THE REFORM OF SCHOOLING: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAJOR CURRICULUM CHANGE AND SCHOOL REFORM.

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by

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DECLARATION:

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used have been acknowledged in this thesis.

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FIGURES:

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THE REFORM OF SCHOOLING: A STUDY OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAJOR CURRICULUM CHANGE AND SCHOOL REFORM.

ABSTRACT

The major purpose of the research is to establish the extent to which reform to schooling can be effected by the initiation of major curriculum change such as the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (England) and the Health Education programme (Tasmania).

The study investigates the impact of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative and the Health Education programme on the knowledge, beliefs and practices of teachers in five schools as the stages of implementing the initiatives proceeded. It investigates the outcomes of professional development programmes and the intervention of change agents as part of the process of changing teachers' knowledge, beliefs and practices, and it investigates the organisational adjustments schools make to accommodate curriculum change.

The study uses a conceptual framework drawn from the literature on planned change, and adopts a research orientation largely derived from symbolic interactionism.

The research methodology is based on the constant comparative method developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Data were gathered using participant observation, key informants, interviews and document analysis, and analysed at the time of collection.

The major conclusion of the study is that the curriculum initiatives appear to have failed to reform schooling in the ways intended by the governments which introduced them.

The findings suggest that the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative and the Health Education programme have little capacity to reform schooling for a number of reasons. The initiatives have not become incorporated into schools' curricula because they do not accord with the theories of forms and fields of knowledge or translate into classroom practice as "traditional" subjects do; and they lack a view of schooling which is congruent with the beliefs, values and norms of teachers.

Planning for the implementation of the initiatives did not account for changes to the roles and role definitions of school personnel involved in the implementation. The planning of professional development programmes did not include the development of a model for change which reflected the increasingly consistent findings of research into implementing change. Nor did planning account for the fact that the extent to which curriculum initiatives succeed can be assessed by the organisational changes schools make to accommodate them.

If reform to schooling is to be effected through curriculum change, these conclusions commend further research into the relationship between the characteristics of schools' organisational cultures and curriculum change.

APPENDICES:

FIGURES:

SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION

ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study is organised in five sections. The first introduces the study.

The second traces the history of educational reform and discusses the content of reform reports and the major initiatives of the study, England's Technical and Vocational Education (TVEI) and Tasmania's Health Education (HE) programme.

Section 3 presents the research design and methodology, and describes the five schools that supplied data for the research.

The fourth section presents and discusses the research data, with reference to the appropriate theoretical literature.

The final section offers an assessment of theories in the light of the study, presents the researcher's conclusions and offers suggestions for further research.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The review of literature for this study is presented in two ways. In Chapter 2 it is presented as a conventional summary of writings that places the study within the context of reform to schooling and establishes the rationale for the introduction of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative and the Health Education programme into schools' curricula as a means of reforming schooling.

In later chapters, ongoing references to literature are made which, while unusual in the process of thesis writing, is consistent with this study's research methodology. One feature of grounded theory is the process of theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling facilitates the generation of theory because the researcher selects cases identified for their relevance to the investigation because of their differences or similarities to the research findings. In the course of discussion of the study's findings, literature which is relevant to these findings is reviewed and additional references introduced to enable comparisons with others' findings to be made. This procedure is part of the process of efficiently formulating explanations for the phenomena observed.

CHAPTER 1

THESIS AND RESEARCH TASK

INTENTIONS OF THE STUDY:

The intentions of the study are as follows:

. To explore curriculum change as a major issue of school reform in the context of the collective culture of schools and within the framework of two curriculum initiatives, the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI - England) and the Health Education programme (HE -- Tasmania).

. To identify those aspects of school organisation which comprise school culture and also those which influence the implementation of major curriculum change.

. To examine the applicability of current theories to planning and effecting curriculum change as those theories relate to the cultural aspects of teaching and the organisation of schools.

. To study the extent to which teachers' interactions with curriculum change may be managed and shaped to the desired ends of school reform.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY:

This study evolved during a period when dramatic changes to schooling were being mooted throughout many countries of the western world. In Tasmania, these changes were reflected in the Education Department's publication of "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987). It was a growing awareness of the difficulties of implementing the changes proposed by this document that prompted the researcher to attempt to identify the complexities associated with proposals for change to schooling. By examining specific aspects of the change processes in schools, including the cultural and organisational responses of schools to curriculum change initiatives, the study describes what happens as attempts are made to change teachers' views of schooling and their working environment to accommodate proposals for curriculum change.

Generally, and particularly in secondary schools, educational ideology and pedagogical practice appear to be resistant to proposals for educational reform, as Coleman (1983), Boyer (1983), Connell (1985) and Lawton (1988) suggest. One of the views of this study is that such resistance is inimical to progress and constrains the potential benefits of schooling.

The literature on school reform suggests that major reforms to schooling are more in the minds of reformers than are matters of fact. Various researchers (for example Katz and Kahn (1971); Grace (1978); Tye (1985) Willower(1986); and Rossman, Corbett and Firestone (1988)) have found that changes to schooling, despite some of significance, have been mainly surface

changes and that the continuities of schooling largely prevail. It is the ideological, pedagogical and organisational regularities of schools which are most offended by educational change, regardless of its source, its nature or the manner of its implementation.

Research into the implementation of curriculum change has been undertaken over the past thirty years in an attempt to understand and improve schools. Much research has focused on primary schools and much has been concerned with the provision of recipes for changing schools rather than with the study of what happens in schools during the implementation of change. Miles, Farrar and Neufeld (1983) suggest that while programmes for improving primary schools "can in principle be created and adapted for use in secondary schools", little is known about "the extent, nature and current use" of these programmes in secondary schools (p.3). It seemed appropriate for the researcher to address some issues of curriculum change within the context of secondary schooling.

Recommendations for change contained in publications such as the Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, acknowledge the cultural context of schools, but do not offer detailed descriptions of contextual factors which can promote or retard the implementation of initiatives for curriculum change. Nor do they admit that "attempting change is a complex, dilemma-ridden technical, sociopolitical process" (Fullan,1983, p.3). Such publications follow a tradition in studies in educational administration inspired by the work of Peters and Waterman (1982) and Deal and Kennedy (1982), for example, which accepts that schools are essentially rational organisations and are both predictable and alterable. Because of the influence of these writers on the practice of educational administration, this study goes some little way in addressing this view as a sub-theme of the study.

Reform movements appear to have failed to realise their promise, according to Tye (1985). A major reason for this appears to be the confusion which exists in society about the functions of schooling. A second reason is the difficulty many reformers have, particularly at the political level, in acknowledging that any change, because it touches the core of teaching ideology and practice, is a serious imposition on schools' organisational culture and on teachers' perceptions of their roles and functions which comprise this culture. As has already been suggested and Sarason (1971) confirms, attempts to introduce change to schools always compromise some existing behavioural or programmatic regularities.

ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY:

A key assumption of the study is that school reform is being retarded by a lack of understanding, on the part of policy makers, of the cultural complexities

of schools. These complexities attach to the professional lives of teachers within the context of the often turbulent and unpredictable school environment. Curriculum change is ultimately effected by teachers. Because it requires changes to teachers' beliefs about knowledge and classroom practice, the management of change must focus on teachers and the culture of their schools.

The study also assumes that beliefs and practices pertaining to the cultural lives of schools come into focus in response to the introduction of curriculum change and that these factors are critical for programmes of professional development and the intervention of change agents.

The findings of Huberman and Miles (1984) and others provide a profile comprising the requirements for successful curriculum change. This study of the relationship between the implementation of curriculum initiatives and school reform is established within this profile.

Successful curriculum change depends on favourable conditions (Fullan,1982). These conditions derive from the characteristics of the change, the characteristics of the school system, school traits and the "extra-local" characteristics (p. 96). They include positive aspects associated with the quality of innovations, teacher support and community support, staff cohesiveness, high teacher morale and organisational innovativeness (Nichols, 1983, p.68).

Successful curriculum change, that which is advantageous and lasting, is dependent above all else on the active acceptance of it by teachers by whom the change may or may not have been initiated, but on whose work the implementation of the change relies. Crossley (1983) maintains that "the widely held assumption that organisational members are resistant to change is, to date, far more rhetorical than demonstrable" (p. 46). This assertion makes little of what still seems to be an important variable in the implementation of successful change. As Armstrong (1987) observes, the debate on innovation and change needs to be reconstructed and recentred around the belief systems, the personalities and the life histories of the critical participants (p. 105).

Successful curriculum change occurs with the involvement of teachers in the major stages of implementation. Such change is achieved where there is an acceptance of it by those teachers (present in all schools) whose power to sway the opinion of others far outweighs any power ascribed them by their official position. Carlson (1986), in discussing the paradoxical role of teachers as "political functionaries and puppets of capitalistic ideologies", maintains the thesis "that teachers represent a pivotal and political group ... any movement to transform schools will not succeed without their leadership or support" (p.17).

Successful curriculum change is dependent on the patterns of interactions established between individuals whose common interpretative frames allow them to make sense of their environment whether it be one of stability or turmoil (Erickson, 1987, p.13). Thus teachers may either succumb to the

confusion and threat to stability that change brings or work to incorporate the change into their cultural system with a "sense of mastery, accomplishment and personal growth" (Fullan, 1982, p. 26).

The behaviour of teachers is culturally derived from a sharing of particular views of the function of schooling for the individual student and for society. These views are shaped by their concepts of knowledge and professional ideologies, and defined through interaction and experience within the context of the school. They include a perception of teachers' place within the scheme of things and how that place relates to power relationships within their own sphere of operation.

Successful curriculum change depends on there being a capacity for a teaching staff to change its culture, which means "a fundamental change in values and value-orientations" and a process of "reconstructive learning" for the cultural system of the school (Conway, 1985, p.11). Given the attributes of a school's culture, the conditions that favour major curriculum change are not easily created, and so, if schooling is to challenge public perception of its stagnation and irrelevance, it becomes an appropriate task to investigate whether initiatives for curriculum change and their impact on schools' culture will effect the reform of schooling.

