and expose these. They were thus concerned with both interpretation and transformation. David Held summarises their works when he

states (1980:16):

> "The motivation of this enterprise appears similar for each of the theorists - the aim being to lay the foundation for an exploration, in an inter-disciplinary research context, of questions concerning the conditions which made possible the reproduction and the transformation of society, the meaning of culture, and the relation between the individual, society and nature. While there are differences in the way they formulate questions, the Critical theorists believe that through an examination of contemporary social and political issues they could contribute to a critique of ideology and to the development of a nonauthoritarian and non-bureaucratic politics."

For the Frankfurt School, not only bourgeois intellectuals, but also Communist Marxists, had become positivists. The critical theorists viewed the Soviet Communist Party as exercising a totalitarian dictatorship over the Russian proletariat and the worldwide communist movement. They saw attempts to justify this dictatorship as being based on appeals to the possession of a supposedly 'objective science' of Marxism. The possession of this science, the Stalinist leaders claimed, precluded the need for democracy. As Antonio points out (1981:330):

> "Critical theorists attack western empiricism because it verifies conventional values legitimating capitalist society. Likewise, they reject Marxism-Leninism for ordaining dominant values as scientific laws and socialist state bureaucracy as the rational society. Critical theorists oppose the inherent relativism of bourgeois social science, as well as the absolutism of Marxism-Leninism, because neither addresses the most urgent issues of the day (characterized by the rise of fascism, Stalinism, managerial capitalism, oligopoly, and universal state-bureaucracy)."

The Frankfurt theorists sought, therefore, to create a critical theory of society opposed to the positivism of the apologists for both capitalism and Stalinism. This task required them to show, first, that there is an essential connection, rather than

an impassable logical gap, between rationality and values, and, second, that there is no justification for the exercise of tyranny by a self-proclaimed vanguard of the proletariat.

In a bold synthesis of Marxist and Freudian assumptions Critical Theory claimed, as its purview of investigation and criticism, the entire frame of social arrangements that impose themselves upon the unconscious individual. To cure this unexamined repression the Critical Theorist became a social diagnostician and therapist, whose aim was nothing less than the liberation of the individual and society. From Horkheimer's vantage, the demystification of social appearance was a necessary prelude to an equitable community life (1972:207):

> "The individual as a rule must simply accept the basic conditions of this existence as given and strive to fulfil them; he finds his satisfaction and praise in accomplishing as well as he can the tasks connected with his place in society and in courageously doing his duty despite all the sharp criticism he may choose to exercise in particular matters. But the critical attitude of which we are speaking is wholly distrustful of the rules of conduct with which society as presently constituted provides each of its members. The separation between individual and society in virtue of which the individual accepts as natural the limits prescribed for his activity is relativised in critical theory."

To Critical Theorists the world was edging towards total administration by the corporate elite, and this was bringing forth the non-action, or apothocracy. If every move was seen as manipulated or programmed, everyday life would become sordid and depressing, and hope abandoned. Griesman (1977:135) illustrates this well:

> "An organic analogy may be useful here. Contemporary society is an organism that suffers from 'hardening of the categories'; membranes that were once porous have become impermeable. In attempting to strifle disturbance within itself, the nerve centres of the organisms strive to force all elements into one closed super-system. And following the analogy, the closed system cannot by definition survive. Hence, 'In the open air prison which the world is becoming, it is no longer so important to know what depends on what, such is the extent to which everything is one' (Adorno). If there is certain accuracy to this view, then it doubtless has its depressing aspects. Still, this is not a sociology of despair. The rigidified system is rehearsing its own rigor mortis, and as a moment in the world-historical process, is not to be regarded as something permanent."

The aim of Critical Theory is to change this total administrative concept so that "The escape of an arcadian summer camp, which only satisfies limited individual needs, can be replaced with sensible blueprints for a society tailored to human needs instead of mass consumption" (Griesman, 1977:136).

In order to retain vitality Critical Theory, must avoid constant rehashes of Marx, Horkheimer and Adorno, repetitious attacks on positivism and endless debates about highly abstract theories. The critique of class domination must be translated in the historically concrete and regionally specific immanent critiques of bureaucratic domination. Detailed analyses should investigate the possibilities of democratisation according to the particular needs and concrete conditions of nations and regions at different levels of development and with varying histories, social traditions and material cultures. Thus, despite the emphasis on socialist democracy, critical theory does not insist that a single model of post-bureaucratic society be imposed in all settings.

This application of Critical Theory to alternative conditions presented the original Frankfurt writers with almost insurmountable problems. However, with recent intensive re-examination, important advances are being made in the extension of Frankfurt's critical method to different social and intellectual controversies. Trent Schroyer's "The Critique of Domination"(1973) offers rigorous inquiry into the origins of critical theory in Marxism. After tracing the strains within the evolution of critical theory, Schroyer investigates Habermas' theory of linguistic competence and some of the problems it has encountered. Schroyer would supplement the formalism of Habermas with a mixture of Marx's crisis theory and the early works of Lukacs. The final result is a chapter that documents crisis tendencies in American capitalism. Schroyer's is a most interesting analysis, grounded in the growth of an interventionist State that has co-opted traditional monopoly conditions. As Schroyer points out (1973:27):

> "We need a social science that is capable of recognising the ways in which existing structures exploit, alienate, and repress human possibilities. We need a critical science whose primary focus is the critique of domination. Such a science would not be limited by scientific blunders; it would attempt to not only assess the human costs of social planning but would also be committed to the investigation of alternative modes of social organization in which individual freedom and development would be standards of rationality."

The message from this Critical Theory to Educational Administration is for the abolition of the continued reproduction of existing educational, social and cultural

inequalities and a real redistribution of educational opportunity, resources and outcomes. There is a need to abandon the "natural" science of administration and to formulate a new cultural science. As Foster states (1980:23):

> "Is it possible to develop in this century a praxis of administration, one that, in combining theory and practice, attempts to overcome in organizations and institutions, the structural weaknesses that result in inequality?"

The desire for a democratic public sphere and mass participation in the planning and management of social life replaces ideas of revolutionary vanguard and state centralisation for the writers of Critical Theory.

Of the early writers mentioned some assert the paramount importance, for societal and individual well-being, of external constraint, e.g., Durkheim and Parsons. Others stress autonomous man, able to realise his full potential and to create a truly human social order only when freed from external constraint, e.g., Mead, Marx, Weber and Schutz. With these writers the problem is the individual's assertion of control over the social world. The writers of Critical Theory extended this idea to the forces that would more societal institutions to become rational institutions ensuring a true, free and just life for all members of society. As with Mead, the individual must participate actively in his social world rather than respond passively to events, and individual action is the basic element of order and change. There must be a democratic public sphere, and mass participation in the planning and management of social life. The important question becomes how to change a

society that colonises people to accept dominated roles, and to develop the emancipatory stance that leads to the development of the individual and society.

The contemporary writer of the Critical Theory School, Jurgen Habermas, attempts to meet this problem in his theory of social change emphasising the freedom and participation by the individual in his world.

Jurgen Habermas, a German social philosopher of the celebrated Frankfurt School and now co-director of the Max Planck Institute, has devoted his life to the development of a critical, cognitive theory of social inquiry. He is the most influential social and philosophical thinker in Germany today and also one of the intellectual giants of the century. As Wilby states (1979:667):

> "What distinguishes Habermas from all his contemporaries is his astonishing encyclopaedic range. In an age of specialisation and intellectual fragmentation, he rolls philosophy, sociology, economics, history linguistics, political science and psychology into one."

However, he thinks of himself as a philosopher concerned with the good, the true and the beautiful. His critical analysis of society relates the growing lack of confidence in social institutions in advanced capitalism to the increasing separation of administration from public control, and he questions implicitly the scientific basis of administration. But he does have a 'unity of perspective' based on a global analysis of history and society and aimed at identifying the underlying causes of domination. The problem, according to Habermas, is that the methods and aims of the natural sciences

have subsumed those of the social sciences:

> "Accordingly, the danger of an exclusively technical civilization, which is devoid of the interconnection between theory and praxis, can be clearly grasped; it is threatened by the splitting of its consciousness, and by the splitting of human beings into two classes - the social engineers and the inmates of closed institutions (1974:282)."

Habermas has inherited the critical theory traditions of the Frankfurt School, but, whereas his predecessors provided a series of discrete, more or less illuminating insights, Habermas has refined the ideas of the Frankfurt School into a coherent, embracing social and political theory.

The central political idea in his work is that modern capitalism faces a legitimation crisis. To Habermas, legitimation is what persuades the mass of the population to accept the current political order: it converts power into authority, it commands loyalty.

Putting this in another manner, Wilby (1979:667) points out that pre-capitalist societies regarded the distribution of property as divinely ordained. Capitalism, by contrast, legitimised the distribution of property through the market. But the market, as Marx predicted, proved inherently unstable. To prevent endemic slumps the state had to intervene. In advanced capitalism, the state goes beyond intervention - it all but replaces the market as the steering mechanism of capitalism.

The new state requires new legitimation. This it finds in the imperatives of scientific technical progress, for it says society must be run on rational lines by technical experts.

> "The only problems are technical problems and the development of the social system must obey the logic of scientific progress. Politicians, no matter what their party, have to 'face the facts'. New developments with far-reaching social consequences (such as micro-electronics) have to be accepted without question" (Wilby, 1979:667).

Hence, in the modern state more and more social questions are taken out of the realm of public debate for the 'ordinary' people cannot discuss these highly technical and scientific matters, and Habermas maintains (McCarthy, 364) that the masses are being depoliticised. In the modern capitalist democracy, their role is confined to occasional plebiscites offering little choice between administrative teams. This is supported by Levin (1980:91) when he states:

> "The pseudoscientific language of technocratic approaches to planning indicates to average citizens that social change can only be managed by experts working in a highly centralised bureaucracy, that most citizens are incapable of participating in that process, and that their needs are too short-sighted. The very tenets of educational planning, then, restrict decentralisation and democratic participation..."

And illustrated by Giroux (1981:15) who says:

> "People in capitalist societies live out their everyday lives within specific material and social relationships informed by subordination and domination and mediated by the unequal distribution of power."

Formally democratic institutions and procedures ensure both a diffuse, generalised mass loyalty and the requisite independence of administrative decision-making from the specific interests of the citizens. They are democratic in form, but not in substance. Modern politics is concerned exclusively with manipulation, not with the purpose of existence, or 'the good life'. Habermas points out (1975:62)

that the government is faced with two tasks:

> "On the one hand, it is supposed to raise the requisite amount of taxes by skimming off profits and income and to use the available taxes so rationally that crisis ridden disturbances of growth can be avoided. On the other hand, the selective raising of taxes, the discernible patterns of priorities in their use, and the administrative performances themselves must be so constituted that the need for legitimation can be satisfied as it arises. If the state fails in the former task there is a deficit in administrative rationality. If it fails in the latter task, a deficit in legitimation results."

Habermas outlines a typology of crises inherent in contemporary society - an economic crisis, a crisis of rationality, of legitimacy and of motivation.

In Habermas' view, an economic crisis in late capitalism was not inevitable. But the steps taken by the State to avert the economic crisis entailed a crisis of rationality. The rationality crisis is modelled after that of the economic crisis, and is a form of system crisis in which a breakdown in system integration leads to a breakdown in social integration. The Government, by making ever-increasing demands on itself, fails to cope, thus making what Habermas calls a "displaced economic crisis" (1975:68).

In his interpretation of the rationality crisis Foster (1980:499) states that the crisis arises in relation to the modern development of organizational rationality. This view of reason, as it appears in the administration, is that ends are not subject to discussion, that only means can be considered as susceptible to rational analysis. By adopting this instrumental rationality the State provides no framework for belief in the system other than that it in fact provides the

type of decisions it says it will provide. But such decisions have not been typical, Habermas maintains, because of the complexity of the system and the varied productive relationships in a liberal capitalistic economy. Foster points out (1980:500) that one of the big contradictions in the contemporary society is that two spheres of social interaction, the political and the economic, have different aims. The political sphere is based on the premise of equality despite individual variations in talent and class origins, while the economic sphere is based on the premise of superiority on account of talent and class origins. Thus an individual can seek political equality, demanding representation and equal opportunity, but no individual can demand economic equality. In the words of Sarup (1978:167):

> "Capitalist society is determined by the imperatives of profit and domination but this formally totalitarian economic system is in contrast to the formally democratic political system."

Habermas points out (1975:61) that modern states are responsible for promoting economic growth, structuring production to meet collective needs, and correcting social inequalities:

> "It bears the cost of imperialistic market strategies... It bears the infra-structural costs directly related to production (transportation and communication systems, scientific-technical progress, vocational training). It bears the costs of social consumption indirectly related to production (housing-construction, transportation, health care, leisure, education, social security). It bears the costs of social welfare, especially unemployment..."

With all this, Habermas maintains that it is when public administration or the State promises full employment, economic growth, and a limitation of inflation but does not fulfil these promises, then a rationality deficit emerges.

There is another side to the capacity of the political system to discharge the necessary planning functions: the need to secure legitimation for governmental activity. If the adequate level of mass loyalty and compliance cannot be maintained, while the steering imperatives taken over from the economic system are carried through, there is danger of a legitimation crisis - an erosion of belief in the system. The system fails to deliver the goods and people start questioning the system. There is the feeling that 'things' are "not what they should be" and forces unknown have taken the system from 'our' control. As Habermas explains it (1975:47):

> "A rationality deficit in public administration means that the state apparatus cannot, under given boundary conditions, adequately steer the economic system. A legitimation deficit means that it is not possible by administrative means to maintain or establish effective normative structures to the extent required...while organizational rationality spreads, cultural traditions are undermined and weakened. The residue of tradition must, however, escape the administrative grasp, for traditions important for legitimation cannot be regenerated administratively."

The State has to administer economic growth effectively, and attempt to remove social inequality. To do this, it must use its legitimate power. But, in so doing, it destroys one of the norms supporting its legitimacy, that "private autonomy may not be violated" (Habermas, 1979:175). The expanded activity of the State has produced an increase in the need for

legitimation, for justification of government intervention into new areas of life. The State adopts increasingly technological strategies of administration oriented towards systems maintenance and adjustment. As noted earlier, the public realm has been structurally depoliticised and Habermas says that it is essential for the system to also have civil privatism - "political abstinence combined with an orientation to career, leisure, and consumption" - which "promotes the expectation of suitable rewards within the system (money, leisure-time, and security)" (1975:37). This involves a high output - low input orientation of the citizenry vis a vis the government; an orientation that is reciprocated in the welfare state programme, and a familial-vocational privatism that consists in a "family orientation with developed interests in consumption and leisure on the one hand, and in a career orientation suitable to status competition on the other" (1975:75); and an orientation that corresponds to the competitive structure of the educational and occupational systems. Furthermore the structural depoliticisation of the public sphere is itself justified by democratic elite theories or by technocratic systems theories. According to Habermas, legitimisation deficits arise in this system in which civil privatism is undermined by the spread of administrative rationality itself. A scientific administration is a depoliticised administration and much of the newly established management science maintains that increasingly complex systems require highly technical control strategies beyond the grasp of the layperson. But the

system is technically a democratic system, people wish to have a say:

> "...this development signifies danger for the civil privatism that is secured informally through the structures of the public realm. Efforts at participation and the plethora of alternative models - especially in cultural spheres such as school and university, press, church, theatre, publishing, etc. - are indicators of this danger, as is the increasing number of citizens' initiatives (1975:72)."

As Habermas points out, the technically refined systems we have cannot sustain the normative traditions needed for belief in the system - the state must draw on its reserves of legitimation. Legitimation, however, is already in short supply. Habermas clearly shows that an interventionist state makes constantly increasing demands on the loyalty of its citizens as it reaches into more and more areas of life and raises the expectations of the community. It even intervenes in such areas as the upbringing of children, the school curriculum and evaluation, and the marriage contract. As Wilby says, there is

> "...the politicisation of areas of life previously assigned to the private sphere. This runs counter to capitalism's need to exclude the masses from political decisions." (1979:667)

Thus attempts to compensate for legitimation deficits through conscious manipulation are faced with systematic limits for the cultural system is "peculiarly resistant" to administrative control. As Habermas concludes (1975:73):

> "In the final analysis, this class structure is the source of the legitimation deficit."

Habermas acknowledges, however, that the missing legitimation may be offset by rewards conforming to the system - money, success, leisure, security - and so passes on to the final stage of his argument, the motivation crisis.

> "A legitimation crisis can be predicted only if expectations that cannot be fulfilled either with the available quantity of value, or, generally with rewards conforming to the system are systematically produced. A legitimation crisis then, must be based on a motivation crisis - that is, a discrepancy between the needs for motives declared by the state, the educational system and the occupational system on the one hand, and the motivation supplied by the socio-cultural system on the other (1975:74-5)."

It is quite evident that the arguments for a legitimation crisis and those for a motivation crisis are tightly meshed. Both are concerned with socio-cultural, rather than with economic or administration, crisis tendencies, with disturbances in the complementarity between the requirements of the state apparatus and the occupational system on the one hand, and the interpreted needs and legitimate expectations of members of society on the other. Habermas shows that the traditional sources of motivation lie in a normative structure that sanctions two types of privatism mentioned earlier; civil, in which the citizen participated in the political fabric only to the degree permitted by institutions; and family-vocational where family motivations tended towards the purchase of consumable goods and leisure time, and vocational motivations were oriented towards status achievement. Habermas claims that the cultural traditions supporting these motivations, such as the Protestant Ethic, are being eroded and

cannot be supplanted by new cultural traditions since administration itself cannot create meaningful norms. To use Wilby's phrase, the "motivational engines of capitalism are being undermined" (1979:688). Rewards are supposed to be distributed according to individual achievement. Originally this was done through the market but, once the market lost its credibility, occupational success (linked to schooling) took over. But modern production structures make the evaluation of individual achievement more difficult. Work is increasingly routinised and specialised, even in the professions. Individual initiative and talent play a smaller role. The link between individual effort and reward is breaking down in other ways, too. Income differentials, particularly between the lower paid and the unemployed, have been eroded. People, increasingly, demand collective, social goods - more leisure provision, better transport, better health care, better education. A growing section of the population - school children, students, the aged, the unemployed - does not work at all, and many others do not depend on market mechanisms for their rewards. As Habermas explains (1975:81) core components of bourgeois ideology, such as possessive individualism and orientations to achievement and exchange value, are also being undermined by social change. The achievement ideology - the idea that social rewards should be distributed on the basis of achievement - becomes problematic to the extent that the market loses its credibility as a 'fair' mechanism for allocating these rewards; the education system fails as a replacement

mechanism, either because of intrinsic inequities, or because of the increasingly problematic connection between formal education and occupational stress; increasingly fragmented and monotonous labour processes undermine intrinsic motivation to achieve; and extrinsic motivation to achieve (such as income) is undermined by the non-competitive structure of the labor market in organized sectors of the economy and the tendency toward equalisation of the standards of living of lower income groups, and those on welfare and unemployment. This motivational deficit is reflected in a sense of powerlessness in the system as it is presently constituted.

Thus Habermas presents an alternative view to positivistic developments in administrative theory. He outlines an argument which links modern administrative theory to a developing crisis in public confidence, and he embarks on a quest to construct a theory of empirically verifiable norms to be reviewed later. His assertion is that there are tendencies in modern governmental systems toward crises in the areas of rationality, legitimation and motivation. Habermas makes no claims for the inevitability of the crisis, only that it has "certain plausibility". To conclude this first part, the words of McCarthy are most appropriate (1978:383):

> "Habermas regards the repoliticisation of the public sphere as the potentially most crisis laden tendency in contemporary capitalist society. The 'syndrome of civil and familial-vocational privacy' is being undermined by certain changes in the dominant mode of socialisation, changes producing motivational patterns and value orientations that are incompatible with the requirements of the economic and political systems."

In "Legitimation Crisis" Habermas examined the chances of social emancipation at all levels. He analysed primitive social times, traditional social times and liberal capitalism in terms similar to those of Marx. Enquiring whether the same was true of late capitalism, Habermas outlined a typology of crises inherent in contemporary society; an economic crisis, a crisis of rationality, of legitimacy, and of motivation. Habermas' view was that an economic crisis was not inevitable. But the steps taken by the State to avert it entailed a crisis of rationality. For the conflict of interests inherent in late capitalism and the contradictory demands on state intervention tended to mean that state aid was dysfunctionally distributed. This in turn created a crisis of legitimacy, for state intervention meant opening up the question of control and choice. The only solutions were "buying off" the most powerful parties, or the creation of a new legitimising ideology. In addition, growing public intervention involves lessening the scope of the private sphere which had motivated bourgeois society and thereby a crisis in motivation.

Habermas could see no solution to these staggered crises apart from recourse to a new set of norms that would involve the communicative competence concept and the appropriate socio-economic organization. This is the second part of his argument - to find a theory of verifiable norms whose existence can be rationally discussed. The foundation of his theory rests on a universal morality whose basis lies in communicative ethics, a morality based on undistorted discussion and

consensus.

In a number of studies Habermas has examined the prevailing tendency to reduce all problems of "action" to problems of technical control and manipulation - a tendency that results in "depoliticisation of the mass of the population and the decline of the political realm as a political institution" (1970:75). When practical discourse is eliminated, or suppressed, the public realm loses - in the classical sense of politics - its political function. Convincing people that they should do one thing rather than another by force of the better argument in public discussion is a notion that is fast becoming alien to modern life. The scientific-technical hegemony appears to threaten the emancipatory interest of the human race as such.

Hence Habermas' great involvement with speech and his theory of communicative competence, which he calls "universal pragmatics", has the aim of systematically investigating the "general structures which appear in every possible speech situation, which are themselves produced through the performance of specific types of linguistic expressions, and which serve to situate pragmatically the expressions generated by the linguistically competent speaker" (Bernstein, 1978:208).

The basis for communicative ethics lies in Habermas' analysis of a universal pragmatics, and the underlying dimensions of speech acts. It is here that he makes his stand on the possibility of rational discussion of norms. Science must be maintained as a liberating force, but it must not

dominate, for there must also be the avenue of debating principles and values, the fundamentals of our social existence through unrestricted public discussion. And this is only possible through removing barriers to communication.

Habermas asserts that truth should be embodied in the way we talk to each other for language is the root of any cultural or social system. Unfortunately, in our society, communication is systematically distorted: it is used to manipulate, to threaten, to exercise power, to dominate. This is anathema to Habermas for an emancipated life can only follow from emancipated speech.

Habermas then explores the dimensions of the "ideal" speech situation, particularly in "Communication and the Evolution of Society" (1979). He says that basic to understanding is a speaker's claim that he is "saying something in an understandable fashion, giving something to understand; has thereby made himself understandable, and has thereby come to an understanding with another person" (1979:2). Or as Bernstein explains it:

> "Ideal speech is that form of discourse in which there is no other compulsion but the compulsion of argumentation itself; where there is a genuine symmetry among the participants involved, following a universal interchangeability of dialogue roles; where no form of domination exists. The power of ideal speech is the power of argumentation itself (1978:212)."

Each of the factors in ideal speech can be described in terms of four dimensions basic to speech - comprehensibility, truth, truthfulness and rightness.

> "Comprehensibility is the claim that we have encased our sounds in a shared grammar; truth is the claim that there is a factual basis for the discussion, truthfulness is the claim that the speaker's intention in speaking is not deceptive; and rightness is the claim that the utterance is appropriate in the context in which it is uttered." (Foster, 1980:503)

Habermas offers these norms as universal values embedded in speech. If these dimensions are universal components of communication between people, there may be universalistic characteristics of norms such as "truth" and "rightness". His argument depends on the assumption of an 'ideal' speech situation. The strength of this linguistically-based argument is that it frees the concept of rationality and hence, allows for the possibility of reconceptualising the purpose and design of modern administrative theory. Rationality-as-efficiency may gradually disappear as a new administration appears sensitive to the diverse issues of human life, and is able to deal with them in a variety of settings.

The ideal speech situation rules out domination, ideology, neurosis, manipulation. The ideal life is symbolised in ideal speech - and this embodies ideals of freedom and justice. Habermas presents a formula that unknots many of the unresolved problems of critical social theory. It provides an alternative to the scientific approach that can coexist with it. "And it offers - a road to a universal morality that can solve the legitimation crisis and define the cultural context of a classless society" (Wilby, 1979:668). Whether this anticipated form of communication, this anticipated form of life, is simply a delusion, or whether the empirical conditions for its

approximate attainment can be realised practically is a question that does not admit of a priori answer.

Habermas attempted to provide a theoretical framework for ideal communication, declaring that today the problem of language has replaced the traditional problem of consciousness. Habermas maintains that technological society can only be rational if its policies are subject to public control. But discussion and opinion must be free from manipulation and domination. McCarthy points out that Habermas "argues that the meaning which discourse has for us can only be explained if discourse involves a supposition by the participants that they are in an ideal speech situation, that is, that they are discussing under conditions which guarantee that the consensus they achieve will be genuine" (1973:135). The very act of speech involves the supposition of the possibility of an ideal speech situation in which the force of the better argument alone would decide the issue. This would only be possible if all members of society had an equal chance to participate in the discussion; and this would involve the notion of the transformation of society in a direction that would enable such a communicative competence to characterise all members of society. His thesis is that the structure is free from constraint only when for all participants there is a symmetrical distribution of chances to select and employ speech acts, when there is an effective equality of chances for the assumption of dialogue roles. The ultimate goal of social emancipation is, therefore, inherent in any, and every, speech

act. For Habermas, the reconstruction of a theory of rationality is also a reconstruction of a theory of legitimacy. Habermas' reconstructivist approach attempts to escape the weaknesses of previous ideas on the subject.

Admittedly, much of Habermas' argument is couched in terms of "tendencies" and "possibilities", but we are presented with an argument that attempts to integrate the economic, political, and socio-cultural dimensions of society as a whole, and, in so doing, considers factors which affect the human race as a whole - science, language, moral development and political administration.

Thus, Habermas presumes a relation of legitimation to truth, and his analysis of the logic of legitimation problems rests upon his theory of communicative competence. This theory is an attempt to ground the critical theory of society. In his theory Habermas asserts that each speech-act of a subject exhibits an inherent interest in emancipation, and is oriented to truth. The ideal speech structure provides the conditions necessary for undistorted communication between subjects by facilitating the discursive redemption of validity claims (discourse), which results in a consensus theory of truth. Norms could be justified and accepted through an open, co-operative discourse where the better argument does, in fact, prevail. Habermas is concerned that society is no longer a moral reality, that domination, alienation and inauthenticity are so deeply embedded that socialisation modes are no longer truth dependent. The only real solution is fundamental change

brought about by continuation of critical thinking.

Habermas thus presents a critical analysis of society relating to the growing lack of confidence in social institutions in advanced capitalism to the increasing separation of administration from public control, and the fact that he questions implicitly the scientific basis of administration.

In "Legitimation Crisis", Habermas asserts that rational planning will lead to the end of the individual by progressively isolating the individual from social decision making. Fewer and fewer topics become issues for political discourse. Alienation is the inevitable result as society becomes unresponsive to the individual. Habermas maintains that the legitimacy of such a society cannot last long, and that the system cannot survive. Rational administration was shown to be possible only at the expense of true democracy. Habermas outlines four possible tendencies to crisis in society, viz., (a) economic, (b) rationality, (c) legitimation, and (d) motivation. He maintains that in advanced capitalism the economic crisis can generally be contained, but that to solve the other crises a fundamental change in the structure of society or organization is required.

In "Knowledge and Human Interests" (1972) and "Theory and Practice" (1974) we had criticism of empirical science and Habermas' attempt to search for a method of human knowledge achievement which combines the advantages of empirical science and hermeneutics.

This new scientific method is presented most clearly in the second half of "Knowledge and Human Interests" (1972) by describing the social theorists' role vis-a-vis his patient. The psychoanalyst guides a self-reflective process in the patient through which the patient is able to discover beliefs and fears, which he was unable to communicate to his conscious mind. The social theorist guides a self-reflective process undertaken by society in which failures at communication between groups, often resulting from the inability to recognise the normative bases of descriptive statements, are discovered and corrected. Habermas maintains that the discovery, and correction, of communicative incompetence is the social theorist's task. Habermas attempts the creation of a general theory of communication, or universal pragmatics. The approach is oriented around the concept of an "ideal speech situation". Communicative competence is achieved only when the speaker produces grammatical sentences, a content is chosen so that the listener can share the knowledge of the speaker, the listener trusts the speaker, and the listener can agree with the speaker on underlying values. McCarthy describes this theory of communicative competence as central to all of Habermas' work (1978:273-3):

> "The theory of communicative competence is a new approach to a familiar task: to articulate and ground an expanded concept of rationality...Habermas' argument is, simply, that the goal of critical theory - a life free from unnecessary domination in all its forms - is inherent in the notion of truth, it is anticipated in every act of communication."

In carrying on theoretical discourse we ask each other for agreement on the material conditions, the facts, of life. Habermas shows that agreement depends on consensus, and that consensus is appropriately reached by 'the force of the better argument', if we are free from any form of domination. Habermas argues that theoretical and practical discourse are inextricably linked and our ability to resolve, discursively, claims presupposes an "ideal speech situation" where people could communicate free from all distortion, and which, though not fully realised, provides the normative foundation for agreement in language. Habermas argues that a critical social theory based on this theory of universal pragmatics will illuminate the difference between what we should agree to, theoretically and practically, in an unconstrained situation, and what we now settle for. We can use this model to uncover instances and sources of irrationality in society. In addition, we can use this model to examine, understand, and perhaps mediate differences between groups in society. Habermas applies this model to contemporary capitalism. He implies that the town meeting, or democracy of councils, is the revolutionary alternative to both corporate capitalism and state socialism, and the method is provided by emancipatory action lessening domination in all its forms.

Important issues are the humanisation of work processes, the development of systems of participation, the discovery of alternatives to bureaucracy, the removal of systems of dominance, and the utilisation of expert knowledge without

creating technocractic elites. Thus, the concern is with a fundamental change in structure leading to equality and consensus decision making via communicative competence. Despite the importance of organization to thoroughgoing social reconstruction, the study of organizations has not developed a capacity to deal with fundamental change, for established processes merely affirm present organizational realities and deal with minor adjustments in the present order.

Habermas has explained clearly the tendency towards crises in advanced capitalist society and he maintains that the solution lies in fundamental change in society by the transformation of the latent class structures existent in the society and by the development of communicative ethics - undistorted discussion and consensus. Habermas' approach is a reconstructivist one, and provides a critical-emancipatory stance toward organizational studies. As Frisby puts it (in Rex, 1974:210):

> "Habermas argues that a dialectical sociology is motivated by an emancipatory interest whose intent is the liberation of individuals from alien structures and definitions which arise out of systems of domination. Whilst positivism attempts to increase the calculability of social systems, a dialectical sociology should attempt to liberate men from such systems."

Summary

In reviewing perspectives of the founding fathers of Sociology it was noted that some asserted the paramount importance, for societal and individual well-being, of external constraint, e.g., Durkheim and Parsons. They take the problem of order as the major problem for sociological investigation. Others stressed autonomous man, able to realise his full potential and to create a truly human social order only when freed from external constraint, e.g., Mead, Marx, Weber, Schutz. With these writers, the problem was the individual's ability to assert some control over the social world. The individual must have that freedom to develop his perception of society, his understanding of reality and his development of self-and-other awareness before trying to change society for human betterment. Mead, for example, maintained that the individual must participate actively in the social world rather than responding passively to events. Men and women could live in harmony and order without domination by an all-powerful ruler or organization. This perspective was similar, basically, to that of Marx and Weber, and looked to individual action as the basic element of order and change.

For the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory emphasis was placed upon the forces which moved society towards rational institutions - institutions which would ensure a true, free and just life. These writers attacked both western capitalism and Marxism-Leninism because both were full of class domination by

means of fascism, Stalinism, oligopoly and State bureaucracy. Liberation for all members of society would only be possible through critical education and self-awareness. The Critical Theorist was both a social diagnostician and therapist, whose aim was nothing less than the liberation of the individual and society, from all forms of domination. The message from Critical Theory to Educational Administration is the abolition of the continual reproduction of the existing educational, social and cultural inequalities. The present administrative structures exist for the maintenance of hegemony and control. If such concepts as human justice, equality and freedom are to be meaningful to us, we need to integrate them into the totality of our academic reflections. We need, as Habermas has said, to rationalise our institutions so that they serve human ends. We need a cultural science of educational administration and we need participation, autonomy and involvement from all involved in the process of cultural production and reproduction in our schools. These ideas are summed well by Carnoy (1975:372):

> "The new education should instead be designed to create or reinforce a non-hierarchical society, in which property will not have rights over people, and in which, ideally, no person will have the right of domination over another. This would not be an egalitarian society in the sense that everyone is the same: people would have different work, but that work would not give them authority over the lives of others. Work would be done for each other, out of common agreement and understanding. Obviously, education would have to play a key role in developing such a society, for any transformation requires changing peoples' understanding of the social contract and the meaning of work, responsibility and political participation."

Habermas presents a social theory that would allow change to a society that colonises people to accept dominated roles, by developing an emancipatory stance leading to the liberation of the individual and society. His particular thrust is to criticise modern political and administrative strategies as they affect human dignity, underlining the many facets of domination in society. Habermas maintains that advanced capitalism is a crisis ridden society but one in which, as a result of partial success in stabilising economic fluctuations, crisis tendencies express themselves in various guises. Habermas finds four such types of crisis tendency, interwoven with one another. One type is economic crisis, but like class conflicts today economic crises rarely appear in pure form. Economic steering problems have come to be treated largely as problems of rational administration. Difficulties in resolving dilemmas of economic growth thus tend to become "rationality crises". A rationality crisis is a hiatus in the administrative competence of the state and its affiliated agencies, an inability to cope. Habermas argues that the ability to cope, to co-ordinate economic growth successfully, was the main element in the technocratic legitimation system of late capitalism. Hence, it follows that rationality crises, if prolonged or pronounced, tend to devolve into legitimation crises, the potential of mass withdrawal of support or loyalty. Habermas asserts that the class structures of advanced capitalist societies are the ultimate source of the legitimation deficits (1975:73). He can only see a

legitimation crisis being avoided if the latent class structures of advanced capitalist societies are transformed, or if the pressure to which the political-administrative system is subject, is removed. Finally, crises of legitimacy can in turn become "motivational crises": the motivational commitment of the mass of the population to the normative order of advanced capitalism is tenuous anyway, as the old moral values are stripped away. Technocratic legitimation provides little in the way of meaningful moral commitment, but only the provisional acceptance of a materially successful economic system; the threat of widespread anomie, Habermas says, is endemic in advanced capitalism.

Habermas can only see a legitimation crisis being avoided if the latent class structure of advanced capitalist societies are transformed, or if the pressure to which the political-administrative system is subject, is removed - a fundamental change in structure must occur.

Habermas then presumes a relation of legitimation to truth, and his analysis of the logic of legitimation problems rests upon his theory of communicative competence. His theory is an attempt to ground the critical theory of society. In his theory Habermas asserts that each speech act of a subject exhibits an interest in emancipation, and is oriented to truth. The ideal speech situation which embodies pragmatic-universals, provides the conditions necessary for undistorted communication between subjects by facilitating discourse, which finally results in a consensus theory of truth. The mode of

socialisation which allows the formation of social identity through the minds of socially related individuals, who themselves are committed to a rational organization of society, is an essential part of the social fabric of a 'communication community' which is ordered through the medium of 'communicative ethics'. His argument depends on the assumption of an 'ideal' speech situation; but the strength of this linguistically based argument lies in the theoretical liberation of the concept of rationality, which allows for the possibility of reconceptualising the purpose and design of modern administrative theory. Rationality-as-efficiency may gradually disappear as a new administration appears sensitive to the diverse issues of human life and able to deal with them in a variety of settings. But discussion and opinion must be free from manipulation and domination. The very act of speech involves the possibility of an ideal speech situation in which the force of the better argument alone would decide the issue. This would only be possible if all members of society had an equal opportunity to participate in the discussion; and this would involve the notion of the transformation of society in a direction that would enable such a communicative competence to characterise all members of society. The ultimate goal of social emancipation is therefore inherent in any and every speech act.

It must be acknowledged here that the emphasis placed on legitimisation by Habermas does ignore a basic fact: people can believe that the major institutions of society are

illegitimate and still not rebel. A legitimation crisis must be combined with a sense of confidence, with a willingness to act, and with political organization.

This study endeavours to view the educational scene in the late 1960's and early 1970's in the Australian Capital Territory in relation to crisis and change, and the social theory of Habermas. The large professional and community groups pressing for change had confidence in their ability to devise a new education system, they were willing to meet, discuss, plan and put into operation the new venture, and, probably, above all, a new political power appeared in late 1972 that was committed to change and human emancipation. The writer will endeavour to ascertain whether the feeling was present amongst the professionals, the people in community organizations and public servants - that a new structure had restored credibility by teamwork, collaboration, participation and integrated effort - that is, by the consensus decision-making, as for Habermas, in as many areas as possible. This would occur only with free discussion by as many participants as possible, and by the shared control of different areas by parents, principals, professionals and public servants.

Habermas suggests that the way to confront a crisis is to develop a sustained and critical discourse over the norms and values, as well as the means and facts of organizational life. This process of corporate reflection must be a co-operative project involving the members of an organization, the school,

the members of society, the school system, working towards consensus about social action based on mutual understanding and respect for participants as persons. School restructure, system restructure with shared control would be a practical answer to Habermas' challenge to engage in sustained critical discourse covering the values, means and ends of organizational life.

This chapter has reviewed the reconstructivist approach of Critical Social Theory, and particularly the social theory of Jurgen Habermas, the contemporary leader of the Critical Theory paradigm. The following chapters present a review of positivist literature on shared decision-making and control, followed by a discussion of the perspectives of the four participant groups in the new Australian Capital Territory education system (parents, professionals, principals and public servants) towards their role in shared decision-making and control.

Chapter Two

Perspectives on Shared Decision-making in the Literature

A section of the literature on organizational theory favours models of decentralised operation and participative decision-making which shift control over decisions to the 'lower' organizational levels. These topics are dealt with in the first section.

Educational organizations have many special characteristics arising from their work at the interface between existing society and the emerging generation. They are affected by the universality of their market and the professional operations of their workforce. Attention is given in the second section to special characteristics which have been identified by writers in the field of educational organizations on the assumption that such characteristics may affect the pattern of control in educational institutions.

Other researchers have investigated decision patterns within educational organizations from differing points of view and their work is reviewed in the third section.

Any shift to decentralise educational decision-making and control along the lines recommended by some of the writers would shift control over such decisions in the direction of the schools and towards the professional teaching force, in particular. In the fourth section of the discussion attention

is focussed on literature associated with moves to increase teachers' control over educational decision-making.

An expectation for education is that it secularise and acculturate youth so that youth can play an appropriate role in society. An implication from this is that society as a whole will be interested in educational control. Hence, the fifth section gives attention to some material dealing with community control over educational decision-making.

(a) Decentralisation

The function of administrators has been to direct the efforts of the organization to achieve set goals, or what Etzioni called the 'desired state of affairs that organizations attempt to realise' (1964:6). However, difficulties often arise as administrators attempt to implement structures and practices to fulfil the requirements of this role function. As Etzioni points out (1964:6):

> "But whose image of the future does the organization pursue? That of top executives? The board of directors or trustees? The majority of members? Actually more of these. The organizational goal is that future state of affairs which the organization as a collectivity is trying to bring about. It is in part affected by the goals of the top executives, those of the board of directors, and those of the rank and file. It is determined sometimes in peaceful consultation, sometimes in a power play among the various organizational divisions, plants, cabals, ranks and 'personalities'."

In the field of education Evans (1977:13) puts it this way:

> "...the system functions so that a relatively large proportion of the children of the elite are successful in gaining admission to elite status. From the perspective, then, the control of the educational system...is of

> considerable importance to those in power. Centralised planning and administration help to insure such control."

A large body of literature has been addressed to the task of overcoming this problem of control of decisions. Since the time of Taylor (1903) theorists in the area of management or administration have sought formulations which, when properly applied, would provide a cure for organizational ills. Taylor had a view of control that was highly centralised:

> "It is only through enforced standardisation of methods, enforced adaptation of the best implements and working conditions, and enforced co-operation that this factor (efficiency) can be assured. And the duty of enforcing the adoption of the standards and of enforcing this co-operation rests with the management alone (1947:83)."

Thankfully, social climates change because of critical theorists and Taylor's scientific management did not prove to be universally applicable, though its principles would still appear to be used in some organizations. Changes have included models which favoured human relations, models based on principles of maximising effective use of human resources and contingency models which attempted to match environmental circumstances, specific tasks and the nature of the work force. One organizational style which according to Litterer (1965:379) attracted much attention was the adjusting of patterns of centralisation and decentralisation within an organization. Perrow (1979:168) listed arguments advanced by Bennis (1966) that organizations in order to survive must become decentralised, practice participative management and be adaptive and responsive to their members. In relation to education there was the group of thinkers such as Illich and

Freire, the critics of schooling. In the view of Illich, for example, the centrally planned and controlled schooling, in both curriculum and process, served solely to reinforce the inequities in society, and to make the educational consumer dependent on the modern materialist economy. Freire articulated a clear conceptual framework for understanding the ways in which schooling is inherently oppressive and dehumanising. Freire's philosophy, in particular, has raised issues which suggest some basic contradictions in the notions of one group of people planning for the lives of another, particularly when the two groups are normally separated by wide social and economic gaps.

Decentralisation has many forms. An organization can be decentralised on a geographic basis, where the intent is to provide separate services of facilities over a wide area, each operating with some measure of autonomy. It can be decentralised on a functional basis, where the organization is divided into separate units, each with distinct functions. Finally, decentralisation can distribute decision-making throughout the organization. It is this third form that will be concentrated upon in the following sections.

As Andrews states (1978:4):

> "Over the past few years throughout Australia there has been a growing tendency for the focus of educational decision-making to move away from central authorities to more localised levels...The principles on which this moved toward devolution are based, are firstly that decisions should be made as close to the learning situation as possible, and secondly that decisions should be shared by those that they directly affect. The school thus becomes the main area of educational decision-making that involves

> the participation of the key members of the school community - teachers, students and parents."

Decentralisation was described by Litterer (1965:312) as giving discretion and autonomy to subordinates. He claimed that an organization was centralised if the decisions were made by one individual or small group, usually at the top of the hierarchy. Other structures would be decentralised to some degree whenever authority to make decisions was thrust down through the organization to lower level managers or to the sub-ordinates themselves. Decision-making means delegating powers of decision-making to bodies other than those which remain mere agents of central authority.

Meyer (1971) spoke of decentralisation arising from growth in organizations. Growth caused proliferation of hierarchical levels which separated the head of the organization from the non-supervisory employees. To maintain efficiency in such circumstances, much decision-making authority was removed from top management and given to middle management. According to Mintzberg (1979:81) centralisation and decentralisation involved the distribution of power to make decisions through the organization. He maintained that an organization was centralised when all the decision-making was concentrated at a single point and decentralised to some extent, otherwise. He maintained that the power to decide should reside at the point where the information was available, provided the people at that point had the capacity to make the decision. Decentralisation would thus allow local officers to exert

control and enable the organization to respond to local conditions.

A view of decentralisation as hierarchical differentiation, which produced a proliferation of supervisory levels each with authority to make decisions of various types, was presented by Meyer (1971). Luthans (1973:1377) also discussed diffusion through the organization of decision-making authority as one of his three forms of decentralisation. He claimed that organization charts meant very little, and the determining factor of decentralisation was how much of the decision-making was retained at the top and how much was delegated to lower levels. The use of the term 'delegated' must be recognised. It implies a temporary conferral of authority with the retention of the right to withdraw authority if unsuitable decisions are made. This is one of the complicating factors in the concept of decentralisation. Often senior management can delegate authority to make decisions to employees at various levels in an organization, yet much of the responsibility for the consequences of the decisions remains with the central core of the organization. For example, legal damages arising out of actions by a principal, or teacher, are often claimed against the employing authority which is held jointly responsible for the decisions of those whom it authorises to act on its behalf. Because the total responsibility for the decision is not transferred with the authority to make the decision, the transfer of authority is conditional rather than absolute. The subordinate retains

authority to make decision whilst they fall within tolerance boundaries set up by the organization. Some of the control is retained by superordinates in the organization.

In speaking of decentralisation earlier, it was noted that it occurred when control over decision-making shifted to a point further from the centre of the organization. This means that individuals participate in the decision process who would be excluded if a more centralised style of operation was adopted.

Many authors have seen advantages arising from widening the participation in decision-making and control within organizations. Coch and French (1948) maintained that group decision-making, a form of decentralisation, was positively related to productivity. Litterer (1965) outlined benefits from decentralised decision-making which included more meaningful social climate in the organization, more prompt and knowledgeable attention to problems and greater flexibility and adaptability for the organization. A continuum of four management styles was depicted by Likert (1966). The styles were exploitive, benevolent, consultative or participative, each having application in particular situations, but he was convinced that major advances were attached to the participative style. Argyris (1972) also maintained that a decentralised organization was most conducive to effectiveness. His argument was that decentralisation which allowed participation in decision-making would increase satisfaction, security and self-control which could lead to heightened

commitments and increased efforts.