THESIS:

The Health Education (HE) programme and the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) comprise a sub-section of a curriculum in schools which is intended to reinforce the correspondence of schooling with prevailing cultural, political, social, and economic circumstances. An overview of the initiatives however, suggests that they contain within them views of knowledge and teaching which are antagonistic to the current values, beliefs and norms of teaching practice.

TVEI and HE are examples of major curriculum change intended by government to reform the relationship between schools and society. They are used in this study to establish how the initiatives themselves, the programmes of professional development and the intervention of change agents alter teachers' beliefs and practices to accommodate curriculum change.

The study focuses on the aims of the initiatives, on the issues of knowledge and on the way major curriculum change is set in place in schools.

The study argues that schools are functionally ambiguous and ideologically conservative. They are reactive and adaptive to social change. Curriculum initiatives which derive from societal pressures for changes to schooling will be effectively implemented with minimum threat to stability and equilibrium as they accord with prevailing theories of knowledge and pedagogical practice. Where major curriculum change is proactive, aspects of its successful implementation can be assessed by the degree to which such change

becomes embedded in the curriculum. Its embeddedness or institutionalisation is manifested by the organisational adjustments schools make in response to the curriculum change. These adjustments are to the deep rather than to the superficial structures of schooling in that they reflect the extent to which the change has impinged on the beliefs and values held by teachers. The adjustments arise from a re-construction of teachers' cultural norms and practices which have been destabilised by the processes of change.

THE VALUE OF THE STUDY:

The study examines "how teachers interpret and understand their experience of educational change and how these interpretations and understandings relate to action (the implementation of change)" (Smircich, 1983, p.351). The cultural perspective of the study allows examination of teachers' collective culture, highlights its effects on attitudes to curriculum change and gives an insight into ways future proposed changes might be effectively managed. Thus the study is of value to educational policy makers and administrators whose task it is to plan and implement curriculum change with an intention to reform schooling.

The study is significant because its findings describe and explain what happens in schools during the passage of curriculum change with particular reference to the implications changes may have for the transmission of knowledge, the behaviour of people associated with the change and the organisational response schools make during the processes of change.

The findings should be of value to Principals and other practising administrators because they identify particular areas of difficulty at times of curriculum change and offer, by implication, alternatives to the way change is currently implemented.

THE RESEARCH TASK:

The research task was firstly to identify and examine factors relating to knowledge, pedagogy and personnel which influenced the implementation of major curriculum change in five schools: South Central and Taylor (England) and Hungerford, City and Fortuna (Tasmania). For this, a conceptual framework based on the literature of planned change and a research orientation largely based on symbolic interactionism proved useful. The chosen research perspective and methodology facilitated the second phase of the task, namely the identification of patterns and outcomes relating to curriculum change.

While the study is enveloped by the issues of reform to schooling, it identifies the set of norms, values and beliefs about teaching and school organisation which impinge on curriculum change.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK:

The conceptual framework for this study evolved during the preliminary study of the implementation of HE at Hungerford, one of the Tasmanian schools of the study. The framework developed as the problems associated with implementing the HE programme arose. To categorise these problems, the researcher used a framework drawn from research into planned change. Emerging categories related to the knowledge context of the curriculum initiatives, and to the major issues of implementation (professional development programmes and the intervention of change agents). The final category was concerned with discernible changes in the school's organisation as an indication of the success of the implementation of the programmes.

Within this framework, and as the preliminary study proceeded, three main categories emerged:

. the PHILOSOPHICAL, involving questions relating to the nature of knowledge reflected in the curriculum initiatives,

. the PROCEDURAL, involving the implementation of professional development programmes and the intervention of change agents, through which teachers' beliefs and practices are, theoretically, transformed to accommodate the initiatives, and

. the ORGANISATIONAL, involving changes to patterns of school organisation as an observable measure of the initiative's embeddedness in the regularities of school curriculum.

As a result of the preliminary study at Hungerford, data collected began to merge into themes which also gave guidance to the development of the conceptual framework of the major study. These data gave insight into teachers' willingness to change and into teachers' general perception of their teaching circumstances. The data also showed teachers to be influenced in their understanding and perceptions of present proposals to change by their previous experiences of change. The researcher was also able to establish from the data some commonalities and uniformities of beliefs and practices.

The researcher looked for evidence of

. efforts to secure continuity and coherence of the curriculum during the implementation of curriculum change,

. a model of programme management, involving supporting personnel, which reflected the intentions of the initiatives,

. the design of programmes for involving staff in the processes of change, including the development of programmes of study for students and the development of appropriate teaching styles,

. support external to and internally appropriate for the implementation of the initiatives.

Studies of school effectiveness have already established links between reform to schooling, instructional leadership and student performance. Again

from the preliminary study at Hungerford, a broader perspective emerged, suggesting that considerations regarding the programme, process and outcomes of curriculum change must also be linked to the reform of schooling. Hence, for this study,

. in the case of PROGRAMME, key areas of investigation included the nature of the initiatives and their demand for changes in teachers' thinking and behaviour;

. in the case of PROCESS, the key areas of investigation included professional development programmes, the intervention of change agents and the environmental and cultural conditions which mediate the behaviour of change agents; and

. in the case of OUTCOMES, the investigation included factors of organisational response to curriculum change. These include timetabling and the grouping and management of students for learning and the provision of space for the programmes.

The investigation establishes the link between the environmental factors of school organisation and the other dimensions of curriculum change, suggesting that the relationships are symbiotic. It establishes the degree of congruence between the change initiatives of this study and the resultant organisational changes in the schools. Such changes, according to the views of Handy (1981) and Boyan (1988), indicate the ways in which the cultural artifacts of schools (staffing, timetabling and the grouping of students) articulate teachers' beliefs and practices. Based on a series of propositions which arose during the preliminary study, the conceptual framework was simplified. (FIGURE 1, p.9)

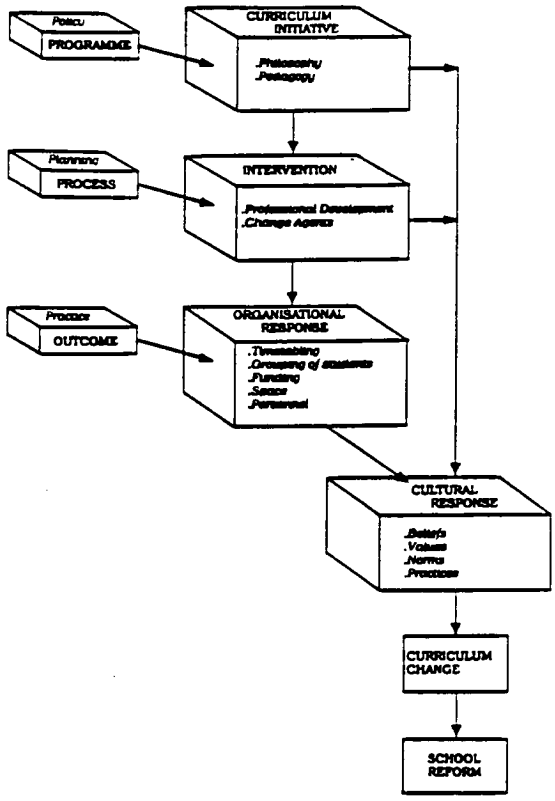

Figure 1

A Conceptual Framework of the Process of Curriculum Change Leading to School Reform

The framework identifies the major dimensions of the study as they relate to the capacity of curriculum change to effect school reform.

OVERVIEW:

Three major themes emerged from a preliminary survey of the literature dealing with HE and TVEI as curriculum initiatives intended to reform schooling. Recently discussed by Popkewitz (1987), the first was the implications for school curricula of the link between schooling, labour and productivity in the case of TVEI, and between schooling, good health and productivity, in the case of HE. The second theme is the emphasis in the curriculum of both TVEI and HE on the formation of the values, beliefs and norms of a labour-oriented society. The third theme encompasses the pedagogical issues relating the curriculum initiatives to the function of schooling in society and the place of the individual within schooling and within society.

Some theorists have conceptualised school effectiveness as the nexus between schooling and society and believe that improving what happens in schools will improve society, particularly in its capacity to raise levels of national productivity. The focus of this research is the view encapsulated in the initiatives of TVEI and HE that, in achieving the goals of reform, the process of changing the way teachers think about teaching is the essence of curriculum change. Two major ways of changing people have been professional development programmes and the intervention of change agents. Planning for

the implementation of these initiatives has featured this dual strategy.

The work of Argyris and Schon (1978), expanded by Tye (1985) and Corbett, Firestone and Rossman (1987), suggests that radical change must be accompanied by changes to the deep structures of organisational cultures. It is the contention of this study that, where organisational changes can be observed as part of a school's response to curriculum change, changes to the deep structures of schools' culture have indeed been effected. Such changes indicate that the beliefs and practices of teachers have undergone transformation in keeping with the expectations contained within the change initiatives. Given this, the research composes a picture of the way curriculum change is planned, organised and delivered; the way schools are organised; the perceptions and beliefs teachers have about schooling and the way in which the total school environment supports change proposals.

SUMMARY:

Schools are being overwhelmed by demands for change. Such change is either the result of campaigns based on ideological and/or educational considerations or, as is the case in England and Tasmania, of pressure for economic rationalisation.

To plan and implement change which is significant and lasting requires an approach to the reform of schooling which recognises that teachers' beliefs, values, norms and practices are the crux of such change.

Cultural characteristics of schools, including the beliefs, norms, values and practices of teachers, are brought face to face with concepts inherent in proposals for major curriculum change to support or hinder the implementation of that change. Schools are difficult to change because what really constitutes school organisation is in the mind of the participants who live within that organisation "and it is the mind itself that must be changed if education is to be redirected in any way" (Crowther, 1990, p. 14).

Changing teachers' minds through professional development programmes and the intervention of change agents is an important focus of this study.

SECTION 2

EDUCATIONAL REFORM

This section traces the history of educational reform and discusses the content of reform reports as they deal with the function of schooling and the capacity of major curriculum change to reform schooling.

It also introduces the major initiatives of the study, England's Technical and Vocational Education (TVEI) and Tasmania's Health Education (HE) programme.

CHAPTER 2

REFORM MOVEMENTS: HISTORY AND CRITIQUE.