Simon (1977:48) recognised the pleasure that professionals achieved from using a well-stocked set of skills to solve problems that were comprehensible in structure, even if unfamiliar in detail. He warned that excessive freedom may not be good if every different decision was a new intellectual task. He spoke of the welcome refuge of routine and the tendency to delimit problems as a first step to seeking solutions. Simon argued that although professionals wanted challenging decision-making tasks they preferred to work in areas where they felt competent.

Interest was also shown by Simon (1977:99) in control within decentralised organizations. He saw demands for freedom from control often changing into demands for freedom to control. He maintained (1977:102) that human beings performed best in environments that provided some elements of structure, including the structure that derived from involvement with authority relations. Yet, he argued, decentralisation and participation made the profit motive meaningful to a large group. He drew attention to the value laden nature of the terms decentralisation and centralisation, the first evoking visions of democracy, self-determination and self-actualisation; the latter, associations with bureaucracy and authoritarianism.

Increased participation in decision-making to raise the level of responsibility felt by the participants was advocated by Davis (1977) who asserted that this would lead to more

co-operation and good will. However, he warned that there were prerequisites. Participation took time and costs may sometimes outweigh the gains. In addition, the subject of the participation had to be relevant to the workers' domain. Nevertheless, Davis saw advantages being achieved providing the participants had sufficient knowledge and ability to contribute meaningfully, especially when participation took place in a non-threatening atmosphere within well defined policy limits.

Evans (1977) studied national programmes of decentralisation in developing countries noting that the rhetoric of national ideology often relied heavily on decentralised participation as a legitimising basis for government activities. He warned that merely devolving power to local levels would almost always result in control by existing elites, and a perpetuation of existing inequalities. Decentralisation was the aim, but control from the centre would be required in the early stages, then an educational programme developed to prepare local citizens for participation - shades of Habermas and the intellectuals developing communicative competence.

Child (1977) saw large organizations producing communication problems, and a sense of remoteness between workers and management. This led to disaffection among the workers and a lack of productivity. As a result he expressed a need to modify bureaucratic structures and to break them down into smaller units which would allow for participation and would increase efficiency. Participation management of this

type is also associated with the Theory Y manager of McGregor (1960) who encouraged participation in decisions to increase commitment, leading to self-direction and self control.

In 1979, Mintzberg observed that dual propositions could be advanced in favour of participation. The first was that participation increased productivity. This was, in his opinion, a testable hypothesis. The second was that participation was worthwhile in itself. He said this was a value-laden hypothesis which was non-testable. The primary goal of the education system was to assist citizens to participate meaningfully in the life of the nation.

Each of the writers cited has seen advantages arising from management styles in organizations that allow for a form of participative decision-making and control. School-based shared decision-making does imply that the structure of the system must reflect the central role of the school and community as the creative focus of the educational enterprise.

(b) Special Characteristics of Educational Organizations

The review to this point has dealt with decision-making and control in organizations in general. Before looking at decision-making in educational organizations, in particular, some of the special characteristics of organizations - that they are human service organizations; that they are loosely-coupled organizations; that they are organized anarchies; that they are operated by professionals; that

participation of staff and community in control is common - will be considered because such characteristics will inevitably affect the decision-making structures.

Educational organizations are in a group often referred to as human service organizations. As such, they are highly dependent for their operation on the interaction of groups of people. Their raw material consists of people as does their output. Their technology operates through one group of people interacting with another. This has a far-reaching effect on the organization as a whole. As Bidwell (1965:990) pointed out:

> "...school structure and modes of operation must be adapted to meet the exigencies which the student society creates."

The label 'loosely-coupled systems' was attached to educational organizations by Weick (1976). To him, they had soft structures and were flexible in shape, scope and operation. The loose-coupling meant that bonding was dissolvable. Although the elements were inter-connected, they were weakly or infrequently joined, often with minimal interdependence. Weick maintained that occasionally, individual elements could persist, regardless of their relevance to others, but that a sensitive information network existed which allowed for local adaptation, many mutations and novel solutions. Pierce (1978) concluded that if educational organizations are as loosely structured as the proponents of school based development believe, then school-based decision-making is not only a practical way to administer schools but may be the only way.

School based educational development becomes a system of shared decision-making in a loosely-coupled organization in which principals, teachers, parents and administrators all have a part in making decisions for which they are ultimately responsible.

Educational organizations were called 'organized anarchies' by Cohen, March and Olsen (1972). They used this terminology to highlight their argument that in such systems preferences were problematic, the technology was unclear and the participation was fluid. Their claim was that these conditions existed in all organizations some of the time, but in educational organisations most of the time. Nevertheless, the overall aim of educational organizations is the systematic gaining of knowledge and skills. This general purpose provides the cohesiveness that binds the system together.

A further factor to be considered when dealing with educational institutions is that they are operated by professionals, claiming privilege as a reward for specialised training and knowledge. Professionals exert what Corwin (1965:4) portrayed as a 'drive for status' which was associated with freedom from outside control. He discussed the place of experts in a democracy, suggesting that the growth of specialised knowledge could supersede the right of the citizen to decide. Hall (1977:166) spoke of the need for organizations to create situations where:

> "...the professional is able to carry out his work with a minimum amount of interference from the organization, while the organization is able to integrate the work of

the professionals for its own benefit."

The implications are that organizational employees who have, or aspire to, professional status will have expectations of self-direction. They will seek authority to make decisions or to be involved in the making of decisions which affect them. In the school situation they would require a positive school board, opportunities for major decision involvement and opportunities to participate in decisions that affected the job day to day.

In suggesting that day to day decisions in schools were being made within a framework laid down elsewhere, Briault (1976:29) referred to a triangle of tension among the central government, the local government and the individual school. The view was advanced that educational services should be responsive to local services and needs. This was most likely to be achieved when those directly involved in the provision of services had the opportunity to respond directly to perceived needs without undue control from outside the educational institution.

What was favoured by the writers mentioned previously was a system of optimal involvement, an ideology favouring participation, and this could be rationalised by increases in the level of competence of teachers and the general community. The writers mentioned constraints on teacher autonomy arising from Federal legislation, state legislation, district regulation (in United States of America), parental expectations, professional standards, availability of resources

and leadership style of principals. Corwin (1974:254) listed constraints on school administrators:

> "...power of administrators in schools is limited by checks and balances such as office that control budget, space allocation, hiring of personnel, admissions, etc.; professional associations, accrediting agencies, federal planning offices; officers at city and state government levels; power of departments..."

Although some of the properties such as loose-coupling, staffed by professionals, human service, organized anarchies, as outlined by the aforementioned authors are presented in several classes of organizations, their combination gives a special character to educational organizations. This combination affects the pattern of control over decision-making which is either desirable, or possible, for educational systems.

(c) Decision-making and Control Amongst Staff in Schools

A study of decision-making was undertaken by Sharma (1955) in twenty school systems spread across eighteen states of the United States. His objective was to discover teachers' perceptions of who did and who should make decisions relating to thirty-five different activities. The groups to be discriminated among were the board of education, superintendent, principal, the individual teacher, the teacher in a group, a citizens' committee and the students. He found that teachers wanted more professional responsibility for matters related to instruction and more autonomy for the individual school with the community limited in participation to non-professional matters.

In a survey of teachers in Saskatchewan, McBeath (1969) sought indications of their perceptions and preferences as to where decisions were made about educational programmes which included curriculum, goals and objectives, instruction and evaluation. He offered a choice of possible levels; classroom, school, school system, provincial, national, and don't know. He found a gradation through levels with the largest number of decisions (31%) being made at the provincial level and the least number of (19%) being made at the school level.

Observed and desired levels of participation in decision-making and control were also investigated by Simpkins (1968) among a selected group of Alberta teachers. His study considered four areas of activity: curriculum planning and adaptation, classroom management, arrangement of instructional programme, and general school organization. The study showed that the teachers played the main role in the classroom management with a higher-authority figure dominating extra-classroom management. The teachers, however, indicated a desire for more participation and wanted a higher level of professional responsibility with their discretionary power extending the decisions outside their own rooms, as well as inside. Teachers wanted to participate in decision-making but did not seek total control.

Further evidence of this nature emerged when decision-making as a central theme in teachers' needs was observed by Belasco and Alutto (1972). They identified three

states existing among teachers with respect to their participation in decision-making and control. These were deprivation, equilibrium, and saturation. Although they found that the lowest level of satisfaction occurred among the decision-deprived teachers, they cautioned against increasing the participation level for all teachers. They thought that this could further disenchant the decision saturated teachers, and cause those in an equilibrium state to feel saturated with decision responsibility. They recommended management approaches which allowed for differential participation in decision-making.

Mohrman, Cooke and Mohrman (1978) examined involvement in decision-making in relation to Parsons' (1951) technical and managerial decision content issues. Their findings supported Belasco and Alutto's assertion that the desire by subordinates to participate in decision-making is not evenly distributed throughout the organization.

Furthermore, they concluded that teachers desire greater involvement in technical issues than they do in managerial issues.

Taking a different approach, Stone (1973) investigated the distribution of decision-making authority between the central office and the school principal. He looked at areas of responsibility related to budget, community, personnel, curriculum and students. His study covered the perceptions of school principals and central office administrators in districts in California and showed that the majority of large

districts were moving to decentralise decision-making and control. The least movement was taking place in budget matters and the most in student matters. The majority of teachers were opposed to the concept of a single authority figure making decisions. They advocated the alternatives of matters being decided by a majority vote of teachers or by the principal after major input from teachers.

Andrews concluded in his study (1978):

> "A number of important educational decisions are therefore considered to be best made at the school level. These include decisions relating to:
>
> (a) The formation of school policy, aims, objectives.
>
> (b) The planning, implementation and evaluation of curriculum appropriate to the students of the school.
>
> (c) The deployment and development of appropriate professional and ancillary staff to mount the curriculum adequately.
>
> (d) The control of resources and buildings to achieve the same purpose. This necessitates the discretionary control of schools funds.
>
> (e) The evaluation of school programmes and pupil progress.
>
> (f) Participation in system level planning as it relates to that particular school."

In a study which related to making decisions about curriculum matters, Knoop and O'Reilly (1976) found that the majority of teachers were opposed to the concept of a single authority figure making decisions. They advocated the alternatives of matters being decided by a majority vote of teachers or by the principal after major input from the teachers. The guideline to be preserved was that individuals affected by decisions

should participate in making those decisions.

Crockenberg and Clark (1979) discussed a teacher involvement project in San Jose designed to train classroom teachers to participate in decision-making and to help principals identify and resolve local school problems. They discovered that the decision-making areas of particular concern to teachers were distinctly instructional rather than administrative.

In another study, Robinson (1976) attempted to determine the actual and preferred decision-making levels of teachers and principals in schools. He found that both elementary and secondary teachers desire more decision-making in schools and that Principals and Assistant Principals made more decisions than any other group. The study showed that preferred levels of teacher participation in decision-making were greater than actual levels of decision-making, and also that the teachers desire for participation in school decision-making varied with the decisional area. The study concluded that more collegial decision-making systems in schools would produce great teacher satisfaction and hence improved educational climate.

After looking at organizational theory and research relevant in participation in decision-making, Bartunek and Keys (1979) maintained that teachers wished to participate in making decisions about issues of importance to them but not others. They claimed that enthusiasm for participation could depend upon perception of routine, belief about whether or not the participation would make a difference, the importance of the

outcome and whether or not the participants had anything better to do.

Much of the research listed has looked at the difference between perceived and desired levels of control by teachers. In many cases, evidence has emerged for a desire for greater participation. However, some caution has been expressed that groups exist who consider themselves overloaded with decisions already. A further warning has been given that the perceived significance of the issue affects the desire for participation. However, it is most pertinent to note the conclusion of Andrews (1978:10):

> "In a truly participative democracy, decision-making becomes a process whereby people propose, discuss, plan, decide and implement those decisions that affect their own lives. Only in this way are the real interests of the people protected. At the school level this necessitates the sharing of major decisions by the principal partners in the educational process at that level - the teachers, students and parents - not by external representatives."

(d) Teacher Involvement in Association

In the previous section attention was focussed on individual studies. In this section a more general view is taken in order to canvass the work of writers who have tried to place the thrust for greater teacher involvement in its historical setting.

Several writers have attempted to trace the growth of forces which would increase the control of teachers over educational decision-making. They have described the formation of associations to act collectively on behalf of teachers in

bargaining for an increased voice in determining working and learning conditions. Gorton describes it in these terms (1971:325):

> "In recent years the issue of teacher participation in school decision-making has attracted considerable attention. Newspaper headlines have featured teacher demands for increased involvement in decisions influencing their professional welfare, and teacher organizations have become more militant in their attempt to obtain a more significant role for teachers in decision-making. A review of the educational literature on teacher expectations for participation in school decision-making suggests that teachers prefer group leadership, i.e., leadership where teachers participate in making decisions about the school programme, to principal-dominated leadership."

Blum (1969) made a comparative study of teachers' organizations in eight countries. He noted that in their early stages they were concerned with purely professional areas such as control of entry, improved tenure, professional training, limitation of external pressure and improved educational content or practice. In time, they became bodies which included higher salaries, better working conditions and great worker participation in management among their implicit, if not explicit goals.

Increased teacher militancy was claimed by Stimnet, Kleinman and Ware (1967:7) to be associated with the desire of teachers to participate in educational decision-making. This was also considered by Rosenthal (1969) who stressed the needs felt by teachers for united action and organization to ensure a role in decision-making related to educational matters. The claim was made by Toffler (1972:242) that the major New York teacher strike of 1969-70 had been called "precisely over the issue of decentralisation".

As was pointed out by McNeill and March (1979:81) the trade union movement is not much older than this century, and teachers' unions appeared later than many. However, they have made a vigorous effort to gain rights for teachers in the control of educational issues. The extent of pre-service and in-service training for teachers has continued to rise, and the general level of qualifications of those working in the schools is higher than in previous years. The result of this is that teachers feel justified in pressing for an increased share in the decision-making and control in the operation of schools, for which their training and expertise has prepared them, including their own professional advancement.

As David Bennett pointed out in relation to peer assessment in the Australian Capital Territory (1982:3):

> "The Neal-Radford recommendation for a system of colleague assessment was one result of a general rejection of centralised bureaucracy which occurred in the late sixties and early seventies. It was also one reflection of a general demand for increased participation which occurred in the late sixties and early seventies. It was also one reflection of a general demand for increased participation in decision-making."

As outlined above their professional organizations have continued to call for increased influence for teachers but Davis (1977:151) spoke of reservations held by some unions that workers' participation would lessen loyalty to the union. This could weaken the union's position in opposing decisions. In some areas teachers' unions have fought hard to achieve conditions and are reluctant to see them diminished by localised bargaining.

In another study on shared decision-making, Bridges (1967:49) analyses research by Coch and French, Vroom, Wickert and Chase and concludes that participation by teachers in decision-making does produce positive consequences. Teachers who reported the opportunity to participate regularly and actively in making policies were much more likely to be enthusiastic about their schools than those who did not have the opportunity. Bridges' own research showed that teachers preferred principals who involved their staffs in decision-making and summarised by saying:

> "These studies lend weight to the position that participation does increase a teacher's level of satisfaction in teaching, his enthusiasm for the school system where he works and his positive attitude to the Principal."

In his study Andrews (1978:14) claimed that teachers are responsible for providing educational experiences for students and, therefore, should have the right to be involved in all decisions that facilitate those experiences. This demands a shifting of power from the executive to the whole teaching staff and this devolution of decision-making within a school is essential to provide teachers with the opportunity to realise fully their professional aspirations. Andrews maintains that collaboration in decision-making - students, parents, teachers, office personnel - is entirely consistent with the professionalism of teachers.

The research of Lipham (1981) concluded that staff participation in decision sharing was most desirable for:

(a) schools should be structured to provide opportunities for those affected by a decision to participate in making it;

(b) there was an increased desire on the part of school staff members to become involved in the decision-making process; and

(c) the involvement of staff in decision-making was significantly and positively related to job satisfaction.

School principals as a group have increasingly expressed interest in expanding their role in decision-making and control. However, it is interesting to note Sharples' warning (1977) that the move for more autonomy and control might be illusory. Teachers and principals might find they are obliged to accept more responsibility as they demand and obtain more involvement in decision-making and control. The net result would be increased accountability rather than the real objective of increased freedom.

(e) Community Control

The thrust for teachers' involvement in and control over educational decision-making has been supplemented by a similar thrust from the wider community. As Hightower (1978) states:

> "One of the most significant trends in education over the last decade has been the increase in parent participation and involvement in various co-operative educational and policy making roles."

A society establishes formal schooling when the transmission of basic survival skills and the process of acculturation become too complex to be handled at the level of the family leader or tribal elder. In a modern society the vast proliferation of knowledge or attitudes to be transmitted to the young and skills to be taught, has resulted in the development of an increasingly specialised service for the delivery of education. In such circumstances the control of education can fall into the hands of an educational elite and a danger may arise of the system alienating itself from the society it was designed to service. Proponents of community participation and involvement and part-control of education use their efforts as an attempt to make the providers of educational services more answerable to the general public at the local level and to have real participation at the local level (see separate section - Community and Control).

After a detailed consideration of many of the movements for community control in the United States, La Noue and Smith (1973:21) declared:

> "...although the rhetoric of the movement assumes mass participation of 'the people' or 'the community' it is more probable that decentralisation policies will create additional elites to represent the newly recognised groups or neighbourhoods."

In discussing the increased control by teachers over educational discussions in the English context, Sallis (1977:23) felt that the community was being excluded in the process:

> "Parents feel like the other woman at the funeral, all the emotion but none of the rights, not even the solace of public grief."

She claimed that many Local Education Authority members thought that the independence of the school in the sphere of curriculum, organization and rules had gone too far. She saw heightened parental participation as necessary to provide a curb on the freedom of the 'experts'.

On the other hand, Bacon (1978:5), speaking of the same situation, described what he saw as a fundamental alteration in the balance of power in the schools. He claimed that the control over decision-making by both teachers and parents was increasing.

In his study in 1978, Hightower quotes President Carter as saying:

> "I am for the maximum feasible involvement of parents in education decision-making. My administration would do its utmost to encourage such parental participation."

Hightower concluded that while implementation of requirements for parental involvement had been sporadic and uneven at the local level, the concept had gained increasingly stronger endorsement at state and federal levels.

A comparison was made by Zimit (1969) of administrative decentralisation and community control in New York City. He maintained that strengthening community control did not necessarily extend decision-making to the local school; yet, he argued, instructional improvement had to occur at the local school level. He concluded that the major need was to increase responsibility and autonomy at that level. Lay and

professional support was there because it increased operational efficiency and strengthened school and community relationships.

In their 1978 study, Lutz and Garnon looked at citizen participation in educational decisions and concluded that the message for schools was that many citizens did express a desire for greater participation in school governance and so it was essential for those in control to provide channels of communication, and devolve power to the community. They quote Davey as saying:

> "No government by experts in which the masses do not have the chance to inform the experts as to their needs can be anything but an oligarchy managed in the interest of the few. And the enlightenment must proceed in ways which force the administrative specialist to take account of the needs. The world has suffered more from leaders and authorities than from the masses. The essential need, in other words, is the improvement of methods of debate, discussion and persuasion. That is the problem of the public."

Lutz and Garnon state that the schools should be the focus of debate, discussion and persuasion but point out that it will take creative, careful, and patient planning to make the concept of community involvement a reality.

The difference between community participation and community control was discussed by Jenkins (1977). He conducted extensive interviews and concluded that the community input could be handled in a way that recognised the importance of professionalism, expertise and competence, yet allowed a voice for citizens. He saw the need for a district school board and a local school advisory council. The principal would be responsible to the board and its officers but would seek

advice from the council.

Andrews (1978:17) discussed the charge that most parents are not really interested in participating in school development. He maintains that the problem was caused by the fact that schools for so long had been 'fortresses', actively discouraging parental involvement or trivialising it where it was allowed. He found that apathy was closely related to lack of power and where parents were given more real power to influence important decisions they were more interested in participating. He maintained that local influence became significant only when participatory structures were linked with effective control over resources and political power. He cites the Australian Capital Territory as an example of school based decision sharing (1978:31) and says:

> "The school boards have formal power to perform functions which include determining education policies to be implemented in the school, assessing physical, monetary and staffing needs, and developing relationships with the community and community groups. A great variety in programmes offered by the schools has resulted with the increased community participation, especially in curriculum decision-making."

Many groups and individuals appear to be pressing for greater participation in education decision-making and control. On occasions, the aims of groups are in conflict and careful planning is needed to satisfy the wishes of all. In this section various trends and conflicting forces have been considered. The resolution of these forces will probably determine the locus of control within any particular system at any given time for any given issue.

Summary

This review of the literature has argued that the effectiveness of organizations is enhanced by decentralisation of organization; that this is especially the case in terms of educational organizations given their special characteristics, and that recent moves by teachers and community groups have provided a political impetus for such developments.

Decentralisation of decision-making is but one of the structural variables of an organization. Nevertheless, considerable interest has been shown in the effect that changes in this variable have on overall performance.

The making of decisions is a vital and central function of any organization. Decentralising the decision-making within the organization implies increasing the number of people with authority to make decisions and exercise control. Centralising the decision-making means reducing the number of people with authority to make decisions, and locating the locus of control closer to the top of the hierarchy.

For this reason decentralisation is associated with participative management when lower level management and workers are involved in the decision process. The arguments supporting decentralisation tend to centre on claims of increased commitment in workers who have participated in the making of decisions. Participation is

expected to increase the understanding of those involved, produce converging goals for workers and management, and provide greater levels of satisfaction. The anticipated outcome is a more informed and willing endeavour resulting in increased effectiveness. A further contention is that better decisions can often be made by those directly involved in their implementation, as these people appreciate the complexities of the practical situation.

Some constraints over the extent to which decision-making can and should be decentralised arise from the formality associated with legal responsibility and accountability. The need for co-ordination of activity in a large organization also tends to limit the amount of individual autonomy.

Educational organizations have some special properties and many of these arise from the fact that they are people-processing organizations. The level of qualifications of teachers has risen in recent years as has their desire to be involved in educational decision-making and control. Teachers' associations have pressed for greater control for teachers over educational decisions, although a few researchers have found evidence that some teachers do not wish for greater participation except in matters which very closely affect them.

Community groups have also sought more influence over educational decision-making. In some instances, the intention has been to curb the influence of the teaching

force and make it more accountable to the public.

There are many factors that influence changes in the locus of control within educational organizations - social factors, economic factors, political factors, organizational constraints, legal constraints, interest groups and individual preferences - and the final locus of control will vary with the balance achieved amongst the various forces affecting it. Shift in the locus of control over educational decisions will be dependent on both administrative style and environmental impetus for change.

The survey reveals strong theoretical support of varying patterns of operation to decentralise control. researchers have shown that there is a preference for such decentralisation among many elements of educational organizations, particularly among teachers. Teachers' associations have been particularly vocal in their support for moves of this nature. Nevertheless, constraints exist, and these have been recognised.

If schools are to be professionally responsive to the needs of children, each school must have control over decisions affecting the students. This will include decisions in the areas of policy, curriculum, staffing, facilities, resources, evaluation processes and participation in system-level planning. Involvement of students, parents, teachers, principals and office staff in these decisions can have advantages such as

broader-based and better-informed decisions, a reduction in alienation of the local community, improved communications and relations between school and community, the development of better methods for conflict resolution, and the creation of a school programme more reflective of the socio-cultural makeup of the community. Decision sharing by parents, teachers, administrative personnel and principals is supported as a means of improving the cultural reproduction and resources for all children.

The movement towards decentralisation of decision making draws its strength from a number of sources, including the demand for participation from students and parents; the expanding view of professionalism being taken by teachers; the general political trend to consultation in decision-making; and the search by administrators for increased effectiveness and sensitivity in providing services. School based decision-making is not synonymous with total school autonomy, but is rather a way of redefining the role of schools in order to direct the energies of all those involved in schooling towards social betterment for all.

The review has noted the stress placed by early writers about society on autonomous man, able to realise his full potential and to create a truly human social order when freed from external constraint. This was followed by the writers of the Critical Theory school emphasising the forces that would move societal

institutions to become rational institutions ensuring a true, free and just life for all members of society. The social theory of Habermas then emphasised a fundamental change in the structure of institutions, followed by communicative competence in the ideal speech situation in order to develop consensus decision making leading to social betterment.

This chapter has presented a review of the positivist literature on shared decision making and control. Chapter 3 will review the literature dealing with the perspectives on shared decision-making and control held by the four participant groups in the new Australian Capital Territory education system - the parents, professionals, public servants and principals, with summation by the participant observer.

Chapter Three

Perspectives on Sharing Control by Parents, Professionals, Public Servants, Principals

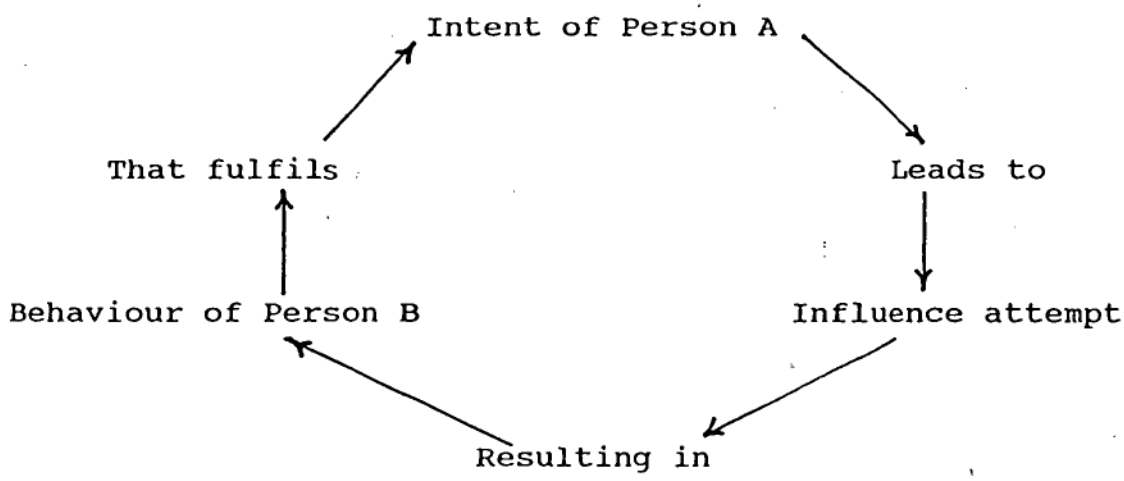
Historical Perspective on Control

Organizational control is one of several organization processes. Early writers like Fayol and Gulick focussed attention on it when they propounded principles of management (Sergiovanni, 1980:45, Hoy and Miskel, 1978:5-6). Fayol was responsible for some generally accepted principles like "one man/one boss" and matching authority with responsibility, and for identifying planning, organizing, commanding, controlling, co-ordinating as the major organizational processes. Gulick expanded this list of processes by replacing controlling with budgeting and reporting, adding staffing and renaming commanding as direction. There have been numerous specifications since then, each one slightly different.

Control has varied from being synonymous with power, authority or influence to being associated with participation, co-operation and the integration of individuals directed towards the accomplishment of the goals of the organization. Tannenbaum (1968) has developed the idea of control from being a check, to any process in which a person, or group of persons,

determines, that is, intentionally affects, the behaviour of another person, group or organization (1968:84). For him, control was a process represented by a cycle beginning with the intent of one person leading to an influence attempt on another person, who responds in some way that fully, partly or dysfunctionally reacts to the intent of the first person. This may be illustrated as:

Figure 3.1 - Control Process



To have a fuller understanding of the control process, many additional elements need to be analysed, including assumptions about the capacities and attitudes of members of the organization, the division of power and associated legal enforcement procedures and the great variety of means whereby Person A attempts to influence Person B. It can be seen that Tannenbaum's definition allows analysis of controls originating outside the organization, although these tend to be considered by other writers as constraints operating on the organization

from its environment, or as inputs which affect the operation of the organizational system.

Many means may be used to exert control, so that it matters little in terms of Fig. 1 whether the intentions of Person A result from a command from a higher level in the hierarchy, or are self-initiated. The influence attempt may refer to specific actions to be performed by Person B such as obedience to a rule (rolls be marked at a certain time); it may be very general, such as conformity to peer group values (acceptable behaviour at staff meetings); or it may involve the establishment of a set of circumstances through which Person B's behaviour is partly determined (the allocation of classes under the schools' timetable may influence the behaviour of the teachers involved). The most important consideration as far as Person A is concerned is that, regardless of the means used, Person B should behave in the intended way.

Fig. 1 represents only one basic unit of the organizational structure, and a number of such cycles are required to build up the complete control process of any organization. In their aggregate, these cycles are seen, primarily, as ensuring that the organization functions to achieve its goals. However, anyone of the cycles may break down, or diverge. Again, Tannenbaum (1968:7-8) identified a number of possible causes of divergence, including the presence of conflicting interests, which may produce confusing attempts to influence, the sheer lack of ability on the part of B to

meet A's requests despite a wish to do so, and the existence of personal antipathy, which may make B reluctant to do A's bidding. As well, B may be subject to contradictory influence attempts because he is a participant in two or more cycles. These examples indicated that the control process should include the means of identifying reasons for breakdowns - structural imperfections with the organization and/or individual behavioural patterns at odds with the existing structure. That an administrator should acknowledge the possibility of changing an organization's structure to resolve a conflict between organizational and behavioural needs was a relatively new suggestion. It came about as the control process in administration was seen as having to reconcile ego-involvement, identification, motivation and job satisfaction of members on the one side, with, on the other, the need of management to organize to achieve the primary task in the most effective and efficient manner.

The traditional view, e.g., Taylor (Sergiovanni, 1980:44 and Hoy and Miskel, 1978:3-5), was linked with assumptions that man fell into two classes, leaders and followers, and that extrinsic rewards and sanctions were the dominant ways of exercising control. Coercion was thus a major aspect of the management process and an organization was seen to need a system of rewards and punishments to ensure that orders were carried out.

Weber extended this idea by suggesting that followers needed to accept the right of leaders to exercise control. He

introduced the concept of legitimate authority which he saw as being charismatic, traditional or legal (Etzioni, 1964:51 and Hoy and Miskel, 1978:48-9). In his writings on bureaucracy Weber indicated that he saw leadership, based on legal authority, as highly desirable. He also saw bureaucratic authority as essential for maximum effectiveness in the wider organization. Through its rules, its systematic division of labour, power and rights, its hierarchy of offices and its career structure, the bureaucratic organization could pursue its goals in inbuilt controls which, on the one had, ensured its survival in the face of external pressures, and on the other, ensured its efficiency as an organisation. The external pressures were seen to be forcing on the organization norms and values which tended to decrease individual concern with goals. They could be countered by such things a systematic promotion, standardisation of task and adherence to rules through the hierarchical structure.

The Human Relations School which is frequently mentioned as having its beginning with the Hawthorne experiments of 1922-1932, (Sergiovanni, 1980:53), introduced to organization theory a new concept of man. Social needs, and the influence of peer groups, were seen as important determinants of behaviour in organizations, and management's role was seen as being more concerned with individual's needs and feelings than with motivation and control. Management had to help workers identify with their jobs and huge sums of money were spent in the United States on communication programmes designed to

change worker attitudes. The movement was still based, however, on the assumption that it was the employee who needed to change, not the structure of the organization, for behind it all were still the chain of command, the form structure and the material reward.

The organizational theory then shifted to the nature of man's motivation. Maslow's identification of a hierarchy of needs (Hoy and Miskel, 1978:97-100), and the investigations of writers such as Argyris (1965), cast serious doubts on the efficiency and/or effectiveness of control measures. Material rewards for obedience to rules no longer seemed sufficient, nor did the exercise of authority. The exercise of authority did not always seem to be appropriate for, as McGregor (1960) pointed out, the effectiveness of authority depended on the availability of a means of enforcement. The Army had the Court Martial, the Roman Catholic Church the power to excommunicate, but in the world of the 70's the right to stop employment was certainly circumscribed. The principal could no longer rely solely on the formal authority vested in his position to control his organization. With the development of the concept of teachers as professionals, the relationship was seen to be developing as one of interdependence. The principal was partly dependent on the teachers for his own achievement, while the teachers were partly dependent on him for theirs. What was becoming obvious to all was that a more effective means of control was required. From Etzioni's coercive control as the most alienating to its members a change was needed to something

of Etzioni's symbolic or social control (Schien, 1965:45). The idea developed that only a new organizational structure would overcome organizational malfunctions and produce an integrated system whereby individuals and groups would become committed to organizational goals, and, at the same time, ensure personal satisfaction.

With the increasing awareness of social needs, a new dimension was added to the control function - the realisation that co-ordination and co-operation were needed to produce a goal-oriented synthesis of an individual's diverse capacities and attitudes. Hence, it was not surprising to see attempts being made to develop more participatory systems of control.

This brief sketch has explored the gradual change in perspectives on control and leads to a more detailed study of the perspective on shared control held by the key groups in the Australian Capital Territory change of educational structure, i.e., parents, professionals, public servants, principals.

(a) Parents

Modern society is generating a great demand for all kinds of social scientists to put their knowledge and skills at the service of society. Since many of our problems are social, one kind of expert we turn to is the sociologist, and for problems in education and society the educational sociologist. Emile Durkheim, the father of modern 'educational sociology', was deeply concerned and disturbed by the developing trends in modern industrial society. He sought a way out from

approaching disaster by reorganizing social life, and education was to provide the solution (Durkheim, 1956). At the present time we have similar examples from many developing countries where deliberate programmes of community development work have usually been started with the explicit intention of raising living standards by influencing the attitudes of its inhabitants. This is often a massive programme in community education based upon sociological knowledge.

It would be wrong to suggest that this belief in the role of education is a new one, flowing solely from the findings of sociology. The notion that we can improve society through deliberate action, or the process of education, is implicit in much theorising about education. Plato's plan for a proper balance in the perceived conflict between the individual's drive for personal excellence and the claim of the State upon that individual's actions implicitly assumed that education could be so arranged to facilitate an optimum arrangement. The sociology of education since Durkheim has developed through the insights which socio-psychological theory and research has brought to our understanding of the social nature of man. Durkheim's desire to save and remake his society led to proposals which were based upon a sounder understanding of the social process than that usually shown by earlier philosophers. In a similar way, modern sociologists of the Critical Theory School have a greater understanding of the social process - the educational, the political, the economic factors - and are developing a theory based upon the principle of critique and

action, criticising that which is restrictive and oppressive, whilst, at the same time, supporting action in the service of individual freedom and well-being (Giroux, 1980).

Habermas seeks a genuine democratic society that is responsive to the needs of all, by all members of the society participating in its development. The importance of community in all fields of endeavour is paramount. Burdess makes this point very clearly in writing (1981:2):

> "Champions of public participation see the need for a decentralisation of all decision-making down to the level where the people likely to be affected will also have a direct role in the political process, from the time of the initial proposals being made to the implementation of the final plans. They envisage a complete participatory society, with, for example, worker participation in industry and parent and child participation in schools, as well as general participation in the more formal aspects of government."

Approaching community from another viewpoint, it may be said that every kind of culture can be characterised by its fundamental form of social organization. Folk culture was based upon kinship, and mediaeval society depended upon feudalism. With the rise of cities and trade, bureaucracy became necessary. The resultant weakening in social cohesion was made up for by an increase in relationships based upon contracts. This change is characterised by the increasing importance of specialisation and of rationality, as applied to the organization of social life by members of society. It comes about through differentiation in the functions of major institutions, and the consequent growth of associations aimed at furthering specific interests. Concomitantly, there has

been a trend towards secularism and pragmatism. The value of ways of doing things tended to be measured in terms of their effectiveness in achieving some practical end. Only recently have the proponents of Critical Theory emphasised the emancipatory rationality mode and life of the individual in the process.

Ferdinand Tonnies (1961) described this movement as having taken place from a communal to an associational society, from GEMEINSCHAFT to GESELLSCHAFT. In the gemeinschaft type of community, a sense of belonging to a group is paramount in that it is an unquestioned fact of life for the individual. Together with this sense of belonging there is an acceptance of the fundamental perceptual and normative givens of the community. It is, above all, the community with answers. It determines the individual's perceptions of possible questions, and it answers them in terms which seldom leave room for doubt. The individual is born into the geneinschaft community, and his roles are natural outcomes of his position as a member.

As a contrast, Tonnies (1961) described the associational, or gesellschaft, society in which the major social bonds are entered into voluntarily by people engaged in the rational pursuit of their own interests. Such a situation, according to Tonnies, produces the mass society of rootless individuals bound together, not by unquestioned perceptions of reality and in undisputed normative order, but by personal choice. The bond is still there, but it is a much less secure one. It is dependent upon fads and fashions of individual choice, and it

is more prone to rapid change. Because of the decline in the power of norms to control behaviour, society develops official rules about behaviour and designates members whose job it is to enforce them - thus the multiplicity of bureaucratic organizations.

In this society, education becomes the way the individual acquires the many physical, moral and social capacities demanded of him by the group into which he is born and within which he must function. It is the induction of newcomers into society. It goes on in response to values about how members should act and ideas about what they should learn. Educators believe it presupposes some ideas about how individuals (and hence the community) ought to be improved. Education is all that goes on in society which involves teaching and learning.

We must recognise that for most of man's history, and for many people today, the process of education simply 'goes on' as a consequence of the function of the society or social group into which the child is born. Modern society, on the other hand, has set aside particular individuals with a special task to which they can devote the major part of their working energy. As the society became more and more economically productive and occupationally specialised, there was a growing dependence upon deliberately organized means of preparing children for adult life. In advanced industrial societies this reached the point where preparation could not possibly be left to parents. The rate of social, economic and industrial change has become so great that each succeeding generation has had to

be 'better educated'. Clearly, parents could not spend their own energies in providing the needed education, and the system of formal education arose.

One may well understand the feelings of many for the return to the 'gemeinschaft' rather than the impersonal organizational society of today, and the desires of many people to participate in the affairs of the community in order to develop that sense of belonging and to improve their community. As they no longer 'educate' their children completely, one can well understand their desire to participate partially at least, particularly if they feel the new system is not producing what it said it would. As Durkheim stated (1971:95):

> "It is society that may be examined; it is society's needs that must be known, since it is society's needs that must be satisfied. To be content with looking inside ourselves would be to turn our attention away from the very reality that we must attain...this would make it impossible for us to understand anything about the forces which influence the world around us and ourselves with it."

A strong feeling for the place of community participation is present in the work of Durkheim and Habermas. A continuation of this attitude was present in many parents active in education programmes in the Australian Capital Territory in the 1960's and 1970's.

> "The notion of school/community involvement is steadily approaching the status of those other concepts such as democracy and justice which are universally approved in principle and diversely interpreted in practice as convenience and interest dictate (Blakers, 1980)."

The term "involvement" is aptly descriptive. "To involve" means "to coil, wreathe, entwine"; "to entangle in trouble,

difficulty or complexity or perplexity; to embarrass". School/community relationships are entwined and entangled in the fabric of society; they are complex, often difficult and sometimes embarrassing. (Blakers, 1980:1)

It is hardly surprising that different people have different understanding of School/community involvement and can pursue different goals in its name. Under the heading can come anything from signing a cheque for school fees to parent participation in teaching in community schools.

However, the prime aim of community involvement is to ensure that school outcomes are as close as possible to community expectations. If, at the same time, the involvement is such as to promote greater knowledge and understanding of schools, it offers a process for making community expectations of schools more realistic and achievable than they are at present in Australia.

The term "community involvement" is an imprecise one, covering a range of differing concepts, but in its growing usage over the past decade it has tended to be applied to direct and personal contacts of one kind or another with schooling. This is a convenient use of a label, but it carries the danger that while focusing attention on what are relatively new trends in school/community relationships it ignores the permanent underlying relationships which exist between school and community, and which exercise a definitive influence on the purposes and patterns of schooling. (Blakers, 1980:43)

Community involvement is thus of two kinds. The first kind comprises those social policies, decisions and pressures external to schooling which have an influence on its directions and processes. This kind of involvement operates first, through those decisions and financial allocations by governments and their agencies which directly or indirectly affect schooling. Cuts in education budgets come instantly to mind.

Secondly, it operates through the pressures of "public opinion". In this, the role of the media is significant in identifying what issues become of public concern, and, in the formation of "public opinion", many of the things that schools have in their curriculum today are a response to public pressure exerted through the media. This kind of external community involvement exists because the schools exist as institutions serving society. It provides the context within which the second more personal forms of community involvement have to operate. (Blakers, 1980:5)

This second kind of involvement comprises those direct and generally personal contacts which develop between schools/school systems and one or more of the various communities within the society. It covers a wide range of community contacts with schooling, and offers the most effective means of ensuring that the community develops a closer understanding of the purposes and processes of schooling, and that schools learn to respond more easily to changing circumstances and expectations.

The increasing range of these contacts is relatively new in Australian education, which has developed on patterns of segregated schools not substantially different from the patterns of traditional English boarding schools. The schools were not boarding schools, and the child's contact with family and community was severed not for a period each year, but for a period of each day. Nevertheless, until recently, they operated on similar principles of immunity from family and community contacts. What is being seen now in Australian education are the beginnings of a movement away from segregation of schools, and towards community involvement in direct and personal ways. A great many forms of community contact with schooling can be found operating among Australian schools today. Such contacts fall roughly into three related categories:

(a) The provision of resources for schooling;

(b) The continuing evaluation and shaping of schooling;

(c) The effective participation in decision-making.

Parents and the community have always provided resources for schooling through taxes, and, at the local level, through fund-raising. But there has been little attempt, until recently, to see the potential, in more specific and personal terms, of the use of parent resources. Parents contribute to school programs by helping with transport, excursions and working bees. These are already well known and used. That parents and community have a variety of skills and expertise is just beginning to be realised. Many schools have yet to

capitalise effectively on such resources by involving parents in:

School programs;

Acting as classroom aides;

Giving lectures on topics where they have expertise;

Demonstrating particular skills or crafts;

Providing work experience and contacts with employers and unions and other social groups.

The concept of active roles for parents/community in the schools should not be confused with the community use of school facilities, which is a fast-growing practice, but which has more to do with economic use of resources than with schooling. Nevertheless, this is a sensible use of resources which benefits both school and community. It has the further advantage of focusing community interest on the school and paving the way for the development of the closer school/community liaison of different kinds, among which are the extensive use by schools of community resources and facilities and the development of school/community centres.

A second community role in schooling lies in the continuing evaluation and shaping of schooling. Evaluation is an integral part of the school processes. Teachers evaluate; so do students and parents and the community. But it is desirable that there be greater consensus about what is to be evaluated, in what ways, and by whom. (Blakers, 1980:53)

Community evaluation of schooling already takes place as public criticism and demands for accountability show. But it is an evaluation often based on ignorance and misunderstanding. If the community does not share in the process of evaluation at the school level, it will make its own evaluation on grounds and information which may be inadequate. As Pusey argues (1976:133):

> "One of the most distressing aspects of the present situation is that the most enlightened and basic school reforms are those which are most likely to draw negative responses from the public. Since the community is isolated from the schools, there is no public understanding of the modern approaches to education which are being tried in some of the schools; by default, the public is either completely confused or it assumes that nothing basic has changed and therefore expects the children to be taught in the same way as the parents were a generation before."

The process of evaluation is one which could be put to constructive use to help schools define their aims and purposes more clearly and to respond to changing needs and circumstances; at the same time, it could help to generate wide and deeper community understandings about schooling. Except for the Australian Capital Territory, where an Evaluation and Research Section has been established to assist schools with co-operative evaluation programmes (Hughes and Russell, 1979) and Victoria (Education Department, 1980) where a system of school evaluation by Review Boards has been in operation since 1975, there has been little serious attempt to involve parents and the community in the process of school evaluation.

Community contact with schooling becomes "participation" when the community takes an active, personal and decisive role in the processes of schooling. Such participation in decision-making can and does, in particular instances, take place at every level from the national to the local school.

At the national level, parent and teacher organizations were extensively represented on the decision-making bodies and committees of the recently abolished Schools Commission and Curriculum Development Centre. At the State/Territory level, parents and teachers participate fully in the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority, in an advisory capacity in the Northern Territory, and in the New South Wales Education Commission (Blakers, 1981:21).

They participate also in varying ways at regional levels in New South Wales and Victoria.

School boards/councils in the Australian Capital Territory, South Australia and Victoria are examples of participative decision-making at the school level. Previous Schools Commission programmes such as the Disadvantaged Schools Programme, the Country Schools Programme and Education Centres provide further examples of co-operative decision-making.

At the school level, the scope of participative decision-making varies widely. In its most traditional forms it may involve decisions on uniforms, school tuckshops, and fund raising (but not spending). In other cases, the decisions may be concerned with the philosophy and directions of the school, with staffing and with financial responsibility. There

is sufficient evidence that Australian patterns of schooling are changing. Community participation in decision-making as a concept is finding wider acceptance, however cautious and slow the practical implementation may be (Blakers, 1980:67).

Community participation is not an end in itself. It is a means towards achieving education which will be appropriate in quality and character to the differing needs of children in a changing society. It implies a recognition of the need for diversity, flexibility and personal concern in schooling, and of the fact that the school is as much part of the community as are the students for whom it caters. It is an expression of Mead's 'self-and-other' awareness in order to discover the self and develop social solidarity. To underline the importance of this third type, community participation in decision-making, Rosen states (1981:289-290):

> "If we continue to believe that the 'school in the community' and the 'community in the school' are adequate levels of participation, we will not develop the good will and support with the community necessary to continue the job of effectively educating children. Instead, we will find that our use of parents in the classrooms will become an excuse for reductions in ancillary personnel, and our fund raising will justify reductions in government spending. Unless the community is behind the schools and engaged in dialogue with them, our attempts to mobilise the community in support of state schools when this occurs will inevitably be doomed to failure. Until we trust the community enough to listen to them, and discuss the education of their children with them, we are ignoring this greatest ally we could possibly have in defending and protecting and, most of all, improving education in our communities."

It was this willingness of the large academic-professional class first, and then other sections of the community in the late 60's and early 70's in the Australian Capital Territory,

to participate in dialogue, that commenced the shared decision-making process in the area. The additional factors of the loss of faith in the New South Wales System, (legitimation deficit), the willingness to press forcefully for organizational change, and the change in Federal political domination in December, 1972, led to the community entering the decision-making process in Australian Capital Territory education.

There was support for parent participation in the school decision-making process in reports written in the 1970's. The Karmel report in Australia stated:

> "It also follows that if individual schools or numbers of schools voluntarily grouped to share certain facilities, are to discharge their responsibilities in the most effective way, certain services will need to be organized centrally to serve all schools. Facilities for the continuing education and regeneration of teachers in service will assume increased importance, and opportunities will need to be open to parents and to the community at large to increase their competence to participate in the control of the schools. As responsibility moves downwards, the professionals in schools must expect to share planning and control with parents and interested citizens, safeguarded by limitations where professional expertise is involved (1973:9)."

To the parents this meant a central bureaucracy to service the schools, and the professionals and parents working together at the local level in control of the local school, and participating in staffing, finance and curriculum decision-making.

At almost the same time as the statement of the Karmel Committee, the Hughes Report on the organization and administration of education in the Australian Capital Territory

was submitted. This also recommended the setting up of an education authority whose specific charter was to delegate to schools the maximum responsibility in decision-making and control, including specific powers with respect to curriculum, staffing and finance. The report stated:

> "A new education authority...provides an extraordinary opportunity for the establishment of a system of governance and administration which will capitalise on the skills and interests of all involved in education - children, teachers, parents and the community at large (1973:3)"

and later on:

> "Observation and experience suggest that zest for experimentation in educational administration is a correlate of reasonably small size of school system, adequate and flexible financing arrangements, and delegation of as many powers as possible to those responsible for the governance of individual schools (1973:5)."

It is important to note that this devolution of control existed in other areas. As an instance, the New Zealand report of 1974 stated:

> "In pursuing our inquiry we have tried to bear constantly in mind that deliberate education happens locally in classrooms and libraries, in laboratories and on field trips, through the guidance of learners by teachers. It is by their impact on this process that educational policies and administrative procedures are to be judged. We have, moreover, stressed that as far as possible, local schools should be run by local people, and district decisions made by district representatives, so that instead of uniformity there may be an appropriate diversity reflecting variations in local needs and circumstances, and affording an opportunity for experimentation (1974:115)."

This further emphasised to parents the importance of their participation in decision-making at the local board level for their own school, and to have representatives at the Authority

level to participate in system-wide matters. Levin (1970:138) gives another example of happenings in New York, and 'the feelings that the urban school board is unresponsive has caused a crisis of legitimacy in many northern cities'. He goes on to state (1970:139):

> "Because of this dissatisfaction it is not surprising that a principle motivation of the Mayor's Advisory panel on the decentralisation of New York City Schools was to design a system that would be 'responsive to the deep and legitimate desire of many communities in the city for a more direct role in the education of their children'."

In the United Kingdom, also, the education system had been described to the parents as a national service which is locally administered. This has been partly because of a strong tradition of local government which has ensured the local education authorities a significant role to play: it has been partly because of the degree of freedom accorded to the schools. As Kogan states:

> "One of the glories of British education is thought to be the freedom enjoyed by schools. It is found at the heart of the school's activities - in the provision of facilities for learning and teaching. No curriculum control from the centre, or, in practice from the local authority; freedom to experiment in the internal organization of the school...; the choice of books; the right to determine the policies of how the parents and the school should get on together...(1971:27)."

A similar recognition of the need for local control but the problem of inequality, as instanced in some United States of America districts, was recognised in the O.E.C.D. Report of 1971:

> "The fundamental problem of planning is thus a potential conflict between a necessary technocratic basis if the system is to be effectively planned in relation to future needs, and if wastage and conflict within the system are

> to be minimised, and the creative process of educational change and development in which individuals, social groups and communities can plan an active part in the development and control of education (1971:47)."

It would appear that this point concerned the parents and educators when the Guiding Aims and Principles of the Australian Capital Territory System were enunciated, for they specifically refer to positive discrimination in finance and services to under privileged areas as follows:

> "Further, the authority, in its allocation of resources, discriminates positively in favour of disadvantaged children and schools." (Guiding Aims, 1973:7)

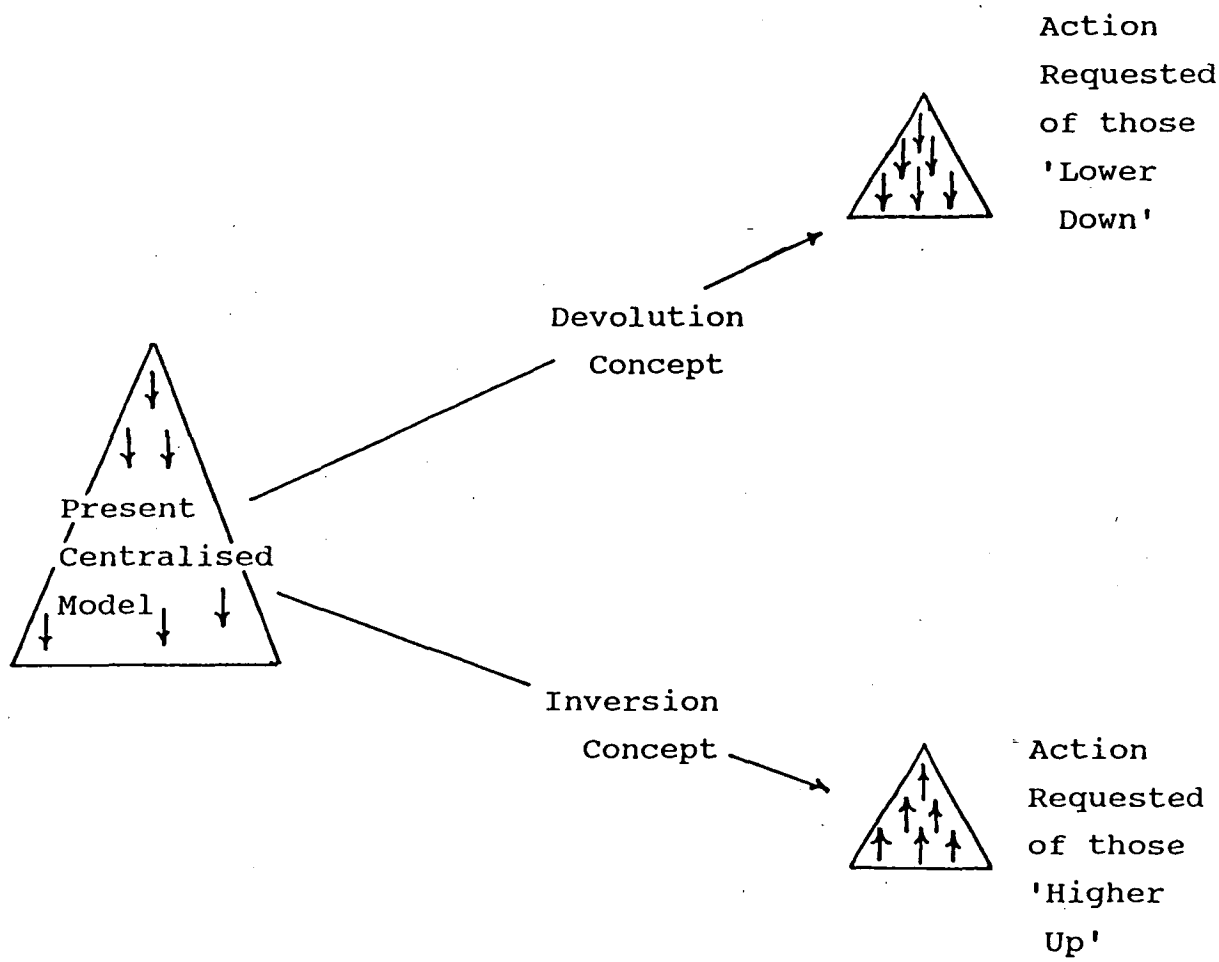
It is also interesting to note that the Redcliffe-Maud Report in 1969 recommended a reorganization in England of local education authorities, to create units small enough to develop a sense of common purpose (perhaps social solidarity), but large enough to provide, with reasonable economy, a full range of 'personal' and 'environmental' needs. In practice the limits of size were thought to be 250,000 to 1 million and so again the Australian Capital Territory fitted appropriately with the latest administrative research requirements for an educational area. (Hughes, 1976:15)

This concept of decentralisation and sharing in decision-making was accepted by many parents and educational administration structure had to respond to the perceived needs of the community for the breakthrough in organization to occur.

The committed parents realised that diversity points the way to renewal, for it points to the community at the base of the system. The base of the system, not the apex, becomes the

locus of control. And only the base of the system is broad enough to interpret the range of needs. Only the base is multi-lingual; only the base is multi-cultural; only the base spans the gaps between rich and poor, past and future. Thus, to them, the base held the key to rejuvenation; not as the last step in a devolutionary process, but as the first step in an evolutionary process, a process which would change structures only as the people within them change in response to needs 'from below'. The devolution of control was needed, first, to be imprinted on the minds of all. Then, the evolution to base parent control would be understood and appreciated by all. Middleton (1979) has presented the best summary of these two approaches and talks of the 'Devolution Concept' and the 'Inversion Concept' and illustrates as follows:

Figure 3.2 - Devolution and Inversion



Middleton (1979) points out that the two models are confused in the literature, in policy statements and in the very language we use to express our ideas. Because of this there is a danger that they will checkmate each other, resulting in the adoption of neither, and in a return to the more rigidly defended status quo, because 'school-based decision-making does not work'. He asserts that it is the Inversion Concept that is necessary in our present society.

Perhaps this concept existed in the minds of the parents present at the beginning of the system. As Mead puts it:

> "...individuals would act in their individuality, yet, self-and-other aware, recognising how their individuality interlinks with that of others in mutual interest - they would act in creative unity with others. Their societal awareness would be part of the self-awareness, their self involvement would include societal involvement. Even conflict would be creative...leading not to destruction but negotiation and reform that increase the human satisfactions and coherence of both individual and society (Hansen, 1976:67-8)."

If structures change in response to people rather than people changing to fit the structures, we have achieved an inversion of the traditional institutional pattern. As the parents sought more participation in decision-making and control, they believed that such an inversion was the best pathway to an acceptable educational organization. At this point, one is reminded of the case quoted by Levin (1970:170):

> "Ocean Hill's people have had little experience with the process of participatory democracy. It is a tribute to their basic commitment to human values that in a short year and a half they have been able to educate themselves to the point where they can make the city give them at least the rudiments of reasonably decent neighbourhood services, including the start of a thoroughly reorganized and remodelled education system. The outside observer of the efforts to redo the schools of Ocean Hill must remember that this was a divided and conquered neighbourhood. Having undertaken to change the schools, the people were also changing themselves into actively concerned citizens. A major effort has gone into the uniting of the various community elements..."

Perhaps, one may even view this request for change in control as an example of Marx's 'revolution in society from within society' in order to bring greater equality to all participants in the organization - the children, the parents, the community

members, the teachers and the office bureaucrats. As Middleton said (1979:14):

> "Thus, at least in the early stages, there is certain to be conflict; conflict between parents and schools, between schools and departmental administrators, between local groups and State Governments, between youth workers and Divisions of Recreation. Such conflict has to be seen not only as necessary, but as healthy and positive evidence that the arrows are beginning to flow the otherway. It is a small price to pay if it enables us to begin liberating the energies of our bureaucratic systems in the service of human communities."

It was this atmosphere of parental participation and involvement that was pertinent to this study of the changes in the Australian Capital Territory educational scene.

The parents envisaged the professionals, the public servants in the schools office, the principals and themselves working together for the development of education. The parents looked for participation at the local level in decision-making on curriculum, appointing staff, dispersing finance and staff and parent educational development. At the same time they looked for representation on committees such as buildings, finance, planning, special services so as to participate in decision-making recommendations for the whole system to the Schools Authority, and they expected representation on the Authority Council itself to make any system-wide decisions - they expected to be part of the control process at all levels, and particularly the local level where their children were and where they knew the teachers.

This study considers the larger percentage of people in this small area, the Australian Capital Territory, as compared to other areas (see Chapter 4), who wished for dialogue on education and for democratic control. It considers changes in Educational Administration in the Australian Capital Territory as exemplifying the social change theory of Jurgen Habermas. The parents were participants in control at school level, at committee level, at Schools Authority level - consensus decision-making was being restored as in Habermas' free dialogue, the only constraint and really dominating force being the final political control by the Commonwealth Minister for Education.

(b) Professionals

It is characteristic of occupational groups in society to claim, or aspire, to be professions. Indeed, the well-recognised and established professions of medicine, law, divinity, engineering and architecture appear to have been joined by a host of professions and "would-be" professions in unprecedented numbers.

What status can be claimed by teachers in Australia? The answer to such a question depends in large measure on one's concept of, definition of, and criteria for, "professionalism", and the evaluation of teaching in terms of these concepts,

definitions and criteria. Professional status is, therefore, a matter of interpretation, but most educationists would argue that teaching is already a profession, or is rapidly becoming one, or is a semi-profession. Farquhar is quite definite in stating (1978:9):

> "I don't think there can be much argument with the assertion that 'teachers are professionals' if one accepts the generally popular, dictionary-type definition of that term. Certainly a teacher is one who does difficult and socially important work, who is committed to it for reasons having to do more with values and psychic or intrinsic rewards than with money or fame or extrinsic rewards, and whose work is governed not by the clock but by the demands of the job itself."

In the context of this document, looking at the decision sharing by parents, public servants, principals and professionals, the word 'professional' means all teachers in the territory. The term professional in modern society has many different connotations.

Galbraith (1967) stated that:

> "The twentieth century has been hailed by many writers as the era of the post-industrial society characterised, among other things, by a growing dependence on the skill and knowledge of professional experts."

The emergence in society of clearly defined occupational groups called professions can thus be seen as a response to certain societal needs: the need for skilled administrators, for technically trained experts, and service personnel with varied skills. The division of labour and highly-developed specialisation that pervades modern society has provided a breeding ground for specialists and professionals. This process has, undoubtedly, been hastened by the development of

large-scale organizations, based on advanced technology, which provide a locus for the creation and development of centres of expertise. Anderson and Western (in Boreham, 1976:43) use the pioneering work of Carr-Saunders and Wilson (1983) to show clearly how the emergence of new professions - as contrasted with Larson's (1977:4) original medicine, divinity and law - was associated with the application of scientific knowledge to problems of production:

> "The moment when application of knowledge becomes possible depends, in the first place upon the progress of research, and in the second place upon changes in social and industrial organization, since it is sometimes the case that knowledge cannot be employed because the organization has not been sufficiently advanced. The rise of new professions based upon intellectual techniques is due to the revolution brought about by the work of the engineers and thus indirectly to the coming of science. The engineers made possible large-scale industrial organization. Large-scale industrial organization creates the need for accountants, secretaries, a highly-developed system of banking and insurance, and the services of brokers."

In addition, members of many more occupations are calling themselves professionals. These include such as computer programmers, town planners, estate agents, in fact, nearly anyone who possesses expertise in a particular area. The Commonwealth Statistician uses the definition "those persons mainly engaged in the government and defence of the country, and in satisfying the moral, intellectual, and social wants of its inhabitants" - certainly a much wider sphere than that of fifty years ago. However, the growth of this professional manpower can be traced back to the industrial revolution.

Karl Marx had argued that professionals constituted a distinct class, particularly in terms of their negative contribution to surplus value. Mannheim (1971), however, hoped that professionals would cut themselves loose from the class struggle and facilitate peaceful settlement of class conflict. The separation of the professions from the capitalistic relationships of production was also emphasised by Carr-Saunders and Wilson who claimed that the professions were regulated by collective control rather than competition for profit (1933:497). Two views of the professions were thus emerging - firstly, the professions were portrayed as a positive force in social development, standing against the excesses of both laissez-faire individualism and state collectivism; secondly, the professions were regarded as harmful oligarchies whose growing control would lead to a form of meritocracy.

Durkheim thought of the professions in the first way claiming that professional organizations were a pre-condition for consensus in industrial societies. Furthermore, the break-up of the traditional moral order, caused by the fragmentary division of labour would be rectified only by the formation of communities based upon occupational membership. The corporate organization of the professions, according to Durkheim, provided the only effective counter to the corrosive influence of business and commerce on social values and cohesion.

Talcott Parsons also regarded the professions as activated by the common good, but emphasised that professionals, like businessmen, were primarily concerned with the achievement of success in their particular field. The altruism reflected in the professional-client relationship should be regarded as a requirement for the effective performance of the service and not generalised to broader issues. Parsons' chief concern was to show the functional importance of professions in modern society by demonstrating how doctors, lawyers, social workers, and other professionals became increasingly involved in maintaining orderly social relations, which were previously the responsibility of the family, neighbourhood or community.

The second view of professionalism, emphasising the potential harmful effects of monopolistic practices among professional associations, may be illustrated by looking at the writings of Mills. Mills (1953) argued that much professional work has become divided and standardised and fitted into the new hierarchical organization of educated skill and service; intensive and narrow specialisation had come to replace self-cultivation and a wide knowledge that had been characteristic of the early professions; assistants and sub-professionals had come to perform routine, although often intricate tasks, while successful professionals had become more and more concerned with management (1953:112). Hence, in opposition to the learned and liberal tradition dedicated to service and stability, the continued expansion of the professionals had led to the creation of a new power-elite

composed of people with a narrow range of specialisation and a limited vision of their role. Mills maintains (1953:117) in relation to medicine:

> "In the medical world as a whole an increased proportion of physicians are specialists who enjoy greater prestige and income than the general practitioner and are necessarily relied upon by him. These specialists are concentrated in the cities and tend to work among the wealthy classes, making about twice as much money as general practitioners... As young doctors see the way the pyramid is shaped, they tend to bypass the experience of the old general practitioner altogether."

In "The Rise of the Meritocracy" Michael Young (1958) advances the argument that the fusion of knowledge and power created a new kind of professional-technocratic elite, based on merit, which replaced existing groups.

In the tradition of functionalist sociology many attempts have been made to identify those essential attributes or traits of a profession which distinguish professions from other non-professional occupations. Millerson, in 1964, analysed numerous previous suggestions as to such attributes and arrived at the following list:

(a) a profession involves a skill based on theoretical knowledge;

(b) the skill requires training and education;

(c) the professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test;

(d) integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of conduct;

(e) the service is for the public good; and

(f) the profession is organized.

A profession expects a great deal of autonomy both in setting its conditions and standards of service, and for the professional in his work. As Fritts (1979:3) points out:

> "...both individual members of the profession and the professional group enjoy a considerable degree of autonomy and decision-making authority...professionals are expected to make most their own decisions and be free of close supervision by superiors."

Thus, the medical and legal professions assert their views about recruitment and training, and attempt to protect members from outside or bureaucratic interference as they carry out their tasks. They also set standards of conduct and have means of disciplining members who violate those standards. Associated with autonomy is the idea of exclusive competence. A profession attempts to ensure that persons not trained, and not duly certified to membership, are not allowed to practise the professional task. Finally, a profession is recognised by its own members, and by the society in which it exists as having considerable prestige.

As Libermann states (in Boreham, 1976:163):

> "The characteristics of the profession are that it offers a unique, definite, and essential social service, an emphasis upon intellectual techniques, a long period of specialised training, a broad range of autonomy for the individual practitioners and for the occupational group as a whole, an acceptance of responsibility, emphasis upon the service, rather than the economic gain, a comprehensive self-governing organization of practitioners, and a code of ethics."

This study accepts that these traits would appear in the Australian Capital Territory teacher under the new system because it offered an essential social service negotiated with the community as a means of legitimation; it emphasised longer

periods of training; it was to have greater autonomy for the school and teachers within it; it espoused acceptance of responsibility by being Board members responsible for curriculum and budget, there was certainly interest in, and renewal of, motivation, the Teachers' Federation developed a Code of Ethics and by the development of the peer assessment system a form of self-government of teachers was instituted. These points support the earlier contention that the teacher should be looked upon as 'professional' at this time.

As professionals, they could work alongside parent professionals, and public servant professionals, in creating a new decentralised organizational structure. The policy process would be decentralised so that a network of decision-makers throughout the organization would co-operate in decision-making and control, and, out of this collaborative mutual adjustment, the educational policies would emerge. In this consensual, organic organization, the majority of organization members would have the opportunity to plan their decisions to participate actively in the policy process and exercise control in particular areas - and there would be mass participation in the planning and management of educational life.

As Ogilvie (1980:143) so aptly puts it:

> "Such organizations are so rare and will continue to be so until we genuinely appreciate the virtues of participatory policy-making and the importance of the quality of organizational life. With this appreciation we may come to view organizations as patterns of interaction rather than hierarchical structures. We may develop the decision-making skills of all organizational members rather than the manipulative skills of managerial elite and work may become the rewarding developmental experience

for all that it currently is for a privileged few." Participatory control was looked at closely by Anderson (1966) as he studied the possibility of using professional autonomy as the main means of controlling schools, shifting control from the bureaucrat to the professional. He suggested that the decision as to how much professional autonomy to give teachers would depend on the perceived benefits of delegating control. He assumed that for education to be truly effective and efficient substantial amounts of professional control should be invested in the hands of teachers. He also found that administrators would not risk delegating the required professional autonomy to teachers, and increasingly teachers would be socialised into a bureaucratic structure in which rules and regulations dominated their conduct. His analysis suggested that autonomy and control could be invested in teachers only if:

(a) accurate measures of competence and realistic outcomes were developed;

(b) favourable public attitudes to teacher commitment were encouraged;

(c) teachers were oriented to the fulfilment of organizational goals;

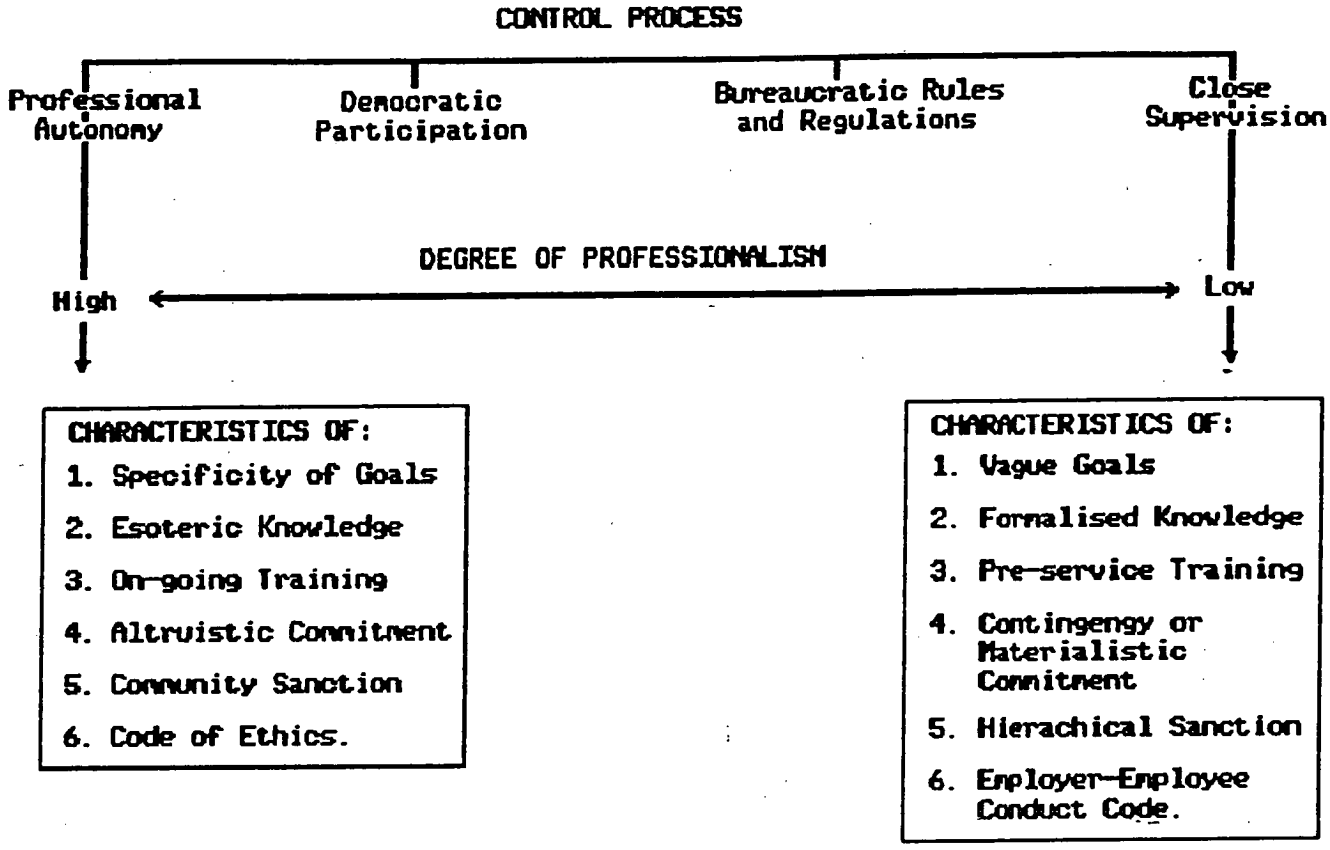
(d) there was increased stability in the relationship between teachers and administrators; and

(e) professional associations were developed to the stage where they could be the consigners of the investment.

The feeling among local Australian Capital Territory educators such as T.J. O'Connell, Mrs. C. Blakers, Dr. M.E. March, Dr. A. Barnard, Dr. A. Davies, Professor P. Hughes, Mrs. K. Abbott, was that these features might well develop from increased professionalism in Australian Capital Territory teachers and the high degree of professionalism would permit the delegation of autonomy to individual practitioners and the elimination of much of the hierarchical, traditional control process. Much would depend on the perceptions of the degree of professionalism in the teaching service and the relationship between the perceived degree of professionalism and the resultant control process is illustrated in Fig. 3 on the next page.

The closer the conformity of the education system and its total personnel to the characteristics of high professionalism, the greater would be the use of professional autonomy as the main pattern of control. The lower the degree of professionalism, the more the reliance would be on close supervision and bureaucratic rules.

Figure 3.3 - The New System and Control (Livermore, 1975:41)



In the diagram above it can be seen that if there is a low degree of professionalism present there will be a heavy reliance on bureaucratic forms of control such as close supervision and bureaucratic rules. However, if it is estimated that there is a high degree of professionalism amongst teachers there will be much more democratic participation and professional autonomy.

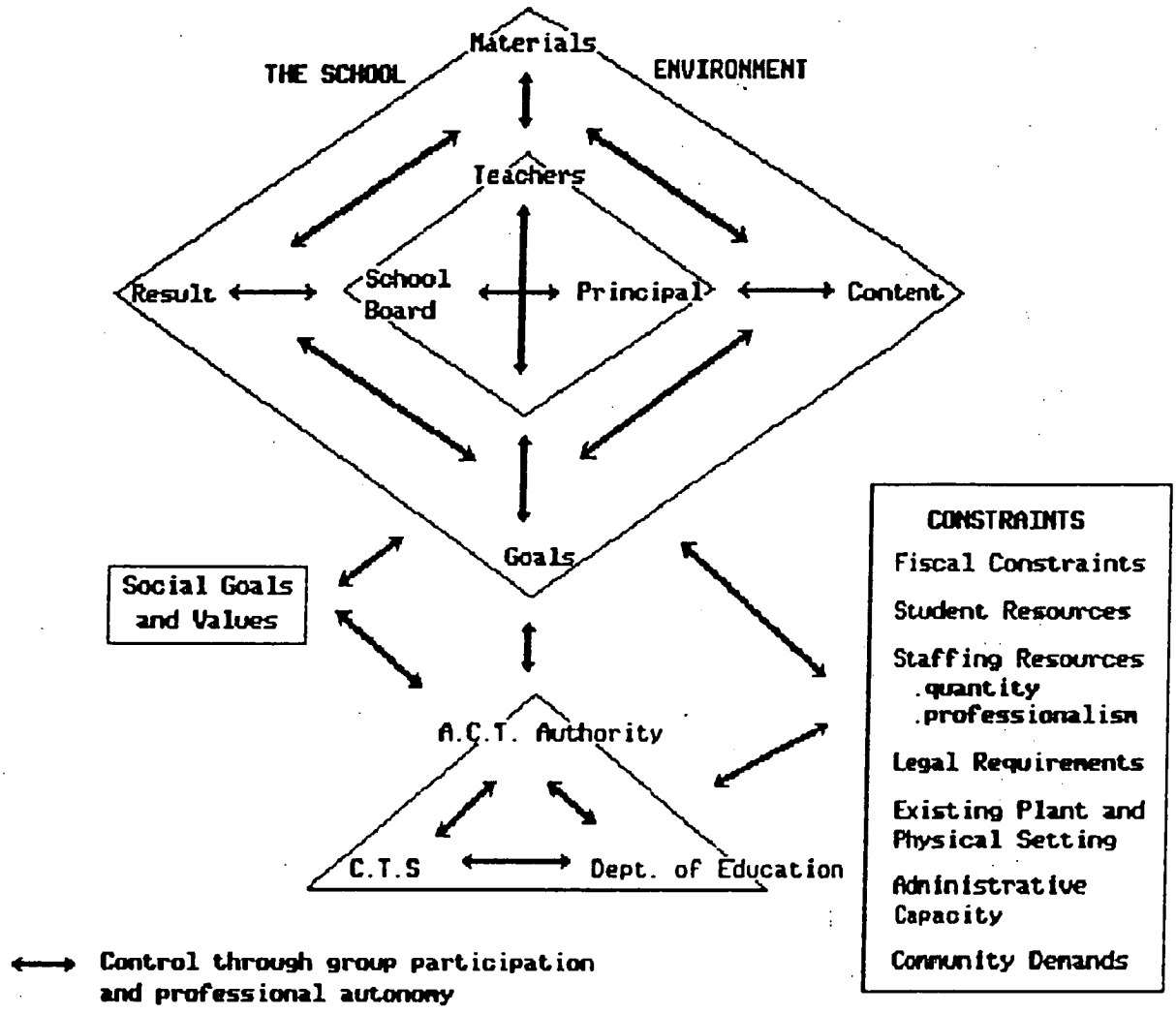
If the Australian Capital Territory school system that was to develop was perceived as having a low level of professionalism and the individual could be socialised to accept the resultant control process of bureaucratic rules and

regulations, then the traditional hierarchical control process would be instituted.

But, if as the writer maintained earlier, a high level of professionalism was present, a different picture of the control process would appear. The professional teacher expects to direct his own activities towards desired ends free from constraining regulations, or interference from others, because he has acquired the skills which allow him to perform the entire task. The teacher as a professional expects autonomy, and at the same time expects to assume the responsibility for his decisions and actions. There is a role expectation of the teacher as a professional, i.e., from his colleagues, from his superiors, from the children or students in his care, and from the community at large. The major form of control within the teacher's job function is that which he applies to his own performance. Additionally, his colleagues will apply pressure through being, by nature, within a similar occupation. Therefore, little form of external control is needed to be exercised on the true professional with the wide range of skills he possesses for that position. This exact feeling was recognised by Bennett in a report (1982:4):

> "No effective means of centrally imposing educational decisions any longer exists. There is no "one best way" and attempts to impose one fail miserably. Thus the practitioner has much greater importance. Most people recognise that teachers, individually and collectively, must help to make many of the most important decisions..."

Figure 3.4 - Professional Control and the Australian Capital Territory System (Livermore, 1975:42)



In this case if the new Australian Capital Territory system was perceived as having a high degree of professionalism, and a participatory control process, Fig. 4 would illustrate this professional control in the system. As Herd and Neal reported (1976:6):

> "By far the major proportion of the teachers with whom we met seemed to take professional pride in the new responsibilities in which they were involved."

With this perspective of teachers as professionals, one can also see the basic idea of Marx, Mead and Habermas - the autonomous man, able to realise his full potential and create a more humane social education system when freed, at least partially, from external constraint. For this study, it could be proposed the professionals and the parents and the principals and public servants in the schools office were adopting the reconstructivist approach of Habermas to school administration, and developing a system which allowed much more for the consensus that Habermas maintained would come from communicative competence. The professional would participate in control alongside the parents, public servants and principals.

As a professional, the Australian Capital Territory teacher offered an essential social service, was committed to the new system, had lengthy training, was given greater autonomy than before, accepted responsibility for school and system matters, had a code of ethics and a system of self-government. As a professional in a government structure he could work autonomously and in co-operation with others, and his expectation was to participate in the control of the school, the administration, the system - not to dominate but to participate on an equal basis - professional, parent, public servant, principal.

(c) Public Servants

For this study the term 'public servants' refers to officers working in the central office of the statutory body, the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority. It refers to public servants recruited from other government departments, and to teachers recruited to office positions.

The public servants had been members of the government 'bureaucracy' which had been presented as having the following characteristics (Hall, 1963):

(a) a division of labour based on functional specialisation;

(b) a well-defined hierarchy of authority;

(c) a system of rules covering the rights and duties of employees;

(d) a system of procedures for dealing with work situations;

(e) impersonality of interpersonal relations; and

(f) promotion and selection based on technical competence.

Or, as Albrow (1970:44) states, the bureaucratic administrative staff had the following defining characteristics:

(a) the staff members are personally free, observing only the impersonal duties of their offices;

(b) there is a clear hierarchy of offices;

(c) the functions of the offices are clearly specified;

(d) officials are appointed on the basis of a contract;

(e) they are selected on the basis of a professional qualification, ideally substantiated by a diploma gained through examination;

(f) they have a money salary, and usually pension rights;

(g) the officials' post is his sole or major occupation;

(h) there is a career structure and promotion is possible either by seniority or merit, and according to the judgement of superiors;

(i) the official may appropriate neither the post nor the resources which go with it; and

(j) he is subject to a unified control and disciplinary system.

Rational behaviour was essential for the efficient operation of the bureaucratically structured organization, and rules and regulations and impersonal approaches were essential to control irrational behaviour of individuals, singly or in groups, within the organization, or the organization as a whole. According to Weber, a bureaucracy establishes a relation between legally constituted authorities, and their subordinate officials, which is characterised by defined rights and duties, prescribed in written regulations, authority relations between positions which are ordered systematically; appointment and promotion based on contractual agreements and related accordingly; technical training or experience as a formal condition of employment; fixed monetary salaries; a strict separation office and encumbent in the sense that the official does not own the 'means of administration' and cannot

appropriate the position; and administrative work as a full time occupation.

A government administration so defined must be understood, according to Weber, as part of a legal order that is sustained by a common belief in its legitimacy. That order is reflected in written regulations such as enacted laws, administrative rules, court precedents, etc., which govern the employment of officials and guide their administrative behaviour. These ideal types of administration, and the rule of law, are the more fully realised the more they succeed in achieving the exclusion of love, hatred and every purely personal, especially irrational and incalculable, feeling from the execution of officials tasks.

Blau states (1967:32):

> "In other words, the combined effect of bureaucracy's characteristics is to create social conditions which constrain each member of the organization to act in ways that, whether they appear rational or otherwise from his individual standpoint, further the rational pursuits of organizational objectives..."

For Weber this means a highly efficient system of co-ordination and control. The rationality of the organization shows in its ability to predict the consequences of its action. Because of the hierarchy of authority and the system of rules, control of the actions of individuals in the organization is assured. This is the depersonalisation. Because of the employment of experts, who have their specific areas of responsibility and the use of files, there is an amalgamation of the best available knowledge and records of participative behaviour of

the organization. This enables predictions to be made about future events. The organization has rationality.

It is quite possible to see, however, that the very functional nature of these controls on individual's irrationality is also a control on the individual's pyschological freedom, and may hamper his ability to be innovative or creative. It may be functional from a modern organizational viewpoint to encourage creativity and innovation. Thus, rules, controls, etc., which hamper individuals in this respect are dysfunctional. The organization, therefore, faces the problem of how to create an environment and a set of management policies which will not only get the primary task performing correctly, but which will, in addition, stimulate creative thinking and innovation. The rigid rules and restrictions are not only dysfunctional for an organization, but also for the individual, who may suffer from feelings of alienation and anomie.

The bureaucratic model Weber outlined was developed as a reaction against the personal subjugation, nepotism, emotional vicissitudes and subjective judgements which passed for management practices in the early days of the industrial revolution. Man's true hope, Weber felt, was his ability to rationalise and calculate. I believe Weber was well aware of the contradictory tendencies in the bureaucratic structure, but, since he treated dysfunctions only incidentally, his discussion does leave the impression that administrative efficiencies in bureaucracies are more stable and less

problematic than they are in practice. It could be argued that, since Weber's model provided only an ideal type which was created because of perceived evils in the existing situation, the model itself is timeless since it never existed in reality, but only in the mind of its creator.

Weber's one-sided concern with the manifest functions of bureaucratic institutions has brought forth accusations of missing the most fundamental problems in the study of organizations. It is said (Albrow, 1979:54; Mouzelis, 1981:70) he ignored the informal relations and unofficial patterns which develop in formal organizations - that is, Weber neglected the latent functions of bureaucratic organizations, and concentrated on the contribution which bureaucratic methods make to the organization as a whole.

On the other hand, it could be said that the natural theorists, who use the natural science techniques of questionnaires and statistics, concentrate their examination on the lower levels of the particular organization where informal structures are most evident. It could be argued that they fail to take account of the informal structures at the top of the hierarchy, and the importance of the formal structure at the lower end.

Elites at the top of the hierarchy do not necessarily make all their decisions on a rational basis. Sentiment, friendship, personal animosity, etc., may be strong factors in decision making. Again the formal structure at the top of the organization's hierarchy does not necessarily coincide with the

actual power structure. In the traditional school hierarchy, for example, the principal is assisted by his/her assistant principal, and power and communication would, following the classical model, filter down through senior teachers to assistant teachers, and so on. This is the ideal formal picture. It may be, in fact, that a senior teacher or assistant teacher in the hierarchy has more influence on the decision-making of the principal than the assistant principal.

Richard Hall (1972:67) suggests that the concept of bureaucracy ought to be viewed as a series of dimensions along a continuum. Weber himself has described bureaucratic organizations from a dimensional perspective. Hall (1972) looked at the contention that bureaucracy is a condition that exists along a continuum rather than a quality that is either present or absent. He chose six dimensions on the basis of frequency of citation and theoretical importance:

(a) division of labour based on functional specialisation;

(b) a well-defined hierarchy of authority;

(c) a system of rules covering the rights and duties of positional incumbents;

(d) a system of procedures for dealing with work situations;

(e) impersonality of interpersonal relations;

(f) promotion and selection for employment based on technical competence.

Hall then proceeded to construct six scales for measuring each of the six dimensions and using the six scales he collected data from the employees of ten organizations. When the data were analysed results showed that the degree to which each dimension is present ranges along a continuum, rather than existing in a present/absent dichotomy. Thus, if these findings are valid, bureaucracy may be viewed as a matter of degree rather than kind.

Another writer, Bennis, claims that to meet the turbulent and uncertain demands of our twentieth century society, the classical model must be changed. He identifies a number of problems (1966:7-12) and social-organizational conditions which demand at least some modifications of the classical bureaucratic model. The problems, briefly, are:

(a) How to integrate individual needs and management goals;

(b) The problem of distribution of power and sources of authority;

(c) The problem of managing and resolving conflicts with increase in specialisation, professionalism and the need for independence; and

(d) The problem of responding appropriately to changes induced by the environment of the firm.

The public servants in the school's office who had come from government departments were attuned to this type of bureaucratic organization and the presence of hierarchical roles leading to accumulation of control in the school's

office. They were aware of the criticisms mentioned previously, and the fact that new organizational structures had been developed as a result of these criticisms.

Finally, as Albrow points out (1970:47), Weber considered the problem of the inherent tendency of bureaucracy to accumulate power, and how this could be prevented from reaching the point where it controlled the policy and action of the organization it was supposed to serve. Weber pointed out five methods for limiting the scope of authority in bureaucracy:

(a) Collegiality;

(b) The separation of powers;

(c) Amateur administration;

(d) Direct democracy; and

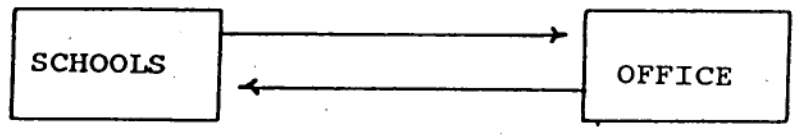
(e) Representation.

It is interesting to observe these five factors were part of the structure of the new system in the Australian Capital Territory. They were accepted by most parents and teachers, and very reluctantly by the public servants in the office at first, who were obsessed by the bureaucratic structure that some had participated in for so long. As a participant observer, it appeared that with the arrival of the first Chief Education Officer, Dr. Beare, in late 1974, a thorough attempt was made to change the attitudes of the 'bureaucrats', and to develop the five alternatives noted.

The groups who had a special interest in the decisions about education were the parents of children in the system, the public at large and the office administrators. Hence all these

groups should be represented on boards or committees that would be established. This meant that there would be at the central authority level, and at each school, a governing board or committee with representatives of teachers, parents, citizens and administrators. The boards would work constantly at maintaining channels of communication and providing various forums at which views can be presented, thereby developing the consensus formulated by Habermas. The boards would be essential to the process of participation, encouraging people to feel they have a real involvement in education. At the school level the Board could be responsible for philosophy, aims, curriculum, allocation of resources and the teachers, in addition to being members of the board, responsible for the technical and professional questions related to teaching and learning and utilisation of resources. The central board (Authority Council) could decide on broad policy questions, social goals, determination of priorities in the allocation of resources and representation of the system to the Minister. The central board would also be responsible for decision-making in the instructional programme area to the extent of setting the broad goals of the system and the broad areas of curriculum experience to be developed. Professional staff at the central office might develop the programme further, setting more specific objectives when required, and bringing expertise to bear in outlining curriculum guides and possible alternatives together with the development of support and resource teaching and learning materials to be used by schools if they wished to.

The central board would also be responsible for broad social and fiscal policy aimed at equalisation of educational opportunities between schools; the development of specialised facilities involving high costs and expertise not readily available at the school level, e.g., curriculum centres, special educational support services, planning and research facilities and in-service facilities; general conditions of teacher service aimed at the development of high morale. In order to maintain the credibility of local participation and control, the aim was for the central board to have a permanent office and staff. This staff would be as small as possible and never develop into a 'Head Office'. As the Chief Education Officer, Dr. Hedley Beare, said at his first meeting with Principals in 1974, the position must be as follows:



The central office must be a service institution only, not the apex of a hierarchy as in the New South Wales system. The Central Board (or Authority Council as it became known) would have a small secretariat concentrating on board activities and having officers who could provide information, analyse it and present it in such a way that it was of maximum use to members of the Board. The Board would also use a system of standing committees involved in certain functions with the educational system, and these committees would be representative of all

areas as would the central board, and be serviced by administrators. The point of all this was to emphasise the readiness for negotiation, provision for conflict resolution, channels for open-minded communication, and careful procedures for formulating and pre-testing policies - in other words, obtaining consensus whenever possible and thus restoring legitimacy to the system.

The above arrangement meant that the central board would have a service office staffed by public service administrators and teachers seconded from the schools. With the appointment of a high-ranking public servant from the Commonwealth Department of Education as Interim Chief Education Officer and section heads from the Department of Education and personnel from various departments of the public service, the office soon assumed the title of 'the bureaucracy' and became organized in the 'typical' bureaucratic fashion, even though it was part of a new structure that emphasised participation. The fundamental rule guiding the development of the new authority had been to centralise only those functions which could not be carried out by boards with a reasonable degree of economy and efficiency. Determined efforts had been made to keep the structure's central office small, humane, flexible and service-oriented. Hence, if in 1974, the office came under the control of established 'bureaucrats' it is interesting to look now at their position and their concept of 'Control'.