BACKGROUND TO SCHOOL REFORM:

During May, 1989, both *The Age* and *The Australian* published articles castigating Australian education. Under the headline, "Ample evidence of a decline in standards", Peter Ryan wrote, "...well we know the sad story of the common failure of schools to deliver an effective basic education" (*The Age*, 18/5/89). John Hyde writing for *The Australian*, stated:

> ...education ministers will try to reform their school systems. [Some] education reforms [have] a certain Bismarckian flavour - that is they combine reform with centralism. The teacher union bureaucracies should not just be fought, they should be rendered irrelevant by encouraging students and parents to vote with their feet ... the market will sort out those schools which offer quality and achievement from those which offer tours of Disney land. We don't want to go through upheaval and commit even more tax to education if the changes made won't produce better-educated children or if there will be only a marginal difference. (*The Australian*, 20-21/5/89).

These comments imply that there is a perceived need for the reform of schooling. In their contribution to "The Great (Australian) Education Debate" (*The Australian*, 20/5/89), the articles highlight the incapacity of schools to serve the perceived expectations of society. They also express a structural-functionalist view of schools as institutions engaged in the enculturation process. This involves the transmission of knowledge, beliefs and technology peculiar to the culture in which children's lives are embedded and, by implication, the preparation of children in keeping with the requirements and demands of the society of which they will have adult membership (Robinson, 1982, p. 30).

This chapter reviews the history of the reform movements in the Western World and discusses the orientations of much of those movements in matters of learning. Such matters include statements about the nature of knowledge and implications for the curriculum, the design and delivery of curriculum and the implementation of curriculum change, intended to refine and/or redefine the function of schools in society. The chapter concludes with a summary of the rationale common to recent reform reports, an examination of the statements within the reports about the continuity of school organisation and administration, and a review of the reports' expectations regarding the capacity of curriculum change to promote school reform.

HISTORY OF REFORM:

Ramirez (1989) explores the political construction of mass schooling in Europe. While reasons such as the needs of an industrial economy, the increasing political power of the Swedish peasants, the expansion of the

franchise to the working class in England and the bureaucratic nature of Prussian rule are those usually advanced in explanation of the rapid universalisation of schooling, Ramirez(1989) claims that the imperative was "part of the endeavour to construct a unified national policy" (p.2). The power of the state is enhanced by universal participation in national projects. Usually stimulated by military defeat, social upheaval or industrial difficulties, nation states are stimulated to turn to a revitalisation of education to avoid loss of power or prestige.

A review of reforms in education in this century confirms the conclusions drawn by Ramirez (1989). At times of crisis, schools' strong links to the military, economic and social life of a nation are reflected in the nature of the reforms prescribed or recommended, regardless of whether they are congruent with what schools are doing at the time.

As Kach (1983) remarks, the quality of life provided by advances in technology with their dark underside have created economic and social crises. Deep, unanticipated and accelerating changes to society have taken place in this century and recent decades have seen the most dramatic changes. Urban decay (Kach, 1983), geo-morphological changes, as farming extended the bounds of nature (Aspin, 1987; Kach, 1983), the creation of an underclass occasioned by shifts in the patterns and purposes of employment (Popkewitz, 1983; Rossides, 1988; Shapiro, 1986; Husen, 1989), the rise of single-parent families (Aspin, 1987; Rossides, 1988), the impact (in Britain and America) of immigration and an aging population (Kach, 1983) led electorates to devolve individual responsibility to a central authority to control the forces technology had created. As Wertime says:

> History is littered with the corpses of societies that failed to read the portents of their threshold moment -- that point at which the bell curve of exponential growth, prosperity and rising life expectancies begins to turn downward and decline. (Kach, 1983, p.13).

With hindsight, it is possible to trace that downward path identifying, as Wertime does, the phenomenon of convergence where problems in the fields of energy, government costs, employment, international relations, demography and geophysics are connected and mutually exacerbating (Kach, 1983, p.13). Social and economic forces contributed to a destabilised society marked by turbulence and reform (Boyd & Smart, 1987, p.10). The effects of these forces combined with forces in education circles to compound the destabilisation and focus attention on what schools were doing. The work of Coleman (1966), Silberman (1970) and Jencks (1972), which found that schooling did not contribute to society as may be expected it might, was confirmed, from quite a different perspective by Bourdieu (1977), Keddie (1973), Apple (1982), Connell, Ashenden, Kessler and Dowsett (1982) and others. An increasing lack of confidence in schooling from both ends of the political spectrum was exploited by people such as Baroness Cox in Britain and culminated in the first of a series of Black Papers (1969). In Australia, similar debates about education and

accountability, about open education, traditional education and basic skills, took place. "External forces of recession and conservatism compromised ideology" (Boyd, 1987, p.8). Britain's Green Papers, the essence of which was reflected much later in Tasmania's "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987), press the point that education in advanced industrial societies must be geared to the market place, competitiveness and the ability to make and pay one's way in the commercial world" (Aspin, 1987).

In Britain, Simon (1988) supports Aspin's view. He discusses the notion that monetarist policies and the primacy of market forces as keys to economic development have a deleterious effect on schooling. He suggests that the scientific-technological revolution has created a situation for schooling which "confines access to the knowledge and essential new languages and skills of these developments to a few who are selected by the education system, leaving

> the mass of the people excluded from access to this knowledge and related skills, and given instead a low level of education in 'the basics' together with what is known as 'social and life skills', measures now dressed up in the rhetoric of the new vocationalism (p. 232).

Kirst and Meister (1984) see the centrally-regulated movement in Britain towards the control of education through the National Curriculum, the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative and the City Technology Colleges as examples of the view that schooling can maintain and change society with a curriculum harnessed "to pull the political and social order" (p.4). In such a way do programmes such as Social Studies, Driver Education and Health Education, which are examples of quite dramatic curriculum change, maintain the nation's pool of citizens (p.4).

It is easier to understand the current reports by reflecting on the past. For instance, the grip the British government now has on the throat of education was foreshadowed as long ago as the Codes of 1862, the Regulations of 1904 and the Handbook of Suggestions of 1905 (Lawton, 1988, p. 359). Foreshadowing the dramatic and turbulent changes of the 1980s were those social changes taking place in Western society particularly after the Second World War.

Australia's tentative steps towards national control of education had its beginnings during the last four decades of the nineteenth century as successive colonial governments sought control of education as an instrument for the implementation of policy. Such control did not include secondary education which remained essentially a matter for private control until the early years of the twentieth century when education moved from the control of the church and state, to state control (Hughes, 1987, p. 276). It was not until 1949, following Labor's exclusion of education from attempts at greater centralist control by government, that Menzies (Prime Minister) promised greater federal support for it.

During the buoyant years of the 1950s in Australia, as Angus (1986a) notes, a number of social changes which were to affect education took place. Notions of democracy, social cohesion, social mobility and a liberal view of

schooling were gradually replaced by the human capital theory and the structural-functionalist view of education (p. 9) as an expanding industrial economy demanded more of education for the provision of a skilled workforce. Thus the rhetoric of parliamentary debates of the 1920s in support of secondary education became a matter of reality in the 1950s. Between 1951 and 1956, the number of students increased from 1,350,000 to 1,785,000, suggesting changes in Australian attitudes to education which were prompted, one suggests, by increased opportunities created by a society making rapid industrial progress.

Changes in post-war society were reflected in changing aspirations for schooling. Comprehensive schools appeared as one manifestation of the desire to enable school societies to mirror social realities. Educational changes were in keeping with changes taking place in the nature of work (involving deskilling and specialisation), the growth of large corporations and the rise of the professional class (Popkewitz,1983, p.23). The Coleman Report (USA:1966), the Plowden Report (UK:1967) and the Karmel Report (Aust:1973) reflected these shifts in attitude regarding schooling and the government's role in schooling.

The years between 1940 and 1960 saw the urbanisation of Australia as factory outputs doubled and energy demands quadrupled. Simon (1988) writes of the heavy investment in education which took place in America and Britain (p. 20) during this time. Australia was spending similarly, as the "human capital" theory prevailed in relation to the nation's levels of productivity and that productivity's relationship to education (p. 20). Australia's Martin Report (1964), in recommending that Technical Colleges become Colleges of Advanced Education, described education as a "form of national investment in human capital" (a theme recurring in the recommendations of the Finn Report (1991)) and 16-18 as the years of age that provide the best returns for expenditure on education. "The literate are worth more than the illiterate, the highly skilled usually have higher incomes".

As recently as 1987, when identifying three problems with Australia's economy as poor productivity, lack of technological exploitation and standards of living bound to the fluctuations of international commodity prices, the Federal Government's Department of Employment, Education and Training recommended "upgrading the stock of human capital" by increasing school retention rates and improving the quality of the curriculum (Kennedy, 1989,p.112). Britain's Crowther Report (1959) had also reflected the nexus between education and the economy as it outlined measures in education to meet the social needs of society in its support for the tripartite system of schooling (Corbett,1978, p. 8), at a time when comprehensive schools were being established in Australia.

ORIENTATIONS OF REFORM:

In 1893 in the U.S.A., the "ritual and rhetoric of reform" began (Cornbleth,1989, p. 10). Recommending electives for study in their report of the

Committee in Secondary Schools Studies, the "Committee of Ten" described education as a preparation for life and its chief purpose to train the mind (Passow, 1984, p. 11). In 1909 in the U.S.A., the Carnegie standard unit, which prescribed one hundred and twenty hours as a satisfactory year's work, had been mandated; this unit was resurrected in 1987 in Tasmania and in Britain in 1988/89. In 1918, again in the U.S.A., "The Cardinal Principles of Education" described changes in concepts about education. Society needed better-educated individuals, individual differences were recognised, applied knowledge was emphasised and there was a shift from a preoccupation with academic concerns to a broadening view of a person's social role (Passow, 1984, p. 16). As Kirst and Meister (1984) state, these principles foreshadowed the comprehensive high school as the "total socialising institution replacing the family and church and other shaping agencies of society" (p. 16).