Firstly, from the viewpoint of the teachers who had become public servants, it is necessary to recognise that the 'school'

as known until this time had been a derivative of classical organization theory. It mentioned a clear organization hierarchy with the authority and responsibility of command centralised in the office of the Principal, who reported to the Inspector. Educational policy and rules stipulated what was expected and what was prohibited with respect to the behaviour of teachers and students. A division of labour based on functional specialisation was quite apparent at the high school level. The apparent need for efficiency in the standardisation of the product was clearly present as the school sent one group of students after another through a lock-step pattern of age-grade experiences. The school was designed for all students of a group to reach each successive stage or grade with the same level of knowledge. Unfortunately, very rarely had the schools been able to deal satisfactorily with the issue of what to do with students who arrive at the next higher grade without the requisite knowledge. The classical theorists treated this issue by stating that the product be rejected and the producer sanctioned. The school had frequently rejected the product, but it had had difficulty in sanctioning the teachers.

In short, the bureaucratic tradition as expressed in classical organization theory had played a major part in the structure of the school to 1974. Teachers being seconded into the central office would have an understanding of the bureaucratic control chart even though they might be much more inclined towards the professional, collegial approach because

of their developing professionalism.

However, it is well to remember at this point a fact noted earlier - that other forces worked within the dynamic of organization which the classical theorists did not recognise. As Blau and Scott state (1969:10):

> "Weber's conceptual scheme, by concentrating on the officially instituted aspects of bureaucracies, neglects the ways in which these are modified by informal patterns and thus excludes from analysis the most dynamic aspects of formal organizations."

Thus the psychological and sociological variables which influenced human behaviour were not treated by the classical theorists, but the modern bureaucracy concept, present in the schools from which these teachers were drawn, suggested that the authority structure of the school was best described as a balance of power. On the one hand, the school was an organization whose principal possessed formal authority and responsibility, delegated by the Minister of the Crown, and, on the other hand, this was an organization that found informal authority based on the collegial, professional cadre of teachers.

What was now proposed (1974) was something different again - another type of power balance in the educational structure. This time it would not be made up of formal authority in the hands of administrators and informal authority in the hands of teachers. This time it would be that the balance of power would be obtained by formal authority in the hands of teachers, administrators, parents and principals.

One could say that the 'professionals', moving into the central office and becoming 'bureaucrats', were attuned to the 'bureaucratic' machine but would probably try to act in a collegial manner because they knew the feeling of the community and the need to personalise the system, thereby allowing that freedom of speech in consensus decision-making.

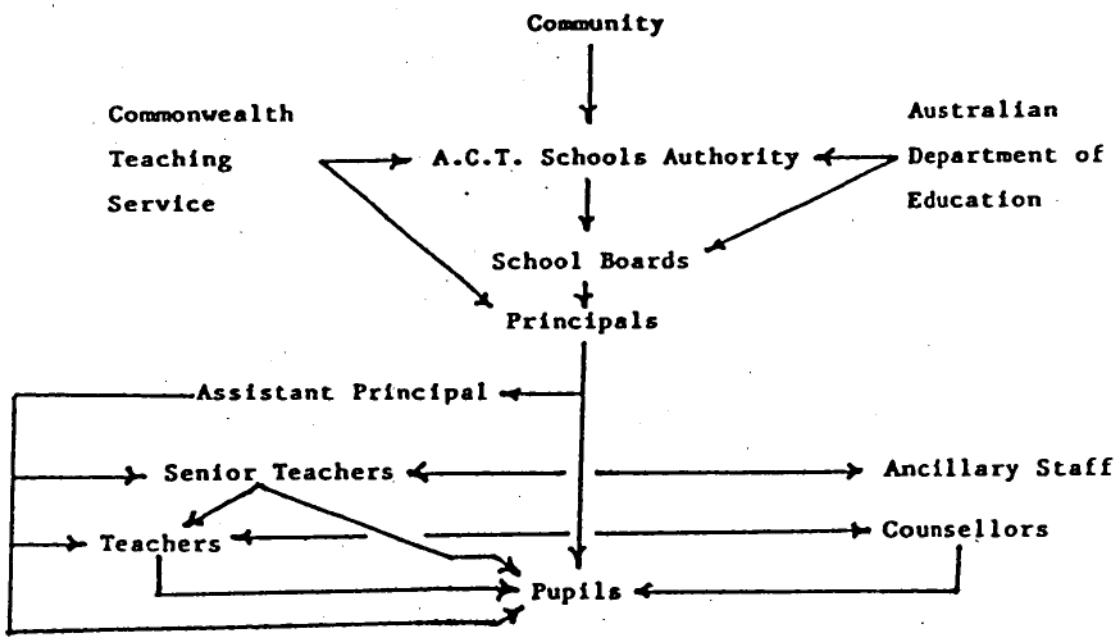
Secondly, from the viewpoint of the public servants appointed from government departments to the schools office, their perspective on control meant little realisation of the fact that the schools office was planned as a service institution.

The question arose whether the mix of professionals (to become public servants), and public servants would 'work' as a service-oriented group or whether the public servants would tend to think of themselves as part of a head office and impose controls both within the office and on the schools. Thompson (1980:13) notes that an increasing percentage of professionals work in complex organizations (scientists, engineers, teachers, architects, lawyers, doctors), and that these organizations have non-professional control structures with managers, not colleagues, ruling. On the whole, the salaried professional has neither exclusive nor final responsibility for his work; he has to accept the final authority of the non-professionals. Whether the professional in a bureaucracy manages to maintain some of the autonomy typical of the classical independent professional will depend on several factors (Wilensky, 1970:14, in Thompson, 1980):

> "The crux of the issue of autonomy for salaried professionals is whether the organization itself is infused with professionalism (as measured, say, by a large percentage of professionally trained employees and managers)..."

Was the central office infused with professionalism among the bureaucrats in 1974 or was it, because of the public servant appointments noted earlier, organized in traditional bureaucratic ways which caused the development of a feeling that control was from the top in the office, and that the office controlled the schools? Did the bureaucrats follow the traditional form of control, as illustrated below:

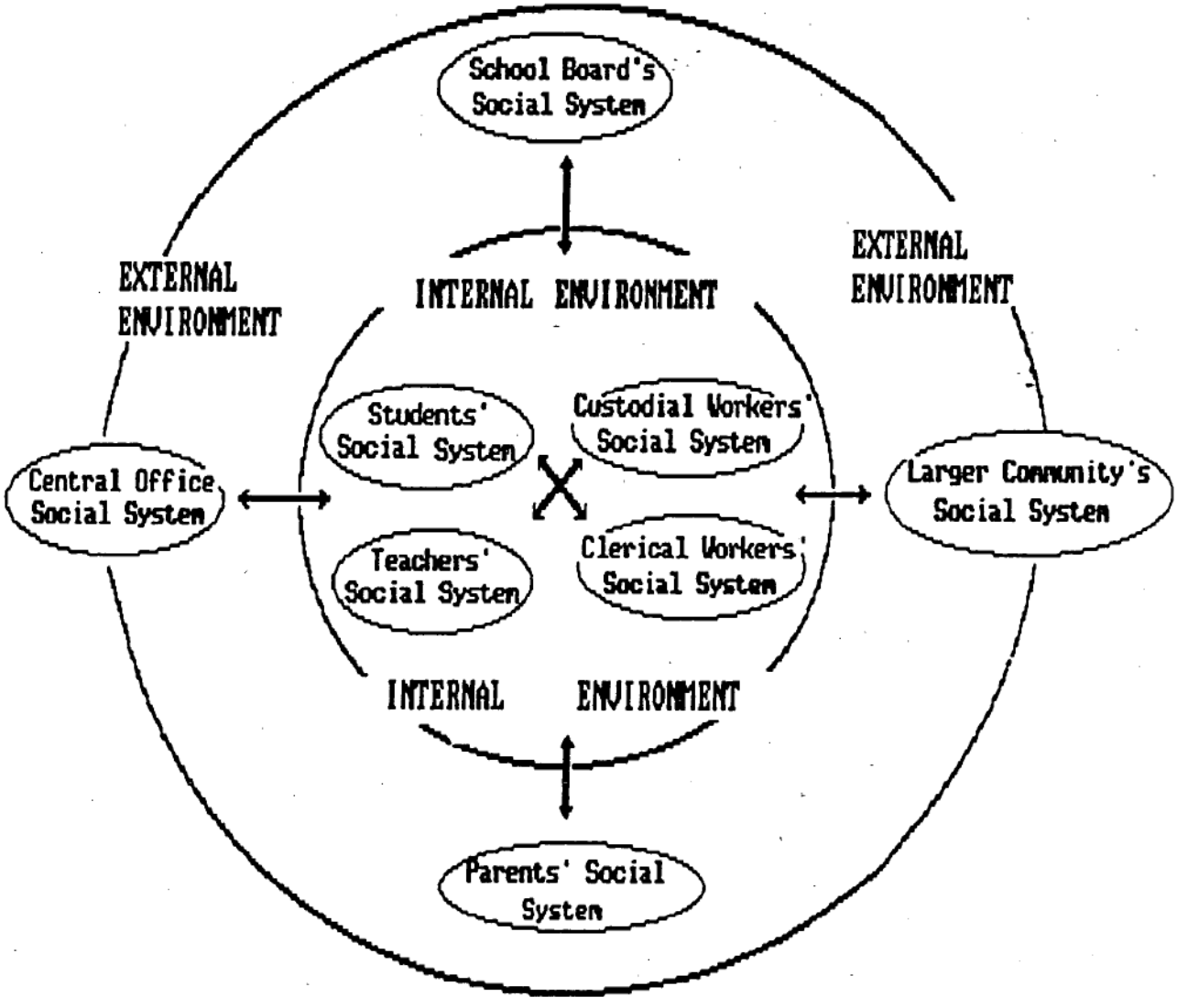
Figure 3.5 - Control Through Close Supervision and Bureaucratic Rules (Livermore, 1975:40)



and endeavour to control schools through the office? This would be an expected course of events considering the earlier discussion on the features of bureaucracy, and the office public servants became essentially a hierarchical structure, a social organization of ranks and grades of authority and sanctions, one whose power resided at the top. There may be some sharing in control, but this would be decided by the office-hierarchy. It became a task for the Chief Education Officer to change this attitude so that a much more collegial approach developed, and as a result, the formation of a group of quasi-independent domains, an assembly of autonomous, spontaneously functioning offices, a system in the office whereby power was distributed and services flowed outwards.

The partnership of parents, professionals, principals and public servants had to be maintained to support the consensus basis of the new structure and this meant showing the public servants that they had to change their ideas of control gradually from traditional to modern, with circuits and task forces, and loose-coupling and come to view their educational structure in a similar form to the following diagram (P.163). Each system would interact with the other in a co-operative manner and this would happen within the school and within the whole educational structure of the new Australian Capital Territory education system. This approach, centring on sharing, would benefit the core of the system - the child.

Figure 3.6 - Gorton, 1977:340



The educational system had to be looked upon as a co-operative structure, not a bureaucracy any more. The "little parts" working closely to the people, and the people having a say in the wide field of policy would restore that 'part of' feeling, thereby bringing motivation and legitimation back to the system. This would develop slowly with the traditional public servant. Domination would gradually be replaced by collegiality.

The public servants began in the office with a perspective that stressed bureaucratic control, but their surroundings would press upon them the position of being part of a control mechanism, sharing with the parents, the professionals and the principals.

(d) Principals

The new Australian Capital Territory government school system was based on the concept of participation in the decision-making process, delegated responsibilities, and multi-level accountability. Schools were to enjoy a maximum of local control within the context of general policies established by the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority, the Chief Education Officer and the government.

As can be realised from an earlier chapter, a different concept was emerging in the ideas for the new Australian Capital Territory system. The Principal was still to be an educational leader but to be much more a facilitator of educational development by participating equally with others in the process of decision-making - he no longer captained the ship and coaxed others to see things his way, but would participate in the 'fours' by rowing equally with parents, professionals, and public servants. The collaborative effort, communicative competence and consensus decision-making of all involved in the process of education would be a new and exciting world for the Principal in the new system - the

success of the rowing 'four' might well depend on his change of outlook from 'leader' to facilitator of integrated effort.

The Principal had to communicate, clearly, the system's beliefs and expectations (as decided by the Schools Authority, composed of parents, professionals, principals and public servants), and provide leadership to the system. The Principal had responsibility to the Schools Authority, the Chief Education Officer, the Schools Board, the staff, the students, the parents and the community as a whole.

Educational research continues to confirm that the Principal is the key individual in the establishment of a professionally-administered school (Smyth, 1980; California Legislature, 1978; Grassie, 1978). Principals can enhance the development of a school attitude dedicated to a quality of excellence by clearly communicating the system's beliefs and expectations. In the Australian Capital Territory, this required an open communication system in which ideas flowed to and from all levels of operation within the system. Teachers were thus motivated to create a climate that was conducive to optimum student growth and performance.

The government school system was to be managed by an extended group of leader-educators, under the general direction of the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority at system level, and the School Board at local level. Collectively, they would both control and provide leadership for the rest of the system. As a member of the community of educators, the Principal had responsibilities at both system and school level.

In this, he came directly into contact with at least the following different groups or individuals:

* the Chief Education Officer,
* the School Office,
* the School Board,
* the teaching staff of the school,
* the ancillary staff of the school,
* students,
* parents,
* parents and citizens' association,
* curriculum consultants,
* Teachers' Federation,
* media/community, and
* other principals and public servants.

The magnitude and complexity of these relationships varied, and would become more or less active at different times. It became immediately apparent, however, that the principal had many roles to fill, and should be skilled in moving from one to another as well as balancing one against another. In many instances the principal's operations were further complicated by the need to act in a number of roles at the same time.

It may be useful to look at these roles in two main groups - those relating to the school, and those relating to the system. At the school level the principal had responsibilities in relation to the School Board, the teaching staff, the ancillary staff, the students and the parents. At the system

level, he had responsibilities to the Chief Education Officer, to the Schools Authority, and to the government. In addition, there were links which had to be built, maintained and used with such groups as the Curriculum Consultants, the Teachers' Federation, the Parents and Citizens' Associations and the media.

As to the Schools Authority, this body had responsibility to the Commonwealth Minister for Education for the effective and efficient operation of the Australian Capital Territory government school system and for the equitable distribution of human and material resources within it. There had to be a balance of control and responsibility between the system and local community levels. The Authority was to discharge its responsibility for the whole system but allow school boards to develop and implement their own specific educational philosophies within policies and guidelines developed by the Authority.

The various activities of the Principal illustrate that he/she was the professional leader, responsible for the effective use of resources (culture and knowledge) available to the children by collaborative negotiation between partners. It was in the principal's professional competence, expertise as an educator and personal dedication and interest, that the achievements of the school and system depended.

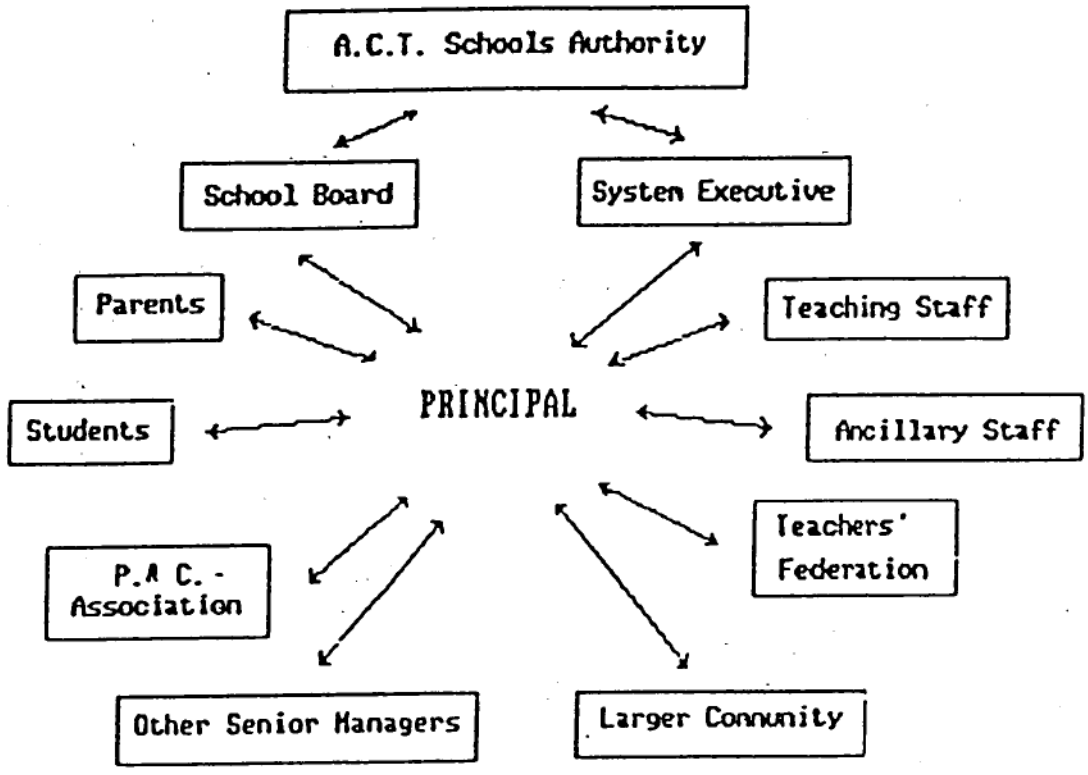
The Principal was a member of the School Board and, hence, a party to all policy decisions. As the Board's chief professional adviser, he had the task of ensuring that this

advice was the best available, that it was representative of a broad spectrum on inputs and that an 'ideal speech' type of situation developed for its analysis before consensus decision-making could occur. The principal had to monitor current research and educational thought, obtain specialist advice, cultivate an informed staff, develop the participatory potential of the community and collegiality with the public servants in the schools service office.

Being the educational leader, the principal was also responsible for the day-to-day activities of the school, and this involved the building of processes for shared decision-making, good communications, and effective organizational procedures in order to 'provide for the average, for the gifted, for the slow, retarded or handicapped, for the eccentric and for the non-conformist' (Guiding Aims and Principles). The principal would endeavour to provide the opportunity and equality to all children that society does not provide.

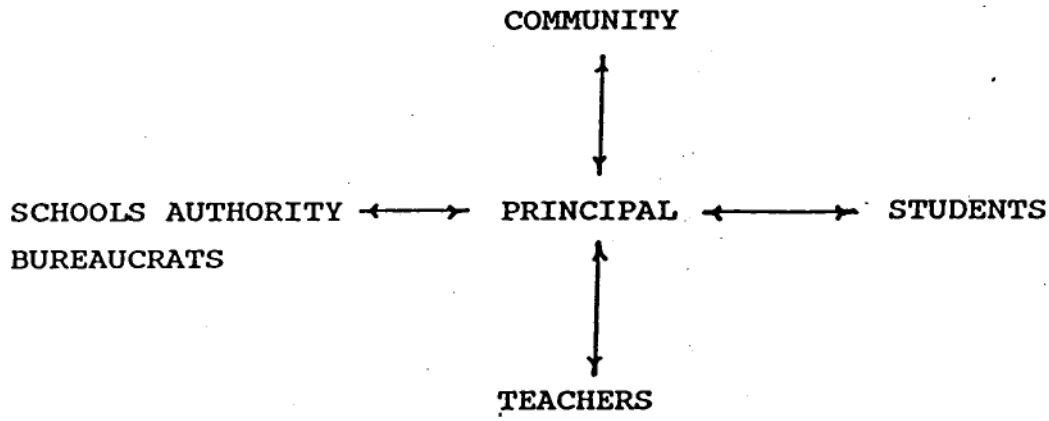
The Principal also had a system-wide role, being available to assist the Chief Education Officer and the Schools Authority whenever required, and being able to work in a collaborative, collegial way with other staff, principals, school's office public servants and parents. The principal's perspective of his role may be illustrated diagramatically as follows:

Figure 3.7 - The Australian Capital Territory Government School System - A Principal's Perspective (Authority Discussion Paper, 1981)



What this suggests is that the Principal had a perspective on control that involved shared decision-making but placed him at the centre to facilitate the sharing process, as illustrated in the following diagram:

Figure 3.8



Because the principal was responsible for the educational organization, he must understand both education and organisation. In the educational domain, he must possess current knowledge about learning theory, teacher behaviour, curriculum development, and child growth. He must also comprehend the essential characteristics of, and distinctions among, major groups of subjects. He should be familiar with the basic tenets of the sociology of knowledge - what is knowledge, how is knowledge organized, how is knowledge transmitted, how is what counts as knowledge evaluated, what ideology underlines the system - in order to help the community participants as they endeavour to solve each of these questions in sequence in the development of policy for their school. In the organizational domain, he must understand and appreciate organizational theory and hence the concepts associated with leadership, decision-making, formal and informal organization, bureaucracy, professionalism, systems theory and the humanity

of the social sciences, and the inequality and domination that exists throughout society, and so develop the non-hierarchical, collegial administration of parents, professionals, public servant and principals. In essence the principal had to help develop and understand what the community saw as knowledge for its children, what the community and staff had worked out as to how this knowledge was to be organized and transmitted, what evaluation techniques of the school were to be used, and what was the ideology underlying the work of the parents and the staff. The principal had to realise the importance of his role in the undertaking for it could well determine the success or otherwise of the new organization - it would be time-consuming, demanding, full of conflict and often frustrating.

The principal was part of the movement from within to change the organization to one that stressed much greater equality for participants from teachers, the parents and the public servants. It was in the harmonious bringing together of the parents, the bureaucracy, the professionals, the students and the community that the principal would achieve control in some areas. The principal had the vital co-ordinating role in restoring legitimacy to the system. It became the activity of the principal to develop that consensus decision-making style envisaged by Habermas, among the parents, professionals, public servants and himself. His was the major responsibility for developing the team spirit, co-operation and free dialogue between parents, professionals and public servants and himself, endeavouring to remove any areas of 'domination' and the

concept of a 'Head Office'. If rationality and legitimacy were to be restored by this new system the structure was available and the principal had to be the facilitator to develop teamwork, collaboration, participation and integrated effort so that the parents, professionals, public servants and himself could share in control. He was no longer the hierarchical head of a bureaucratically organized school as in New South Wales but the effervescent thinker in an organization geared to participatory democracy, equity, negotiation and a great erosion of domination in all its forms.

The Principal was the person in the middle and it was his mission to develop the communicative competence role of each parent, professional and public servant in order to improve consensus decision-making and have all participate and share in decision-making and control. His was the task to develop teamwork, participation, and integrated effort - thence shared control and general involvement.

Review of Section 1

The study was commenced with this theoretical background. The early writers had stressed autonomous man, the writers in Critical Theory had emphasised freedom to participate in a democratic public sphere, Habermas had presented a theory of social change emphasising a fundamental change in organizational structure, communicative competence in the ideal speech situation, leading to mass participation in the planning and management of social life. The perspectives of each of the four groups - parents, professionals, public servants and principals - had shown a desire for corporate endeavour (albeit early reluctance on public service office appointees), and the positivist literature had shown that effectiveness of organization was enhanced by decentralisation and sharing of control amongst participants.

The study was then undertaken with this background. A crisis had occurred in the Australian Capital Territory area of the New South Wales system and with an emancipatory approach, mirroring world thinking at the time, a new structure of educational organization had been formed that based its legitimacy on parental, professional, bureaucratic and principal control.

It could be said the Australian Capital Territory had achieved in its new educational structure what Della-Dora (1975:4) was making a plea for in the United States of America:

> "If we could focus now on how to share the power among all those affected (parents, students, teachers, administrators, board members) rather than whether to share it, this will hasten the time when we can all contribute to determining constructively what we (together) believe the schools should be about."

This study considers whether the changes in the Australian Capital Territory education structure provided an example of social action, designed for social betterment rather than organizational maintenance. As Habermas said, the institution had been rationalised to serve human ends. The new structure gave opportunity for participation by all, provided for autonomy in various areas and asked for involvement by all those engaged in cultural production and reproduction in schools. It possessed all the characteristics of liberation from domination propounded by the Critical Theorists.

If the new structure was to achieve legitimacy then control would be spread among the community, the professionals, the bureaucrats and the principals, and this study endeavours to ascertain if this was so in 1974 and 1982. If changes have occurred the study will endeavour to ascertain the reasons for change. Had this shared control brought about by the unique Australian Capital Territory academic-professional class so improved the administrative structure as to bring about real social betterment?

SECTION 2

CONTEXT OF STUDY

CRISIS AND CHANGE

Chapter Four

Activities Leading to a New Educational Structure

By the proclamation of the Seat of Government Acceptance Act on 1st January, 1911, the Commonwealth of Australia acquired some 900 square miles of land in the Southern Tablelands of New South Wales for the purpose of building a capital city to service the Parliament of the country. A sub-section of the Act provided that New South Wales laws and regulations should continue until new arrangements were made. The New South Wales Education Department was asked to maintain its school system in the Australian Capital Territory. However, Peter Board, Director General of Education in New South Wales, wrote a memorandum to his Minister of Public Instruction regarding administration of education in the area and acknowledged the feeling of the Commonwealth Government that this was to be a special area (1912):

> "The question arises as to the general administration of the schools of the Federal area... . So far these schools have been worked as if they were still in New South Wales. Their future management is however now brought under consideration by the fact that the Federal authorities desire to have two schools erected at or near Canberra, and to have them staffed with specially qualified teachers."

With the gradual development of Canberra, particularly after the opening of Parliament House in 1928, more advisers and public servants and service industry workers came to Canberra and, in the immediate post-war years, Canberra became a peaceful country town of 20,000 people. This gradual growth changed to a rush in the late 1950's as more government departments were moved from Melbourne, with an explosion in the 1960's. The National Capital Development Commission was formed to oversee the development of the area into an ideal capital city in every way.

With this rush of people from all states in Australia as well as migrants from European countries to the burgeoning capital Canberra came to develop a character of its own.

Government Framework

The framework of government for the people was very different. It was not accepted as a state and the Australian Capital Territory was still the administrative preserve of the Commonwealth Government. It had no locally elected parliament nor any local government bodies responsible for municipal functions. Instead, Commonwealth Ministers exercised authority over Australian Capital Territory matters, e.g., the Minister for Health for Australia also dominated the local Health Commission, the Minister for Education for Australia had final power over the Schools Authority that was set up in 1974 to administer the new education system in the Australian Capital

Territory. There was, in addition, the Minister for the Capital Territory, who exercised responsibility for the management of the development of Canberra, something akin to a State Parliament of one member, advised by his Commonwealth Department officers. He was responsible for land allocation, buildings, government housing, municipal services and transport and was only advised by an elected House of Assembly consisting of eighteen members.

As far as democratic power rights were concerned, the people participated in government by returning two representatives to the House of Representatives in the Commonwealth Government and two representatives to the Senate. The members of the previously mentioned House of Assembly, or local council with no money or power, participated in the provision of advice to the Minister for the Capital Territory and were appointed to various statutory authorities and boards concerned with Australian Capital Territory affairs.

Of importance to this study was the previously mentioned Minister of Education. He had direct responsibility for the Australian Capital Territory and was assisted by numerous committees, but his principal adviser was his own Commonwealth Department of Education. As well as providing recommendations on national policy it would also advise on Australian Capital Territory matters, and this advice could well be different from that received from the Schools Authority when it was established in 1974 (see later section of this chapter). In the case of the Schools Authority the Minister had power in the

Australian Capital Territory to direct it, a power which he would use, presumably, on the advice of his department as well as on instruction from his government, e.g., ordering the Authority to allow an independent school to use part of an existing High School whilst its own building was being built.

The Labor Party held the most seats in the House of Assembly and it also held the two Canberra seats in the House of Representatives, whilst Labor and Liberal held one seat each in the Senate. This picture should be tempered by the research of Atkins, 1978, who asserted that at Federal level Canberra can be seen as voting against the government rather than pro-Labor and that Canberra voters favour candidates who concentrate on local issues rather than engage in national level politics.

Socio-Economic Framework

The individual character mentioned earlier was written into the literature by the Currie Report, 1967. The report argued for an education system separate from New South Wales, one which would 'reflect...its own particular character' (1967:4).

The Census figures of 1976 reflect the socio-economic state of the area for the time of the study and illustrate well this 'particular character', in comparison with the closest state, New South Wales.

The population of Canberra was a very young one with 41% being under 20 years of age as compared with 35% in New South Wales.

Figure 4.1 - Total Population

	TOTAL POPULATION							
COMPLETED YEARS	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
0	38160	37293	75453	1.6	2024	1930	3954	2.0
1	40537	38270	78807	1.6	2101	2044	4145	2.2
3	43983	42518	86501	1.8	2274	2241	4515	2.3
4	46556	44834	91390	1.9	2399	2386	4785	2.4
5-9	213787	204287	418074	8.8	10970	10053	21023	10.6
10-14	216961	205237	422198	8.8	9583	9343	18925	9.0
15	45548	42785	88333	1.8	2010	1759	3770	1.9
16	43056	41359	84415	1.8	1754	1693	3447	1.7
17	43148	40838	83985	1.8	1863	1667	3530	1.8
18	41543	41656	82199	1.7	1810	1807	3617	1.8
19	40184	38970	79154	1.7	1822	1870	3692	1.9
20-24	191395	190393	381786	8.0	8863	9541	18404	9.5
25-29	199755	196829	396585	8.3	11071	11150	22229	11.3
30-34	171386	164883	336268	7.0	9119	8461	17580	8.9
35-39	149482	142782	292184	6.1	7022	6834	13856	7.0
40-44	134352	127460	261812	5.5	5647	5004	10651	5.4
45-49	144224	135233	279457	5.8	5148	4776	9924	5.0
50-54	137234	135649	272883	5.7	4676	4247	8923	4.5
55-59	114217	117578	231795	4.9	3029	2793	5822	2.5
60-64	100038	109025	209063	4.4	1976	2107	4083	2.1
65-69	76241	88458	164699	3.4	1179	1283	2462	1.2
70-74	51037	66859	117896	2.5	692	937	1629	0.8
75+	54567	104603	159170	3.3	664	1408	2073	1.0
TOTAL POPULATION	2380151	2396956	4777108	100.0	100104	97519	197623	100.0

(Tables and diagrams are from the 1976 Statistical Summary, the 1981 Statistical Summary, and the publication, Schools Australia, obtained at the Statistics Bureau, Belconnen, A.C.T.)

Only one person in five was born in the Australian Capital Territory and Canberra could be said to be cosmopolitan as judged by the census figures. Approximately one quarter of its population was born outside Australia, the main homelands being the United Kingdom, Eire, Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, the Netherlands and Poland. The Australian born population can be seen to be drawn from all parts of Australia, although New

South Wales and Victoria account for a little over half of the total.

Figure 4.2 - Birthplace, Citizenship, Australian Capital Territory

10. BIRTHPLACE, CITIZENSHIP

BIRTHPLACE	TOTAL		AUSTRALIA	
	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
AUSTRALIA				
NEW SOUTH WALES	29986	30739	29986	30739
VICTORIA	9001	8916	9001	8916
QUEENSLAND	4339	4483	4339	4483
SOUTH AUSTRALIA	2546	2498	2546	2498
WESTERN AUSTRALIA	1673	1591	1673	1591
TASMANIA	962	1075	962	1075
NORTH'N TERRITORY	343	314	343	314
A.C.T.	20034	18920	20034	18920
AUST, UNDEFINED	6982	6795	6982	6795
TOTAL AUST BORN	75866	75331	75866	75331
OVERSEAS				
NEW ZEALAND	908	796	243	221
UK AND EIRE	9266	8580	3221	2780
CANADA	235	236	71	62
USA	595	550	167	124
AUSTRIA	426	353	255	235
GERMANY	1399	1386	1002	1041
NETHERLANDS	962	842	756	128
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	215	158	194	128
HUNGARY	328	235	294	198
POLAND	470	357	420	324
USSR	61	126	52	109
YUGOSLAVIA	1868	1515	1033	755
GREECE	816	728	631	475
ITALY	1501	1196	882	646
MALTA	231	209	110	93
CYPRUS	84	70	36	25
TURKEY, LEBANON	77	49	55	31
EGYPT	86	82	67	58
OTHER EUROPE	1906	1942	1144	1089
OTHER ASIA	1879	1815	1908	1028
OTHER AMERICA	226	275	105	130
OTHER AFRICA	339	312	168	164
OTHER OCEANIA	355	374	257	271
AT SLA	2	1	0	1
TOTAL O'SEAS BORN	24238	22188	12256	10581
TOTAL POPULATION	100104	97519	88122	85912

In relation to annual personal income figures the figures as measured by the Australian Bureau of Statistics showed that the average weekly earnings in the Australian Capital Territory were the highest of any city in Australia.

Figure 4.3 - Income - Annual Personal

16. INCOME - ANNUAL PERSONAL

AMOUNT	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
NONE	131734	425263	556997	15.8	5589	16066	21655	16.0
LESS THAN $1500	37821	179945	217766	6.2	1225	8292	9517	7.0
$ 1500 - $ 2000	90457	143877	234334	6.7	1466	2729	4195	3.1
OVER $ 2000 - $ 3000	112553	228902	341455	9.7	1757	4431	6188	4.6
OVER $ 3000 - $ 4000	73375	109802	185177	5.2	1417	3441	4857	3.6
OVER $ 4000 - $ 5000	82057	114298	196355	5.6	2015	3647	5662	4.2
OVER $ 5000 - $ 6000	142536	123868	266404	7.6	2967	4459	7425	5.5
OVER $ 6000 - $ 7000	203579	113580	317159	9.4	4866	5475	10341	7.6
OVER $ 7000 - $ 8000	198329	74880	273209	7.8	6171	4954	11125	8.2
OVER $ 8000 - $ 9000	167283	39679	206961	5.9	6600	2998	9599	7.1
OVER $ 9000 - $12000	237343	45609	282953	8.0	12383	3904	16287	12.0
OVER $12000 - $15000	92715	11587	104302	3.0	7912	1684	9596	7.1
OVER $15000 - $18000	36458	3164	39622	1.1	5928	518	6445	4.8
OVER $18000	41922	3583	39622	1.3	5374	267	5641	4.2
NOT STATED	89162	166324	255486	7.3	2676	4481	7157	5.3
TOTAL POPULATION 15YRS+	1737323	1784361	3521604	100.0	68346	67345	135691	100.0

In the top four brackets of income the Australian Capital Territory had 28.1% of its income earners, whereas New South Wales had 13.4% of its income earners. However, at the level of the lowest four income groups the Australian Capital Territory had only 18.3% whereas New South Wales had 28.8%. Almost half the population was in the labour force in the Australian Capital Territory as shown in the following tables, and of these 58% were male and 36% female.

Figure 4.4 - Industry Sector - Employed Population

24. INDUSTRY SECTOR - EMPLOYED POPULATION

SECTOR	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT	105526	38049	143576	7.1	30885	18755	49640	54.0
STATE GOVERNMENT	186408	119800	306208	15.1	271	149	420	0.5
LOCAL GOVERNMENT	29834	5118	34952	1.7	85	25	110	0.1
NON-GOVERNMENT	980808	565395	1546203	76.1	25617	16098	41714	45.4
TOTAL EMPLOYED POPULATION	1302576	728362	2030937	100.0	56858	35026	91885	100.0

Figure 4.5 - Occupation - Employed Population

25. OCCUPATION - EMPLOYED POPULATION

OCCUPATION	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
0. PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL								
TEACHERS	28143	38972	67115	3.3	1637	2976	4814	5.2
MED.DENT.NRSES,MED TECH	14360	43427	57787	2.8	521	1924	2444	2.7
OTHER	89113	22389	111509	5.5	7793	2101	9893	10.8
TOTAL MAJOR GROUP 0	131622	104788	236410	11.6	10151	7000	17151	18.7
1. ADMIN,EXEC,ETC,TOTAL	119437	21208	140645	6.9	4958	779	5738	6.2
2. CLERICAL WORKERS, TOTAL	107523	241622	349145	17.2	12437	16418	28855	31.4
3. SALES WORKERS,TOTAL	77612	80654	158267	7.8	2587	3126	5712	6.2
4. FARMERS, FISHERMEN, ETC								
FRMR, FRM WKR, WOOL CLSR	85560	34856	120416	5.9	850	150	1000	1.1
HUNTERS, TIMBER WKRS	2601	39	2640	0.1	112	12	124	0.1
FISHERMAN	2056	180	2236	0.1	6	0	6	0.0
TOTAL MAJOR GROUP 4	90217	35075	125292	6.2	968	162	1130	1.2
5. MINERS, QUARRYMEN, TOTAL	13496	42	13537	0.7	54	0	54	0.1
6. TRANSPORT,COMMUNICATION								
SHIPPING, AIR TRANSPORT	4088	20	4108	0.2	35	2	37	0.0
RAIL TRANSPORT	13056	308	13363	0.7	130	6	136	0.1
ROAD TRANSPORT	63409	3229	66638	3.3	2014	97	2111	2.3
OTHER TPT, COMMUNICATION	12424	11579	24003	1.2	369	604	972	1.1
TOTAL MAJOR GROUP 6	92977	15135	108111	5.3	2548	708	3256	3.5
7/8. PROD PROC WKRS, LABOURERS								
TEXTILES, LEATHER	10131	23719	33850	1.7	171	125	297	0.3
METAL,ELECTRICAL	217463	17447	243910	11.6	5078	81	5159	5.6
WOOD TECH, BUILDING	87859	1196	89055	4.4	4959	30	4988	5.4
OTHER PROD PROC WORKERS	57244	27087	84332	4.2	791	240	1031	1.1
LABOURERS	78996	4664	83660	4.1	1860	37	1897	2.1
OTHER	74994	5407	80401	4.0	1811	162	1937	2.1
TOTAL MAJOR GROUP 7/8	526687	79520	606206	29.6	14670	675	15344	16.7
9. SERVICE, SPORT, RECREATION								
FIRE, POLICE, ETC.	16722	487	17208	0.8	1067	41	1108	1.2
DOMESTIC SVCE WORKERS	9053	38103	47156	2.3	454	1420	1873	2.0
OTHER	39108	56620	95729	4.7	1349	2406	3755	4.1
TOTAL MAJOR GROUP 9	64683	95210	160093	7.9	2870	3867	6737	7.3

Of this labour force 54.6% worked for the Commonwealth Government whilst in New South Wales 23.9% worked for government bodies. On comparing major groups, 0, 1, 2 and 3 composed of professional, technical, teachers, medical, dental, administrators, executives, clerical and sales workers, there were 61.5% in the Australian Capital Territory and 43.5% in New South Wales. Of these 31% were classed as clerical workers in the Australian Capital Territory compared with 17% in New South Wales. However, the reverse situation occurred with categories 7/8 - process workers and labourers. There were 16.7% in the Australian Capital Territory and 29.6% in New South Wales. Also, by adding category 10, armed forces, to categories 0, 1, 2 and 3, remembering that armed forces in Canberra consist mainly of officers, there were 65.7% of the population in the professional group compared with 44.6% in New South Wales.

In relation to standard of housing, the three bedroom brick or brick veneer house or the two bedroom brick townhouse, or flat, housed most of the population and whereas 86% of the homes in the Australian Capital Territory were of brick, the figure for New South Wales was 51%. Fibro-asbestos was used for less than 2% of homes in the Australian Capital Territory compared with 21% in New South Wales.

Figure 4.6 - Motor Vehicles Parked at Occupied Private Dwellings

	N.S.W.		A.C.T.	
No. of Motor Vehicles	No. of Dwellings	Prop %	No. of Dwellings	Prop %
None	272404	18.3	3720	6.5
1	715285	47.9	28400	49.8
2	345838	23.2	18980	33.3
3 or More	98160	6.5	4552	8.0
Not Stated	59144	4.0	1326	2.3
Total Occupied Private Dwellings	1491826	100.0	56978	100.0

As the above table shows only 6.5% of the residences in the Australian Capital Territory had no cars whilst 18.3% had none in New South Wales. However, 83.1% had one or two cars in the Australian Capital Territory compared with 71.1% in New South Wales, and significantly 33.3% had two cars in the Australian Capital Territory as compared to 23.2% in New South Wales.

Of considerable importance to this study also was the educational level of the population and this was very high in the Australian Capital Territory compared to the states, as 31% of those aged fifteen or more held a post school qualification and 11% a tertiary qualification. The following table illustrates the academic orientation of the Australian Capital Territory community and accentuates the large professional group noted earlier. As can be seen from the figures 2.2% of the population in the Australian Capital Territory had Doctoral

or Masters degrees, whilst only 0.3% of the population in New South Wales had these qualifications. 12.7% had a degree or diploma in the Australian Capital Territory compared with 5.0% in New South Wales.

Figure 4.7 - Qualifications - Highest Level Gained

15. QUALIFICATIONS - HIGHEST LEVEL GAINED

LEVEL	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
DOCTORAL, MASTERS DEGREE	9802	2473	12274	0.3	2454	551	3005	2.2
GRADUATE DIPLOMA	7283	8565	15849	0.5	568	677	1245	0.9
BACHELOR DEGREE	52092	20018	72110	2.5	7559	3367	10926	8.1
DIPLOMA	49955	54259	104214	2.0	2910	3399	6309	4.6
TECHNICIAN'S CERTIFICATE	77257	96769	174026	4.9	3519	6217	9646	7.1
TRADE CERTIFICATE	302269	50875	353144	10.0	9098	1579	10677	7.9
LEVEL NOT APPLICABLE	10215	53685	63941	1.8	957	2817	3774	2.8
NO QUALIFICATIONS	1022122	1275840	2297963	65.3	35883	43253	79136	58.3
NOT STATED	206326	221875	428201	12.2	5398	5575	10972	8.1
TOTAL POPULATION 15 YRS+	1737322	1784360	3521682	100.0	68346	67345	135691	100.0

Perhaps, because of this professional academic class group parents had great interest in their schools and in giving children the opportunity to stay at school for a longer period of time. The following table for 1978 figures shows that the Australian Capital Territory had a much greater percentage of pupils remaining at school for a longer time than any of the states.

Figure 4.8 - SCHOOLS: Students Aged 15 to 18 Years as a Percentage of the Population of the Same Age(a) - Australian Capital Territory and Australia (Per Cent)

Age	1968	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
			Australian Capital Territory			
15	r90.8	89.7	87.4	90.2	95.2	r97.8
16	71.3	69.7	73.8	78.4	74.5	r82.0
17	r39.7	51.8	49.2	53.7	61.6	63.2
18(b)	12.7	16.8	11.8	13.2	18.1	r21.4
			Australia			
15	78.1	81.2	84.5	85.8	86.0	87.2
16	48.5	53.3	55.9	58.3	58.6	59.3
17	25.1	29.6	30.2	31.4	32.0	32.1
18(b)	8.1	6.7	6.7	6.8	6.8	6.8

(a) Based on population estimates at 30 June.

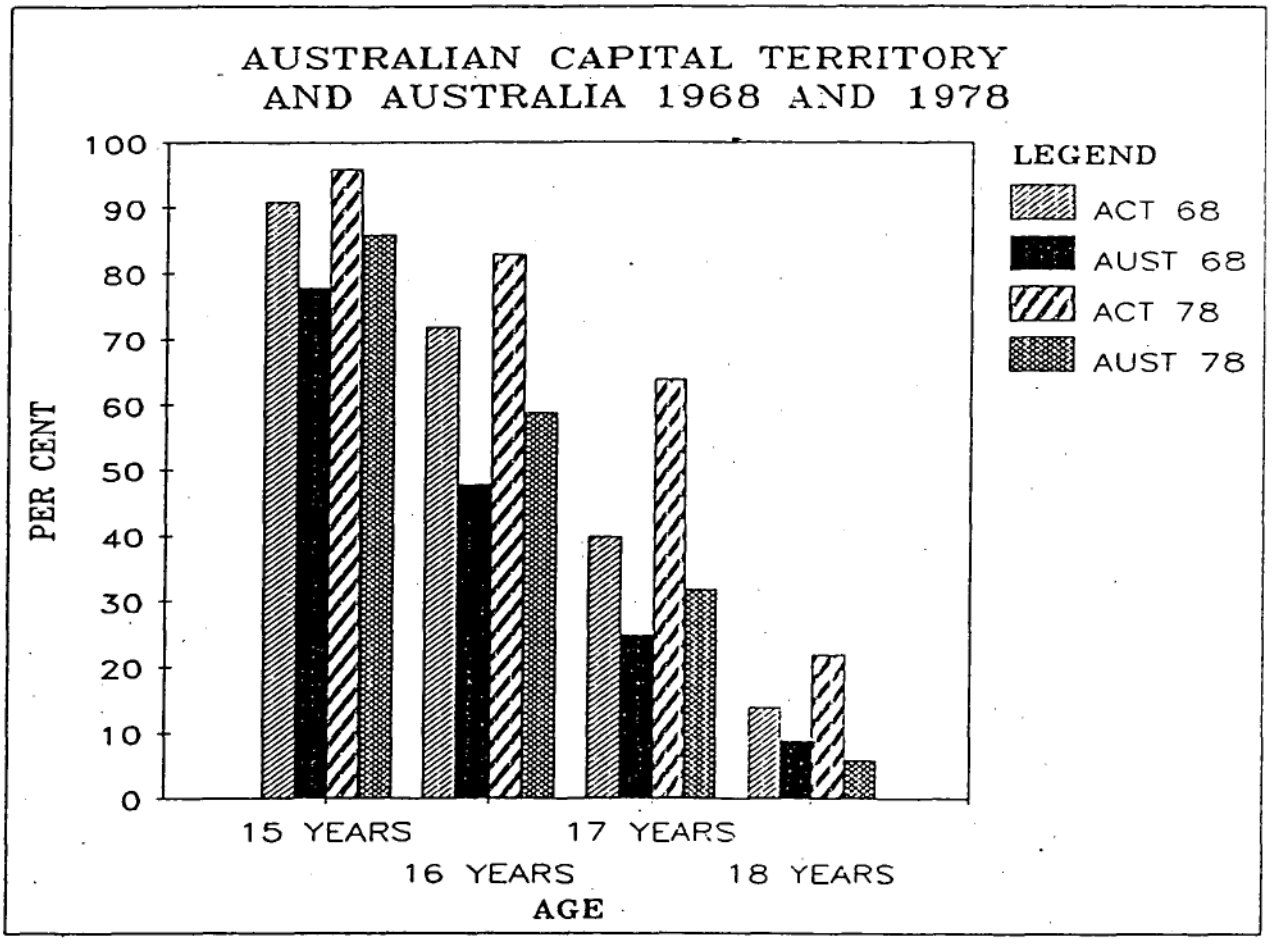
(b) In 1968, students aged 18 years and over are shown as percentages of the 18 year population, school participation rates on the same basis for 1978 are 25.3 for the Australian Capital Territory and 8.6 for Australia.

For 1978 it can be seen that 97.8% of 15 year olds remained at school in the Australian Capital Territory compared with 87.2% for Australia. At age 16 the figures were 82.0% and 59.3% and at age 17, 63.2% compared to 32.1%. At age 18 the figures were 21.4% for the Australian Capital Territory and 6.8% for Australia.

In comparing the changes of the ten year period in the following graph it can be seen that the Australian Capital Territory had a much higher retention rate than all the other states and particularly in the 18 year old group where

retention had increased from 12.7% to 21.4%, whereas the Australian rate had fallen from 8.1% to 6.8%.

Figure 4.9 - Retention Rates in Ten Year Period



In figures issued by the Bureau of Statistics and quoted in the Sydney Morning Herald of 16th June, 1982, it was said (see table below):

> "Differences in retention rates vary sharply both between state schools and private schools as well as across states. Among state school systems the Australian Capital Territory has the highest retention rate to Year 12 of 65.4%, followed by South Australia with 32.8%. New South

Wales' retention rate is 28.1%, while the national average for state schools is 28.5%... The national figure for private schools was 56.9%."

Figure 4.10 - Apparent Retention Rates of Secondary School Students to Year 12: States and Territories 1976-1981

TABLE 4.

APPARENT RETENTION RATES OF SECONDARY SCHOOL STUDENTS TO YEAR 12: STATES AND TERRITORIES 1976 - 1981

YEAR	STATES AND TERRITORIES								TOTAL		
	N.S.W.	VIC	QLD	S.A.	W.A.	TAS	N.T.	A.C.T.	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS
1976	34.4	34.9	34.9	37.0	35.7	24.8	23.5	61.2	34.6	35.3	34.9
1977	35.7	33.8	36.8	35.7	35.0	25.4	22.4	67.9	34.0	36.6	35.3
1978	35.8	33.0	32.4	35.2	34.2	24.5	19.0	67.8	33.1	37.3	35.1
1979	34.7	32.0	37.7	36.9	34.0	25.6	22.2	69.6	32.4	37.2	34.7
1980	32.8	32.5	38.6	38.8	34.0	26.9	20.1	66.6	31.9	37.3	34.5
1981											
Government	28.1	23.8	32.0	32.8	29.3	24.3	17.6	65.4	25.1	32.1	28.5
Non-govt	50.1	60.2	59.7	74.0	56.7	39.1	20.3	73.8	57.0	56.8	56.9
TOTAL	32.9	33.1	38.7	38.9	35.0	26.7	18.0	67.9	32.0	37.8	34.8

The level of general education amongst the population as well as the interest shown by parents in keeping children at school certainly helped make the area unique to Australia.

Canberra also had a system of non-government schools. In the 1976 census 29.4% of the population identified itself as being of the Roman Catholic persuasion compared with 24.8% for the Church of England. These figures were the reverse of the national pattern. 22% of school students were enrolled in Catholic non-government schools, while 4% were enrolled in other non-government schools. The remaining 74% were in schools conducted by the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority.

In order to emphasise further the 'unique' character of the Australian Capital Territory area one may view the figures from the 1981 census, obtained from the Bureau of Census and

Statistics, and see that this same pattern persisted. Looking at the age structure Canberra had the youngest population, and Sydney the oldest. The median age in Canberra was 27, in Melbourne 30 and in Sydney 32 and Canberra had the lowest proportion of aged people with 4.3% aged 65 or over whilst Melbourne had 9.5% and Sydney 10.1%.

Figure 4.11 - Age Structure 1981 Census

7. AGE	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	OVERSEAS BORN		TOTAL PERSONS		OVERSEAS BORN		TOTAL PERSONS	
	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES	MALES	FEMALES
0	308	350	39938	37719	20	24	1971	2008
1	953	866	39071	36730	55	73	2035	1957
2	1289	1299	39073	37633	109	87	2109	1944
3	1515	1511	39131	38202	91	98	2102	2004
4	1896	1872	40089	38225	126	138	2221	2125
0 - 4	8021	5898	197302	188510	401	420	10438	10038
5	2286	2161	40588	39254	135	113	2208	2065
6	2550	2412	42532	40195	184	158	2290	2158
7	2791	2703	44185	42153	184	188	2369	2232
8	3157	2911	45797	43733	222	221	2359	2313
9	3484	3321	48518	46456	255	226	2513	2491
5 - 9	14268	13510	221520	211791	980	906	11739	11259
10	3884	3709	48488	46516	276	239	2600	2389
11	4225	3911	44709	42581	275	259	2302	2238
12	4667	4443	44571	42718	253	258	2193	2008
13	5145	4736	42293	40591	263	278	2135	1953
14	5347	5064	42638	40392	293	296	1944	1936
10 - 14	23268	21863	222699	212798	1360	1331	11174	10524
15	5783	5261	42432	39884	310	284	2006	1877
16	5986	5718	42590	40430	365	319	1943	1870
17	6342	5894	44487	41990	310	331	1894	1989
18	6753	6338	45328	42975	390	319	1999	1908
19	7134	6656	45926	43984	342	306	1981	1925
15 - 19	31998	29887	220763	209243	1717	1559	9825	9569
20 - 24	39642	39841	218159	213776	1813	1768	9223	9679
25 - 29	45504	47394	204059	205377	2171	2496	9736	10653
30 - 34	64286	60248	210310	206480	3453	3485	11431	11655
35 - 39	57242	49655	176467	170479	3099	2913	8912	8861
40 - 44	52005	42968	150316	143347	2818	2436	7001	6809
45 - 49	44201	35061	133294	126464	2233	1616	5345	4972
50 - 54	40784	31761	139942	134683	1990	1576	4847	4564
55 - 59	38151	32185	132408	133965	1657	1558	4233	4110
60 - 64	25902	24651	105878	116272	1086	963	2672	2615
65 - 69	20900	20767	89022	103578	708	781	1794	2189
70 - 74	17269	18748	82711	81041	491	577	1076	1521
75+	17485	26839	64014	119229	387	728	969	1976
TOTAL	538926	501256	2548984	2577233	26364	25333	110415	111194

In relation to income Canberra was certainly the centre of high personal income. Twice as many people, proportionately, were making $18,000 a year than in either Sydney or Melbourne, and fewer, proportionately, were making less than $6,000 per annum. Again if one aggregates the top four levels of income the Australian Capital Territory had 25.6% of its population, whereas New South Wales had 14.3% of its population, whilst at the level of the lowest four income groups the Australian Capital Territory had only 16.5% whilst New South Wales had 23.1%, and almost half of the population was in the labour force in the Australian Capital Territory. When total household incomes are compared the disparity is more striking. One in every three Canberra households had an income of $25,000 or more, nearly 40% more as a proportion than Sydney, whilst at the other end of the scale 9.6% in Canberra had an income of less than $6,000 compared with 15.1% in Sydney.

Figure 4.12 - Income($): NSW and ACT

16. INCOME ($)

	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
NONE	105599	398497	502096	13.0	5437	16160	21597	13.8
LESS THAN 1000	17266	110182	127448	3.3	881	6178	7059	4.5
1000 - 2000	23977	63899	87876	2.3	944	2860	3804	2.4
2001 - 3000	125557	180996	306553	7.9	3147	4370	7517	4.6
3001 - 4000	118382	253203	371585	9.6	2060	5502	7562	4.8
4001 - 6000	128193	205757	333950	8.6	2996	7088	10084	6.4
6001 - 8000	132013	156974	288987	7.5	3705	5674	9379	6.0
8001 - 10000	170709	135788	306477	7.9	4576	5517	10093	6.5
12001 - 15000	285001	103662	388663	10.0	10844	6840	17684	11.3
15001 - 18000	189598	47997	237595	6.1	8657	3208	11865	7.6
18001 - 22000	131189	24635	155824	4.0	8649	2787	11436	7.3
22001 - 26000	63585	7492	71077	1.8	7262	1111	8373	5.4
OVER 26000	83474	9046	92520	2.4	7762	497	8259	5.3
NOT STATED	79543	128298	207841	5.4	2573	3739	6312	4.0
TOTAL	1907363	1964134	3871497	100.0	77064	79373	156437	100.0

Now of the labour force in the Australian Capital Territory, 57% worked for government bodies whereas in New South Wales 23.3% worked for the government bodies as shown in the table below.

Figure 4.13 - Industry Sector

21. INDUSTRY SECTOR

	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
AUSTRALIAN GOVT	105052	44079	149131	6.7	34950	22013	56973	56.1
STATE GOVT	199209	136857	336066	15.0	443	396	839	0.8
LOCAL GOVT	29983	6359	36341	1.6	50	21	71	0.1
PRIVATE SECTOR	992966	573467	1566433	70.1	22966	16843	39804	39.2
NOT STATED	70489	74636	145125	6.5	2023	1800	3823	3.8
TOTAL	1397698	835398	2233096	100.0	60442	41073	101515	100.0

Comparing major groups 0, 1, 2 and 3 composed of professionals, technical, teachers, medical, dental, administrators, executives, clerical and sales workers there were 66.9% in the Australian Capital Territory and 45% in New South Wales (Fig. 14, Page 192). Of these 29.2% were classed as clerical workers in the Australian Capital Territory compared with 18% in New South Wales, whilst the reverse occurred when categories 7 and 8 were added - process workers and tradesmen and labourers - 12.8% was the figure for the Australian Capital Territory compared with 28.6% in New South Wales. Again, by adding category 10, armed forces, to our original total, remembering that armed forces in Canberra were mainly higher ranked officers, there were 71.5% of the population in the Australian Capital Territory in the professional group compared to 46% in New South Wales.

Figure 4.14 - Occupation

23. OCCUPATION

	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
0 PROFESSIONAL,TECHNICAL -								
MEDICAL,DENTIST, NURSE,ETC	17921	50185	88106	3.0	656	2411	3067	3.0
TEACHERS	34834	52329	87163	3.9	2269	3887	6156	6.1
OTHR, INCL VETERINARIANS	111074	34447	145521	6.5	8823	2873	11696	11.5
TOTAL	163829	136961	300790	13.5	11748	9171	20919	20.6
1 ADMINISTRATIVE ETC	97616	13671	111487	5.0	8962	1771	10733	10.5
2 CLERICAL WORKERS	116966	224450	401416	18.0	11078	18528	29605	29.2
3 SALES WORKERS	95684	94532	190216	8.5	2813	3735	6548	6.5
4 FARMERS,FISHERMEN,ETC -								
FRMRS, FRM WKRS, WOOL CLSRS	83085	29076	112161	5.0	953	168	1121	1.1
HUNTRS, TIMBR WKRS, FISHRMEN	4970	242	5212	0.2	135	4	139	0.1
TOTAL	88055	29318	117373	5.3	1088	172	1260	1.2
5 MINERS, QUARRYMEN, ETC	15857	66	16923	0.7	41	0	41	0.0
6 TRANSPORT, COMMUNICATION -								
SHIPPING, AIR TRANSPORT	3790	43	3833	0.2	31	0	31	0.0
RAIL TRANSPORT	14072	346	14418	0.6	164	8	172	0.2
ROAD TRANSPORT	64398	3446	67844	3.0	1982	91	2073	2.0
OTHR TPT, COMMUNICATION	12622	1196	23818	1.1	449	572	1921	1.0
TOTAL	94882	15031	109913	4.9	2626	671	3297	3.2
7/8 TRADESMEN, ETC -								
TEXTILES	8981	11502	20483	0.9	152	130	282	0.3
METAL, ELECTRICAL	222307	13969	236276	10.6	4768	85	4853	4.8
WOOD TECHNOLOGY, BUILDING	99145	1514	100759	4.5	3667	30	3697	3.6
OTHR PRODN PROC WKRS	73784	37967	111751	5.0	869	264	1133	1.1
LABOURERS	84568	5062	89430	4.0	1103	40	1143	1.1
OTHER	73040	6396	79436	3.6	1654	204	1858	1.8
TOTAL	561625	76510	638135	28.6	12213	753	12966	12.8
9 SERVICE,SPORT,RECREATION -								
FIRE,POLICE,OTHR SERVICES	19032	1069	20101	0.9	1692	171	1863	1.8
DOMESTIC SERVICE WKRS	13683	42312	55995	2.5	647	1764	2411	2.4
OTHER	43483	65498	108981	4.9	1605	2316	3921	3.9
TOTAL	76198	108879	185077	8.3	3944	4251	8195	8.1

In the education area Canberra people were the best qualified in the professional area, and most likely still to be studying. In Canberra 10.2% were at an educational institution studying full time and another 8.2% studying part-time. In New South Wales 5.2% were studying full-time and another 3.6% part-time.

Figure 4.15 - Attendance at an Educational Institution - Persons Aged 15 Years and Over

	EMPLOYED				NOT EMPLOYED				TOTAL			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP%	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP%	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP%
N.S.W.												
NOT ATTENDING	1205012	724895	1929907	86.4	366734	926755	1293489	78.9	1571746	1651650	3223396	83.3
ATTENDING FULL TIME	23234	25128	48362	2.2	90741	92426	183167	11.2	113975	117554	231529	6.0
ATTENDING PART TIME	92679	40535	133214	6.0	5659	16454	22113	1.3	98338	56989	155327	4.0
NOT STATED	76773	44840	121613	5.4	46531	93101	139632	8.5	123304	137941	261245	6.7
TOTAL	1397698	835398	2233096	100.0	509665	1128736	1638401	100.0	1907363	1964134	3871497	100.0
A.C.T.												
NOT ATTENDING	49364	34215	83579	82.3	8935	28732	37667	68.6	58299	62947	121946	77.5
ATTENDING FULL TIME	2146	1613	3759	3.7	6179	5945	12124	22.1	8325	7558	15883	10.2
ATTENDING PART TIME	6906	3899	10805	10.6	436	1662	2098	3.8	7342	5561	12903	8.2
NOT STATED	2026	1346	3372	3.3	1072	1961	3033	5.5	3098	3307	6405	4.1
TOTAL	60442	41073	101515	100.0	16622	38300	54922	100.0	77064	79373	156437	100.0

As to the educational levels of the community 36.3% of those aged fifteen or more in the Australian Capital Territory hold a post school qualification and 19.4% a tertiary qualification. The following table shows the continued presence of the large professional-academic group as 2.7% of the population in Canberra have doctoral or masters degrees, whilst only 0.5% in New South Wales, whilst 16.6% have a degree or diploma in the Australian Capital Territory compared with 7% in New South Wales. Canberra still had the highest retention rate of the school systems to Year 12 with 65.4% whilst New South Wales' retention rate was 28.1%.

Figure 4.16 - Qualifications - Highest Level Obtained

14. QUALIFICATIONS - HIGHEST LEVEL OBTAINED

	N.S.W.				A.C.T.			
	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %	MALES	FEMALES	PERSONS	PROP %
QUALIFIED WITH -								
DOCTORAL, MSTRS DEGREE	15308	4516	19824	0.5	3355	907	4262	2.7
GRAD DIP, BACH DEGREE	88967	51798	140763	3.6	11239	6623	17862	11.4
DIPLOMA	55909	75083	130992	3.4	3343	4876	8219	5.3
TRADE CERTIFICATE	337060	33199	370259	9.6	9924	1131	11055	7.1
OTHER CERTIFICATE	116283	196693	312976	8.1	5472	9933	15405	9.8
INADEQUATELY DESC	3714	8075	11789	0.3	254	306	560	0.4
TOTAL	617241	369362	986603	25.5	33587	23776	57363	36.7
NO QUALIFICATIONS	1076637	1355090	2431727	62.8	35456	46933	82389	52.7
STILL AT SCHOOL	66553	66310	123863	3.4	4272	4184	8456	5.4
NOT STATED	146934	173372	320304	8.3	3749	4480	8229	5.3
GRAND TOTAL	1907363	1964134	3871497	100.0	77064	79373	156437	100.0

An interesting comment on the type of population was the following statement regarding radio listening, in the Canberra Times 4.10.82.

> "The A.B.C.'s Australian Capital Territory manager, Mr. Philip Koch, has described the changes...to build up the loyal audience which has seen it gain 23% to 26% of the Canberra listening audience over the past three years. From McNair Anderson audience surveys 2CN rates as the most popular A.B.C. capital city station in Australia."

The researcher would propose that the data presented shows an area different from others in Australia at this time. Particularly it shows a much larger professional-academic class, one able to co-ordinate its efforts in order to change, fundamentally, the structure of the education system and overcome crisis.

Crisis

The New South Wales Government had continued to supply the education services to the area and the first relevant signs of disequilibrium came in 1966 when the Australian Capital Territory community began to apply strong pressure for a change. This can be seen as a new energy input which had produced a significant change in the system. At the same time the environment had altered and some of the changes within it had a marked impact on the type of system change, its direction and its speed. The most significant environmental elements present were the political and economic ones, not simply related to the change following the 1972 election but covering wide ranging developments in the field of Australian government involvement in educational expenditures and in state government activities.

In 1966 it was clear that all was not well in the New South Wales system. The teacher shortage was widely publicised, the Wyndham scheme was extending through secondary schools exacerbating the teacher shortage, and class sizes were large. Burnett noted four references to overlarge classes, inadequately trained teachers and full teaching loads for primary principals in the "Canberra Times" within a few days in late July, 1966 (1975:1). He also attributes the first call for an independent system to a group of parents at Campbell Primary School who met informally through much of 1966. During the latter part of 1966 it became clear that class sizes would rise even further in 1967. Many complaints had already appeared in the press, and in high schools class sizes were expected to be up to 42 in forms 1 to 3, 50 in form 4 and 26 in forms 5 and 6. The idea of separating schools from New South Wales control had been informally discussed for some years but now such a move seemed to offer a solution to besetting problems. The president of the Australian Capital Territory Council for P & C Associations, Mr. Ron Hughes, was quoted as saying (Burnett, 1975:1):

> "The answer is the establishment of a separate teaching authority for the Australian Capital Territory."

In the terms of Habermas, the rationality crisis had occurred - the New South Wales Government was failing to cope with the demands for education services in the Territory; the academic-professional group, in particular, had experienced an erosion of faith in the New South Wales system - a legitimation

crisis!

The Australian Capital Territory Secondary Teachers' Association and the Australian Capital Territory Teacher Association added their voices and the Federal Member for the Australian Capital Territory called for "A massive onslaught to improve conditions" and suggested a teachers' training college in Canberra "To meet its own needs and to train teachers for service anywhere" (Canberra Times 6.8.66). The Canberra Times published an editorial on 13th August - "A Shortage of Everything" - in which it recommended that only electoral pressure could force the politicians to make a realistic decision on the Australian Capital Territory and its education system.

Impetus for Structural Change

Perhaps the first formal impetus for change was the seminar arranged by the Department of Adult Education of the Australian National University, in association with the Australian Capital Territory Combined P & C Association, the Australian College of Education and the New Education Fellowship. At the end of this seminar, held on 12th November, 1966, a working party chaired by Sir George Currie and consisting of some 20 concerned citizens, many with wide professional experience in education, was set up to prepare and report on the question of an independent education authority for the Australian Capital Territory. The publication of this report, "An Independent Education Authority for the Australian

Capital Territory - Report of a Working Party", in December, 1967, encouraged the growth of what the Hughes Report noted as an "An informed and articulate body of public opinion" calling for an independent enquiry into the need for a separate system for the Australian Capital Territory. The working party recommended that this autonomous area should have an Education Authority to govern an autonomous system and that it would be designed by a widely representative Interim Council. The Authority would be responsible for primary, secondary and technical education, psychiatric education clinics and guidance services, migrant education, evening and technical college adult education, special schools and classes for handicapped and retarded children, and ancillary library facilities. Its aim would be "To establish a system of education appropriate to the community and characterised by the flexibility and variety which are a reflection of varying individual needs" (Currie: 9).

The suggestions for further consideration provide some of the most interesting parts of the report. These include suggestions for a variety of schools, and a large measure of independence for schools. A schools council representing principal, staff, parents and the Education Authority would help the principal's administration. The system may include non-government schools electing to join.

The widely representative Board of Education would encourage local independence. A system of internal accrediting by schools could be used to avoid the "Conformity exerted by a

public examination system on school curricula and teaching methods" (Currie: 14). The Currie Report's recommendations were made in the context of trends away from the external examination and towards school-based curricula. Criticism of the centralist conformity of Australian schooling had been aired for decades, and was being increasingly accepted by informed educators. In particular, the well-educated Canberra community was frustrated by the domination of the New South Wales bureaucracy, the consequent lack of change, and desirous of advances seen overseas by so many of them. The most favourable opinion on the report came in the now famous editorial in the Sydney Morning Herald - a "Fresh Wind from the Monaro" - which said (Sydney Morning Herald 14.12.67):

> "All Australian State systems of education, good as they are in many ways, are haunted by grey mists which have drifted down from pioneering days when teachers were untrained and considered in need of close supervision. They are dominated by examinations or inspection procedures which inhibit professional freedom and willingness to change. Uniformity of courses leads to such conformity of methods that creativity in some pupils is stifled. If a fresh wind should blow from the Monaro, it might disperse some of the fogs... It is in keeping with the Australian tradition of 'having a go' that pioneers of Canberra should blaze a new path."

Although politicians made statements suggesting that there would come a time when separation would be necessary, there was still little sign that serious consideration was being given in official quarters to the establishment of a separate system.

As it happened several members of the working party (the Australian Capital Territory Education Working Group) resolved to present the Currie Report to the community in such a way as

to gain maximum acceptance and support for the recommendations. Through the Council of P & C Associations they visited Canberra P & C meetings and spoke about the Currie Report. This experience, and the fear of hasty government action, led them to place greater stress in their future demands on the need for a full scale enquiry before any local authority was established. In March, the Australian National University Department of Adult Education arranged another seminar, this time to consider the Currie Report. Visiting speakers included Professor W. G. Walker who stressed the importance to the scheme of better teacher education and of giving teachers some influence in policy making (Canberra Times 4.3.68).

Soon after this seminar the Minister for Education and Science, Mr. Fraser, made comments on the Currie Report. He opposed any immediate move for an Australian Capital Territory system but hoped that in the long term Australian Capital Territory education could be developed as a model for the states. He did not agree with an Authority independent of government (Canberra Times 13.3.68). Over the next four years members of the working party contributed articles to the papers on different aspects of Australian Capital Territory as also did many others and numerous letters went to newspapers, politicians, ministers and representatives of different parties. During this period Burnett points out there were no less than six editorials in the Canberra Times arguing in favour of an Australian Capital Territory Education Authority (1975:3).

One must emphasise, however, that it was not an individual but the groundswell from this whole class of people - the intellectual-professional group to be found in Canberra, that was to bring about change. As Hughes (1973:9) points out:

> "...a groundswell of community interest stimulated by the Australian National University's Department of Adult Education."

And as Bennett recently reiterated (1982:4):

> "the campaign for an independent schools authority in the Australian Capital Territory was also the result of this new demand for participation - in this case a demand supported by a widely based movement in the Australian Capital Territory community."

As the previous figures show this academic-professional class was a very large percentage of the whole population. With this resource of intellect and practical wisdom Canberra was unique and one may suggest a prototype for Habermas - it did not reach his ideal speech situation but the enlightened ones were certainly there to help others and the 'round-table' decision-making situation of the 'town-meeting' was what the intellectual-professional class required.

To illustrate the fact that the various sections of this class group - bureaucrats, teachers, parents, academics - were all pressing for change in order to overcome what they saw as a crisis in the education system the following statements are significant.

(a) Mr. B. Peck, a public servant, writing for the Staffing Advisory Committee on 22nd February, 1973, said, in part:

> "2. Importance of this undertaking - new form of educational administration, new approaches to schooling - new approach to provision of teaching and

ancillary staff essential...

4. Comment that while problems common throughout New South Wales exacerbated by Canberra's special situation.
   Very high educational expectations and retention rates.
   Socio-economic and social factors.

5. New South Wales provisions are inadequate and have particular impact in Australian Capital Territory which is not typical of most of New South Wales."

(b) Mrs. C. Blakers writing in the Canberra Times on 14th June, 1968:

> "Australian Capital Territory tradition in education has yet to be made. We are in a unique position: a carefully planned and rapidly growing city in a compact area; a new and obviously energetic and interested department; a responsive community; the absence of long-established routines and attitudes. All of these give us an opportunity which we should venture to use."

(c) The Council of P & C Associations in a paper "Governing our Schools" 1973:

> "We believe that the community as a whole should participate in the formulation of policy and that the most interested and involved people are found among the parents of children actually attending school."

(d) As an example of the academic group a strong case for a local education system was put by Professor N. Butlin, Professor of Edonomic History at the Australian National University Research Institute, in four articles in the Canberra Times during May, 1970.

(e) As an example of the interest of teachers, the Australian Capital Territory Teachers' Association produced a committee report in November, 1968, "An Independent Education Authority for the Australian Capital Territory". It supported the concept completely and stated as its Basic Aims the following

(1968:10):

> "1. The aim of the Independent Authority should be to fit all young people to take their place in the wider community.
>
> 2. The system should be so organized that all young people enjoy educational opportunity.
>
> 3. The system should be unique; we do not wish to see a large State or National System reproduced in miniature in the Australian Capital Territory.
>
> 4. The Central Body will be advisory and will not seek to dominate the system."

(f) The Canberra Times supported the group clamouring for change and the following quote from the editorial of 2nd March, 1973, shows again the wide support noted:

> "It is surely a tribute to the people of Canberra that the subject of public interest that has been debated by them most consistently and intelligently for many years is probably that of education. The informed and painstaking concern for all aspects of the education process shown by so many in the community should be sufficient to persuade the Government that their voices must be heard."

(g) As an example of the support from Principals, a passage from an address by Mr. T. J. O'Connell on School Councils, 1973:

> "...The notion of decentralisation doesn't merely imply a smaller authority closer at hand; it involves as well a breakdown to further points of significant decision-making located as close as possible to the child in his classroom. This is consistent within the human tendency, as seen by many sociologists to use smaller social groupings like the family (or the commune) as refuges from the mind-bending complexity of total society, as agencies through which the individual can have rather better control over his environment because he is able to share in making the ground rules."

The formation of the Australian Capital Territory Education Working Group in 1969 rejuvenated the activity begun in 1966 and members of this group orchestrated public opinion through

such means as forming special groups for the purpose, attending and addressing meetings, continuously providing letters and articles to the "Canberra Times", organizing seminars, calling for public submissions, and writing and distributing reports. A perusal of the membership affiliation of the Australian Capital Territory Education Working Group (Hughes and Mulford, 1978:110) shows that everyone of them was a member of at least one important group or institution - school principal, Centre for Continuing Education (Australian National University), Australian Capital Territory Teachers' Association, School of Teacher Education (Canberra College of Advanced Education) or members of other professional associations. These people were interested in fundamental change in the education structure in order to have local participation in control and development in the Australian Capital Territory.

The Debate Continues

The next important development concerned teachers. Mr. Fraser, Minister for Education and Science, announced on 2nd June, 1968, that teacher training would begin in Canberra at the College of Advanced Education in 1971. Sir George Currie welcomed the move. The new School of Education would supply teachers to state education systems and independent schools as well as contributing towards specific commonwealth requirements for teachers (Canberra Times 5.6.68). In November, 1968, the Australian Capital Territory Teachers' Association issued the report of a committee which had been appointed earlier in the

year to consider the formation of an Australian Capital Territory Education Authority, from the point of view of teachers. The report broadly accepted the recommendations of the Currie Report, but added details of conditions including such things as the position of the teachers at the time of change to a separate system, the composition of the Board of Education and its functions, size of schools and classes, training of teachers, relief and ancillary staff, adult education and education for special needs. The staffing provisions would entail an increase on current conditions of about 12.5%.

The next year or so saw more persuasive articles in the Canberra Times. Catherine Blakers in particular drew attention to the importance of community involvement and editorials called for a national enquiry into education or the creation of an Australian Schools Commission to give recommendations to education policy. Mrs. Blakers contributed a series of three articles on 27th, 28th and 29th November, 1968, which went over many of the arguments for and against a separate Authority. It was stressed that the separation from New South Wales should be a smooth and orderly transition to be undertaken only after considerable research and planning by a wide ranging group of experts, interesting people and interest groups.

The Minister for Education and Science, Mr. Fraser, made his position clear on 18th September, 1968. He agreed that the separation from New South Wales was inevitable but said that there must be an adequate source of teacher supply and that the

Authority must be able to offer adequate career opportunities for teachers. The first teachers would not graduate from the Canberra College of Advanced Education until 1974 and so it may be necessary to allow teachers to transfer from one education system to another (Canberra Times 18.9.68).

In June, 1969, another seminar was held at the Australian National University to consider the Australian Capital Territory Education Authority. The meeting was opened by the Secretary of the Department of Education and Science who said that the needs of the Northern Territory would have to be taken into account before any changes were made in the Australian Capital Territory. Many speakers criticised this notion as being concerned with administrative convenience rather than educational needs (Burnett, 1975:5). A further article by Catherine Blakers on 4th August concerned problems of the science syllabus in high schools and the inadequacy of methods of curriculum development in the school system. The conclusion was drawn that planning in detail for an Australian Capital Territory system should be proceeding.

The early months of 1970 were notable for a flurry concerning school committees. An announcement on the A.B.C. news towards the end of 1969 made it appear that the Department of Education and Science was to introduce school committees in 1970 to assist principals in the administration of selected schools. The Teachers' Association protested at the lack of prior discussion and Mr. N. Bowen, the Minister for Education and Science, replied on 26th February, 1970, that the A.B.C.

had misconstrued the situation. Discussions had taken place but no firm decision had been reached.

Staffing problems in Australian Capital Territory schools in 1970 led to more discontent, summed up in yet another Canberra Times editorial on 3rd March, 1970. At the same time the New South Wales Department of Education was recruiting teachers in North America. Two more articles appeared in the Canberra Times by Catherine Blakers on 25th and 26th March, 1970, detailed staff problems in high schools, and many difficulties facing the teachers were described. These difficulties lowered the quality of education provided, and could only be solved by a new kind of system and new attitudes in education.

The case for a separate Authority was supported by four articles in the Canberra Times by Professor N. G. Butlin on 7th, 8th, 21st and 22nd May, 1970. These articles were concerned with the cost of financing Australian Capital Territory education and Butlin showed that real expenditure per pupil in high schools fell by about 10% between 1954 and 1967. Expenditure on an education was carefully considered with the surprising discovery that capital outlay per additional pupil between 1958 and 1968 was lower in the Australian Capital Territory than in New South Wales. Butlin showed that Australian Capital Territory residents paid much higher taxes per head than the Australian average and clearly Australian Capital Territory could support by taxes a high quality education. Butlin claimed that a society which was able to pay

for the education it wanted should not rely on other bodies for its education system.

The "Canberra Times" editorial of 10th June, 1970, was titled "A National Scandal". The immediate cause was a meeting of 60 parents from Canberra High School who demanded action within 24 hours to appoint an English teacher who was duly found the next day. The Canberra Times saw this as an example of community participation which may yet bring about a reconstruction of education. It renewed the demand for an Australian Capital Territory Authority.

Within the Commonwealth Department of Education, where Australian Capital Territory schools buildings were planned, certain officers had been examining the possibility of building new types of schools. In August, 1970, Mr. A. Foskett of the Department discussed the possibility of colleges for senior students at a meeting of the Telopea Park High School P & C Association. Perhaps too, Phillip Hughes on his arrival from Tasmania where the first matriculation college had been established in 1961, gave impetus to the college proposal. A seminar organized by the Australian College of Education and held at Lyneham High School on 6th March, 1971, drew forth a number of points of view, in general supporting the idea as a worthwhile venture for a pilot project involving one or two colleges (College papers: 1971).

In this strand of change came the circulation of discussion papers prepared by the Department of Education and Science, followed closely by the establishment of a working committee to review the college proposal. In the discussion papers issued in November, 1971, it was stated that:

> "the development of colleges is seen as an evolutionary process. Initially theywould be little more than two senior forms within the Wyndham scheme, separated from first to fourth forms. Ultimately they could be organized in a different way and in the longer term would offer a range of courses."

Fairly clearly, the Department was suggesting that autonomy was some way off and this was in line with the political statements made at about the same time (Department of Education and Science Mimeo, 1971).

The working party to examine the college proposal, under the chairmanship of Dr. Richard Campbell, was formed on 30th November, 1971, and produced an interim report which was discussed with the Minister for Education and Science on 8th August, 1972. The main recommendations were accepted on 10th August, 1972, and the final report, "Secondary Education for Canberra", was produced in December, 1972. The committee work did much to affect the environment in which change subsequently came (Campbell Report).

Through their involvement in the nomination of members for the committee several organizations were forced to adopt an attitude to colleges. The parents' group was already firmly committed to the idea of change but the same could not be said for the secondary principals of the Australian Capital

Territory Secondary Teachers' Association. As well, secondary teachers faced the prospects of having to decide which type of school they wished to work in. The realisation that change was inevitable probably affected their attitudes to the total change and may have helped in the formation of a Commonwealth Teachers' Federation. This particular attitude has changed over the years and there is not now the feeling of difference between high school and college teaching.

The Changing Political Environment

At this time, also, the environment was changing for the Australian government through its financial grants powers under Section 96 of the Constitution in relation to education (Walker, 1972). Following the presentation of the Martin Report, the Commonwealth Government to the states for teachers' colleges and it accepted the principle of Colleges of Advanced Education. In addition, it had been funding specific projects in state secondary schools and had given direct aid to non-government schools in its own territories. In December, 1966, Senator Gorton announced the setting up of the Department of Education and Science and in March, 1968, the Education Branch of the Department of the Interior was transferred to it. This unit had made rather spectacular progress in status since October, 1966, in the Commonwealth Department. It became a branch in its own right and the duties of the Assistant Secretary at its head included maintaining close liaison with the New South Wales Education Authorities. The improvement in

status may well have had some bearing on later developments and certainly thoughts on the college proposal appear to date from about the time of the transfer to the new Department.

It may not be too unrealistic to suggest that voters in South Australia who elected a Labor Government in 1970 had an important impact on the development of education in the Australian Capital Territory. When this government decided to withdraw its teachers from the Northern Territory, the Australian Government established machinery for large scale recruitment of teachers for Commonwealth schools. The new organization, the Commonwealth Teaching Service, was first mentioned in public in 1970 by the then Minister for Education and Science, Mr. N. Bowen. As part of its venture into this field, the government appointed Professor W. Neal and Dr. W. Radford in January, 1972, to examine staff organization and to make recommendations for Northern Territory schools. Their report, Teachers for Commonwealth Schools, released on 13th August, 1972, gave local teachers much food for thought as by then it was clear that Canberra teachers would be involved in a Commonwealth operated system.

Meanwhile, in New South Wales, the then Minister for Education, C. B. Cutler, had long objected to Commonwealth involvement in education and, by the time of the second reading of the Commonwealth Teaching Service Act in April, 1972, the New South Wales Government had intimated that it too might withdraw its teachers from Commonwealth schools, this time from the Australian Capital Territory (Cowan, in Walker, 1972:4).

In the same month, the acting Commissioner of the Commonwealth Teaching Service was called on to recruit teachers for some vacant positions in Australian Capital Territory schools following agreement that the New South Wales Department would withdraw from the staffing of Australian Capital Territory government schools at the end of 1973.

While this development was going on, the Canberra College of Advanced Education had been established and teacher training had begun there in 1971. With its advent came a number of educational academics, led by the Head of the School of Teacher Education, Phillip Hughes, and these people, together with members of the Australian National University's Education Research Unit began to contribute to discussions. In October-November, 1972, for example, the Unit organized a series of seminars on "Designing an Education Authority" at which a number of well-known figures examined many of the issues to be faced in creating a new organization (Harman and Selby Smith, 1973).

Just prior to this, the continuing crisis in staffing schools in 1972 brought another rash of letters to newspapers. The Australian Capital Territory Council of P & C Associations made nine demands for action to counter the shortages and reiterated the demand for an education inquiry (Canberra Times 22.7.71). The Minister for Education and Science, Mr. Fairbairn, after giving some statistics on teachers employed said:

> "While I cannot forecast publicly at this stage when such a separate Authority for education in the Australian Capital Territory would be implemented, my short period in this portfolio has convinced me of the need for the establishment of such a separate Authority (Canberra Times 22.7.71)."

At an interview on staff shortages held at Parliament House the next day he was asked what criteria had been used to decide to refuse the Australian Capital Territory a separate education authority now. He answered:

> "Has there been a general demand for a separate Authority in the Australian Capital Territory? There has been some newspaper criticism of the fact that we use the New South Wales Education Authority but I don't think there is, as yet, anyway, a strong demand for a separate Authority (Canberra Times 24.7.71)."

The Australian Capital Territory Education Working Group made a submission on 31st July to the Senate Committee on Teacher Education and pointed out that teacher education could not be isolated from the schools and the education system generally. It recommended a national enquiry into education, the establishment of an advisory committee on teaching education, foundation of a national institute of education and various ways to develop the teaching service (Burnett, in Papers on Australian Capital Territory Education, 1975:7).

The place of teachers in these changing circumstances is difficult to assess. Individuals had contributed to many of the early discussions, some were active members of organizations such as the Australian College of Education and the New Education Fellowship and some were active in the local branches of the New South Wales Teachers' Federation as well as in the education groups. Early in 1972, moves began to

establish an Australian Capital Territory Commonwealth Teachers' Federation to represent the interests of teachers who would later belong to the Commonwealth Teaching Service. By August a constitution had been drafted and steps were taken to have the new union registered. The inaugural meeting on 3rd August was not well attended and little interest was actually shown in the constitution, modelled on that of the New South Wales body. The majority of teachers gave tacit support to the vocal and hard working few who had been making their presence felt for some time. Their interest and enthusiasm was enough to place the Federation in a sound position when the change eventually came.

By the middle of 1972 then there had been a transformation in the environment surrounding the Australian Capital Territory Education system. The government had obtained the means for recruiting the training teachers, educational theorists had joined the community, pressure for change had not abated, colleges seemed likely to be introduced, a significant minority of teachers was actively seeking change and the New South Wales government was anxious to withdraw its services.

A New Structure

In this setting it was finally decided that the Australian Capital Territory would have a separate education system. The Minister for Education and Science announced in July that a local Authority would be set up but its form and date of operation would be decided after an enquiry by the Joint

Parliamentary Committee on the Australian Capital Territory. In the interim, the Commonwealth was gradually to assume responsibility for Australian Capital Territory schools, presumably under the administration of the Department of Education and Science (The Hon. M. Fraser, Ministerial Press Release, 18.7.72). By September, the Minister had established an eleven member liaison committee to assist in the transfer of teachers to the Commonwealth Teaching Service and to contribute to the development of the new Authority. (This committee met infrequently before the change of government.)

Despite these moves, community interests continued to ask for an independent enquiry into the educational needs of the Australian Capital Territory and for more rapid progress. Perhaps because of this and because of the approaching election, the Minister for the Interior, when announcing that the Joint Parliamentary Committee on the Australian Capital Territory would undertake the enquiry, also announced that it would have expanded terms of reference compared to those referred to by his colleague a few months earlier (The Hon. R. J. Hunt).

The defeat of the Liberal/Country Party and arrival of Labor in government in December brought a swift change. Writing to the Minister, Mr. Beazley, on 22nd February, 1973, Mr. T. J. O'Connell, Principal of North Ainslie School, said an interim authority task force would need to be set up so as to prepare for an independent authority in 1974:

> "Given the right leader the rest of the task force could be constituted in any one of several ways. Taking just one example it could be regarded as important to have a planner administrator from the Commonwealth Department of Education, a parent or community member of high standing, a representative of teacher organizations, and at least one other member who might suitably be chosen from any one of a number of fields, e.g., sociology of education, research in education..."

The "Canberra News" editorial of 27th February, 1973, said, in part:

> "Is the Labor Government going to tackle the problems of Australian Capital Territory education with its new broom efficiency? Or is it going to allow the procrastination to continue while our schools face another year of classroom crisis? The establishment of an Australian Capital Territory education authority to deal immediately with our problems is urgently required."

The 'new broom' answer came very quickly for instead of waiting for the topic to come before the slow moving Joint Parliamentary Committee, the new Minister Mr. Beazley, announced on 15th March, 1973, that there would be no enquiry of this sort. Instead, he circulated a working paper "An Education Authority for the Australian Capital Territory", for comment, and established a panel of four, headed by Phillip Hughes, to analyse reactions to and submissions about the paper as well as reporting on the most suitable form of education authority for the Australian Capital Territory. In part the press release stated:

> "The creation of a new type of education authority in Canberra needs great care. It could become a model for local control of education."

Given little time - only until the end of May - the panel produced "A Design for the Governance and Organization of Education in the Australian Capital Territory" and among its

many recommendations were a number relating to interim arrangements. No reason was seen for delaying to total change-over from New South Wales and suggestions were made for handling it at the end of 1973. A particular interest are its recommendations that an interim council, of the same form as the permanent one, take responsibility for the development of policy for the change-over to the new system and that the choice of the Chief Education Officer be left to the permanent council. The panel envisaged that the Interim Authority's professional staff would be responsible for the administration of the system and that an "eminent educationalist" (Hughes Report: 95) would be obtained, perhaps by secondment, to serve as interim Chief Executive Officer. It also called for the urgent appointment of "two fulltime seconded persons of equal quality, one in the area of finance/management, and one in general education, probably with a strength in curriculum" (Hughes Report: 96).

The recommendations of the Hughes Panel were consistent with the thinking of previous reports, such as the Campbell Report, which laid emphasis on the maximum possible school autonomy. In particular, the Report recommended that individual schools should be governed by boards comprised of elected parents, teachers and students, with the Principal an ex-officio member and the Schools Authority also having a direct nominee. The Hughes Report referred to a "remarkable degree of agreement" in submissions and background papers on this point from a wide range of interest groups (Hughes,

1973:73-81).

When on 11th September, the Minister for Education announced the details of the government's decision on the separate Authority it was clear to the observant that the Hughes Report was not to be accepted in its entirety (Canberra Times 12.9.73). The report had recommended that the Authority be called the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority, to be responsible to the Minister for Education for the administration of pre-schools, primary, secondary schools and evening colleges. Overall responsibility for the operation of the system would be vested in a ten member council. Nine part-time members would be nominated, by the Teachers' Federation (3) the Council of P & C Associations (2), the Canberra Pre-School Society (1), the Advisory Council (1) and the Minister for Education (2). The Chief Education Officer would be a full-time member but could not be chairman. Each school would have a Board consisting of the Principal, teacher and parent nominees and a representative of the Authority. The outstanding departures were in the arrangements for the interim period and in the support given to the Commonwealth Teaching Service Act. Pending the establishment of the permanent Authority an interim Authority council was named on 7th October, the Council's priorities were announced by 12th October, and by 5th November the Schools Authority's guiding principles and aims had been formulated by Phillip Hughes (Canberra Times 5.11.73). The way was clear for the Schools Authority to assume control of the Australian Capital Territory

schools from the beginning of the 1974 school year:

> "...The Schools Authority Ordinance introduces a system of education unlike anything ever attempted before... What is important to the success of the education experiment that is now under way in Canberra is that people approach it without immovable ideas but with a spirit of commitment and goodwill. We have to learn to walk first of all (Canberra Times, editorial 22.9.75)."

As Bennett points out in a report (1982:4):

> "These changes were also part of a movement away from conformity and an undesirable degree of uniformity. Both the new Schools Authority and the new Commonwealth Training Service were based on the development of school autonomy, of participation by both community and teachers and of important new roles for teachers. Schools were no longer treated as units on an assembly line. Jobs were no longer standardised; the needs of each school must be determined by that school."