Reports of the early decades of this century, including "The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education", were significant in that they represented one of the "waves of reform" which came from teachers (Futrell,1989, p.11). These reports raised questions such as "Shall secondary education provide a common curriculum for all, or differentiated offerings? Shall secondary education include vocational training, or shall it be restricted to general education?" Of further significance was the Progressive Education Commission's eight-year study called "Relation of Schools and Colleges", which described the superior performance of students at those colleges where entry restrictions had been modified. A twenty-eight volume, *American National Survey of Secondary Education*, reposing "in impotence on library shelves" (Passow,1986, p.20), contained one of the "Youth Tell Their Story" reports (1938), in which 15,528 students pressed for technical and vocational training, suggested that schooling was not encouraging social mobility and that race, gender and socio-economic factors still determined the amount of schooling people received. The intervention of war overshadowed the importance of these reports, and at war's end the focus on education had adjusted to encompass more of the sociological aspects of schooling (Havighurst, 1984, p. 63).

The number of recent education reform reports is indicative of a problem that has dogged schooling since the late nineteenth century. The problem centres on the questions, "What is it that society wants its schools to be?", "What should a man learn?" Wallace (1961, p.38). Schools are society's institutions for teaching what a person is to learn. What that person is to learn will depend on what it is that person is expected to do, and that is determined by the society in which that person lives (p. 38).

Wallace (1961) identifies three contrasting value-orientations which pertain to societies: "the revolutionary, or utopian orientation; the conservative, or ideological orientation; and the reactionary orientation" (p.38). Although published in 1961, Wallace's work provides a framework within which to describe the orientations of the reform reports. Wallace poses

questions relating to the philosophy and purposes of schooling and then indicates how, as societies pass through and return to differed phases of development , each demands different processes of schooling for the education of the young of those societies. In some cases there is an ephasis on knowledge, in others there is an emphasis on skills development. As will be shown, each reform phase in the history of compulsory education in the western world contains within it some aspects of the discrete phases Wallace discusses. Wallace (1961) provides a perspective for analysing ideology and teaching practice which accommodates the response of the educational system to changes within society, as well as the individual's response within the system. His discussions are of value to this study since both the Technical and Vocational initiatives are examples of the intervention of governments in schooling. Such intervention can be explained when one assesses the context of contemporary English and Australian societies.

Wallace (1961) maintains that each of the orientations of society applies for different time periods in the same society and that the orientations of revolution, conservatism and reaction will occur in a cyclical way over and over again.

> Thus one may, with regard to any one society, expect to find that the content and circumstances of learning will vary with the varying predominance of its value orientation. ... It would appear that with each of the major value orientations there is associated a philosophy of schooling which characteristically assigns priorities to the matters of learning in schools (p. 40).

The orientations of society are, like stability and change "integral elements of the one totality" (Western and Carpenter, 1990, p.14). Wallace (1961) describes the different orientations of a revolutionary, conservative or reactionary society by considering which matters of learning -- morality, the intellect or the technical -- are given emphasis during the phases of a society's development. In revolutionary societies, the primary concern is one of moral transformation, "next in order of priority will be intellect, and last of all, technic (despite the often critical need for technically trained personnel)" (p.30).

Wallace defines these "matters of learning" as follows: Technic is the "how to" of learning, the gaining of information and acquiring of skills for the purposes of application for some reason and reward. Morality deals with the "ought" of learning, the concept that one's behaviour, as well as the behaviour of others, should not merely take into consideration the attitude of the community, but should actively advance its welfare (p.32). In defining the third "matter of learning", Wallace draws on Barzun's distinction between intellect and intelligence:

> Intellect ... is, to begin with, a social tradition, an aspect of culture ... The core of this tradition is the proposition that, if a subject is worthy of consideration at all, it should be considered in a particular cognitive form (p.34).

This particular way of considering things, while it may vary from group to

group and from society to society, has as its major approach the careful and exact use of language (p.34). "In the tradition of intellect, language is thought" (Wallace, 1961, p.34).

Wallace describes the progression of societies from one value-orientation to another. Revolutionary societies pass through stages of revitalisation: formulation of the new cultural code; communication of the code, leading to solidarity of membership; organisation in hierarchical terms; adaptation, in which the intellect sets in place the new code; cultural transformation, in which power falls into the hands of the movement and, as routinisation forms the final stage of the process, so comes the beginnings of conservatism (p.42).

Conservative societies are characterised by security and success allowing a "loyal opposition" (Wallace, 1961, p.44). "A conservative society is, paradoxically also a liberal society" (p.45), for which intellect is not a priority. Technic becomes its primary focus.

A reactionary society sets itself against threats of a revitalisation movement. It has two concerns: to deny the claims of the opposition and to reclaim "moral enthusiasm" (p.48). Thus religiosity, repressive laws, and an oppressive police are established; in schooling, the state takes over the responsibility for the moral development of the young. In the matter of morality, revolutionary and reactionary societies are similarly concerned. In a reactionary society, intellect is seen as a source of incipient subversion, and tasks once thought to be of the intellect are translated into the technical sphere. Figure 2. indicates which of "the matters of learning" dominates during any one of the orientation phases of a society.

	MORALITY	TECHNIC	MORALITY
	INTELLECT	MORALITY	TECHNIC
	TECHNIC	INTELLECT	INTELLECT
Social History			
	Revolutionary Phase	Conservative Phase	Reactionary Phase

The Matters of Learning

Figure 2

This outline of Wallace's views provides a framework within which to analyse the reform reports of the twentieth century, with particular emphasis on those of the 1980s. In 1961, Wallace identified American and British societies as conservative societies. After thirty years, however, and although

crudely measured, America and Australia can be judged still to be in a conservative phase, despite the reactionary policies of President Reagan and Australia's conservative Prime Minister, Fraser. Britain's trend, exemplified by the Education Reform Act (1988), appears to have moved from a conservative phase of thirty years ago to one where the orientation is reactionary.

Britain's Education Reform Act (1988) prescribes dramatic and reactionary change to the curriculum and management of schooling not seen elsewhere in modern democracies. Australia's National Curriculum is a modest document by comparison and reflects the political and constitutional context of the nation. Nevertheless, "Strengthening Australian Schools" (1987) contains strong statements by the Federal Minister for Education about student retention, assessment, improved quality of teaching and a national curriculum framework (Kennedy, 1989, p.120). Despite this, responsibility for schooling remains a matter for control by the States, as is the case also in the United States of America. In Britain however, the Education Reform Act (1988) reinforces an hierarchical system of schooling by reducing the influence of the local education authorities, opening schools up to market forces (Simon, 1988, p.15) and considerably increasing the power of the Secretary of State.

Peterson (1983) argues that national reports on reform have followed, not led, reforms in American education. Peterson (1983) also contends that, as these reports advocating reform follow changes in society, they are out of step with reality. Kirst and Meister (1984) maintain that schools react to social change, citing schools' response to the dominant themes in American life -- economic triumphs, civil rights' movements and military supremacy -- as the decades of the century have proceeded. It is usually a nation in crisis which turns to schooling as a way of ameliorating the effects of problems which occur in one of its major sectors.

As the process of educational reform is reviewed, it becomes clear that western society has flirted with, and contains within each phase, some aspects of the other orientations at any one time. This partly explains the incongruities and paradoxes evident in society at certain stages of its development, which make it difficult to determine which aspects of emphasis (for example, military, economic or social) schooling is required to serve at any particular time. Rapid changes to society in recent decades have created uncertainty and confusion that have been conveyed to all public institutions (Dagley and Gazda, 1984, p. 219). Schools have not entirely escaped, although Dagley and Gazda (1984) suggest that they have managed to maintain a degree of stability in the face of the "shocks and pathologies" brought from the "outside" to other institutions (p. 222). Husen (1989) also makes the point that schools are institutions as are the family, the church and the media and, as such, are part and parcel of society and cannot remain untouched by what happens within that society (p. 12).

THE REFORM REPORTS:

Calls for reform have been common to every decade since the 1880s and seem to occur on a cyclical basis (Havighurst, 1984; Kirst and Meister, 1984). In America since 1900, there have been thirty major national reports and over three hundred task forces whose charter it has been to improve schooling. Since 1980, twenty-three major reports have been written in Australia with a similar intention. Giroux (1984) compares the reports to entries in the Boston Marathon. (Rich, 1988, p. 80), and Kirst and Meister (1984) write of many of them ending up in the Bermuda Triangle. Australia has been greatly influenced by American reform movements. The school improvement literature, for example, is mostly of American origin and "A Nation At Risk" (1983) emerged as an international guide to school reform to be complemented by the report of the Carnegie Foundation, The Boyer Report (1983), Adler's "Paedia Proposal: An Educational Manifesto" (1982), Goodlad's "A Place Called School: Prospects For The Future" (1983) and Sizer's "Horace's Compromise" (1984), also from America.

In Australia, major national reports included Karmel (1973), and Karmel (1985), the report by the Quality of Education Review Committee (QERC) (1985), "Strengthening Australian Schools" (1988). Of state reports the Tasmanian Education Department's (1987) "Secondary Education: The Future" is one which is particularly pertinent to this study. The Australian reports take up similar themes. all directed at devising better forms of schooling. These reports are the responses of Government to the issues of technological change and productivity. It is interesting to compare the thrust of the Blackburn Report (1984) which argued the case for continuing education as an alternative to employment, and that of the Finn Report (1991). In the Blackburn Report (1984) reform to schooling was cast in sociological terms. Improved schooling would result from a targeting of social inequalities and teaching was viewed principally as a social process. The Finn Report (1991), with its emphasis on the links between micro-economic issues and education suggests, as Pusey (1991) observes that "the whole education function has been colonised by central agency economic rationalists ..."(p.148).

In Britain the reports of Crowther (1959), Newsom (1963), Plowden (1967), and Bullock (1975) were similarly influential. More recently, general curriculum and subject specific reports such as "The School Curriculum" (1981), the Cockcroft Report (1982), the Kingman Report (1988), "Better Schools" (1985) and the Reform Act (1988) have appeared.

Commentary on the reports appears to be a litany of disappointments. Each report reflects the political, social, economic, technical and cultural circumstances prevailing at the time of writing (Dalin, 1978, p. 2). Each emphasises differently where the strengths for reform lie. With the possible exception of "A Place Called School" (1983), each lacks details about how the reforms are to be effected and even why they are recommended (Grubb, 1984, p. 4). Each focuses on about one quarter of the population (Tye, 1985, p. 34),

concentrates mainly on secondary schools and has amorphous aims which are difficult to measure (Deal, 1985, p. 154). With the exception of the reports of Plowden (1967),Bullock (1976) and Goodlad (1983), each lacks any identifiable theory of knowledge, mind, language or society (Aspin,1987, p.14). Each too, contains contradictions and paradoxes in presenting concepts such as those of equity and excellence. Each in rhetoric and substance, implies the conflicts and tensions which afflict discussions about the function of schooling in society (Passow, 1986, p. 5). Each has failed to effect promised change (Tye,1985, p.13).

That the imperatives for reform are agreed upon by the electorates of the Western World is noted in the tremendous expenditure on educational reform within the last five years. In America in 1984, one hundred and forty state committees were studying reform and fifty state legislatures were preparing to mandate reforms. Between 1983 and 1985, seven hundred statutes were being prepared (Futrell,1989, p.11), and in California, eight hundred million dollars were being disbursed to finance recommendations for higher graduate requirements, raising teachers' salaries, lengthening the school day and lengthening the school year (Passow, 1984, p.5). In Tasmania (population 450,000), eleven thousand teacher days, given to the discussion of secondary renewal, and costing $110,000 had been taken during the first six months of 1989.

European, American and Australian literature advocating school reform cites increasing academic requirements for graduation, increasing requirements for time spent in study, reviews of teachers' career ladders, teacher appraisal and increasing opportunities for testing students, as evidence of schools' performance (Layton, 1987, p. 28). The literature is driven by criticisms that schools are not responding to changes external to school, that academic standards have declined -- criticisms based on international comparisons between results of tests. It is claimed that the quality of instruction and standards of rigour have deteriorated and that the power of teacher unions, by resisting standardised testing, has compounded the problem society has about knowing exactly what it is that their schools are doing.

The notion of equality was the driving force of the reform reports of the 1960s and 1970s, with its emphasis on the role of central government in redistributing wealth (Young, 1986, p.43). As Hughes (1987) comments, the spending of money on education recommended by the Karmel Report (1973) reflected an acknowledgement of the principles of equality, diversity, the devolution of authority in terms of school based initiatives and participation in educational decisions by parents and classroom teachers (p. 229).

Spending on education during the 1960s in America, Britain and Australia became increasingly directed towards social issues as schools began to offer social services to the poor and minority groups in greater measure than previously was the case, to compensate them for their social disadvantage. In Australia Government involvement at a federal level was seen as benevolent,

although it may well have frustrated its own ends. While the implementation of the recommendations of the Karmel Report (1973) established the Disadvantaged Schools Programme, support for the independent schools' system, was maintained thus challenging the rhetoric of equality contained in the report (Wyn and Wilson, 1986, p. 67).

Aggravated by the world-wide trends of increasing oil prices, inflation, unemployment, the civil rights' movement, campus unrest in Australia, Britain, France and America, governments became increasingly reactionary and a decade of liberal consensus was replaced by tighter controls over education as the "equity agendas of Australia's Labour Prime Minister of the early seventies, Whitlam, and America's President Carter were swept aside by President Reagan and Fraser, Whitlam's successor" (Boyd & Smart 1987, p.7). Despite the Labor leadership of the current Prime Minister, Hawke, in Australia, these "equity agendas" have not been fully reinstated. For Hawke, the exigencies of economy and politics have dominated ideology (Boyd & Smart, 1987, p. 43). Similarly in Britain, there was a retreat from the policies of equity, equality and access as education reform reports and media commentators suggested that economic decline was due to deficiencies in public education (Carnoy and Levin, 1986, p.4). This shift of emphasis supports Kach's view that each society demands a specific education -- an education that, as Marrow states, "is the concentrated epitome of a culture and as such is inseparable from that culture ..." (p.6).

Under the country's previous conservative Prime Minister Fraser in Australia, conservative politics allowed a diminishing of education as a high political priority (Hughes, 1987, p. 302). The "new right" agenda, reflected in much of the Williams Report (1979) as Boyd and Smart (1987) observe, promoted excellence of education to the detriment of equity issues, denigrated public schools by emphasising parent choice, demanded a return to the basics and emphasised schools' links with business and industry (p. 21). In America, Rickover questioned the role of the comprehensive schools as "the prototype for serving America's needs" (Passow, 1984, p 23). In a reaction to "the American dream unfulfilled" (Kach, 1983, p.6), schools were found wanting in the face of Russia's space success with Sputnik and the social ferment of the sixties.

Britain's Prime Minister Callaghan in 1976, at a speech at Ruskin College in Cambridge, foreshadowed the conservative backlash by criticising teachers and teaching. He spoke of the role of education in its support of commerce and industry; his words reflected a trend in the Western World away from a view that "education is a self-justifying good" to a skeptical insistence that education must be useful in some marketable way (MacLure, 1988, p. 150). In its Corporate Plan (1989), the Education Department of Tasmania established major goals and priorities, focusing on the measurable indicators of management and efficiency in which "education is seen as a basis for economic recovery ..." (p. 8).

Paradoxically, given that social justice programmes adversely affect

economic growth and "equitable schooling policies are seen to be destructive to educational excellence" (Oakes, 1986, p. 75), the principles of equity and excellence had been strongly expressed in documents such as "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987) as being the major goals of schooling.

Australia's QERC Report (1983) focused on the needs of the labour market in establishing "value" for money (Smart, 1987, p.33). Unlike the reports of the 1970s concerned with education inputs, those of the 1980s are greatly concerned with economic outputs.

Australia's Institute of Public Affairs Education Policy Unit held its first national conference in 1989. The conference received national media attention and its deliberations were reminiscent of the movement led by Baroness Cox in Britain. Chaired by Dame Leonie Kramer, the conference included among its speakers Mr. Baker, then Secretary of State for Education, Dr. Finn, Professor of Education (Vanderbilt University) and Dr. Metherell, then Minister for Education from New South Wales. Mr. McGuiness, columnist with "The Australian" was a conference commentator. His position within the conference assured national coverage and confirmed the role of the media as a major influencing force in focusing public attention on the deficiencies of schooling.

The preoccupations of this conference were accountability, assessment, attainment scores, increased requirements for graduation, competition between schools, parental choice and partnerships between business and education -- all indicative of the "retreat from education" of which Skilbeck writes (Angus, 1986b, p. 29). Further, the implications of this conference concern teachers and teaching. The deliberations point to a reconstruction of teaching which would disempower teachers so that, as "resources in a national economic plan", as Bottery (1988) comments, their role is reduced from that of "transforming intellectuals" (Giroux, 1988) to a functional role, involving the uncritical application of externally-imposed directives (Bottery, 1988, p.341). Harris writes of the "capitalist mode of production increasingly impinging on, invading and restructuring the technical job of teaching" (Ball, 1987, p.177). Giroux (1988) fears that the deskilling of teachers through centrally-controlled curriculum and the standardisation of knowledge will devalue intellectual work and reduce teachers to the role of technicians (p. 81). Carlson (1986) writes of the deskilling of teachers as they become proletarianised by reskilling (p.22). New technologies and centrally-derived curriculum reduce the level of instruction. Teachers become facilitators of learning: "they will control children more and instruct them less" (p.22). Apple comments on changes to schooling which intensify teachers' labour but reduce the quality of service and thus have the effect of reducing the value of that labour (Carlson, 1986, p. 22). Ball (1987) suggests that such changes, their effects compounded by structural uncertainties of mergers, redeployments, redundancies and early retirement have left teachers vulnerable and oppressed (p. 178).

CONTENT OF THE REFORM REPORTS:

From a sampling of reports from Britain, the United States and Australia, (some of which are identified and are generally known by reference to the Chairman of committees or by acronym) it is interesting to see what statements are made regarding the role of schooling in society. Aubrey (1984) identifies eight categories: philosophy and rationale; learning and human development; teaching and instruction; leadership and administration; school structure; organisation and continuity; the greater community and plans for the implementation of recommended change proposals (p. 204). For the purpose of this study, the most important are philosophy and rationale, school structure, organisation and continuity, and leadership and administration.

Philosophy and Rationale:

It is the persistent rationale of most reports that schools should focus on efficiency, excellence and economic vitality (Carnoy and Levin, 1986, p. 44). This belief recurs in those of Australia: the Williams Report (1979); the Keeves Report (1982); the Beasley Report (1984); QERC (1985); "Secondary Education: The Future" (Tas: 1987) and "Strengthening Australia's Schools" (1989). Influenced as they are by American reports in particular, the Australian reports give support and legitimacy to the superficially plausible "school effectiveness movement" sweeping the USA (Angus, 1986a, p. 8). A second, associated thrust is the notion that "knowledge is a commodity, education an industry, learning an asset, research an enterprise" (Futrell, 1989, p. 12). In the Boyer Report (1983), learning is confined to the "what" of knowledge rather than to the "how" and amidst the military metaphors of the rhetoric of "A Nation At Risk" (1983) is the notion that "more is better".

Within the reports, two themes emerge. One, contained in "A Nation At Risk" (1983), for example, suggests the centrality of schools in developing human capital, the other, suggested by the "Paedia Proposal" (1982) promotes conservative values as part of a cultural renewal -- a hallmark of increasingly reactionary societies as described by Wallace (1961). Yeakey and Johnson (1986) maintain that the nature of the reforms advocated in the reports, with their emphasis on standardised curriculum and assessment, have brought the hidden agenda of schooling to centre stage (p.167). "The Paedia Proposal" (1982) has as its goals the improving of "the opportunities of our youth, the prospects of our economy and the viability of our democratic institutions" by means of a liberal and general education which draws on past ideals and standards, and has the idea of human rationality as its focus for action.