The organization which developed in the early period following the announcement of the Minister bears marked similarity to what Thompson and Hawkes labelled a "synthetic organization", such as develops to overcome large scale national disasters (1967:52). In discussing the reasons for the early problems of such organizations, Thompson points out that this type:

> "must simultaneously establish its structure and carry on operations. Under conditions of great uncertainty, it must learn the nature and extent of the overall problem to be solved and the nature and location of relevant resources. At the same time, it must do all this without benefit of established rules or commonly known channels of communication. The synthetic organization cannot take inventory before swinging into action. As information mounts, task priorities change; meanwhile resources have been committed to other tasks which a moment earlier appeared to have top priority (1967:53)."

The Interim Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority, with its hastily collected staff of seconded teachers and two senior public servants began the 1974 school year very much in this position. The fact that it did so is extremely relevant

to the next chapter for in this situation of uncertainty, conflicts of interest between public service staff, teachers and community members, all strong enough to threaten its very existence produced compromises that are important for the hypothesis being presented.

Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to show that a crisis had developed in the education field of the Australian Capital Territory in the late 60's and that by the action of parents and professionals a new structure was developed to overcome the crisis. Such a new structure involved the parents, professionals, principals and public servants in the control of the system.

The researcher has endeavoured to show that the Australian Capital Territory area was unique in that it had a very large intellectual-professional group and that the group - literate, affluent and vocal - composed of academics, public servants, teachers, parents, professionals from many fields, had very high expectations of the education system and because of the domination by another state bureaucracy (New South Wales) wished to change the education system to one of local control and thereby restore legitimacy to its proceedings. This group wished to see that:

(a) The maximum amount of decision making discretion was given to individual schools rather than retained centrally - shared control.

(b) The groups with direct interests in educational decisions, namely teachers, parents and principals should have appropriate parts in those decisions - shared control.

This unique community could be looked upon as a possible 'transition' stage in the development of the ideal speech situation for Habermas. A crisis had occurred, a class group had agitated for fundamental change and its suggestion was for participation by all concerned in the educative process at all levels without domination - shared control by parents, bureaucrats, teachers and principals.

Referring to the conclusion of Chapter 1 on Habermas it was suggested that a "legitimation crisis must be combined with a sense of confidence, with a willingness to act, and with political organization" before change will occur. The researcher would assert that this Chapter has shown:

(a) a legitimation crisis was present;

(b) there was a sense of confidence in the community that it could do better, as exhibited by the intellectual-professional class;

(c) there was a willingness to act - to participate in control and development; and

(d) there was finally a supportive political organization interested in emancipatory action in the Australian Capital Territory by the end of 1972.

The next Chapter will look at the early days of the new system, describing some of the tensions that developed between the participatory parties as each accommodated to the other in the process of shared decision-making and control. It will review the responsibilities of the Council of the new Schools Authority, the School Boards and the Schools Office and attempt to analyse the new organization. This analysis will show the many problems that arose in the decision-making process, particularly in the area of sharing control. It will propose that the new educational structure may be perceived as exemplifying the social change theory of Habermas.

Chapter Five

Restructure and Shared Control

The Hughes Report may be considered as the document that provided the framework for the organization responsible for public education in the Australian Capital Territory from 1974. In the design of the organization the three elements were the Council of the Authority, its central staff and school boards. The Council held overall responsibility for the system, the boards were responsible for individual schools and the office staff was responsible for facilitating the performance of the 'primary task'.

The Council of the Schools Authority

The Council of the Authority would be responsible to the Minister for Education for the provision and conduct of government pre-school, infant, primary, secondary, special and evening college education in the Australian Capital Territory. It would also be responsible for the overall education policy in the Australian Capital Territory and concern itself with those basic aspects of education common to all schools, and with the standards, coherence and good order of the system. While retaining the full power of control over education, it would delegate to each school as much autonomy, power and responsibility as would be consistent with ensuring equality of

opportunity, high standards and good order in the system as a whole. Specifically, the functions of the Authority would be as follows (Australian Capital Territory Schools Ordinance, 1977):

1. To report to the Minister for Education at regular intervals on the requirements of education in the Australian Capital Territory.
2. To determine general education policy in the Australian Capital Territory.
3. To allocate funds supplied by the Commonwealth Government for education in the Australian Capital Territory.
4. To appoint the C.E.O. who would be responsible for administering the Schools Office.
5. To delegate powers and responsibilities to individual schools.
6. To co-ordinate programmes of work among schools.
7. To determine the basis for assessment of students for any certificate given in the Australian Capital Territory.
8. To determine the numbers, kinds and levels of teachers required for the system.
9. To decide the promotions policies and conditions of service for teachers.
10. To provide schemes of in-service and further education for teachers.
11. To conduct appropriate research in education.

12. To ensure flexibility of administration and a close liaison with schools in the community.
13. To set up committees to advise on education policy and requirements.
14. To establish a method of periodical reviews of its own powers, functions and relationships.

The first principle upon which the system operated was that it was the responsibility of the Authority to offer all children in the Australian Capital Territory an education of the highest quality which would assist children to develop fully as individuals and as members of the community. This responsibility required a system of education which ensured to all children a genuine opportunity to avail themselves of the kind of education best suited to their needs and abilities. It implied the establishment of schools which were sufficiently independent to provide the variety of education necessary, and an administration consciously aware that it served the needs of the children and their education. From the beginning, the system attempted to achieve this aim through the second principle of placing great emphasis on participation - participation of the people concerned with education, that is the children, their parents, their teachers and the community at large. The system stressed that the decision-making process should be distributed as widely as possible so that those affected by the decision were party to making decisions as much as is practicable in the overall framework. This process was designed as a smoother and more effective method of providing

for diversity and allowing continuous assessment and change to meet the needs of the individual and at the same time the needs of the whole community.

The Authority Council itself operated within a participatory decision-making framework as the basis for policy development. This assumption involved a time lag in reaching decisions, this lag being a cost of participative decision-making. This implied that efficiency defined as speed in decision-making was not a primary criterion in policy formation - human needs were more important than 'efficiency'.

The Schools Authority Council decided on system wide matters and on broad methodologies associated with implementation. Actual implementation and associated detail were considered the responsibility of other elements in the schooling system.

The Authority Council saw its role as ensuring that co-ordination of programmes was effected between the different levels of education, by encouraging consultation between schools at different levels and encouraging involvement with schools of the Authority's consultants, advisors and resource personnel in the process of integration and co-ordination. But primary responsibilities for activities of this kind rested with schools and boards and with individual teachers.

School Boards

As to the School Boards responsibilities they would work within the guidelines laid down by the Authority and their

functions would be as follows:

1. To determine the education and administrative policies of the school in the long and short term.
2. To determine its staffing patterns for these policies within its staffing allocation.
3. To participate, as far as is practicable in the choice of its own staff.
4. To plan and manage its budget of money allocated to it by the Authority.
5. To maintain close contact with related schools.
6. To set up committees to advise it on a wide range of education matters such as curriculum development.
7. To report regularly to the Authority on the progress and development of the school.

It was felt that each school should be able to determine its staffing needs and to choose its staff from among applicants, realising that in practice this would be difficult to achieve since a number of restraints would be operating against it. In fact the end result of the whole process could be seen to be no participation by a school in the choice of its staff. Yet, the principle of matching the wishes and skills of teachers with the special education needs of a school was one the people developing the new system looked upon as fundamental in a system where the needs of children should be paramount.

The concept of the School Board as a co-operative endeavour in school government was based on two principles: that schools should have as much decision-making responsibility

as possible and should be able to determine their own education policies; that decision-making at the school level should effectively involve teachers, parents, students and the Authority working co-operatively. Thus each board had as members three parents, two teachers, one principal and one office representative.

Each School Board was responsible for making policy decisions on all aspects of school activity. As part of this process it was involved in determining and reviewing the school's aims and objectives. All significant matters relating to school policy would be fully discussed, and all board members had an equal right to initiate discussions on such issues.

Boards were obviously not able to undertake detailed planning of new procedures, processes or programmes. Responsibility for such detailed work remained with the professional staff of the school. But the fundamental principle was that each school had only one policy making body - the School Board.

Underlying this were the beliefs that:

1. involvement of all Board members was essential if the educational philosophy of the school was to reflect the concerns of all those involved in the education process; and
2. parents, teachers and principal had special and complementary contributions to make to the decision-making processing.

The Schools Office

As to the administrative office it was clear that its role in the efficient working of the system was a most important one. It was complex mixture of the orthodox department role and the less orthodox one of universal consultant. It would therefore be unrealistic to try to model its administrative structure on that of a normal department. It was envisaged that the functions of the administrative office would be to serve the Authority, providing it with information, research, planning and programmes, as well as with clerical and administrative assistance; secondly to maintain close liaison with the schools offering them the guidance, expertise, facilities and assistance they required; thirdly to ensure that the whole system and its decision-making processes would work effectively. The functions of the office would be continually changing and adapting but would include matters such as:

1. To provide all the clerical and administrative assistance required by the Authority, the Boards, the committees and the general working of the system.
2. To undertake appropriate research.
3. To collect, collate and publish all useful figures and information on Australian Capital Territory education.
4. To plan Australian Capital Territory education in the short and long term and prepare forecasts.

5. To prepare reports for briefs or papers on any topic required by the Authority.
6. To administer the system and report to the Authority.
7. To provide the full range of services and facilities needed by the schools - supplies, guidance, counsellors, careers information.
8. To provide appropriate supplementary services in an imaginative way - education resources centre, in-service education for teachers, extra-curriculum activities for students.
9. To maintain close liaison with the schools.
10. To initiate, supervise and manage building programmes.

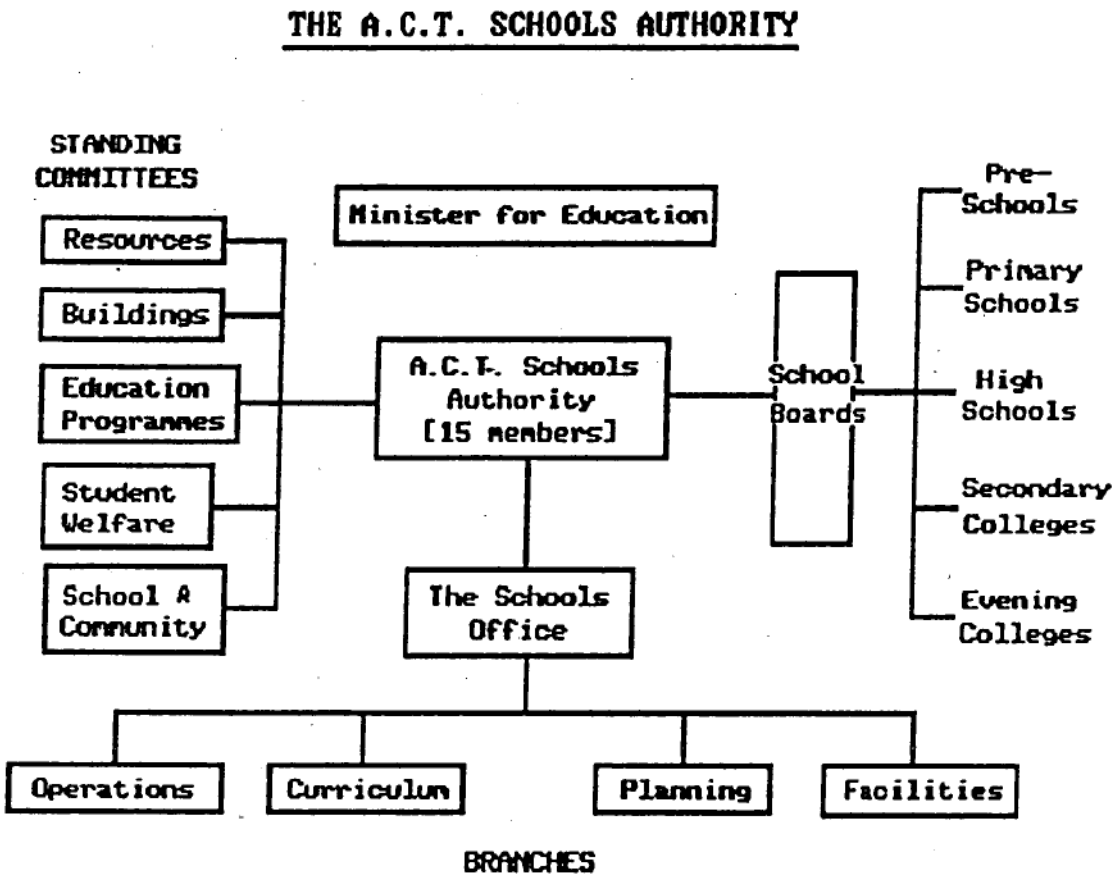
The primary role of the Schools Office was to provide the services, support and resources required by those organizations that provide the education of children - the schools. Much of this service was of a routine but essential nature. It had, for example, to ensure the payment of salaries to teachers, the maintenance of schools and allocation of teachers. In keeping with the Authority's aim that schools should shoulder all the responsibilities they are able to handle, each school operated much of its own funding for minor maintenance, supplies and equipment. There was a continuing policy to decentralise financial responsibilities to the schools in an attempt to make them more flexible, responsible and independent in their day to day operation.

The Schools Office was also responsible for providing support services to schools in their decision-making and development of education programmes. This involved assistance to teachers, including curriculum advice by a team of consultants and assistance in teaching techniques, curriculum resources, and advice and support in school evaluation and assessment of students.

This primary role and the nature or the Schools Authority brought two other responsibilities to the Schools Office. The first of these was the provision of policy advice to the Authority Council. The second of these was the responsibility for co-ordinating the day to day conduct of schools within the system. In this it was responsible for maintaining good working relationships between schools, Schools Office, the Authority and the Australian Capital Territory community.

These three elements may be well illustrated as the framework of the organization by the diagram as follows:

Figure 5.1 - The Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority



View of the New Organization, as seen by the Participant Observer

Thompson (1967) presents a method for analysing organizations and this might be applied in the case of the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority as envisaged in 1974/5. In his view, important considerations for organizational survival include:

1. The establishment of domain consensus;
2. The acquisition by the organization of power to off-set dependency on elements in the task environment;

3. Organizational structure which facilitates co-ordinated action by independent elements, both within the organization and between the organization and its environment (1976:25).

As he pointed out (1967:6):

> "Approached as a natural system, the complex organization is a set of interdependent parts which together make up a whole because each contributes something and receives something from the whole, which in turn is interdependent with some larger environment... Dysfunctions are conceivable, but it is assumed that an offending part will adjust to produce a net positive contribution or be disengaged, or else the system will degenerate."

Extending the concept of domain as used by Levine and White (in Thompson, 1967:26) to cover the fields of operation for both the organization itself and for the participants in it a marked lack of consensus could be seen in the early stages. An organization's claims to domain must be recognised by the task environment if it is to receive the necessary input.

The new organization was certainly conceded responsibility for government sub-tertiary education but it seemed unlikely to be permitted to enter the technical education field; nor would it control the Canberra School of Music. It was also difficult to believe that its powers would extend to cover independent schools except with regard to registration. While the Australian government continued to fund private schools separately, they would not be expected to see many advantages in incorporation into the new system.

The greatest conflict however, appeared in the question of who would participate effectively in the new organization. In

the Hughes concept, School Boards were seen as employers of both professional and ancillary staff and as the budgeting and control agencies for school finances; the central staff was seen as performing a service and maintenance function; the professional staff of schools was seen as responsible for the day to day administration; and the Commonwealth Department of Education was seen as providing temporary support while the organization was established. In each area considerable disagreement developed (Hughes Report, 55-56).

School Board involvement in professional staff selection became severely limited, because of a number of unfortunate incidents, and because of the situation which became very clear in the announcement of the Authority's establishment. Not only was the Council of the Authority unable to delegate powers it did not have, since they remained with the Commissioner or the Commonwealth Teaching Service, but also the Commonwealth Teachers' Federation was strongly opposed to Boards having the power to hire and fire. Since the Federation had been given three members on the Council, since a high proportion of all teachers became members of the Federation, and since teachers had three representatives on each school board it was highly unlikely that the Commissioner would delegate power to the Authority. It was also difficult to envisage that the Commonwealth Teaching Service Act would be repealed or severely amended in the immediate future because it had been accepted by both major political parties. Despite pressures, particularly by the Council of the Parents' and Citizens' Associations,

Boards were not expected to gain any more power over professional staff selection.

Under the arrangements they would draw up duty statements or job descriptions for expected vacancies at Band 2 and 3 and 4 promotion levels considering their local objectives. They would then be supplied with a ranked short list of eligible applicants from which they would make a selection (Interim Schools Authority circular to School Board Chairman, May, 1974). However, the appointment was subject to appeal by unsuccessful candidates under the terms of the Commonwealth Teaching Service Act, so that a school might have considerable difficulty in collecting together the type of staff it wanted. In fact the supplying of this short list did not eventuate and the successful applicant was chosen by a selection panel composed of Federation officers and office representatives. The power to employ ancillary staff was also unlikely to pass to school boards. These positions became incorporated into the structure of the Australian Public Service, with the strong support of the appropriate trade union.

The possibility of budgetary powers for Boards still remained and the feeling was that more and more of the financial management of school funds would be passed to the Boards from the administrative office. Nevertheless, as the Boards did not need funds for staffing and for new buildings and if a Supply Branch developed in the central office then the budgetary powers might not develop to any great extent for the Boards.

Secondly, the role of the central staff became a matter of debate. Initially, seen as forming a small facilitatory body to service the Council and School Boards and to provide consultants to assist where necessary, there were signs that a strong control function could develop within it. It was increasingly involved in circumscribing the operations of Boards as day to day problems arose, especially where there were legal implications. It was also involved in developing for Council approval, policies for system wide activities and in doing so had to ensure means that these policies would be followed. The growth of the control function in this part of the system could well have been associated however, with perceived failure of other parts of the system, e.g., ability of some principals to understand their new role, than from any desire the administrative staff may have had to establish its dominant position in a new power hierarchy.

In the early days there was an uneasy peace on the respective roles of professionals and Principals on School Boards. In some schools the staff seemed to have carte blanche, in others a strong principal directed the Board's attention to trivia, open hostilities developed in others and in some respective roles were identified and mutually accepted. At this stage there were too many institutional variables to allow any worthwhile generalisation to be made, except that principals who had an affinity with the work of Walker and Hughes and an understanding of administration and human relations seemed to have much less difficulty than others in

participating in the system. One is reminded of the words of Freire (in Dale, 1976:225):

> "The phenomenon of the permanence of the myths of old structures and the phenomenon of the reactivation of new structures must be taken into account and understood as far as possible. Without the critical grasping of this phenomenon we cannot understand how, for instance, after the transformation of a political structure, or any infrastructure, men go on thinking the same way they thought before the transformation. The dialectical understanding of this explains the unviability of a mechanistic explanation of social change."

The Commonwealth Department of Education was also playing far more than a supportive role. It had complete control in the early stages over finance, purchasing, school buildings and staffing establishment and so could reduce the effectiveness of the new Schools Authority. It seemed that it had a strong interest in maintaining its power dependency relation with the Authority. Although it had passed over certain functions, like the selection of equipment, the ordering of school buses, school maintenance and the preparation of financial estimates it had not been so ready to step out of positions wielding power.

All of the above suggests that as yet domain consensus did not exist. In addition there was a need for the Authority to establish power over some of the elements in its task environment which could create crucial contingencies for it.

Using Emerson as a reference point for a consideration of power, Thompson (1967:30) sees dependence as the obverse of power and that an organization:

> "has power relative to an element of its task environment, to the extent that the organization has capacity to satisfy needs of that element and to the extent that the organization monopolises that capacity."

In these terms the new organization was at first sight relatively powerless with respect to teachers and to parents or the community, in the latter case because it did not yet have the capacity to satisfy their needs, and it was dependent on the Commonwealth Department of Education. It had power only to the extent that it had a virtual monopoly of the capacity to provide schooling for the relevant age group. As it is doubtful whether an organization could survive if it is highly dependent, it is important to consider ways in which it might acquire power and the difficulties it may have to overcome to do so. It may, according to Thompson, seek prestige, which he regards as the cheapest way of acquiring power since the organization need make no commitment. It may also absorb new elements into policy formulation to avert threats to its stability or existence, a process referred to as "co-optation" (1967:35). Both of these had appeared in the organizational design proposed in the Hughes Report. As pointed out (1967:33):

> "The importance of prestige is underscored in the study of a voluntary general hospital by Perrow (1961), who sees the creation and maintenance of a 'favourable image of the organization in its salient publics' as an important way of controlling dependency. Perrow concludes that if an organization and its products are well regarded, it may more easily attract personnel, influence relevant legislation, wield informal power in the community, and ensure adequate numbers of clients, customers, donors, or investors."

Interest in obtaining an eminent Chief Education Officer and in establishing senior positions in the central staff at a high level vis a vis academic and administrative salaries were indicative of attempts to gain prestige. The modification of these proposed levels by the Commonwealth Department of Education and by the Public Service Board demonstrated the organization's dependency.

In the organizational design too is an attempt at co-optation. The Commonwealth Teachers' Federation, the Council of Parents' and Citizens' Organizations and the Pre-School Association had been drawn into policy making at the system level and parents and teachers at the school level. Just how much power the Authority would have would depend to a very large measure on what was included in the final legislation. It was felt that the organization should be a statutory authority but as Wettenhall points out (1973:157), there are many interpretations of this term. If the Australian Capital Territory Education Authority was to have the characteristics he identifies as "statutory corporation", then the Commonwealth Department of Education would have been broken in its power but the autonomy of the authority would not be absolute, since:

> "there will always be some tension between the legitimate desires of the central government to ensure the harmonising and co-ordination of the government operations as a whole and equally legitimate requirements of the corporations for a real measure of managerial autonomy (1973:161)."

The ordinance would show the extent to which the Minister and the Commonwealth Department would be prepared to go towards autonomy; the reactions of the parents' and teachers' organizations would indicate whether this was acceptable and the Advisory Council would presumably provide the forum in which the discussion would be decided. Only at the end of this process when the Governor General signed the ordinance would it be possible to see how much power the Authority had.

Any structure is seen as needing to facilitate co-ordinated action by the inter-dependent elements both within and impinging on the organizations. The creation of a structure is a process in itself and it involves establishing effective grouping of activities to minimise co-ordination and control costs, to facilitate decision-making and communication and to allow the organization to work toward the goal achievement.

The educational system as a whole exhibits pooled inter-dependence in that each school and its Board contributes to the whole but as well there is sequential inter-dependence in that students progress through several types of schools and each must contribute to the achievement of educational goals. Although one of the main aims was to give schools autonomy, some co-ordination of the number and type of staff, the conditions under which they work, the allocation of funds and the development of curricula was seen as essential if the system was to follow the guiding principles laid down by the Council of the Authority (6.11.73). Where pooled

inter-dependence exists, standardisation is seen as the least costly method of co-ordination and if this happened in the Australian Capital Territory it could be expected that sets of rules would play an important part in the future. During these early years guidelines for School Boards and a reliance on New South Wales legislation and administrative regulations affecting teachers and schools were present. The corollary of any rule development is the need for rule enforcement or control. The inspector and director had disappeared but School Boards would have responsibility for certain aspects of their work, yet a formal control element would probably develop, if not in these early years possibly soon afterwards if the system did not function smoothly. Participatory control was much more desirable for the active groups in the society but if strong professionalism was not present in schools it was obvious it would be very difficult to achieve and doubtful whether the system or the politicians would wait too long for it to develop.

A further structural development would involve the grouping of elements for ease of co-ordination at the central staff level. The type of grouping would have pronounced educational implications. It was argued that division into pre-school, primary and secondary education creates barriers to learning. Supporters of the K-12 curricula suggested that there must be closer ties between primary and secondary teachers and the Neal-Radford Report urged that no distinctions should be drawn between teachers on the basis of the types of

school in which they taught. This indicated that for purposes of administration schools would be grouped by geographical area rather than by clientele or common process. However, tradition, and the training of the people involved in creating the groups suggested that the primary-secondary cleavage would in fact persist. Within the central staff structure then, having a number of public servants in it, there would develop a series of groupings to form a hierarchical structure, and associated with this, problems of communication. Within the first two years three branches had developed within the Authority Office - special education, curriculum development and policy operations, and sadly for the developers, they were being organized on hierarchical lines, with decision-making power located at the top. Now Thompson pointed out:

> "We must conclude that there is no one best way, no single evolutionary continuum through which organizations pass; hence, no single set of activities which constitute administration. Appropriateness of design, structure, and assessments can be judged only in the light of the conditions, variables, and uncertainties present for the organization; and these judgements are bound to be significantly influenced by the perceptions and beliefs of those participating in the administrative process (1967:162)."

It became the task of the Chief Education Officer to cement the ideas of the original Hughes Report and develop the co-ordinated action on a basis of equality among parents, public servants, professionals and principals. This analysis leads to the following discussion on specific tensions that were noted in this early stage of the new structure, by the writer as a participant observer.

Developing Tensions

A further element worth considering is the conflict that developed between administrator and professional. The Council had sought a professional head but it was not known till the end of the first year whether in fact one would be appointed. The next tier however appeared very early in the piece to be made up of public service positions and there was no guarantee that they would be filled by educators. As Etzioni points out (1964:Ch.8) there is no firm answer as to which is the most desirable situation. However, there had been, for a number of years, some pressure for teachers to be involved in decision-making. Participation at Council and Board levels needed to be complemented by participation in policy formulation and planning at the system level. Plans were made for this to happen. The central staff was to consist of both public servants and teachers but resistance was very soon apparent, strangely enough from teachers themselves. Initially this came to the fore when the Federation opposed allowing teachers working in the Authority an opportunity to be assessed for promotion. Then signs developed to show the Federation feeling towards complete withdrawal of teachers from the office. Fortunately, an amicable arrangement was reached so that teachers remained in the office to carry out the matters of educational importance.

Another factor which also encouraged more control at the centre was the problem of terminal assessment of secondary students. The method chosen had to be acceptable to tertiary

institutions and so a system wide method of course accreditation was inevitable. The more subject-oriented this became the higher was the probability that control of curriculum would hamper local autonomy. From this came the possibility that high schools in turn may be forced to meet prerequisites for college courses. If this happened there could well be as many restrictions on professional autonomy as were claimed to apply under a public examination system.

At this point it is also pertinent to note that the developers had begun to realise that all was not as simple with a government run organization for there were many outside constraints that appeared and hindered the complete control of the education system by the Authority or by an integrated group of parents, bureaucrats and professionals. As Dr. Beare said:

> "The fact is, of course, that no institution or system or school provided at public expense can be independent of external controls and public accountability, a premise which has generated more frustration than any other facet of the system... (Hughes, 1978:68)."

Thus the Australian Capital Territory school system could never be really 'independent' in the sense that it had no external constraints; but the degree to which those constraints hampered its movements and plans soon became a source of constant irritation to those trying to make the system work. Hughes (1978:70) outlines the following government departments as having some influence and limiting the Authority's power to act independently:

1. The Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet - staff ceilings.

2. The Treasury and Department of Finance - money for the system.
3. The Public Service Board.
4. The Commonwealth Department of Education.
5. The Department of the Capital Territory and the Australian Capital Territory Health Commission.
6. The National Capital Development Commission.
7. The Department of Housing and Construction.
8. The Department of Administrative Services.
9. The Deputy Crown Solicitor - and perhaps the two most important of all -
10. The Commissioner of the Commonwealth Teaching Service - who determines the career patterns and working conditions, including salaries.
11. The Minister for Education - who may direct the Authority to act and who may disallow its decisions of he so chooses.

Thus other agencies of government were seen to influence and to constrain the actions of the Schools Authority. People wanted this professional co-operative system, but it had to be co-ordinated in some way and that being independent simply implied that the Schools Authority had to make its own way in the world coping with those external forces each of which had a small part in the education system to control. The Authority soon realised that the hard part of its activity was negotiating with outside bodies.

Thus, other agencies of government, like the Commonwealth Teaching Service, influenced and constrained the actions of the Schools Authority and in turn the School Boards and the professionals and the public servants. So indeed did many bodies like the Teachers' Federation, the Council of P & C Associations, the Canberra Pre-School Society and the Australian Capital Territory Legislative Assembly. It became apparent that being independent simply implied that the Schools Authority had to make its own way in the world, coping with those external forces each of which sought a legitimate share in the actions and decisions that impinged on their frontiers of responsibility. As Dr. Beare said:

> "the paradox is that independence has brought with it a complete dependence on others (in Hughes, 1978:13)."

But it was not merely the system and each school that had to learn the inter-dependence that forms part of independence. The decision-making bodies such as the Authority and the School Board found that decisions were shared or collective ones made by teachers and parents and public servants. Thus, while the decision-making was distributed among the schools in the system the decisions were themselves made consensually or collectively by representative bodies.

As Beare points out (Hughes, 1978:74) this combination of having distributed management and participative structure was bound to produce frustration for parents, teachers and the public as well as the system managers at both school and system level who were involved in the daily rough and tumble of

decision-making in a complicated network. One may say that, in a sense, decision-making has always been like this; the difference from earlier times was that now many more people were experiencing its limitations and frustrations. However, this power sharing also meant, by definition, power limitation for any one unit or person who was so involved. Thus, one of the major and over riding problems in the new system was the complicated and at times bewildering devices which power sharing produces. The new structure stressed distributed management, shared decision-making, the collegiality of educators, partnership with the public and openness. It was the task of the principal to aid the participants and guide them in overcoming the frustrations and complexities.

Hence, some of the problems derived from external factors limiting the system's power to act and others stemmed from the participatory model itself. Others again derived from patterns of interaction inherent in school autonomy and distributed management. In consequence of these early problems Dr. Beare has commented:

> "Firstly, a participatory system is certain to produce frustration. If one cannot be held responsible for actions over which one has no control, then the exercise of responsibility in a participatory organization will be entwined by a feeling of impotence and the impression that it is not easy to do anything. There are occasions when a system needs a superior authority who can step in and say, 'This will happen'.
>
> Secondly, a participatory system is bound to reward conservatism for in a real sense the status quo and the majority voice will tend to prevail. The innovator, the creative individual, the bold new scheme which breaks boundaries are sure to have a hard time in a system where survival and acceptability depend upon one's ability to

win consensus or at least a majority vote.

> Thirdly, the participatory system tends to reward the selfish institution. Since it allows the school itself to determine what resources it thinks it needs, how it will use its buildings, who else may use its buildings, and so on the system tends to make schools compete against each other for limited resources and for system attention and to recruit its parents, community and local politicians in such competition (in Hughes, 1978:87)."

Thus, some of the problems of the participatory system where independence may have brought dependence on others, but where the community was very active in all areas of educational control.

Overall, at this early stage there was an indication that the next five years could see the re-emergence of a bureaucratic organization with much of the decision-making, the co-ordination and control resting with the central staff of the Authority. The council was seen as coming to rely on the policy suggestions put up by the central staff since the Council operated with part-time members. School Boards' autonomy was seriously curtailed and rules and regulations were beginning to appear to restrict professional autonomy. It was not felt however, that standardisation would extend to laying down identical curricula for schools and that some flexibility would be maintained as far as the character of individual schools was concerned.

At the end of this early period tensions existed between the participating groups - parents, professionals and public servants - and no clearly defined lines of control had been drawn. The members of the new organization were beginning to

grow accustomed to each other, 'sparring' for position in control of the organization, whilst the principal watched from 'afar' working out the best way to integrate the members in order to achieve what could be, as Hughes said, 'a fascinating enterprise' (1978:109).

Perhaps the biggest single achievement at the end of this early period was that the system was still alive. The developers had achieved something along the road to the ideal society of Habermas and certainly very much in line with Bottomore (1973:126):

> "Thus we are led by this path also to the view...that the preservation, and especially the development and improvement, of a democratic system of government does not depend primarily upon fostering the competition between small elite groups whose activities are carried on in realms far removed from the observation or control of ordinary citizens, but upon creating and establishing the conditions in which a large majority of citizens, if not all citizens, can take part in deciding those social issues which vitally affect their individual lives - at work, in the local community and in the nation - and in which the distinction between elites and masses is reduced to the smallest possible degree."

Relating this scene to the theory of Habermas, it may be said that the people of the Australian Capital Territory had felt the crisis of rationality - the Government of New South Wales had failed to cope with the demands of education in the Territory; had experienced then an erosion of belief in the New South Wales system - a legitimation crisis; and with this a motivation crisis for there existed a discrepancy between the motives of the state education system of New South Wales and the cultural values of the people of the Australian Capital Territory. Because of the communicative competence a large

proportion of the population (see Chapter 4) who realised that crisis and conflicts resulting from basic contradictions can only be permanently resolved by a fundamental change in the system, a new structure for the Australian Capital Territory education system was initiated. This new structure allowed for consensus much more than any previous educational structure in Australia, with parents, teachers, boards, committees and council all participating - or being given the opportunity to participate. This formal mass democracy provided a basis of legitimacy. The ideal speech situation of Habermas may not have been reached for the constraints of some outside bodies were still present, as was the possible domination of the Minister of the Crown, but a big step towards educational administration as a cultural science had been made, based on the development of the local 'town meeting' of Habermas and participation and consensus decision-making being encouraged for all engaged in cultural production in schools.

The position of the Principal was critical in keeping this new system alive and well. The Principal was the central figure in removing constraints, and developing free discussion leading to consensus decision-making in the formative years. He also integrated the control factors of the bureaucracy, the professional and the community and so maintained the legitimacy of the new structure.

Summary

The course had been set for a new participatory structure in educational administration. This structure presented the opportunity for much wider participation by members of society and it recognised consensus decision-making and shared control among the parents, professionals, public servants and principals. The researcher has suggested that this reconstructivist approach was similar to that advocated in the social theory of Habermas. Tensions had developed in the very early years of the new system 1974-5 between the participating groups but the analysis developed in the next section will attempt to ascertain the control areas that parents, professionals, public servants and principals had in the system in 1974 and had developed to 1982.

Earlier chapters have pointed to the importance of the development of autonomous man and the individual's ability to assert some control over his social world. The school of Critical Theory has placed emphasis upon the forces which move society towards rational institutions - institutions which would ensure a true, free and just life. Habermas has placed emphasis upon complete restructure of a system, followed by mass participation in the planning and management of a system. This involves equality amongst participants and consensus decision-making by the force of the better argument as a result of communicative competence. This theory involves sharing in the decision-making process and the literature has pointed to the desire of various groups to participate in most areas of

this decision process.

The academic-professional class movement leading towards restructuring in the Australian Capital Territory has been reviewed and the unique character of the area illustrated by statistics. This development of involvement and sharing in an area of great communicative competence was presented as an example along the continuum leading to the ideal speech situation of Habermas.

The next section investigates the methodology to be used in order to produce evidence to show whether a sharing pattern of control did really exist. In addition the method will be devised to show changes in sharing between 1974 and 1982 amongst the four groups of participants and techniques devised to ascertain whether social betterment has occurred by such involvement and sharing. This would then allow verification of the proposal that the new education structure may be viewed as exemplifying the social change theory of Habermas.

SECTION 3

THE INVESTIGATION

Chapter Six

Methodology

As detailed in the Introduction (Page 5), the purpose of the study was to ascertain the changes in perceived attitudes of parents, professionals, public servants and principals towards shared decision-making and control in the new Canberra system of education between 1974 and 1982 and to conclude whether a sharing of decision-making and control had developed amongst the participants in terms of participation and commitment. If the investigation showed that shared control did exist and the government schools were serving human needs and producing social betterment one would then be able to draw a conclusion in relation to the changes in educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory exemplifying the social change theory of Jurgen Habermas.

The review of the literature (Section 1) on social change and mass participation in the planning and management of social life explored the ideas on sharing and participation from the positivist sociological approach and from the reconstructivist Critical Theory approach.

The review of positivist literature illustrated research on educational administration in the areas of decentralisation of decision-making, participation by school staff in decision-making, participation by parents in decision-making and the degree of participation by all professionals. Durkheim had argued that Sociology could be a science and use the techniques of science. Positivism is the sociological approach that employs the use of scientific methods and many sociologists have stressed the empirical and scientific nature of their work. They believe that as a science Sociology

(a) is concerned with real, empirical phenomena. It only studies things that are in some way measurable and therefore verifiable.

(b) is theoretical. As a science it sets out to make generalisations based upon its research.

(c) is of scrupulous impartiality in the handling of evidence.

In more recent times a shift has occurred away from this scientific approach, with its emphasis on statistics, social structure and an objective knowable reality. This alternative approach places much greater emphasis on the participants' understanding of a social situation. The research method centres on participant observation and free discussion, with the sociologist joining the group to be studied and observing the activities, or having free discussion with group members and recording in some form the details, in order to gain a full understanding of their viewpoint. This approach does not necessarily reject the ideals of scientific method but says it

is a mistake to follow slavishly the methods of the physical sciences when dealing with human beings. Many methods may be used in order to reach the best understanding of society. These approaches have been variously called symbolic interactionist, phenomenological, ethnomethodological, and the 'new' sociology of education. Their assumption is that it is inadequate to study either the formal structure of social institutions or to survey the effects of such institutions in terms pre-defined by the researcher. The task is to uncover the workings of social institutions such as educational systems in terms of their meanings for the participants, either as teachers or learners. This approach derives from the sociology of knowledge perspective which has exemplified itself in a predominantly phenomenological approach in Europe and an ethnomethodological approach in America, investigating meanings of events and tacit understandings underlying social interactions. Habermas had emphasised the place of communication, of communicative competence and free discussion in an atmosphere that allowed participation and equality rather than domination.

To the researcher an investigation that involved the positivist approach of the questionnaire and the reconstructivist approach of free discussion of meanings and understandings, would be an appropriate course to follow for this study. Recalling the purpose of the study (Page 5), the questionnaire devised would allow the researcher to assess the degree of shared decision-making and control that developed in

the Australian Capital Territory system of educational administration between 1974 and 1982 as evidenced by a sample group of parents, professionals, public servants and principals. The free discussion by individual members of the sample group followed by written thoughts on meanings and understandings about the new system would allow the researcher to receive evidence on perceived social betterment and hence draw conclusions regarding the social change theory of Habermas.

Sources of Evidence

In the collection of data relating to the sharing of control over educational decisions in the new participative educational system in the Australian Capital Territory, the main requirement was to have informed and reliable opinion from participants in each of the four areas concerned - parents, professionals, public servants, principals (see Chapter 3). This point led the researcher past the simple random sample to the concept of a stratified random sample. Stratification increases precision as it is a means of using knowledge of the population to increase the representativeness and precision of the sample. Stratification does not imply any departure from the principle of randomness. It means that before any selection takes place, the population is divided into a number of strata; then a random sample is selected within each strata. This is an improvement on the simple random sample as

it makes sure that the different strata in the population (in this study parents, professionals, public servants and principals) are correctly represented in the sample. In the use of stratified random sampling this is the first of two decisions that must be made: the selection of the relevant divisions. The second decision to be made is whether to use equal or unequal proportions and this decision is not really affected by the desire to achieve representative sampling. Representative implies that different parts of the population must be represented by using a sampling ratio, i.e., proportionate stratified random sample. To obtain an average for the whole sample it is not necessary to apply any special weighting procedure, for the method is self-weighting.

In applying this procedure to the study the population was divided into parents, professionals, public servants and principals and the sample selection was made within each strata using a random procedure. However, on looking at school communities concerned with change in educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory in 1974 it was noted that there were 60 primary school communities, 17 high school communities and 8 secondary college communities and a proportionate sample was formed using the ratio of 10:3:2 for primary, high and college communities. The researcher would then select the communities at random and obtain a respondent principal, two respondent professionals and three respondent parents from each educational unit giving 60 respondents closely associated with primary education, 18 with high school

education and 12 with college education. To this number the researcher proposed to add 10 public servants chosen at random in the central schools office, giving a total of 100 for the survey sample. The schools would be chosen at random and the professionals and parents chosen at random. As the researcher was investigating perceived changes between 1974 and 1982 and discussing social betterment it was decided to omit from the sample any people new to the community.

The researcher obtained the latest list of primary schools, high schools and colleges from the central office. The proportionate stratified sampling method to be used had greater precision than simple random sampling from the whole population of the area, but it was vital that selection within strata was made randomly. The importance of randomness in the selection procedure was emphasised as this was an essential part of the protection against selection bias. To ensure true randomness the method of selection had to be independent of human judgement. It had to be by the lottery method or by the use of random numbers. The lottery method was used to select 10 primary schools from the office list, 6 high schools from the office list, and two colleges from the office list. A visit was made to the school communities selected and the Principals asked for co-operation. Here 100% approval was obtained and the Principals then chose three parents at random. A small number of these had not been present in the area in 1974 and so these were deleted and a second selection made. All these parents were contacted and they expressed willingness

to participate. The researcher then chose two staff members at random from staff lists and asked each to be a participant in the survey. Occasionally a second random choice had to be made as the first choice had been a teacher new to the Australian Capital Territory. Consequently 100% response rate was obtained. The public servants in the schools office were selected in a similar manner and all expressed willingness to participate in the survey. This method of talking to people beforehand indicated that there would be a 100% response from the sample. The researcher maintained a standard approach to each possible interviewee. There was a friendly introduction, a request to participate in an educational survey involving questionnaire and discussion, and the arrangement of a suitable time before thanks at being able to help.

The Questionnaire

The first part of data collection was to be from the questionnaire completed by the hundred respondents as previously outlined. The main requirement was the gathering of informed and reliable opinion from people in each of the four areas within the new educational structure in the Australian Capital Territory. The decision was made to construct a questionnaire for personal presentation by the researcher to a proportionate stratified random sample of people from the parents, professionals, public servants and principals from the primary, secondary and college communities. The researcher would stay with the respondent during completion of the

questionnaire. The questionnaire would measure perceptions of the degree of control over educational decision-making exerted by each of these groups and provide evidence as to nature of sharing that existed in decision-making in the new system.

As the investigation was attempting to gauge any changes in the sharing pattern in the period 1974 to 1982, the respondents were asked to state their perception of the degree of control exercised by each participant group over the making of a number of specific decisions. Two estimates were required. One was an estimate of the degree of control at the time of the study, 1982. The other estimate related to a recollection of the situation as it was at the beginning of the system in 1974. Much thought and discussion occurred in relation to this time period as it was realised that some principals may not have been principals in 1974, some parents may not have been active in community affairs in 1974, some public servants may not have been in the schools office in 1974 and some professionals may not have been teaching in 1974. As mentioned previously these problems were overcome in the sample formation. Discussions were held with many parents, professionals, principals and public servants before the sample choice and all agreed that they could be expected to understand and remember decisions made in the early days of the new Australian Capital Territory educational system, and that any consistent trend for change in control could be expected to emerge from the perceptions of the four groups and a clear picture provided of the sharing of control in the system by the

four groups of participants.

In selecting the decision items for the questionnaire the following steps were taken:

Firstly, a detailed study was made of "School Based Decision-making" Parts 1 and 2, 1978, and this provided a list of important areas such as curriculum, staffing, evaluation, buildings, finances and special services within the Australian Capital Territory structure.

Secondly, a survey was made of the items used in studies by Simpkins (1960), McBeath (1964), Stone (1973), Knoop and O'Reilly (1976), and Livermore (1975) and another list of decision situations was compiled.

Thirdly, the researcher's own experience was used to generate further possible decision items and suggestions were sought from principals, teachers and parents.

A very long list of decision items was obtained and careful selection and consolidation, in order to avoid repetition, and to cover educational and administrative decisions, allowed the researcher to reduce the list to 90 items. These items were placed in most commonly used areas, found to be eight in number and dealing with:

(1) supplies and services;

(2) capital expenditure;

(3) curriculum and instruction;

(4) finance;

(5) personnel and staffing;

(6) students;

(7) organizational structure; and

(8) community relations.

The researcher took the list of items to a group of principals, parents and teachers who were asked to order the items in terms of relevance to the activities of the school and the system, within the eight areas mentioned. From this exercise a trial questionnaire of forty items was developed with five decision items chosen from each of the eight categories. This was reviewed and trialled on an individual basis with a number of professionals and principals in the interview situation, and found to be too long to be completed in a reasonable time. Utilising this information the researcher decided on a list of thirty two items, four from each of the eight categories. This selection allowed coverage of the eight areas of decision-making in which parents, professionals, public servants and principals participated in educational activities for the system. The members of the sample would be asked to indicate a perception of the degree of control over decisions by each of the four participant groups, on a five point scale, from a negligible degree of control to a high degree of control. Two perceptions would be required from the participants, namely, current and recall of the position at the beginning of the new system. As an example of the procedure the thirty two items would be set out as follows:

Section A

Please indicate your estimate of the degree of control, exerted by each group or individual listed in column B, over the type of decision listed in Column A. Circle your response for 1974 and 1982.

CODE

1. Negligible degree of control.
2.
3.
4.
5. High degree of control.

TYPE OF DECISION	GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL	DEGREE OF CONTROL	
Column A	Column B	Was in 1974	Is in 1982
1. Deciding	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
allocation of	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
government funds	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
to school	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

Each respondent would make eight decisions in relation to each of the thirty two questions. A further trial of the thirty two item questionnaire with professionals, parents and principals indicated that the questionnaire was clear and friendly and could be done in a reasonable time. A full copy of the questionnaire is included as Appendix 1. As mentioned previously the researcher presented the questionnaire to each

respondent, remained for any points of clarification, and assured a 100% response rate.