Continuity of School Structure and Organisation:

Silberman (1970) complained that despite quite dramatic changes to schooling over decades of reform, they were fundamentally and largely unchanged. Spindler (1987), following an extensive study of schools in

Germany and America, also comments on "the great staying power of culture", finding that there were no major changes in schools despite expensive and extensive reforms (p 6). Goodlad (1990) observed that schools were the same but different; their sameness relating to the mechanics of teaching and classroom practice, modes of learning and instructional material; their difference in areas outside pedagogy, including improved relationships between people in schools and the degree of the Principal's autonomy (Purkey and Rutter, 1987, p.375). The resistance of classroom practice to change may be seen in a structural sense in Sweden, where, despite mandatory requirements regarding a transfer to comprehensive schooling (1940-1971), the characteristics of the "traditional" curriculum and methods of teaching prevailed and the movement failed (Popkewitz, 1983, p.18). Similarly, the massive push after Sputnik for improved Mathematics and Science teaching foundered as the "new" Maths and Sciences were taught in the "old" ways (Popkewitz, 1983, p 17). The notion of part-time day release for work experience, which was legislated for in Britain in 1918 has still to be firmly established (King, Morris & Fitzgibbon, 1987, p.180). Some mandated reforms in France are waiting to be put in place after sixty years, supporting Dewey's view that:

> All reforms which rest simply upon the enactment of law or the threatening of certain penalties or changes in mechanical or outward arrangements are transitory or futile (Kach, 1983, p. 8).

Bessant (1986) also maintains that the institutional and authority structures embodied in school systems established in the 1870s have changed little. While he admits to there having been quantitative and technical change, he insists that the organisation and philosophy of schooling remain unchanged (p. 36). Angus (1986a) is of the view that no structural changes have taken (or will take) place because the structural-functionalist view of schooling is best served by the hierarchical structures of normative schooling which currently prevail (p. 86). Schools remain structurally the same despite crushing pressure for change. The increase of the school leaving age to sixteen in Britain in 1972 brought with it no structural response. Major structural changes proposed for the United States including the voucher system, the establishment of magnet schools and encouragement for enrolments at private schools have had little success. Television instruction and team-teaching are two pedagogically-related innovations that have yet to succeed and the results of the curriculum innovations prompted by Head Start and the compensatory programmes offered by the Karmel Report (1973) became subsumed, if indeed their outcomes could ever be measured, by the phenomenon of "credential inflation" in which qualifications demanded for particular employment increased as more and more people obtained the basic qualification.

Kirst and Meister (1984) maintain that the reforms are incremental and accretional but the nature of schooling, with its compartmentalised areas and loose coupling to central goals and direction, forces structures to remain the same (p. 30). Cornbleth (1989) also does not find in the reports any examples of

recommended institutional change "to push back the rising tide of mediocrity" (p. 11). The Newsom Report (1963) is an example of the conservatism of these reports.

Leadership and Administration:

The American reports highlight the role of the Principal in the management of schooling.

Boyer (1983) describes the Principal as playing a pivotal role in effective schooling. "In schools where achievement was high and where there was a clear sense of community, we found invariably that the Principals made a difference...". Boyer recommends that Principals be given greater authority and that schools' hierarchies be flattened (p.219). Goodlad (1990) writes of the Principal as the captain of the ship; Adler (1982) describes the Principal's role as facilitator of the main business of schooling which is teaching and learning; Adler's comments reflect the view of the Education Commission's States Task Force that Principals "spent too little time managing education and too much time managing everything else" (Passow, 1984, p.78). Tye (1985) suggests that it is the Principal's role to maintain the status quo (p.13).

Adler and Tye represent, in their comments, the tensions and dilemmas which confuse the issue of the Principal's role in schooling and highlight the complexities, incongruities, ambiguities and paradoxes of schools as organisations. While the reports describe strong administrative leadership to be the linchpin of effective schools, there is little distinction made between the discrete roles of the Principal as manager and educator. As reported later, this study finds, for example, that the power ascribed to the Principal in effecting change and maintaining an effective school is greater in theory than in fact. The Principal does not occupy the position of extraordinary centrality in matters of school reform that writers such as Adler and Boyer suggest. The view of the Principal's role taken by Adler (1982) and Boyer (1983) does not accord with the theory and practice regarding the successful management of organisations modelled by the Japanese for example, in which democratisation and the empowerment of all members of the organisation are guiding features (Tye, 1985, p. 3).

REFORM REPORTS AND CURRICULUM CHANGE:

Views of the Principal's role as reflected in some of the reports is an example of the lack of agreement between the reports and the goals of quality teaching. When one contemplates the pedagogical changes that have taken place in schooling, it is clear that they resulted from the work of reforming pedagogues, and not from externally mandated or recommended reform.

Rich (1988) identifies three major innovations which had a lasting effect on teachers' classroom practice. The work of the Behaviourists, which followed that of Watson in 1913, provided the basis for intelligence testing and lead to

homogeneous groupings of students and the practice of behaviour modification. The Essentialism of the 1930s, 1950s, and 1970s was a movement which did reflect, in part, the social and economic situation of the day. With Essentialism came the notions of transmitting our cultural heritage through schooling, acquiring sound study habits and mastering the fundamentals of learning. It is on this tradition, for example, that the "Paedia Proposal" (1982) is based. Progressivism, a movement somewhat in opposition to Dewey's scientific non-child-centred approach, following James, marked the 1930s and 1960s. The latter period, being the more liberal of the two, focused on the needs and interests of the children, where learning was shaped for and drawn from their experience. This contrasted sharply with the former practice of introducing knowledge with the expectation that the child would then experiment with it and so advance to new experiences. It appears that the successful reforms, in the most part, are not born of the turbulence of social change, though they may well reflect the changing value-orientations of society. What is clear is that teachers, while agreeing that reform is desirable, do not necessarily agree with politicians who legislate for change but need teachers' goodwill and compliance to effect it. There is no reason to be optimistic that the reforms to education currently proposed will dramatically change the face of schooling.

The reports highlight contradictions between the political and economic goals established for schooling and the trends evident in what teachers do. Wirth (1989) describes this as the "schizophrenia within reform" (p.457). He also argues that the reason for this is the confusion arising from two images of human beings which derive from Newtonian Science and the Enlightenment. One image is the "human as mechanism" operating within a mathematically regulated world, the other is the "human as meaning maker". In discussion of aims of schooling, the images collide. Aspin (1987) too, sets these ideas against one another -- schools must operate either in an atmosphere of consensus and co-operation or in one of competitiveness; schools must lay stress either on students' enjoyment of schooling and their personal and spiritual development or on their material welfare; schooling should be about either developing critical skills which pertain to society and culture or preserving traditional values and maintaining social stability. He sees that schooling is increasingly taking the first of each of these options (p. 7).

> Intellect is a cultural matter, it must be learned; and for survival, it must be used. Our country's survival ... depends radically upon maintaining a system of schools which teaches the tradition of intellect as its primary obligation (Wallace, 1961, p. 53).

Such a perception of schooling's primary role is seriously at odds with the reports which conceive schooling as

> ... capitalistic and competitive with traditionalist approaches to matters of value, dirigiste approaches to matters of traditional arrangement and social planning, an instrumentalist approach to matters of economy and the use of people's time, abilities and energies (Aspin, 1987, p. 8).

Such reports imply that basic skills are to be fostered not for facilitating enquiry, insight or enlightenment but for their value to work. They regard knowledge simply as received truth rather than as socially constructed truth.

> Conceptually, the reform reports reflect and help perpetuate a technocratic rationality that is at odds with the goals of quality teaching and teachers as reflective practitioners. The irony of technocratic rationality in social affairs is that by deflecting attention from question and purpose and substance and their social and political implications, it precludes the institutional reforms it purports to foster (Cornbleth, 1989, p. 19).

Reflection on the implementation of the recommendations of past reports produces the conclusion that, while political reformers and teachers may agree on the need for reform to schooling, they proceed with different and often contradictory visions of what schooling should be like. This is because both parties view the aims of schooling from different perspectives. When reports are produced, their recommendations, reflecting the values of the commissioning body, are presented to teachers for implementation. The fate of the recommendations depends heavily on how teachers can adjust their views to find common ground with the originators of the reports. Adler (1982) derived his aims from a consideration of values in society and a view of the essential goodness and rationality of human nature. Others devised aims to meet societal needs (Karmel Report: 1973) while others, as Rich (1988) remarks, drew aims from a preferred philosophy of education (p. 90). Dewey's view of aims for schooling focused on the notion of growth, suggesting that education was subordinate to nothing except further growth (Rich, 1988, p. 90). Other reform rationales described by Rich (1988), include those pressing for quality (the measurable outcomes of schooling), those pressing for increased servicing of education (more money, more specialists and higher salaries), those pressing for more equitably distributed resources and equal access for all to learning, and those pressing for the righting of injustice and the protection of rights (p. 10).

As could be expected, each view carries recommendations for certain pedagogical practices. Adler prefers coaching and Socratic questioning, Sizer advocates fewer subjects and greater depth of study while Skinner supports the idea of individualised machine-assisted instruction (Rich, 1988, p.90).

Kirst and Meister (1984) give good reasons why some reforms to schooling have failed to touch school practice. These include poor tools for implementation, impossibly extravagant claims for the change and unsatisfactory disbursement of funding (p.15). A further major reason is the lack of a shared or agreed vision and a shared perception of the problems. Commenting on American efforts to improve industrial output through school reform, Yeakey and Johnstone (1986) suggest that America's industrial problems relate to poor management of business (p.67); Grubb (1984) also maintains that the downturn in the automobile and steel industries is due to managerial failure and high wage rates rather than a failure of the education

system to provide skilled labour (p. 5). Similarly, it could be said that Australia's massive $52 billion foreign debt has more to do with a lack of competitiveness and with poor vision and planning than with anything that can be corrected by dramatic changes to schooling.

Where lasting reforms to pedagogy have taken place, there is evidence of new knowledge about learning. Thus from the formal, abstract and deductive approach to learning which was characteristic of the nineteenth century, the ideas of Bacon and Pestalozzi laid the groundwork for the twentieth century's acceptance of principles of instruction which include proceeding from the known to the unknown, from the concrete to the abstract and from the particular to the general. While the "open plan" design of schools reflecting the work of Piaget and Isaacs (favoured in the sixties), could be seen to attach to the liberal views of schooling which prevailed at the time, the child-centred approach to learning which derived from the work of Rousseau and Pestalozzi was the result of an increased understanding about how children learn rather than a response to any situation external to schools. The study takes up this issue in detail in attempting to identify statements made in the documents relating to HE and TVEI about mind, knowledge and pedagogy. Given that the initiatives are an example of government intervention in schooling, such an attempt will bear on the point that successful pedagogical changes have been and may continue to be the result of scholarship rather than of mandated reform arising from specific economic or social crises.