Earlier chapters in this study have presented the social change theory of Habermas, stressing participation and sharing via communicative competence and lack of domination, all leading to social betterment; they have shown the improvements associated with the decentralisation of decision-making to parents, staff and principals. The data from this questionnaire would indicate if there was a shared distribution of control amongst the four participant groups in the Australian Capital Territory system, and the discussion and writing that followed the questionnaire would indicate any social benefit from the new system and whether the social change theory of Habermas was being exemplified in practice.

The Discussion

This second part of the methodology was concerned with oral and written communication by the respondents on meanings and understandings of the new system of educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory in order to obtain evidence on aspects of perceived social betterment. The researcher wished to have each respondent participate in a free discussion-interview situation in order to review openly the new system and to summarise his/her views on the participation and involvement leading to social betterment, as seen in the Australian Capital Territory education system.

The researcher thought carefully of the very formal interview that was tough in its rigidity and lack of opportunity for self-expression through to the very informal interview that was flexible, helpful and provided opportunity for self-expression. It was realised that the very formal discussion would follow a set form. The questions to be asked had to be decided before the discussion commenced and the exact wording used in each discussion and the sequence of questions strictly controlled. This formal interview would be highly systematic and standardised, the same as giving a questionnaire verbally, and quite unlike a natural conversation.

As to the informal interview-discussion there may be no set questions but just a number of topics that are raised at appropriate moments. The types of interview could be illustrated as in the following:

Figure 6.1 - Types of Interviews

Informal ----------				Formal
Unsystematic Questioning	Casual Conversation	Unguided Non-directive	Gently Guided	Firmly Guided Systematic Standardised

Clearly there could be gradations of formality to informality, with the differences forming a continuum. Interviews also could be a mixture of two types, beginning in an informal style and finishing more formally, or vice versa.

The researcher decided that the 'unguided' to 'gently guided' approach would be used with each sample member of the four participant areas of control. This type of discussion would be better able to bring out the relationships that existed in the participatory system and it would be more personal, it would be richer in detail, it would be more flexible, it would probe more deeply, it would provide greater motivation and it would be sympathetic with the communicative competence theory of Habermas, providing free discussion without domination. The researcher had been a member of the community for many years and by knowing the communities, many teachers, many public servants and many principals felt that the 'ideal speech' situation as espoused by Habermas could be approached by using such an interview technique. With this funnel or 'gently guided' approach a broad general question would be asked, followed by successively more restricted

questions until gradually the content of the conversation is narrowed to precise objectives. This sequence prevents early questions from conditioning or biasing later responses. The 'gently guided' approach continues the informal interviewing approach but gives the interviews a framework and ensures that the relevant topics and main questions are addressed. A more complete picture of each respondent's attitude would be obtained through this interview-discussion and this would be lost if compressed into statistical tables.

For each questionnaire presentation and interview-discussion the researcher maintained a standard approach. There was a brief introduction followed by a statement on procedure to be followed, i.e., questionnaire followed by discussion. The researcher stated that the purpose of the investigation was to gather statistical evidence on people's perceptions regarding sharing of control in the Australian Capital Territory educational administration and by discussion and written consolidation obtain their opinions on autonomy, involvement and the results in relation to social betterment. The researcher presented the questionnaire to each respondent and worked through the instruction page 'Control Over Educational Decisions' with each respondent in order to ensure understanding. The respondent was then allowed to complete the questionnaire. At the conclusion of the questionnaire a short rest time occurred, followed by placement in a comfortable sitting position ready for discussion. This began with a broad, general question, "What do you think of

autonomy, involvement and shared decision-making and control in education?" This was followed by a question, "What do you think of participation and autonomy in the Australian Capital Territory education system?" From here the researcher asked for opinions in relation to each of the four participant groups, e.g., "What part have the parents played in the sharing of decision-making and control?" This then led to the personal question, "Do you think the opportunity for sharing in control has led to greater involvement by you?" Finally, the question as to overall assessment: "Now, taking all these things into consideration do you think autonomy, involvement, sharing of control has produced a better education - is there social betterment?" Respondents were then asked to write their considered opinions about the system with its emphasis on shared decision-making and control. Respondents were thanked for their participation at the end of each visit. The time taken for each respondent was approximately two hours, an hour for the questionnaire and an hour for discussion and writing.

Problems Considered

The researcher was mindful of the problems of validity and reliability and accepted that validity was hard to achieve and never known with certainty. Hence the attempt, as described previously, to choose a technique that would permit access to the variables to be studied at a degree of precision that would avoid unacceptable variations. Efforts to attain validity and reliability often require giving up one to attain the other, when both are needed. There is no way to be absolutely certain when validity has been attained, because it rests upon both the meaning of the items and the underlining theory. Using the theoretical approach described in the Introduction and Section 1 the researcher thought of validity as "...referring to the extent to which the index really reflected what we are looking for, and reliability referred to the extent to which it measured the degree of variation accurately and consistently from one time to another "(Bogue, 1981:30).

In order to improve validity the researcher adopted the following procedures for the index:

(a) researched items from other studies;

(b) listed items from personal experience;

(c) sought items from colleagues; and

(d) sought items from other parents, professionals and public servants.

In order to gain a better perspective of whether each item made sense the researcher then submitted the items to a group of parents, principals and teachers for comments and selection in

terms of relevance. Items were deleted and changed, thus adding to the validity of the instrument. The researcher then presented a trial questionnaire and utilised the input from the participants before deciding on the final list of items for the questionnaire (See page 261).

The researcher considered that "reliability was attained by using those measures that bring accuracy and remove contaminating influences. Such measures included:

(a) using a larger sample;

(b) using a longer list of questions in the questionnaire;

(c) removing questions that reflect extraneous variables (by item analysis); and

(d) improving the extent to which the sample of observers is drawn from a truly representative fraction of the population "(Bogue, 1981:31).

Efforts to achieve (a), (b) and (d) were described earlier in this Chapter. As for (c), item analysis is the comparison of the variation in scores among the population of each item on the questionnaire with the variation in scores of the total scale. With this small study item analysis could be approximated by looking at each item in the trial of the questionnaire, noting any negative responses indicating some ambiguity, and then changing the question. This procedure was used in conjunction with (a), (b) and (d).

Analysis of Data

The data analysis was divided into three parts which are presented in the next chapter. Part A is the analysis of the responses from the questionnaire indicating the degree of control exerted over educational decisions in 1974 by each of the four participant groups. This is followed in Part B by an analysis of the responses indicating perceptions of the degree of control exerted over educational decisions in 1982 by each of the four participant groups and a comparison with the 1974 figures to note variations over time. Graphs are presented for each category of decisions and graphical summaries of the whole decision process presented at the end of each part. The figures and charts are included to assist the understanding of the reader. The final analysis in Part C presents the summary of opinions expressed in discussion relating to the sharing of control in the Australian Capital Territory educational structure and social betterment through sharing, involvement and autonomy.

Chapter 7

Analysis of Data

This chapter is devoted to reporting the data relating to questionnaire responses indicating parents', principals', public servants' and professionals' perceptions of the degree of control exercised by each group over certain educational decisions at the time of data collection.

The respondents were asked to indicate their perception of the degree of control with respect to the four groups of participants in the system - the parents, the professionals, the public servants and the principals. Two responses were requested with respect to each group: perceptions of the current situation in 1982 and recollection of the situation in 1974. Responses for 1974 are treated in the following pages, followed by responses for 1982 and variations in sharing patterns are considered. Respondents were asked to estimate the degree of control on a five point scale ranging from (1) negligible degree of control to (5) high degree of control, for each of thirty two decision items. A detailed description of the processes which were used to select the actual items was given previously and a complete questionnaire provided in Appendix 1. Individuals or groups were defined as exerting control over a decision when they had authority to influence the decision process and used that authority to affect the actual decision made.

The final part of the chapter consists of a review of the discussion summaries. The respondents talked about sharing and participation in education and particularly about the degree of sharing in the Australian Capital Territory education system between the four participant groups, i.e., parents, professionals, public servants and principals. This approach was designed in order to obtain perceptions of the participants about the reality of involvement and planning by all concerned with the local education scene.

Recalling the purpose of the study as detailed on page 5, the analysis would show the degree of shared decision-making and control that had developed in the educational system and provide evidence of changes in the pattern of control between 1974 and 1982. This information and the review of the written discussion summaries provided evidence as to social betterment provided by the new education structure.

PART A - PARTICIPATION AND SHARING 1974

The means calculated from the responses of the 100 people who completed the questionnaire are presented in the following pages and the items arranged in the eight categories of the questionnaire dealing with Finance, Capital Expenditure, Supplies and Services, Curriculum and Instruction, Staffing, Students, Organizational Structure, and Community Relations. A summary of the means is presented as Appendix 2.

FINANCE

Items 1 to 4 on the questionnaire were related to finance and Figure 1 illustrates graphically the mean degree of control exercised by the parents, the professionals, the public servants and the principals for each of the four items as perceived by the respondents.

The degree of control exerted by each level over a particular item is indicated on a five-point scale ranging from low to high. A point towards the left of the line indicates a perception that the particular group represented by that point exerts a relatively low degree of control over the decision item. A point to the right indicates a perception of a high degree of control.

In the following diagrams, in order to avoid confusion by having four P's, it was decided to use the initials:

C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Figure 7.1 - Mean Control for Finance 1974

Decision Items	Degree of Control				
	Low				High
	1	2	3	4	5
1. Finance to School	CT P				B
2. Finance in School		B	C	T	P
3. Finance Special Develop.	B		C	T	P
4. Local Additional Finance	B			T	PC

ITEM 1 - DECIDING THE ALLOCATION OF GOVERNMENT FUNDS TO A SCHOOL

The public servants in the schools office with a mean of 4.9 were seen to exercise most control over this decision with the other three groups having little control at all.

ITEM 2 - DECIDING THE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPENDITURE WITHIN THE SCHOOL

Here the principal, with a mean of 4.6 was perceived as dominant in the decision-making. However, the teachers had the next highest degree of control with moderate control coming from the public servants and the parents.

ITEM 3 - DECIDING WHETHER TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR A SPECIAL PROGRAMME WITHIN THE SCHOOL

For this item the major control was held by the principal (4.6) with a moderate amount being exercised by the professionals (3.6) and the parents. Little influence was exerted by the public servants.

ITEM 4 - DECIDING ON METHODS TO RAISE ADDITIONAL FUNDS AT A PARTICULAR SCHOOL

Here the parents and principals were seen as having major control, with the parents having a mean of 4.3 and the principals 4.2. A fairly high degree of control, 3.5, was also possessed by the professionals, whilst the public servants were seen to have little control.

Overview

The public servants' control was higher in the area of major funding but there was little participation at the school level. In the other items involving the distribution of funds within the school the principal was seen to exert the major control although the professionals and parents were also perceived to influence the decisions to a reasonable extent, and in one area the parents had the most influence.

CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

Items 5 through 8 were associated with decisions related to funds used for capital works such as major building projects. The mean degree of control as perceived by the respondents is shown in Figure 7.2. The public servants were seen to influence decisions to a much greater extent than for items relating to finance and budgetting.

Figure 7.2 - Mean Control for Capital Expenditure 1974

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucrats (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Figure 7.2 (Continued)

Decision Items	Degree of Control				
	Low				High
	1	2	3	4	5
5. Additions to Building		CT	P		B
6. School closure		T CP			B
7. Special Schools		TP C			B
8. Special Facilities	C	T P			B

ITEM 5 - DECIDING WHETHER OR NOT TO MAKE ADDITIONS TO SCHOOL BUILDINGS

The public servants were seen to have a very high degree of control over this decision with a moderate input coming from the principals. The teacher and community were seen to have very little control.

ITEM 6 - DECIDING WHETHER OR NOT TO CLOSE A SCHOOL

Here the dominant group was seen to be the public servants in the schools office with a small influence coming from principals and parents.

ITEM 7 - DECIDING WHETHER OR NOT TO ESTABLISH SPECIAL SCHOOLS

The major control (4.6) was said to lie with the public servants in the schools office with a small amount of control being exerted by each of the other groups (2.6, 2.5, 2.4).

ITEM 8 - DECIDING WHETHER OR NOT TO ESTABLISH SPECIAL EXTRA FEATURES IN SCHOOL BUILDINGS
e.g., A.V. rooms, computer rooms.

Again, control from the public servants was seen to dominate this decision (4.6) with some control coming from the principals and teachers but very little from the parents (1.7).

Overview

For all the items related to capital expenditure the major control rested with the public servants, strongly influencing decisions about additions to buildings, new schools and special school features. The other three groups had only a small degree of control on this area.

SUPPLIES AND SERVICES

Items 9 through 12 were associated with decisions about services and supplies. The variations in control are illustrated in Figure 7.3.

Figure 7.3 - Mean Control for Supplies and Services 1974

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Figure 7.3 (Continued)

Decision Items	Degree of Control				
	Low				High
	1	2	3	4	5
9. Everyday equipment		BC			TP
10. New major equipment		B	C	T	P
11. Transportation		B C	T	P	
12. Furniture replacements	C	T	P		B

ITEM 9 - DECIDING ON EQUIPMENT FOR EVERYDAY USE

Major control for this decision was seen to lie with the principals (4.6) and the professionals (4.4). It was perceived that the parents and public servants had a very low degree of control in this area.

ITEM 10 - DECIDING ON MAJOR NEW PIECES OF EDUCATIONAL EQUIPMENT

For this item dominant control was clearly seen to be with the principal (4.7) but fairly high control was also exerted by the professionals (3.6). While the parents had moderate degree of control, the public servants had a low degree.

ITEM 11 - DECIDING ON TRANSPORTATION SERVICES TO BE PROVIDED FOR EDUCATIONAL USE

Major control for this item appeared to rest with the principals with a high level being possessed by the

professionals also. The parents possessed some degree of control and the public servants very little.

ITEM 12 - DECIDING ON FURNITURE AND REPLACEMENT FURNITURE

Here the dominant control appeared to rest with the public servants (4.7), with the principals having some influence, but the parents and professionals very little.

Overview

For three of the items relating to services and supplies the principal was seen to have major control, but the professionals also possessed a high level of control in these same areas. The parents and public servants had little control in these three areas, but the public servants had dominant control over the matter of furnishings.

CURRICULUM AND INSTRUCTION

Figure 7.4 illustrates the mean degree of control as reported by the respondents for items 13 through 16 related to curriculum and instruction. The main feature of this area was the perceived major control exerted by principals and professionals.

Figure 7.4 - Mean Control Curriculum and Instruction 1974

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control				
	Low				High
	1	2	3	4	5
13. School Curriculum		B C		T	P
14. Syllabus Detail		C B		P T	
15. Learning Approach	B C			P T	
16. Evaluation of Instruction		C B		T	P

ITEM 13 - DECIDING ON THE CURRICULUM FOR THE SCHOOL

The principals were reported to have the major control with the professionals also having a high degree of control. Some influence was exerted by the community but little control possessed by the public servants.

ITEM 14 - DECIDING ON THE DETAILED SYLLABUS FOR A SUBJECT

Again the principals and teachers were clearly seen to exercise major control with little influence said to come from the public servants or parents.

ITEM 15 - DECIDING ON THE LEARNING APPROACH TO BE USED IN THE SCHOOL

For this item teachers were perceived as having very high control, only slighter higher than principals (4.4, 4.3). Again very little control was present with the parents and public servants.

ITEM 16 - DECIDING ON THE METHOD FOR EVALUATION

With this item major control was in the hands of the principal, with a high degree of control also exercised by the teachers. The public servants and parents had only a small influence on control of the decision.

Overview

In the items relating to curriculum and instruction, the control exercised by principals was dominant on two occasions and the control exercised by teachers dominant on two occasions. On the occasions that each was not dominant each possessed a very high level of control. On all the items the parents and the public servants showed little control and this could possibly be expected in the very early days of the system as the areas covered decisions of a 'professional' nature. This will be a very interesting area to compare changes in 1982.

PERSONNEL AND STAFFING

Items 17 through 20 deal with school staffing matters. Figure 7.5 illustrates the mean degree of control for each as noted by the respondents. Dominant control was seen to be exerted by the public servants.

Figure 7.5 - Mean Control of Personnel and Staff 1974

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control				
	Low				High
	1	2	3	4	5
17. Selection of Principal	C	PT		B	
18. Selection of Teachers	C	T	P	B	
19. Suitability for promotion	C	B		P	T
20. Selection non-teach. staff	C T	P		B	

ITEM 17 - DECIDING ON A PRINCIPAL FOR A SCHOOL

Here the perception was that the bureaucrats in the schools office had major control (4.5) with some influence being exerted by teachers and other principals through selection panels. Little control was given to the parents.

ITEM 18 - SELECTING A TEACHER TO FILL A VACANCY IN A SCHOOL

In this situation it was again felt that the public servants in the school office had the major control but a strong degree of control (3.2) was also possessed by the principals. The teachers had a small degree of control and again, the parents had very little.

ITEM 19 - DECIDING ON THE SUITABILITY OF TEACHERS FOR PROMOTION

The teachers were seen to be the dominant group in this area of decision-making, because of the place of peer assessment, but the principals were recognised as having a high degree of control also. Little control was given to the public servants and, again, practically none to the parents.

ITEM 20 - DECIDING ON THE SELECTION OF NON-TEACHING STAFF

The public servants were seen to have dominant control in this area (4.6) with a little control being possessed by the principals and practically no influence on the part of the teachers and parents.

Overview

In this area of the selection of staff the striking feature was the dominance given to the schools office and the almost complete 'shut-out' of the parents. The teachers were dominant in the area of eligibility of staff for promotion

possibly because of the wide publicity given to peer assessment.

STUDENTS

The four decision-making areas here related to student development. Figure 7.6 illustrates the mean degree of control for each item as reported by the four groups of respondents. Throughout the four items control was seen to be mainly within the school.

Figure 7.6 - Mean Control for Student Development 1974

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control				
	Low				High
	1	2	3	4	5
21. Student Activities	B	C		T	P
22. Student Assessment	CB			T	P
23. Student Reporting	B	C		Y	P
24. Student Counselling	CB		T		P

ITEM 21 - DECIDING ON STUDENT ACTIVITIES AND SOCIAL GROWTH

Here the major control was seen to rest with the principals with a high degree of control also being exercised by the teachers (4.5, 4.3). Some influence came from the parents with very little from the public servants.

ITEM 22 - DECIDING ON THE PROCEDURE FOR ASSESSING STUDENT PROGRESS

The major control was again seen to lie with the principal (4.7) and teachers (3.8) with little control on the part of parents and public servants.

ITEM 23 - DECIDING ON THE PROCEDURE FOR REPORTING STUDENT DEVELOPMENT

Again the principals were reported to dominate this decision (4.7) with the teachers also have a high degree of control (3.8). Some influence on the part of the parents was reported for this area.

ITEM 24 - DECIDING ON THE PROCEDURE FOR COUNSELLING

The principals were again seen to be the dominant figures with a moderate degree of control exercised by the teachers. Little influence was given to the public servants.

Overview

The principals were seen to exercise the major control over all items relating to student development with the teachers also exercising a high degree of control. The parents exercised a moderate degree of control in some areas but on no occasion was a high degree of control exercised by the public servants.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE

These four items were related to the organizational structure of the schools and Figure 7.7 illustrates the mean degree of control as reported by the respondents. The principals were again seen as playing a dominant role.

Figure 7.7 - Mean Control for Organizational Structure 1974

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control Low 1	2	3	4	High 5
25. Staff Numbers	CT P				B
26. School Admin structure	BC		T		P
27. Class Sizes	C	B	T		P
28. Inservice training	C	B	T		P

ITEM 25 - DECIDING ON THE NUMBER OF STAFF FOR A GIVEN SCHOOL

The public servants in the schools office were seen to have dominant control (4.8) over this decision with each of the other groups having little control whatsoever.

ITEM 26 - DECIDING ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE OF AN INDIVIDUAL SCHOOL

The principals were given the major degree of control in this area with a moderate degree of control being exerted by the teachers. Again, the parents had practically no control.

ITEM 27 - DECIDING ON THE MINIMUM AND MAXIMUM CLASS SIZES WITHIN INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

For this decision item the principal was perceived to have dominant control (4.6) with the teachers also possessing a high degree of control (3.1). Again, the parents were thought to have little control.

ITEM 28 - DECIDING ON THE TYPE OF INSERVICE TRAINING AND MEANS OF STAFF DEVELOPMENT

Again, this was perceived as a decision mainly controlled by the principals with the teachers also have a moderately high degree of control. The schools office members exerted some control but the parents were perceived as having very little control.

Overview

In relation to the school organizational structure the public servants were seen to have major control over only one decision which was the administration of the staffing formula. However, the principal had major control in other areas with a moderate degree of control being exercised by the teachers. The control of the parents remained low throughout.

COMMUNITY RELATIONS

The final four items dealt with relationships between the school and the local community. Figure 7.8 illustrates the mean degree of control for each item as reported. Again, major control was perceived as resting with the principals.

Figure 7.8 - Mean Degree of Control for Community Relations

1974

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control Low 1	2	3	4	High 5
29. Staff-parent Contact	B	C	T		P
30. Community use of facil.		T C		P B	
31. Communication Policy	B		C T		P
32. Community Education Prog.	B		C T		P

ITEM 29 - DECIDING ON THE NATURE OF CONTACT BETWEEN STAFF AND PARENTS

The principal appeared to have major control for this issue (4.8) with a high degree of control from the teachers. The parents were perceived as having some voice in the process.

ITEM 30 - DECIDING ON THE USE OF SCHOOL FACILITIES

In this area the public servants in the schools office were seen to be the major controller, but there was also a high degree of control associated with the principal. The parents and professionals were seen as having little influence in this decision.

ITEM 31 - DECIDING ON THE COMMUNICATION POLICY FOR ALL NEIGHBOURHOOD PARENTS

The principals had dominant control in this area (4.7) with a moderate degree of control being possessed by the teachers and parents. The public servants had little influence.

ITEM 32 - DECIDING ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNITY EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

Similarly for this item the principals were perceived as having the dominant role (4.6) with a moderate degree of control being possessed by teachers and parents. The public servants had little influence.

Overview

For these items dealing with school community relationships the principal was seen to have major control in three areas and in each of these the parents and teachers had a moderate degree of control. In the other area the principal had a high degree of control with the public servants having their only sphere of high control.

GENERAL PATTERNS OF CONTROL 1974

Figure 7.9 provides a graphical representation of the patterns of control for the thirty two decision items. Observation of the graph reveals that the bulk of control is spread among three of the four groups, i.e., principals, professionals and public servants. Figure 7.10 illustrates the arrangement of the means for the various organizational levels in terms of the rank order of degree of control over each item.

Figure 7.9 - Mean Degree of Control for All Items 1974

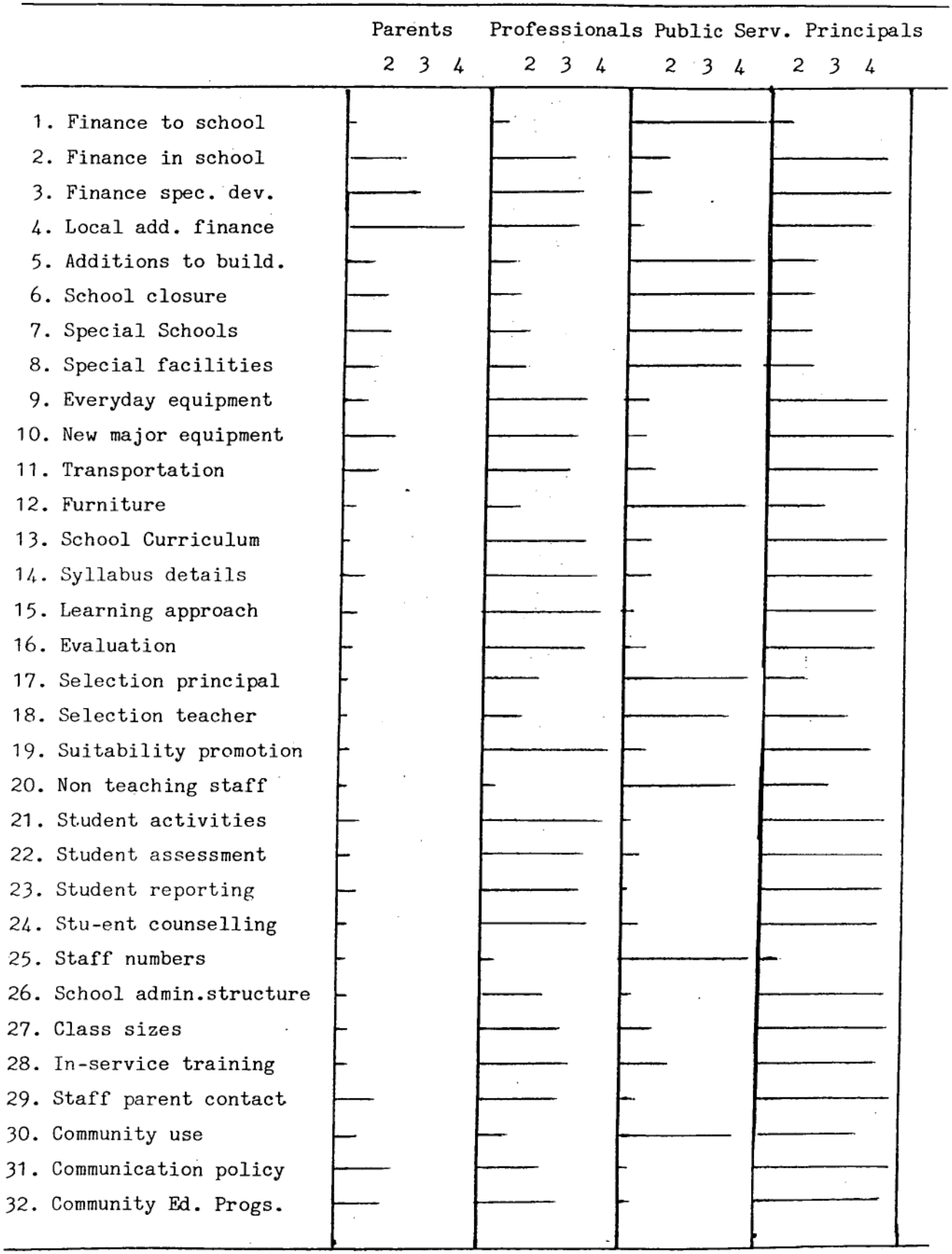


Figure 7.10 - Rank Order for Degree of Control 1974

Summary		Number of Items				
C = community (parents)	Low	14	16	1	1	High
B = bureaucracy (public servants)		14	7	0	11	
T = teachers (professionals)		4	7	18	3	
P = principals (principals)		0	2	13	17	

Item No.	Low			High
1	C	T	P	B
2	B	C	T	P
3	B	C	T	P
4	B	T	P	C
5	T	C	P	B
6	T	C	P	B
7	T	P	C	B
8	C	T	P	B
9	B	C	T	P
10	B	C	T	P
11	B	C	T	P
12	C	T	P	B
13	B	C	T	P
14	C	B	P	T
15	B	C	P	T
16	C	B	T	P
17	C	P	T	B
18	C	T	P	B
19	C	B	P	T
20	C	T	P	B
21	B	C	T	P
22	C	B	T	P
23	B	C	T	P
24	C	B	T	P
25	C	T	P	B
26	B	C	T	P
27	C	B	T	P
28	C	B	T	P
29	B	C	T	P
30	T	C	P	B
31	B	C	T	P
32	B	C	T	P

As can be seen for fourteen of the thirty two items Parents were perceived as having the least control of any of the participating groups. The only item where the parents were seen to have the highest degree of control was the raising of additional finance for school projects. It is to be noted however than in seventeen other areas parents had a little to moderate degree of control. This may reflect the slowness to adapt to new areas of participation or the desire on the part of some principals to retain the hierarchic authority they had been used to in other states. The interesting point will now be to see if the parents share more in the later period.

For Professionals (teachers) there were three areas of dominance noted - syllabus details, learning approach and assessment for promotion. However, it is interesting to note that in eighteen others areas they had a high degree of control, spread over the entire spectrum, with very little control only in the area of Capital Expenditure on Buildings. Thus the greater participation by professionals can be noted.

For the Public Servants there seemed to be two extreme positions, complete dominance in eleven items and very low control in fourteen areas. The eleven items were in the areas of Finance, Building and Staff Selection and Placement. Most of these decisions could be said to be administrative in nature, although it is interesting to note the perception that the 'office' selected principals and supplied staff. Again it will be interesting to note changes for the later period.

The Principals were perceived as being much more dominant than any other group. They were given the highest degree of control in seventeen areas and a very high degree of control in thirteen other areas. This seemed to carry over the dominance of the principals in other state systems.

SUMMARY

Analysing these figures, graphs and comments it can be seen that the main control for the large majority (28) items rested with the principals and public servants. However it must be noted that the professionals also had a very high degree of control in 21 of these items and could be seen as the group leading the way in the sharing and participation pattern. The parents had a high degree of control in one area - raising additional money. The parents were seen as having a low degree of control in 14 areas but a moderate degree of control in 16 areas, hence beginning the participation and sharing process.

It would appear that the sharing of control over decisions was not of an equitable nature at this time. It was noticeable, however, that in comparison to previous times the professionals were participating much more in the educational process and the parents were making the first steps. The next Section will show if this trend to equal participation continued, or if the opportunity was provided but not accepted, or if the opportunity for involvement by all was provided but elements within and without the education structure prevented the real 'town meeting' of all representatives occurring.

PART B - PARTICIPATION AND SHARING 1982

Introduction

The major concern of this research was associated with ascertaining the degree of shared decision-making and control in educational decisions in the Australian Capital Territory and whether the theory of participation by all involved in the process of education via the concept of the 'town meeting' and 'communicative competence' of the participants had been put into practice. The previous section showed that this involvement and sharing in decision-making had commenced but had not proceeded very far along the continuum of the ideal speech situation. This part reviews the responses in relation to the sharing in 1982, and notes changes in the sharing pattern compared with 1974.

Patterns 1982

The mean degree of control calculated from the responses of the 100 people interviewed are presented in the following pages and the items arranged in eight categories as mentioned for 1974. A summary of the means is presented as Appendix 2.

Finance

The items 1 to 4 were associated with finance and the replies of the respondents illustrated graphically in Figure 7.11.

As can be seen the public servants are perceived as having maintained their major control over providing government financing to the school. However, a marked change can be noted in the next three items as parents, professionals and principals, all have a high degree of control (all 4.0) or above showing a marked development in the sharing pattern. The parents have moved from a mean of 2.8 to 4.0, and the professionals from 3.3 to 4.2 and the principals have retained their position at 4.6. It is perceived that over the period of time there has been development amongst the groups of the concept of participation in decision-making.

Figure 7.11 - Mean Control for Finance 1982

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control Low 1	2	3	4	High 5
1. Finance to School	CT P				B
2. Finance in School		B		C T	P
3. Finance Special Devel.	B			C T	P
4. Local Additional fFnance	B			T P	C

Capital Expenditure

The mean degree of control as perceived by the respondents is shown graphically in Figure 7.12 and the public servants have maintained dominant control.

The very interesting point here is the perceived improvement in the participation of parents, principals and professionals in the area of decision-making. The public servants remain dominant but there is now a much greater sharing as it can be seen that principals, parents and professionals all have a high degree of control whereas in 1974 they had only a low to moderate degree of control, e.g., in Item 8 parents moved from 1.7 to 2.6, professionals 2.2 to 3.2 and principals 2.7 to 3.6.

Figure 7.12 - Mean Control for Capital Expenditure 1982

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control				
	Low				High
	1	2	3	4	5
5. Additions to Buildings		TC	P		B
6. School closure			TPC		B
7. Special Schools			PT C		B
8. Special facilities		C	T P		B

Supplies and Services

Figure 7.13 shows the mean degree of control as perceived in 1982.

In this area it is again noticeable that a much higher degree of the sharing of control is evident. Professionals and principals are equally dominant in two areas and possess a high degree of control in a third area. In each area also the parents are perceived to participate to a much greater degree (1.6 to 2.1, 2.5 to 3.8, 2.0 to 2.8). In the area in which the public servants were dominant an increase in sharing of the other groups could also be discerned - for Item 12 the parents moved from 1.3 to 1.8, the professionals moved from 1.8 to 2.6, the principals from 2.8 to 3.6 whilst the public servants had a lowered degree of control, 4.7 to 4.4. One can again see a more equal distribution and sharing of control developing over the years.

Figure 7.13 - Mean Degree of Control Supplies and Services 1982

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control Low 1	2	3	4	High 5
9. Everyday Equipment	B	C			T P
10. New major Equipment	B			C	TP
11. Transportation	B		C	T	P
12. Furniture replacement		C T		P B	

Curriculum and Instruction

The feature of this area in 1974 had been the dominance of the principals and teachers. Figure 7.14 illustrates the degree of control as perceived in the later period.

Figure 7.14 - Mean Degree of Control Curriculum and Instruction 1982

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control Low 1	2	3	4	High 5
13. School curriculum	B			C	TP
14. Syllabus Detail	B	C		P	T
15. Learning Approach	B	C		P	T
16. Evaluation of instruction	B	C			PT

One can see, as in 1974, the dominance or high degree of control held by the professionals and the principals. For this study, however, the interesting point is the improvement in sharing decisions achieved by the parents. To move from 2.3 to 3.9 shows a great deal more participation by parents in curriculum design and implementation. Similarly, to move from 1.6 to 2.6, from 1.4 to 2.2 and 1.3 to 2.5 in the other items shows the gradual development of the parents as partners in the

curriculum and evaluation process and the acceptance by the parents of this opportunity.

Personnel and Staffing

Figure 7.15 illustrated the mean degree of control exerted by the four groups in 1982. The dominant control had been with the public servants in 1974.

Figure 7.15 - Mean Degree of Control Personnel and Staffing 1982

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control Low 1	2	3	4	High 5
17. Selection of Principal		P C	T	B	
18. Selection of Teachers	C		T	B	P
19. Suitability for Promotion	C B			P	T
20. Selecof non-teach. staff	C T			P	B

Dominant control by the public servants is not present. In relation to the selection of a principal the teachers participate more in the process and it is perceived that the parents have a much greater degree of control than previously

(1.2 to 2.8). As to the selection of teachers, the principals are seen as having much greater control now and the public servants and the professionals possess a high degree of control also. There is also a closeness in control between principals and public servants in selection of non-teaching staff. The perceptions indicate a further working together of the four parties concerned with the cultural production and reproduction in schools.

Students

The graphical illustration below shows the mean degree of control over student activities by each of the four groups in 1982 (Figure 7.16). In 1974 principals had been dominant in the four decision areas.

Figure 7.16 - Mean Degree of Control for Students 1982

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Decision Items	Degree of Control Low 1	2	3	4	High 5
21. Student Activities	B	C		P	T
22. Student Assessment	B	C			PT
23. Student Reporting	B		C		PT
24. Student Counselling	B C			T P	

In this area one notes the greater participation by the professionals and sharing in control than in 1974. Teachers now have the highest control in these areas, with the principals practically equal - a marked change over the years. Similarly one can observe the development of the parent body again with an increase in control of student activities, 1.7 to 2.6, student assessment, 1.3 to 2.2 and student reporting, a remarkable increase in control by entering into the discussion process, 1.7 to 3.3. One discerns again a development of discussion and joint decision-making as the parties adjust to the opportunity to participate by all.

Organizational Structure

The major control in this area had been with the principals. Figure 7.17 illustrates the perceptions of the degree of control in the later period.

Figure 7.17 - Mean Degree of Control Organization Structure

1982

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

Figure 7.17 (Continued)

Decision Items	Degree of Control				
	Low				High
	1	2	3	4	5
25. Staff Numbers	TC P				B
26. School admin. structure	B	C		T	P
27. Class Sizes		BC		T	P
28. In-service training		C	B	T P	

The respondents still perceived that the public servants had dominant control over the numbers of staff for a school because of the staffing formula. In the other areas the principals retained the highest degree of control but the interesting point to note is the greater sharing in decision by the teachers (2.8 to 4.0, 3.1 to 4.4, 3.2 to 4.3). The respondents perceived the teachers as being much more involved in the development of the individual school. The other very interesting point is the perception of the parents as having a control over the individual school structure (1.2 to 1.7) of a school. The place of parents on school boards was seen to be gradually developing in importance.

Community Relations

Again major control in this area had rested with the principals and Figure 7.18 shows the perceptions for 1982.

Figure 7.18 - Mean Degree of Control for Community Relations

1982

KEY: C = community (parents)
B = bureaucracy (public servants)
T = teachers (professionals)
P = principals (principals)

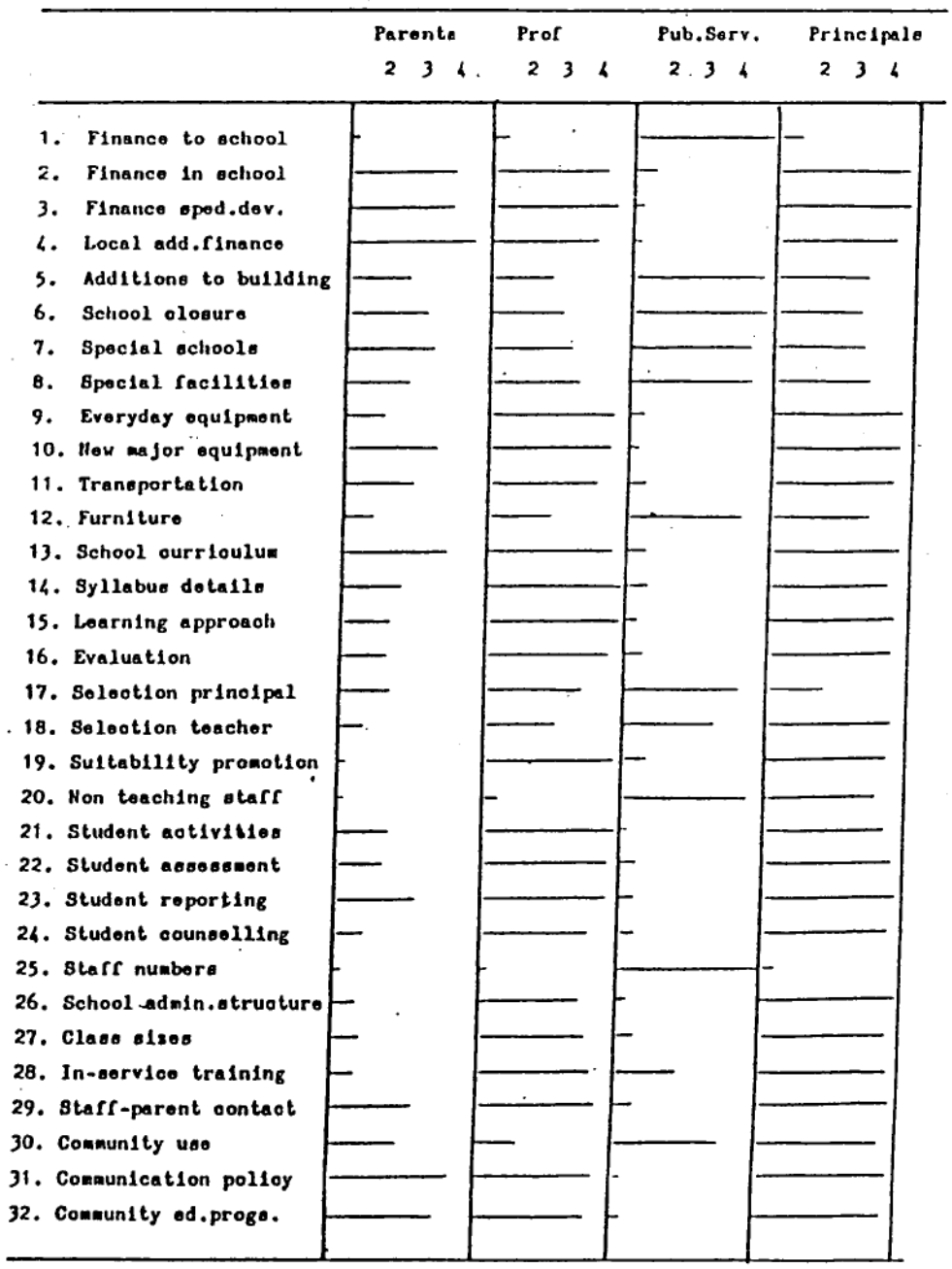
Decision Items	Degree of Control Low 1	2	3	4	High 5
29. Staff-parent contact	B		C		TP
30. Community use of facil.		T	C	B P	
31. Communication Policy	B			TC	P
32. Community Educ. programme	B			CT	P

The principals were perceived as having the highest degree of control in each area but it is most interesting to note, over the period of time being investigated, the much higher degree of control given to the teachers and parents. The teachers in a comparison of the four areas moved from 3.2 to 4.6, from 1.5 to 2.0, from 2.8 to 4.0, from 3.1 to 4.2. The parents in the same period moved from 1.9 to 3.5, from 1.7 to 2.7, from 2.3 to 4.0 from 2.3 to 3.8. A pattern of sharing is now much more existent.

Changes in the General Degree of Control

Figure 7.19 provides a graphical representation of the patterns of control for the thirty two decision items in 1982.

Figure 7.19 - Mean Degree of Control for All Items 1982



Any difference between the means for the responses indicating the degree of control by a particular group between 1974 and 1982 would indicate a perceived change in the degree of control. A summary of the items for which change was indicated is provided in Figure 7.20. The Rank Order Degree of Control table is shown in Figure 7.21.

Appendix II provides a table showing the mean degree of control for each group in each decision area for 1974 and 1982.

Figure 7.20 - Changes in Mean Degree of Control for All Respondents

Item No.	Decrease				Increase			
	Parents	Prof.	Pub.Ser.	Princ.	Parents	Prof.	Pub.Ser.	Princ.
1.					X			X
2.			X		X	X		
3.			X		X	X		X
4.					X	X		
5.					X	X		X
6.					X	X		X
7.					X	X		X
8.					X	X		X
9.			X		X	X		X
10.			X		X	X		
11.			X		X	X		X
12.			X		X	X		X
13.			X		X	X		X
14.			X		X	X		
15.					X	X		
16.					X	X	X	
17.					X	X		X
18.			X		X	X		X
19.			X			X		
20.								X
21.					X	X		
22.					X	X		
23.					X	X		
24.					X	X		
25.							X	
26.					X	X		X
27.					X	X		
28.						X	X	
29.					X	X		
30.					X	X		X
31.					X	X		
32.					X	X		

Figure 7.21 - Rank Order for Degree of Control 1982

Item No.	Low			High
1.	C	T	P	B
2.	B	C	T	P
3.	B	C	T	P
4.	B	T	P	C
5.	T	C	P	B
6.	T	P	C	B
7.	P	T	C	B
8.	C	T	P	B
9.	B	C	P	T
10.	B	C	P	T
11.	B	C	T	P
12.	C	T	P	B
13.	B	C	P	T
14.	B	C	P	T
15.	B	C	P	T
16.	B	C	P	T
17.	P	C	T	B
18.	C	T	B	P
19.	C	B	P	T
20.	C	T	P	B
21.	B	C	P	T
22.	B	C	P	T
23.	B	C	P	T
24.	B	C	T	P
25.	T	C	P	B
26.	B	C	T	P
27.	B	C	T	P
28.	C	B	T	P
29.	B	C	T	P
30.	T	C	B	P
31.	B	T	C	P
32.	B	C	T	P

SUMMARY

		Number of Items		
C = Parents	7	21	3	1
T = Professionals	4	8	10	10
B = Public Serv.	19	2	2	9
P = Principals	2	1	17	12

(A) Changes for Parents

The degree of control by the parents was perceived as having increased markedly in the period 1974-82. The parents were perceived to have increased their control in 28 of the 32 items during the period as shown in Figure 7.20, with 13 of the 28 items showing an increase of 1.0 or more and 24 of the 28 items showing the increase of 0.5 or more (See Appendix II), and an overall average increase of 0.8. Figure 7.19 shows graphically the much greater participation by parents as compared with Figure 7.9. One can easily see the much greater control by the parents over the decision items as compared with 1974, pointing to an increased awareness by the parents of their place in the education process. A graphical comparison is presented in Figure 7.22. The continual stressing of parental participation and the opportunity to feel of equal status with professionals, principals and public servants must have led to this changed perception of the control of parents in the decision process, and achievement by consensus decision-making as the dominance of others groups diminished.