Goodlad's proposals in "A Place Called School" (Goodlad 1983) admit the complexities of schooling and emphasise notions of learning and development without relating the major goals of schooling to maintenance of the economic structures of society. Of the reports, those of Goodlad (1983) and the Bullock (1976) reflect complementary views of schooling. The Bullock report (1976) had an important influence on the direction of the teaching of English, if not on school-wide teaching practice. Because of the absence of conditions favourable to school-wide change in terms of teachers' beliefs and classroom practice, the potential for "across-the-curriculum" change was not realised.

That schools are so pedagogically conservative that they seem not to meet the expectations of reformers on either side of the political or ideological coin, may be explained, for the purpose of this study, as follows. Schools are cultural sites as Sarason (1971) and Goodlad (1983) recognise. Schools are characterised by specific beliefs and specific concepts of knowledge and behaviour. Changes to practice within schools require significant changes to the culture of the school. Tye (1985) makes the distinction between changes to the "unique personality" and changes to the "deep" structures of school (1985, p. 15), and Corbett, Firestone and Rossman (1987) write of how the "sacred" and "profane" characteristics of these cultural sites are affected as they face pressure for change. The managing of change -- seeking a "fit" between what schools believe they are doing and what society thinks they should be doing -- whether it is

mandated or derives from educational reformers, requires an understanding of the integral part school culture must play in discussions about changing curriculum to reform schooling.

SCHOOL REFORM AND THE SCHOOL EFFECTIVENESS MOVEMENT:

Within the context of this study, the appropriate definition of school reform conforms to "the notion of organisational productivity and its theoretical background of economic rationality" (Creemers, Peter & Reynolds, 1989, p. 270). The definition links with the concepts of "excellence" served by "effectiveness" in the school reform equation that is implied in many of the proposals for school reform. Such proposals focus on the concept of the productivity of human capital and, at the same time, reinforce the contradictions inherent in discussions of the value and purpose of schooling already identified in the reform reports.

Timar and Kirp (1988) suggest that

> Achieving excellence ... is unlikely in the absence of a radical reformulation of ... educational policy (p. 126).

It is the view of these writers that policies that focus on the good of individuals and groups through programmes such as compensatory education, gender equity and the handicapped fail to strengthen schools as institutions and thus fail to strengthen "the institutional role of schools in American culture" (p. 127). Timar and Kirp (1988) ask the questions:

> Do we put public good ahead of private good? From another perspective, the question is whether institutions define and serve the common good, or whether institutions are agents to empower private wants (p. 128).

Ambivalence about the function of schooling is demonstrated in the researcher's discussions about the factors involved in making schools more effective.

As Zirkel and Greenwood (1987) state, the identification of effective schools diverges widely according to the theories and practices of the researcher; the academic achievement criterion and the "great" Principals criterion "can become mere incantations masking different perceptions of what effective schools really are" (p. 261) or how "effectiveness" may be achieved.

The effective schools literature has had a relatively short history, beginning in earnest with the work of Rutter et al. (1979), who challenged Coleman's (1974) study in the U.S.A. Coleman's study, supported by Jencks (1975), maintained that the strength of the socio-economic factors of class, income and social background is such that a student's learning is impaired or enhanced by them and that very little can be done by schools to offset their influence. Rutter maintained that this was not so and that, in fact, "GOOD" schools can make a difference, not by virtue of vast sums injected into programmes designed to compensate children for social rather than educational disadvantage but by the characteristics of the schools. Those

schools that made the difference could serve as models for reform, if their characteristics were investigated and identified.

As Angus (1986b) states, "careful analysis suggests, however, that despite the contrasts that have been drawn between the claims of Rutter and those of Jencks and Coleman, (Rutter 1979; Rogers 1979), the findings of all three are remarkably similar. He quotes Murphy, for instance:

> ... there can be no doubt that Coleman, Jencks and Rutter are in substantial agreement. In each case, differences in the family background and in the intellectual ability of the student population account for much the greater part of the variance identified. In its conventional usage, then, schools for Rutter, as for Coleman and Jencks evidently make little difference (Angus, 1986b, p. 14).

Angus (1986) discusses Murphy's point that the differences claimed by Rutter (1979) are semantic or rhetorical rather than substantial. Rutter draws an important distinction between "inequalities in attainment" and "overall levels of attainment" which allows him to point out that "improving school will not necessarily make any difference to individual variations. But it may have a decisive impact in raising overall standards of attainment" (Rutter et al., 1979, p.7). This distinction is important because, as Murphy points out:

> In that Rutter's claim pertains to the effect of schools on 'overall attainment', whilst Coleman and Jencks' relates to the effect of schools on 'variations in attainment', the resulting claims are, by this distinction, merely different not mutually exclusive. ... Rutter is left with a study which cannot support, still less vindicate his charge that Coleman and Jencks 'underestimate" the effects of schooling. (Angus, 1986, p.14).

Angus (1986b) claims that Rutter can be criticised at a methodological level, especially in relation to his overestimate of the effect of school processes compared with family backgrounds. He draws on Murphy and Ashenden in suggesting that the findings of Rutter are trivial in that the differences that 'good' schools are alleged to make, in themselves, make little if any difference to pupils' life chances (p.13).

Murphy is one of the few researchers to link the specifics of curriculum design and development to school effectiveness and, by implication, to school reform. Much discussion of effective schools supports

> folk wisdom of the profession that teachers, administrators and tightly coupled organisations can make an academic difference in the lives of children. ... I share that belief (Walker, 1990, p.7).

Much of the work on effective schools, preoccupied as it is with product rather than process, make little mention of the "what" and "how" of learning. Mulford (1990), for example, discusses factors of effective schools, drawing on the 1988 studies of Mortimore and Corcoran and Wilson. **Themes** that characterise school success are:

School Policy

1. Purposeful leadership of the staff by the head teacher.
2. The involvement of the deputy head.
3. The involvement of teachers.
4. Consistency amongst teachers.

Classroom Policy

5. Structured sessions.
6. Intellectually challenging teaching.
7. The work-centred environment.
8. Limited focus within sessions.
9. Maximum communication between teachers and pupils.

School and Class Policy

10. Record keeping.
11. Parental involvement.
12. Positive climate.

1. Active leadership.
2. Professional work environments.
3. Positive learning environments.
4. Broad community involvement.
5. Continuous school improvement.
6. Service to all students.

(Mulford, 1990)

Fullan (1985) identifies the factors of school effectiveness as falling into two major categories based on the work of Purkey and Smith (1983).

Organisation factors include:

1. instructionally focused leadership at the school level,
2. district support,
3. emphasis on curriculum and instruction (e.g., maximising academic learning),
4. clear goals and high expectations for students,
5. a system for monitoring performance and achievement,
6. ongoing staff development,
7. parental involvement and support, and
8. orderly and secure climate.

Process variables account for how improvement is to be effected that "infuse some meaning and life into the process of improvement". These are:

1. a feel for the improvement process on the part of leadership,
2. a guiding value system,
3. intense interaction and communication, and
4. collaborative planning and implementation. (Fullan, 1985).

Fullan's factors focus on this study's multi-dimensional view of effectiveness, as opposed to the uni-dimensional criterion of student achievement measured by test scores in basic areas of skills' development.

Rossman et al. (1988) summarise various researchers' opinions:

> Although each author has his preferred list, there is convergence on three categories. Broadly, these include leader attention to desired values and deliberate role modelling; shaping organisational systems to express cultural assumptions; and interpreting the symbolic elements of organisation -- the stories, myths, mottoes and symbols that both reflect and shape beliefs (p. 16).

Rossman's summary is probably most useful for this study in that it specifically examines the effective schools movement as companion to school reform within the context of cultural change.

Reported by Angus (1986), Murphy found fourteen "effectiveness variables" and identifies seven which deal with **curriculum and instruction**

factors in effective schools.

- students have more of an opportunity to learn through efficient management of time and tasks;
- there is a highly co-ordinated curriculum in which objectives, materials, instruction and assessment are all tightly aligned;
- there is active teaching with direct instruction of the whole class and close monitoring by the teacher;
- there is a clear academic mission and focus, the clear goal being the improvement of student achievement with special emphasis on the basic skills;
- principals exhibit strong instructional leadership by spending much of their time 'co-ordinating and controlling instruction and curriculum';
- there is a plan of structured staff development to 'upgrade the skills and co-ordinate the professional growth of staff members';
- finally, and most importantly in much of the school effectiveness literature, in effective schools there is frequent monitoring of student progress, and administrators discuss test results with the whole staff and individual teachers as well as with parents so that 'the staff is held accountable for test results'. (adapted from Murphy, J.F. : Angus, 1986, p.16).

These variables give direction to the present research since they encapsulate the issues of curriculum design and delivery which become important in studying the implementation of HE and TVEI.

For the purpose of this study, the main criterion for the definition of an "effective" school is that the design and implementation of its curriculum reflect what the school (as a cultural entity) believes about schooling. If the school is to remain "effective", curriculum change must reflect these beliefs. The selection of this criterion moves the study away from the more commonly used "goals centred" focus on student academic achievement as a major measure of the effectiveness of schools. Davis (1989) noted :

> ... The narrow focus on instructional outcomes also has implications for the design of school improvement programmes. It has long been recognised that organisational effectiveness is a multidimensional construct, and that devoting scarce resources to an improvement in one domain may lead to decreased effectiveness in other domains (p. 113).

SUMMARY:

The reform reports recommend changes in curriculum and school management to match those functions of schooling which are calculated to encourage the transmission and maintenance of the social and economic the structures which prevail. Recent initiatives for change have overtaken the imperatives of social justice which characterised school programmes of the 1970s, with their emphasis on equity in the provision of schooling for all children. The belief that society would not advance while barriers, artificially constructed on the grounds of race, gender and physical handicap remained in place, appears to have been subsumed by more immediate concerns associated with the economic and political imperatives of today. The reform reports are directly concerned with increasing the effectiveness of schooling. Increasing the effectiveness of schooling is directly related to the needs and challenge of a

changing economic infrastructure, for which social stratification and the division of labour remain a part.