(B) Changes for Professionals

By observing Figure 7.20 it can be seen that the professionals exercised much greater participation in the control of decisions in 29 of the 32 areas, as shown in Figure 7.20. Of the 29 items showing an increase, 14 had an increase

of 1.0 or more and 26 of the 29 an increase of 0.5 or more (see Appendix II) with an overall average increase of 0.8. By comparing Figure 7.19 with Figure 7.9 one can see this graphically as there is a distinct general movement to the right illustrating the perceived acknowledgement of greater control exercised by the professionals. This is shown in Figure 7.22. Actual means such as 3.3 to 4.2, 3.6 to 4.5, 2.2 to 3.2, 3.2 to 4.2, 3.8 to 4.8 are indicative of the much greater perceived involvement by this group in the decision process. The perceptions of the respondents show the placement of the professionals as partners in the education process and not the lower members of a hierarchy dominated by the principal.

(C) Changes for the Public Servants

The figures show that the mean degree of control for the public servants decreased in ten of the areas of decision-making and that this group was the only one to show any decrease in control. The areas in which control decreased were 'in-school' areas such as distributing finance with the school, deciding on purchases of equipment, deciding on curriculum, deciding on teacher assessment and promotion. The decreases also were not nearly as marked as the increases for

Figure 7.22 - Comparison of Means 1974 and 1982

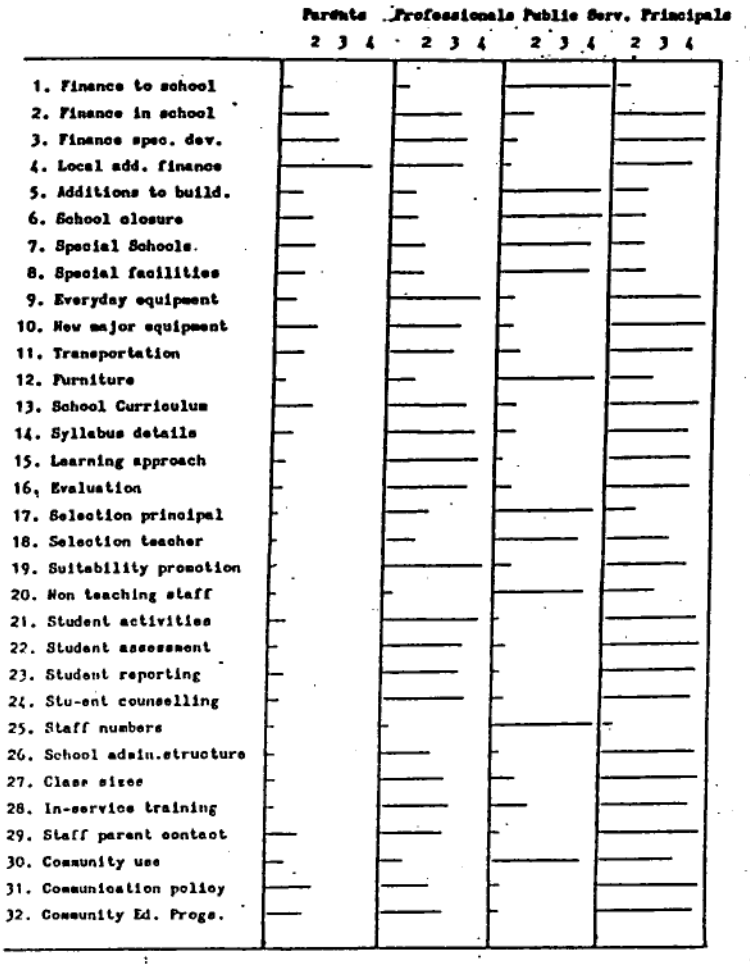
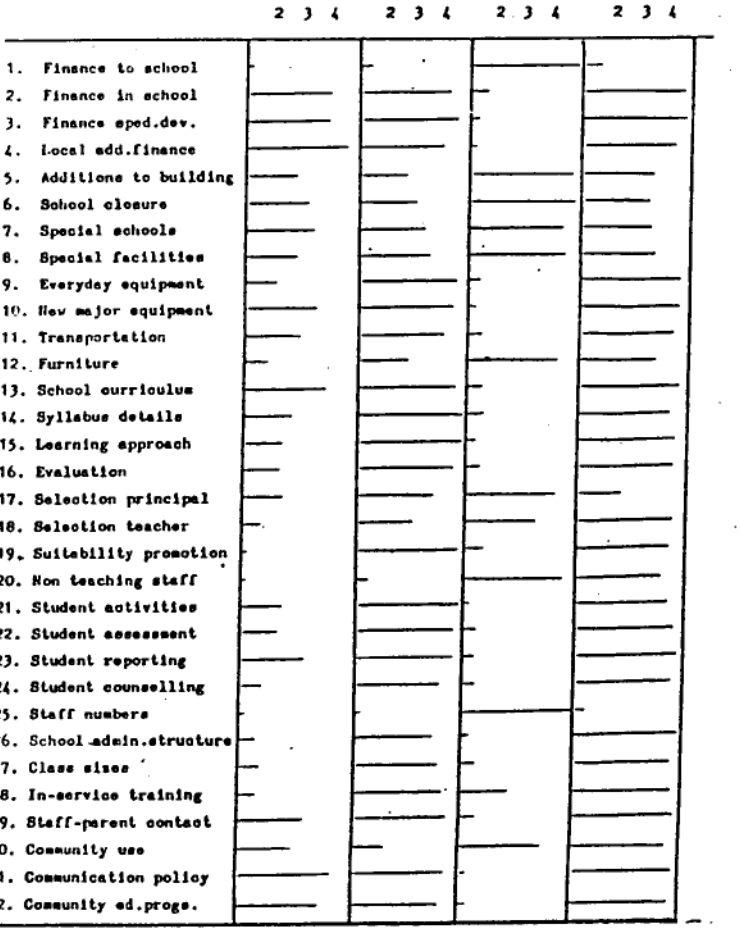


FIG. 19 MEAN DEGREE OF CONTROL FOR ALL ITEMS 1982



the parents and professionals, with figures such as 1.5 to 1.3, 1.8 to 1.4, 4.0 to 3.6 being the general pattern. However the public servants maintained a very high degree of control in eleven of the areas, mainly associated with whole system items such as finance and buildings and staffing. This indicated acceptance of the position as supporters of the system and providing services from the Schools Authority and working in conjunction with the other groups, not attempting to dominate.

(D) Changes for Principals

The principals also were perceived to increase their level of control in a wide range of decision areas - 15 in number. These were mainly in the areas of planning school buildings, developing school curriculum, and assessing and selecting teachers. As Figure 7.19 shows the principals were present with at least a high degree of control in most areas but they had been joined by the other groups. The principals were now much more of an equal partner in a team of four - becoming equal participants in the involvement of all associated with the process of education in the local community. This gradual change is illustrated clearly by comparison of Figures 7.9 and 7.19, as presented in Figure 7.22.

Summary

The most obvious change from 1974 is the increase in the degree of control perceived to be held by the parents and the professionals. The parents particularly were perceived to be of much greater importance in the decision areas, showing their desire to participate in the process of education and their actual involvement, e.g., Item 13 has a rise in mean degree of control from 2.3 to 3.9. Another feature readily observed is the decrease in amount of control in some areas by the public servants and the continuation of the high degree of control held by the principals, but a position where the principals are joined by the parents and professionals or by the public servants or by all three groups. This can be seen graphically by observing Figures 7.9 and 7.19, and Figure 7.22. Appendix II gives details of means and this table shows the convergence of degree of control held by parents, professionals, and principals in relation to 'in-school' items.

Observation of the summary for Figure 7.21 and Figure 7.10 shows the much more equitable spread of the rank order of control with public servants, professionals and principals having the highest degree of control in 9, 10 and 12 areas respectively, whereas in 1974 the position was 11, 13 and 17. Although the parents are highest in only one area as in 1974, they have increased the degree of control in all areas as noted earlier. The data thus shows a much more equitable sharing of control than existed in 1974 and the trend towards

participation has continued.

The researcher noted that these figures tended to support in practice the social change theory of Habermas. By the complete reconstruction of the educational system in the area, providing emancipation from the domination of a distant bureaucracy, and by developing the 'town meeting' and free discussion, and by providing autonomy at different levels of the system, there will be greater participation by all community members and involvement in the process of education. Part C will review the opinions of respondents as expressed in written summaries and ascertain if this involvement provided a sense of importance in their own lives, a better education system and social betterment. These data will indicate if a crisis had been solved by participation, autonomy and involvement, and thus if theory worked in practice.

PART C - ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DISCUSSIONS

This section presents the main ideas developed by the interviewees in their discussions with the researcher. It is arranged in the form of an Introduction which presents the atmosphere at the beginning of the system, a section dealing with the Early Days, a section related to Changes over the Years, a section on Social Betterment, a section on Concerns Raised and a Conclusion relating to achievements of the system.

Introduction

The respondents' comments indicate quite clearly their feeling that the system was commenced as the result of a common need voiced by parents and teachers through the media. While the greatest support for change was through an articulate 'elite' in the community, parent bodies, the educational community and the general Canberra community actively supported the development of proposals for the alternative structure of the education system. The ideal sought was a local, responsive system, structured so as to allow participation by everyone interested in school level policy. The central office was to support a decentralised decision-making school network. There was to be autonomy and involvement at the local level, free of domination. The schools office administration was designed to support schools and enable a diverse and harmonious system to

develop at 'grassroots' level. This general atmosphere is well-stated by one respondent as follows:

> "In 1974 I believe an attempt was made to deinstitutionalise the teaching profession and develop schools as autonomous institutions in which teachers, seen as professional advisors to the local community which they served, would work in liaison with that community to provide a quality education for the children and parents of that community. Thus Boards, composed of teachers, principals and parents would hopefully formulate philosophy, aims and strategies, both fiscal and educational, which would implement the consensus wishes of all people connected to the school community. A completely open-door philosophy of communication was envisaged and an Authority to oversee total community viewpoints and needs was decided as necessary - this is debatable. An office of this Schools Authority was seen as a supportive organization to assist teachers in their professional growth and ensure career security and employment rights. Thus a strongly bureaucratised system of education was discarded in favour of a shared decision-making organization. It was felt that this would lead to teachers' professional freedom and hence growth and better serve the educational needs of the children of the community."

Thus, when responsibility for education was moved from the New South Wales Department of Education to the Australian Capital Territory Schools Authority in 1974, and the general system was restructured, expectations placed upon teachers were indeed great. These high expectations coincided with a more general community view of optimism in the early years, 1974-75.

Early Days

Comments from the respondents indicated that control in 1974 was characterised by devolution of responsibility for a number of previously centrally controlled activities to the school level: from the bureaucrats and professional educators of a central office to teachers, pupils and parents of the community. Comments stated it was a time of excitement about, and expectancy for, bright prospects under a new regime with a revolutionary philosophy. Schools began developing their individual identities, their own curricula, and new relationship with the local communities. As a parent stated:

> "During the early days of school boards a great deal of shared decision-making by parents, principals and professionals and public servants was in evidence. While time consuming many sound decisions were made involving all four sectors. Such decisions were made on purely educational grounds and on the needs of the pupils."

Particularly noticeable, according to the respondents, was the much greater active involvement of the professional teachers in staff and Board decision-making. Teachers acknowledged the opportunity they had to influence and inform, and a "great deal of time was spent in parent/professional dialogue to educate each group to the other's way of thinking". The parents also entered into this new field of educational decision-making with a sense of importance and willingness to co-operate in the new venture. As one professional stated:

> "The element of substance seemed to be that the opportunity was given to become involved in decision-making to the parents, teachers and others!"

The respondents felt that these conditions produced a "dynamic work environment" with much group decision-making, perhaps a little tentative by parents at first, but vigorously pursued by professionals and principals. In addition the perception was that the bureaucrats in the schools office were slow to 'come to grips' with their position, being confused by the temporary appointment of a Chief Executive Officer, and the real philosophy of the system not being implemented in the office until the arrival of the permanent Chief Education Officer. "The bureaucrats were confused in the new situation. Phil Hughes had the vision for the system. Hedley Beare could implement this vision, the bureaucrats had a blurred view initially and should have been selected better in the early days." (Professional)

Many comments were similar to this with emphasis being placed upon the vision of Phillip Hughes, his work with the Schools Authority, the vigorous activity of teachers, the tentative approach of many parents and the blurred view of the bureaucrats in the schools office before the arrival and during the early tenure of, the permanent Chief Education Officer. An exciting beginning but not yet ideal.

Changes with Development

Numerous discussions were sprinkled with the thoughts that over the years there has developed great diversity in curriculum offerings in schools both at primary and secondary

levels. Devolution of responsibility and administrative accountability has continued to grow and the community, particularly through the influence of school boards and school policy developments, has had a continuing and ever growing influence in areas previously jealously guarded as the domain of the professionals and principals and bureaucrats. As stated by a parent:

> "The Australian Capital Territory education system has achieved a relatively high level of participation between parents, professionals, bureaucrats and principals since its inception in 1974. As I perceive the situation, the system has been successful enough to pose a threat to other government bureaucracies and the larger state education systems by presenting a workable alternative to traditional forms of administration."

An important factor also mentioned was the steady growth in the recognition of the School Board as the centre of the development of the philosophy and ideas. Policy was perceived as being determined by the Board and this reflected the ideas and convictions of teachers, community and the principal. There was emphasis on the fact that no perception existed of board members as coming from any particular "camp".

Many respondents also referred to changes in the principals stating that the days of the authoritarian principal have gone completely. His position has been changed by community involvement, participative decision-making, Teachers' Federation guidelines, and Schools Office guidelines. As mentioned earlier by the researcher many principals from the larger New South Wales system had been trained as 'leader' and trained to take 'control' of their school, but the

professionals and parents were now much more involved in areas that were traditionally those of the principal and this was seen as a healthy trend, one that supports the theory into practice theme of the investigation. In looking at these changes one parent stated:

> "The sharing of the decision-making among parents, professionals, public servants and principals has provided schools in the Australian Capital Territory with the opportunity to develop into more autonomous institutions. The growth of parental involvement and confidence in participating in the decision-making process is perhaps the most obvious change. The result may not be perfection but it is a great deal better than being controlled by a centralised bureaucracy and by principals who believe they are the be all and end all of schools they are appointed to."

From all the respondents there was a general feeling of growth and maturity amongst the four groups over the years and with this the feeling that this fitted them to play a productive role in decision-making. As pointed out by one principal:

> "There has been a marked change in participation by various groups since 1974. In 1974 the main decisions were made by bureaucrats or principals. Since this time the role of parents and teachers has grown in significance - in some areas, markedly so... . In this school all the major decisions are the result of parents, professionals, principal consensus - often with parental wishes the major consideration. This would not have been usual - if it happened at all - in 1974."

The above emphasises what was noted with the statistical data - the dominance of the bureaucrats and principals in the early days and then the gradual development of professionals and parents as equal parties. Perhaps the words of another principal illustrate this very well:

> "With initial enthusiasms, and an influx of significant numbers of professionals and principals, in 1974-75, there was some air of unreality which has now become more purposeful. Economic constraints and increasing demands for 'accountability' from all quarters have made for a current mood of sound realistic development and recognition of need for mutual support across the four categories."

The points made by the respondents emphasise that the changes have developed a more integrated approach by the four groups towards school administration and thus a positive move along the continuum to the ideal speech situation in the 'town meeting' of Habermas.

Social Betterment

The social change theory of Habermas, as applied to education, called for a community's participation and involvement in the process of education by as many members as possible, in the ideal speech situation of the 'town meeting'. For the new education structure to be viewed as exemplifying this theory in practice there should be evidence of social betterment. The statistical data pointed to this achievement, and the researcher looked for this aspect in the written summaries. A representative sample of comments follows. From a parent who has now developed a sense of 'being', a sense of importance:

> "I feel that the shared system of today is much better than the older system. We as parents now feel more a part of the school and can participate in the education of our children. Before I felt as if the headmaster was in charge and even if one attended P & C meetings it was really not worthwhile as everything was decided before by principal and bureaucrats."

From a public servant:

> "The system as developed is a happier, more involved, close personal system compared to the rigidity of previous state systems..."

And from another public servant:

> "There appears to be a greater acceptance of equality among parents, teachers and the office staff. Parents feel more welcome to the schools, children appear to be happier and more motivated towards school activities than previous years. The educational environment has improved tremendously."

From a professional:

> "Autonomy given to schools has been beneficial as it gives the people who are actually dealing with the day-to-day running freedom to develop curriculum best suited to the schools' needs and not be forced with curriculum set down by bureaucrats. In schools teachers are given more responsibility and do not feel they are just there to teach but can have a say in the things in the school which affect everyone."

About the system generally comments such as the following were prevalent:

> "The benefit to the schools of greater parental involvement in school life and organization has been most evident in the students. School is not just a happy place to be but also 'very important' in the family structure (Parent)."

and

> "Community involvement has developed in a healthy fashion for the last nine years. This is not to say that parents are continually in the school. The important factor is that a worthwhile contribution is made and interested persons have the opportunity of participating (Principal)."

and

> "I think that the more types of involvement we can achieve between professional staff and parents the better our educational system will be. I believe that the best school for an individual area can be achieved by minimising bureaucratic control and emphasising local

> input and leaving schools as free as possible to respond to local needs as seen by staff and parents. The greater variety within a school and between schools the better the chance of a suitable school being found for an individual child.
>
> I think that the present Australian Capital Territory system goes a long way to achieving this type of freedom and variety and sharing because if all people become involved they will make an even better system in the future (Parent)."

and from a professional:

> "From this school's point of view we feel much happier and more productive when not threatened by a dominant central body."

Overwhelmingly the comments stressed the improvements perceived to have occurred in the system, feeling that there had been a great step taken towards democratisation of schools by the development of a system of participatory power in which students, teachers, principals, parents, public servants and other members of the community could pursue their common interests and rationally resolve their conflicts at the 'town meeting', in the ideal speech situation. To illustrate this betterment the following comment from a public servant is appropriate:

> "As far as the philosophy of the Australian Capital Territory system is concerned there is no doubt that it should be maintained and that people feel it one of the outstanding features of the system. It has resulted in greater co-operation between teachers and parents, more understanding and support and an enhancement of the teaching - learning process. At the school level it has been very successful."

The comments from one principal conclude this section. The principal had worked in the large New South Wales bureaucracy, had been in Canberra during the conflict with the New South

Wales authorities, had worked for some time in the schools office of the new system and had had close contact with parents, principals, public servants and professionals.

> "I believe that each of the four groups has come to an appreciation of the very real progress in educational endeavours made in the Australian Capital Territory in the past decade; only apparent when the situation is consciously reviewed. There has been positive, beneficial involvement and growth in all sectors for large numbers of individuals in the whole community.
> The philosophy of participative planning by all concerned in the educational process appears to have made for a much more relevant and interesting schooling for the client than I could have imagined under the rigid centralised provisions I knew prior to 1974."

Some Concerns

In addition to the comments expressed above there were three recurring concerns expressed by the respondents viz. (1) The importance of the selection of principals; (2) the principals being absent too often from their schools; (3) the public servants trying to work in a co-operative venture whilst also being part of a very bureaucratic system - the Australian Public Service.

FIRSTLY, in relation to the selection of principals there were regular comments about the place of the principal as a co-ordinator bringing together the parents, professionals and public servants for discussion, consensus and action. Recognition was given to the fact that the principal must be selected carefully so as to fulfil this role and so avoid the type of principal who may have been tainted by the bureaucratic

brush. As a public servant put it:

> "An absolutely essential pre-requisite for our model is that the school principal be chosen with the greatest possible care. He/she needs to be a philosopher, educator, administrator and public relations person and a co-ordinator of all working in the process of education."

Or, in slightly different vein, a parent said:

> "The system relies on the principal to provide the co-ordination of parents and professionals and schools office to develop school activities and interests. So I feel that greater emphasis should be placed on giving principals and aspiring principals a better understanding and broader base upon which to assess the needs of the community."

The concern was present that some principals may not be fully committed to the 'town meeting' philosophy and so the desire that only principals fully committed to the system philosophy be appointed.

SECONDLY, some concern was expressed about some principals being absent too often from their schools. The feeling was that these principals placed themselves on too many committees, were absent too often, and only appeared to professionals and parents as being on 'ego trips' and avoiding their real role. To the researcher these appeared to be the same principals referred to in the first concern. As a professional stated:

> "Where is the Principal? At a Senior Management meeting, a Building Works Committee, an eligibility meeting, an all-day Principals' meeting, a Principals' Association subcommittee meeting, a meeting on how he should organize school excursions (which he has done successfully since small school days), etc."

And again, as put by a parent:

> "Let the principal come back to the school where duties meant for the principal can be performed by the principal. He must co-ordinate the efforts of the parents and teachers to be involved in the education of children."

Although the respondents recognised a system-wide role for the principal the obvious feeling was that this was being over-emphasised by some principals to the detriment of their own community.

THIRDLY, a general concern was felt about the public servants and their place in the school system and also the Australian Public Service:

> "...we have a Schools Office dominated by bureaucrats who are more concerned with the Public Service and promotion and bureaucratic power than with education..."

This 'bureaucracy' notion was accepted as being natural in a public service city but it had come to mean that:

> "There is a perceptible shift of emphasis from a recognition of the autonomy of the school to a concern for whole of system rules, regulations and approaches by the office executive."

This concern about executive level public servants in the office and their lack of understanding of the operation of schools was expressed in another way by a principal:

> "This suggests a developing dichotomy:
> (i) a system level decision-making by bureaucrats;
> (ii) a school level decision-making control shared between parents, professionals and principals.
> The interface is a point of friction and an interface where a struggle by the executive for dominance is currently most evident. This attempt to exert greater dominance then previously is being thwarted by parents, professionals and principals."

Similarly, a public servant, speaking of the office itself said:

> "There has also developed recent concern with the manner in which the Executive Team seems to be increasingly bureaucratising the Schools Office organization so that initiatives and morale have diminished in the past twelve months."

Suggestions were made that this development may have been caused by the tight economic situation and the subsequent exertion of political power, this causing the executive team to obey the Public Service Board and retreat from open meetings to rules and regulations.

To the researcher, the important point was that these concerns had been expressed and parents, professionals and public servants were discussing ways of overcoming the problems.

Conclusion

To summarise the earlier comments the general feeling was one of a sense of 'being' amongst the four participant groups and a feeling that society had been improved by the involvement of many more in the educational process. It was regularly stated that the system had not reached the 'ideal' position as explained in the social change theory of Habermas, but had made a giant step along the continuum - theory was becoming practice. As examples of the social betterment the following are given:

> "Compared with the New South Wales system of the early 70's we are 50 years ahead. I am proud of this system (Principal)."

and

> "The principle of shared control is making the education system more aligned to the needs of children plus making the school, at all levels, a more enjoyable place for the children to attend (Parent)."

and

> "The philosophy of sharing and equality of participants has resulted in an improvement in the quality of education services provided for children in the Australian Capital Territory and has demonstrated benefits to all. As a result those involved in the educational process have increased greatly because, as equals, they are part of the decision-making process and are becoming content with the educational system which has developed. They have a sense of belonging - these are our kids; this is our system (Principal)."

The final word on the feelings about the sharing and equality comes from a parent - lengthy, but indicative of the general feeling of social betterment via the path of less domination, and the opportunity to participate in the decision process as equal partners.

> "Having been connected with primary and secondary education within the Territory I feel the autonomy within the system that enables participation by the parents, professionals, public servants and principals in the decision-making process has and hopefully will continue to be highly beneficial to educational standards within the community. Education must be a community concern - it cannot be left to the bureaucrats and educationalists alone, as in the days of my own schooling under the New South Wales System when parents were actively discouraged from even questioning the authority of a teacher or principal. As for the future of education within the Territory suffice to say that because we feel so strongly about our children's educational requirements we have elected to remain citizens of Canberra primarily for that reason. To be given the opportunity to participate in the decision-making area of the schools gives parents a greater platform to discuss views and problems and to have a greater understanding of the needs of education. Shared control over decision-making must be maintained in the highest interest of education within the Territory. No 'body' should be dominant in any decision-making process."

Summary

The data provided would appear to show that the crisis noted in the education system of the Australian Capital Territory had been solved by the development of a new system of educational administration, exemplifying the social change theory of Jurgen Habermas. Crisis in an organization may be solved by complete restructure to an emancipatory form, by participation of all, by shared decision making being the norm, and by erasing domination in any form using the 'ideal speech' situation. Social betterment results.

SECTION 4 - PRACTICE, CONSENSUS, SHARING

Chapter Eight

Theory Into Practice?

This study has considered the degree of control in organizational decision-making by parents, professionals, public servants and principals that developed in the new education system that commenced in 1974 in the Australian Capital Territory. It has studied the shared decision-making of these four groups and has asked if this change led to social betterment. It has demonstrated the utility of a particular theory of social change and has proposed that this change in educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory in 1974 may be observed as exemplifying the social change theory of Jurgen Habermas.

Review

The researcher stressed the importance of the present society in the development of the individual being and the importance of the sociologist-philosophers of past ages, whose thoughts on improvements for society as a whole led to the emancipatory rationality approach of the present writers in the school of Critical Theory.

The researcher endeavoured to show that in all the perspectives on society presented by the forefathers emphasis can be seen on individuals, conforming and innovating, as they cope with the demands, opportunities and restrictions of the situation in which they find themselves. There is a recognition of inequalities in society caused by the division of labour and the need for the eradication of domination if a co-operative society is to emerge and allow each man to find his place and so understand the meaning of life. Reference was made to Durkheim with his extension of scientific rationalism to human behaviour, and the concept of social solidarity. This social solidarity rested upon the division of labour, for as individuals performed different tasks suitable to their personalities co-operation should occur. But Durkheim saw that this differentiation produced conflict as well as co-operation. With Marx the basic question was how can humanness and freedom survive under the inescapable progress of capitalism? There was the development of a way of thinking about education and society, for man was alienated from his self and his fellow man because of his position in labour. The problem of society became how to transcend this framework and remove social class bias from society. With Mead the stress was on the interdependence of self and others and he focused his critical sociology on questions of self-awareness and involvement. Mead recognised that conflict between class groups must occur but he hoped that it would lead to negotiation and reform. Weber faced the same basic question that had driven Marx - how can

humanness and freedom survive under the inescapable progress of capitalism? The difference with Weber was his fear of the organization that capitalism spawned - bureaucracy. The individual became a simple cog in a machine and the bureaucratic organization became simply the instrument of control of the dominant class. With Talcott Parsons, there was the attraction of the grand scheme for society. Reality was seen as a social system in which the parts were related to the whole and were explained in terms of their function for the whole. Schutz prepared the way for the phenomenological sociology, and the ethnomethodology approaches and the 'new' sociology of the 1980's, where knowledge was seen to be socially constructed by the dominant class. Finally, discussion centred on the development of Critical Theory, its concern with capitalism and communism, and its search for an alternative path for social development, free from any forms of domination. The Critical Theorists' concern was with questions relating to the conditions which make possible the reproduction and transformation of society, the meaning of culture, and the relation between the individual, society and nature. Again, their aim was nothing less than the liberation of the individual and society from any form of domination. Contemporary writers have applied the ideas of the 'new' sociology and critical theory to the development of a new type of educational administration - one based on participatory democracy, equity and cultural liberation - a cultural science of educational administration. This approach struggles against

domination in society and argues for the development of a genuine democratic public sphere with mass participation in planning and management. They have stressed the need to abolish any form of domination and to develop participation, autonomy and involvement from all concerned with the process of education. They emphasised the need to rationalise our institutions so that they serve human needs.

The writings of the present day leader of the school of Critical Theory, Jurgen Habermas, presented the researcher with an understanding of events in advanced capitalist society. A proponent for the ideas of Critical Theory, as applied to educational administration in the modern state, William Foster, gave a deeper appreciation of the need for social action designed for social betterment, for educational institutions to serve human ends, and for a cultural science of educational administration.

The researcher presented Habermas as a giant in the social science field of this century, one who analysed society and was concerned at the growing lack of confidence in social institutions in advanced capitalism. As Wilby (1979:667) states:

> "In an age of specialisation and intellectual fragmentation, he rolls philosophy, sociology, economics, history, linguistics, political science and psychology into one."

Habermas is a philosopher concerned with the good, the true and the beautiful - with emancipatory action for individual well-being, questioning implicitly the scientific basis of

administration. His particular thrust has been to criticise modern political and administrative strategies as they affect human dignity, underlining the many facets of domination in society. His theory of social change, as developed in "Legitimation Crisis" (1975), was reviewed in detail. In the presentation he analysed the following:

(a) definition of crisis in society.

(b) diagnosis of its symptoms and forms.

(c) prescription for a rhetorical solution.

Habermas maintains that in advanced capitalism the state intervenes to regulate the economy, and the legitimation of its new role is achieved through the institutions of formal democracy. Surface class compromise softens the identity of class structures and this affects the fundamental contradictions of the capitalist principle of organization which is the private appropriation of the fruits of socialised production. In view of this fundamental contradiction, Habermas argues that advanced capitalism is susceptible to four types of crisis tendency which he identifies as follows: economic, rationality, legitimation and motivation crisis tendency. If state intervention in the economy fails, then the crisis tendencies shift from the economic system into the political and administrative system. Crisis avoidance is the goal of the political-administrative system, but if a government's policy of crisis management fails then there will be a withdrawal of legitimation. A system crisis in advanced capitalism is not to be expected, but administratively

processed crises are. Habermas can only see a legitimation crisis being avoided if the latent class structure of advanced capitalist societies are transformed, or if the pressure to which the political-administrative system is subject, is removed - a fundamental change in structure must occur.

For the second part of his theory Habermas presumes a relation of legitimation to truth, and his analysis of the logic of legitimation problems rests upon his theory of communicative competence. His theory is an attempt to ground the critical theory of society. In his theory Habermas asserts that each speech act of a subject exhibits an interest in emancipation, and is oriented to truth. The ideal speech situation which embodies pragmatic-universals, provides the conditions necessary for undistorted communication between subjects by facilitating discourse, which finally results in a consensus theory of truth. The mode of socialisation which allows the formation of social identity through the minds of socially related individuals, who themselves are committed to a rational organization of society, is an essential part of the social fabric of a 'communication community' which is ordered through the medium of 'communicative ethics'. His argument depends on the assumption of an 'ideal' speech situation; but the strength of this linguistically based argument lies in the theoretical liberation of the concept of rationality, which allows for the possibility of reconceptualising the purpose and design of modern administrative theory.

Rationality-as-efficiency may gradually disappear as a new

administration appears sensitive to the diverse issues of human life and able to deal with them in a variety of settings. But discussion and opinion must be free from manipulation and domination. The very act of speech involves the possibility of an ideal speech situation in which the force of the better argument alone would decide the issue. This would only be possible if all members of society had an equal opportunity to participate in the discussion; and this would involve the notion of the transformation of society in a direction that would enable such a communicative competence to characterise all members of society. The ultimate goal of social emancipation is therefore inherent in any and every speech act.

The emancipatory approach of Habermas suggests that in order to solve a crisis in a system there must be a complete restructure and the development of a sustained and critical discourse over the norms and values, as well as the means and facts of organizational life. For educational administration, this process of corporate reflection must be a co-operative project involving the members of an organization, the school, the members of society, the school system, working towards consensus about social action based on mutual understanding and respect for participants as persons.

The researcher presented a review of current writings on the perspectives of each of the four participant groups - parents, professionals, public servants, principals - towards shared decision-making, especially in the new education system in the Australian Capital Territory. This was followed by a

review of the literature on shared decision-making. This review had shown that the effectiveness of organization was enhanced by decentralisation and by sharing of control amongst participants.

With the reconstructivist social theory of Habermas, and the positivist literature, pointing to the benefit of shared decision-making and control, the researcher asked if the changes providing opportunity for shared decision-making and control in the Australian Capital Territory education system presented an example of social action, designed for social betterment.

The argument proceeds to maintain that there was a crisis of legitimation in the small Australian Capital Territory area within the large New South Wales area and points out that this area of population was 'different' from other areas of New South Wales. Census figures illustrated the individual character of the area and particularly the presence of a large intellectual-professional class and that it was this group that produced the impetus for fundamental change in the Australian Capital Territory. Figures showed it had a larger percentage of intellectuals, it had a larger group of professional teachers, it had a host of modern schools, it had some forward looking principals, it had people interested in community participation in all aspects of the development of their city, and it had a community that felt the state was not delivering on its promises about education. The argument presented showed that a groundswell of community interest brought the various

sections of this academic-professional group - bureaucrats, teachers, parents, academics - together to press for a change in order to overcome crisis.

The argument presented looked at the educational developments in the Australian Capital Territory in detail and proceeded to outline the influence of the Department of Adult Education at the Australian National University, the council of P & C Associations, the parents by letters to, and editorials in, the 'Canberra Times', the Campbell committee, the political developments in New South Wales and South Australia, the formation of the Commonwealth Teaching Service, and the education expertise flowing from the Canberra College of Advanced Education. The argument presented maintains that the parents desired autonomy and wished for involvement, that the crisis could be overcome by a fundamental change in structure because there was a sense of confidence in the people, a willingness to act in the community, and, at the end of 1972, a political organization willing to support change.

The new system of education commenced in 1974 and the study proceeds to analyse the elements - the council, the Schools Office, the school boards - having community, professional and bureaucracy representatives on each. The analysis points out the uncertainties in the design structure in the early days and shows the tensions that developed between the parents, principals, public servants and professionals

before the arrival of the first chief Education Officer, Dr. H. Beare.

The argument presented maintains that a course had been set for a new participatory structure in educational administration. This structure presented the opportunity for much wider participation by members of society and it recognised consensus decision-making and shared control among the parents, professionals, public servants and principals.

The researcher designed a methodology to produce evidence to show whether such a sharing pattern of control came to exist between 1974 and 1982, and to ascertain whether social betterment had occurred by such involvement and sharing.

Review of Analysis of Questionnaire and Discussions

The statistical data obtained showed that there was not a sharing of control at the commencement of the system as the principals and public servants had the main control for the large majority (28 of 32) of items. However it was noted that the professionals were beginning to accept the new opportunity to participate in the decision process as they also had a high degree of control in 21 of the items in the questionnaire. The parents were slower in commencing in the participative process having a moderate degree of control in 16 areas, but this could be looked upon as encouraging considering past experience in

the running of schools and the general overtones of a hierarchic city.

It appeared that the sharing of control as a result of participative decision-making in the 'ideal speech situation' was not yet of an equitable nature. The complete reconstruction of the organization had occurred, the opportunity had been provided for participation and equality in decision-making but insufficient education had occurred to 'break down the barriers' in some areas or supply confidence in others. The professionals were entering into the participation process and the parents had taken the first steps.

Turning to 1982 the great change from 1974 was the increase in degree of control perceived to be held by the parents and the professionals. The parents particularly had by now entered fully into the sharing of control process. The principals had been joined by the parents and professionals or by the public servants or by all three groups and so there was a much more equitable spread of the rank order of control amongst the four groups - the trend towards participation by all involved in the education process had continued.

Habermas had proposed that a crisis in a system would be overcome by the complete reconstruction of the system, providing emancipation from domination for all participants. This must be followed by the development of the 'town meeting' and free discussion at the local level, and the provision of autonomy at different levels of the system. All members would participate and share in the development of a better system.

The data indicated that this sharing was evident in practice.

In relation to the interviews the same feeling arose. There was not a flight from 'being' but a real sense of 'being' among the four participant groups and a conviction that the educational process had provided social betterment for all. The system had not reached the 'ideal' of Habermas but had made a great step along the continuum of societal organization, and a step towards the achievement of the vision of Phillip Hughes. It was reflective and critical of itself. The philosophy of Habermas re participative planning by all concerned in the educational process, via the town meeting and 'ideal speech situation', free from domination, appeared to have been illustrated in this education system, which had become one that helped members of society develop a sense of 'being' - so important to the development of the individual.

Summary in Relation to Purposes of Study

The first purpose of the study (page 5) had been to assess the degree of shared decision-making and control that developed in the new system of educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory in the period 1974-1982. The data obtained by the questionnaire showed that there was not a sharing of control amongst the four participant groups in the first year as principals and public servants had control in 28 of the 32 decision-making areas considered. The professionals

were just entering into the participation process and the parents had taken the first steps.

The second purpose of the study had been to describe and analyse the changes in the pattern of control over educational decisions that occurred between 1974 and 1982, and, on the statistical and discussion evidence presented, decide whether social betterment had occurred in this period. The data showed a marked change as the principals had been joined by the parents and professionals or by the public servants or by all three groups and so there was a much more equitable sharing of control amongst the four groups. In addition the discussion evidence presented a conviction that the new educational administration system had produced social betterment for those engaged in cultural production and reproduction in schools.

The third purpose of the study had been to consider the changes in educational administration in the Australian Capital Territory as exemplifying the social change theory of Jurgen Habermas. The literature reviewed and the data collected from the sample showed that there had been a fundamental change in the structure of the educational system in the Australian Capital Territory, that shared control and equality had developed, that there was freedom from domination, generally, and that legitimation of the system had been assured by the opportunity provided for free participation, autonomy and involvement in consensus decision-making and control. Social betterment had occurred and the system could be used to exemplify the social change theory of Habermas.

These results would answer the crucial question (page 12) by showing that there was a change in the degree of sharing of control in the new system, and that such a sharing in the decision-making process in an atmosphere of freedom and communicative competence had produced social betterment. The study indicated that social change theory of Habermas had been exemplified in practice.

In relation to the significance of the study as outlined in the Introduction on page 8, and, particularly, proposition (d) on page 10, the study would support the proposition that there was in place in 1982 in the Australian Capital Territory an educational structure tailored to human needs, enhancing social betterment and thus able to serve as an example to other regions of similar population size in other states. With the devolution of more control to regional areas, and with participation, autonomy and involvement at the local level, associated with communicative competence and freedom to participate in educational decision-making, social betterment could occur. For renewal of an education system the local school and community become the key organizational element as parents, professionals, public servants and principals judge the needs of the school, manage the school within general guidelines provided by a Council for the region, and have the opportunity to participate freely in decision-making. Decisions and actions are made by the people for their school.

Conclusion

The most important point to the researcher was the constant theme in the interviews that the respondents felt a part of the new system - they had a sense of 'being'. The sense had been developed by the process of education whereby the opportunity had been provided for participation, autonomy and involvement by all concerned in the cultural production and reproduction in schools. The evidence supported the proposition that the crisis had been overcome by action proposed in theory by Habermas. The solution of Habermas for social betterment - a fundamental change in the structure of the system, shared control and equality, freedom from domination, and the legitimation of the new structure being assured by the opportunity for free participation, autonomy and involvement in consensus decision-making and control - had been exemplified in practice and was producing social betterment.

The study suggests that educational administration must be a cultural science. It must be a science of praxis concerned with participation, autonomy, involvement - inside the school, outside the school with the local community, at the system level - in order that all concerned with cultural production and reproduction may participate fully in order to help develop the 'self' and that sense of 'being' so vital for social betterment.

The evidence presented in the study supported the proposition that the town meeting of Habermas, the ideal speech

situation and the participation, autonomy and involvement of all allow for this development of self and a sense of 'being' in society, recognising man's need for a feeling of importance, for equality, and for participation in the government of his world.

The theory doth say this. The practice doth provide it.

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APPENDIX I

Participation, Autonomy, Involvement

Theory into Practice

Category: _____

Years in Canberra: _____

Years Associated with
Education System: _____

Control over Educational Decisions

In the questionnaire on the following pages you are asked to provide estimates of the degree of control which individuals or groups exert over educational decisions. For the purpose of this study individuals or groups are said to exert control over a decision when they have authority to influence a decision of that nature and use the authority to affect the decision made.

Your estimate of the degree of control can be indicated by circling one of the numbers on the graded scale, 1 2 3 4 5, where 1 indicates a negligible degree of control over making decisions of this nature and 5 indicates a high degree of control.

Example

Decision on final	Parents	(1)	2	3	4	5
grade awarded to	Professionals	1	2	3	4	(5)
student	Public Servants	(1)	2	3	4	5
	Principals	1	2	3	(4)	5

The response here indicates that the teachers have the major control over such a decision under a policy administered by the principal. (In many of the situations, the actual degree of control may not be as clear as in the hypothetical case used above. You are asked to give your best estimate for each decision.)

The study is attempting to assess also perceptions of change in the degree of control over time. You are asked therefore to make TWO estimates of the degree of control:

- 1974 recollection of the situation,
- 1982 perception as it is now.

Section A

Please indicate your estimate of the degree of control, exerted by each group or individual listed in Column B, over the type of decision listed in Column A.

Circle your response for 1974 and 1982.

CODE

1. Negligible degree of control.
2.
3.
4.
5. High degree of control.

TYPE OF DECISION	GROUP OR INDIVIDUAL	DEGREE OF CONTROL	
Column A	Column B	Was in 1974	Is in 1982
1. Deciding allocation of government funds to school	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
2. The distribution of expenditure within the school	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

3. Whether to provide funds for a special program development, e.g. computers	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
4. Deciding on methods to raise additional funds	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
5. Deciding whether or not to make additions to a building	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
6. Whether or not to close a school	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
7. Whether to establish special schools	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

8. Whether to provide special facilities in new buildings	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
9. Deciding on equipment for everyday use	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
10. Deciding on major new pieces of educational equipment	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
11. Deciding on transportation services	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
12. Deciding on furniture and replacements for schools	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

13. Nature of instructional programmes - what counts as knowledge	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
14. The details of a syllabus in a particular area	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
15. The approach to learning - transmission of knowledge	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
16. Deciding on procedure for evaluation of instruction	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
17. Selecting a Principal for a school	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

18. Selecting teachers for a school	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
19. Deciding on suitability of teachers for promotion	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
20. Deciding on selection and appointment of non-professional staff such as cleaners, janitors, clerical assistants	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
21. Deciding on student activities and social growth	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

22. Deciding on procedure for assessing student progress	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
23. Deciding on procedure for reporting student development	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
24. Deciding on procedure for counselling	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
25. The number of staff for a school	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
26. The administrative structure of an individual school	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

27. The minimum and maximum class sizes within individual schools	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
28. The development of in-service training and general staff development	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
29. Deciding on the nature of contact between staff and parents	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
30. Deciding on the use of school facilities by various community groups not directly related to the school's programme	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
	Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

31.	The communication of school policy to all parents	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
		Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
		Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
		Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
32.	The development of community education programmes	Parents	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
		Professionals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
		Public Servants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
		Principals	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

General Comments re Shared Control over Decision-making by Parents, Professionals, Public Servants and Principals.

APPENDIX II

MEAN DEGREE OF CONTROL

	1974				1982			
Item No.	Par.	Prof.	Pub. Ser.	Prin.	Par.	Prof.	Pub. Ser.	Princ.
1.	1.1	1.3	4.9	1.3	1.2	1.3	4.9	1.5
2.	2.8	3.3	2.0	4.6	4.0	4.2	1.5	4.6
3.	3.0	3.6	1.5	4.6	4.0	4.5	1.1	4.7
4.	4.3	3.5	1.1	4.2	4.6	4.0	1.1	4.2
5.	1.9	1.9	4.7	2.7	2.7	2.6	4.7	3.3
6.	2.4	2.1	4.8	2.5	3.4	3.0	4.8	3.2
7.	2.6	2.4	4.6	2.5	3.5	3.2	4.6	3.1
8.	1.7	2.2	4.6	2.7	2.6	3.2	4.6	3.6
9.	1.6	4.4	1.5	4.6	2.1	4.7	1.3	4.7
10.	2.5	3.6	1.5	4.7	3.8	4.7	1.1	4.7
11.	2.0	3.2	1.8	4.3	2.8	4.2	1.4	4.6
12.	1.3	1.8	4.7	2.8	1.8	2.6	4.4	3.6
13.	2.3	3.9	1.8	4.6	3.9	4.7	1.5	4.7
14.	1.6	4.2	1.8	4.0	2.6	4.9	1.5	4.0
15.	1.4	4.4	1.2	4.3	2.2	4.9	1.2	4.3
16.	1.3	3.7	1.6	4.5	2.5	4.7	1.8	4.6
17.	1.2	2.4	4.5	2.3	2.8	3.4	4.5	2.6
18.	1.1	2.0	4.0	3.2	1.5	3.0	3.6	4.5
19.	1.0	4.5	1.8	4.0	1.0	4.8	1.5	4.1
20.	1.1	1.2	4.6	2.8	1.1	1.4	4.6	4.0
21.	1.7	4.3	1.1	4.5	2.6	4.9	1.0	4.4
22.	1.3	3.8	1.4	4.7	2.2	4.8	1.3	4.7
23.	1.7	3.8	1.2	4.7	3.3	4.8	1.2	4.8
24.	1.3	3.3	1.4	4.6	1.8	4.1	1.3	4.6
25.	1.1	1.1	4.8	1.4	1.1	1.1	5.0	1.4
26.	1.2	2.8	1.2	4.6	1.7	4.0	1.1	4.9
27.	1.3	3.1	1.9	4.6	1.7	4.4	1.7	4.7
28.	1.1	3.2	2.3	4.5	1.4	4.3	2.7	4.5
29.	1.9	3.2	1.2	4.8	3.5	4.6	1.2	4.7
30.	1.7	1.5	4.1	3.7	2.7	2.0	4.0	4.4
31.	2.3	2.8	1.1	4.7	4.0	4.0	1.1	4.8
32.	2.3	3.1	1.1	4.6	3.8	4.2	1.1	4.6