Weiler (1980) and Levin offer their views:

> when educational ... reform is directed toward altering characteristics of a society that derive from the basic political, economic and social functioning and structure of that society, the educational reforms and plans will fail to achieve their stated objective (p. 16).

> No reforms will succeed it they violate the major tenets of our social and political system (Levin, 1976, p. 249).

Similarly, one may predict, if reforms are directed towards altering characteristics of schools that derive from the basic philosophical and social functioning and structure of education, then the reforms will fail. The study proceeds to examine whether the curriculum initiatives of Technical and Vocational Education and Health Education, as examples of educational reform, seek major alterations, through schools, of characteristics (of society or of schools) that derive from "basic structures".

CHAPTER 3

THE CURRICULUM INITIATIVES.

INTRODUCTION:

This chapter reviews two cases in which governments, by initiating programmes of school reform, have intervened in the curriculum of schools. It looks at the history and progress of these initiatives, their aims and objectives, and their differences and similarities. The initiatives are the Technical Vocational Educational Initiative (TVEI) in England and Tasmania's Health Education (HE) programme. The wider ramifications of government intervention in the formulation of curriculum and the impact of such intervention on the collective culture of schooling is discussed, with particular reference to Tasmania's Health Education programme.

POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOLING:

This section emphasises the context and the peculiar and particular circumstances which explain governments' involvement in school curricula.

Unemployment in England - Its Effect on Schooling:

The "Ruskin" speech of 1976 and the Black Papers of Cox and Dyson (1969) are highlights of the demands on schools to make ever more satisfactory contributions to the needs of society. Opinion in favour of reform was further strengthened by the work of the "new" sociologists such as Anyon, Keddie and Bourdieu, comparisons being made by school performances in Germany and Japan and a leaked Department of Education and Science report to the Prime Minister which detailed problems with schooling. The Ruskin speech highlighted that fundamental dilemma of schooling: how to serve the individual students in their intellectual, social and cultural development and, at the same time, serve the economy. The outcome of the spread of dissatisfaction with schooling was its increasing centralisation.

It is, as Slater and Tapper (1981) state, impossible to identify the dynamic that operated as the catalyst for centralisation of schooling, but consideration of the aggregation of events does not show schooling itself to be the source of the problem (p.193). The government's economic policies (designed to reduce inflation), the decline of the textile industry in the face of the cheap labour of Third World countries, and of other manufacturing industries for technological reasons, the increasing impact of new technology on intensive labour demands and increased world market competition had all conspired to reduce employment opportunities in Britain (Purcell, 1986, p. 169). So strong was the view that reform of schooling held the solution to employment problems that neither the assertions by teacher unions nor the favourable results of a survey done by the Assessment of Performance Unit and Her Majesty's Inspectorate

could dampen the fires of criticism (Pring, 1987, p.139). Consensus was expressed thus:

> Lord Young (now a member of Cabinet and then Chairman of the Manpower Services Commission) ... told the meeting that he did not believe youth unemployment had anything to do with the state of the economy. It had to do with the state of mind of young people leaving school, who lacked motivation and enterprise because their education had been too academic and unrelated to employment ... (Holt, 1987, p.64).

Politically, it was accepted that the country's education system was not, as it stood, capable of saving the situation and so the process of centralisation, culminating in the 1988 Education Reform Act, began.

This development is in line with Slater and Tapper's (1981) view that pressures from the environment in which schools are placed are stimulants for change, particularly when a largely accidental aggregation of external pressures reaches a level which forces the education system to adapt itself accordingly (Slater and Tapper, 1981, p. 193).

The Relationship Between Health and the Economy - The Tasmanian Experience:

Australia experienced a similar trend in public perception about the role of schooling in the economy and, with the election of a federal Labor Government, came the practice of state governments appointing non-educators to the office of Director General of Education. In Tasmania, the appointment of the first non-educator as Head of Agency coincided with the introduction of direct government involvement in policy-making for schools with its directives on curriculum (Beare, 1989a).

Tasmania has the highest unemployment rate in the Commonwealth: in 1991, unemployment figures in Australia reached 10%; in Tasmania, the figure was 11.3% (*The Mercury* 13/9/91), with 22.7% youth unemployment, and incomes generally are below national levels. Australian and overseas studies confirm that socially- and economically-disadvantaged people die younger than do their more affluent peers. It is therefore legitimate to draw conclusions about positive expectations for the healthy and the relationship between health and income.

Tasmania's experience is an interesting example of an attempt to face issues of public health, particularly the association of income with illness and other health problems. In 1990, the Tasmanian Department of Health provided statistical evidence establishing the link (Appendix 1). Using the "Henderson poverty line" as the benchmark, a study "Social Status and Morbidity in Australia" concluded that

- illnesses and days of reduced activity are generally more frequent among the poor;
- most marked differences between the poor and the well off are for mental illnesses;
- females generally have a higher morbidity ratio at each level of affluence than do males, whereas poor males have higher ratios for both chronic conditions and mental illness (p. 7).

Tasmanians generally suffer higher rates of morbidity and deaths than is the case nationally. In 1988, Tasmania had the highest number of deaths per 1000 people of all the Australian states. Life expectancy for Tasmanian males born in 1987 has been calculated at 72 years. For women, the figure is 78 years. Nationally, Tasmania has higher proportions of deaths from cerebrovascular disease. Respiratory disease and diseases of the circulatory system accounted for almost half of deaths in Tasmania. Further analysis of the Health Department's data shows that a considerable number of Tasmanian deaths were from preventable causes. One third of the young males (15-25) who die, die in car accidents and one third from suicide.

Tasmania's statistically high levels of unemployment and high levels of morbidity compared with those of mainland states served as the catalyst for the Tasmanian Government's intervention in schools' curriculum. The statistics and the particularities of the state's economic infrastructure, its history and its demographic characteristics served to identify the potential of the government's school Health Education as "a socially and politically transformative force" (Beckett, 1990, p.92). They also explain why the approach to Health Education has prevention as its pivotal concept.

Behind the rhetoric of reform to schooling rests the crisis mentality in educational policy. Education is valued, within this conceit, according to its capacity to respond to the economic, social and political circumstances which prevail at any one time. The response of government to crisis is to intervene in schooling. Such intervention suggests a view that schooling is an instrument of the government in the service of the community; but the view is ambivalent, as seen, for example, in the tension between the rhetoric of egalitarianism and demands for "excellence"(Timar & Kirp. 47).

THE MATTER OF INTERVENTION:

Beckett (1990), by describing the socially and politically transformative potential of school Health Education, highlights a further major issue of concern, that of intervention. Williams and Aspin (1981), Kirk and Gray (1990) and Beckett (1990) raise the recurrent, underlying question of whether schools are there to respond to society's demands or to take the lead when society needs a change of direction. They comment on the ethical and practical problems inherent in either course. The view is that both aims for schooling are competitive and in conflict (Beckett, 1990, p.96). An alternative to a choice is to allow that schools, depending on the issues, can fulfil either role.

The issue of intervention, through school Health Education, to change society's or an individual's attitudes, beliefs and values, is summed up by the question Williams (1981) asks:

> "Are we ... concerned with helping young people clarify their own position, knowledge and decisions about smoking (for example) or is it our aim to help young people not to smoke?" (p.112).

Williams (1981), in reviewing the behavioural goals of the Health Education programmes is not sure whether, while teachers believe that they are leading children to make decisions for themselves, they are not in fact, albeit unintentionally, pressuring them to accept certain behaviours. Combes (1989) discusses the relevance of the HE curriculum materials to the needs of children with learning difficulties and those whose experiences differ from those of children portrayed in the material.

Because TVEI and HE contain elements of affective education, the issue of intervention is important. While either of the initiatives could be described in the following section, HE has been selected for emphasis because, as much of what happens in schools relates to values, beliefs and behaviours, an example that more closely concerns the affective rather than the cognitive categories of schools' subject hierarchies, serves best.

The Tasmanian programme's aims in dealing with the social, physical and mental dimensions of health are virtually limitless in scope and range outside what state schools are practised in doing -- the transmission of knowledge and the nurturing of understanding in the cognitive domain. Their task in the affective domain has been to encourage socially acceptable behaviour within the school community, where their authority lies. As Tones (1981) observes, the thrust of the HE programme is toward the affective domain (p. 4), involving personal attitudes and values and a preoccupation with sensitive social problems whose range extends to areas outside the school community and where schools, to date, have had no mandate.

> Children bring to school already formed beliefs and attitudes (for instance, to alcohol, smoking and sexuality); they are not attitudinal virgins" (Tones, 1981, p. 16).

While the government has taken charge of one area of curriculum, it has not totally eliminated family responsibility for instruction in some matters. That the schools' mandate has not been extended to interference in the family's right to educate the children in values and attitudes to do with health issues is seen in the Tasmanian Education Department's policy statement, which allows parents to withdraw their children from classes when they deal with personal relationships. The policy statement recognises the role of parents in the moral upbringing of their children and, by implication, acknowledges the strength and legitimacy of the influence wielded by the family and other socialising agencies. What it fails to recognise are the associated factors of socio-economic background, social class and intelligence which bear on self-confidence, self-esteem and training in social skills. The key outcomes envisaged by the objectives of HE are self-determination and empowerment in decision-making. Unless, for the individual student, the powerful influences outside the school support these ideals, prospects of success for the HE programme are dim.

The link between health and socio-economic factors leads to more detailed consideration of an associated major issue: the initiative's focus on the individual's responsibility for maintaining a healthy lifestyle, as stated in the

Health Education policy,Tasmanian Education Department (1987):

> A basic premise underlying the development of Health Education is that health problems today are largely related to patterns of behaviour and the lifestyles that individuals adopt. It follows that Health Education should not only be concerned with providing students with information, it should also engage them in making decisions and in developing a sense of personal involvement with and a responsibility for their own health (p.16).

The dominant idea of the health programme concerns the choices people make about the style of life they lead. "Responsibility for health is laid squarely at the door of the individual" (Combes, 1989, p. 67). In their examination of alcohol-education programmes used in Primary schools, Colquhoun and Robottom (1990) concluded that calls for restraint, self-control and temperance reaffirmed "a moral code which emphasises individual behaviour where individuals are expected to change their behaviour and curb their drinking habits" (p.116). This ideology of individual responsibility does not account for the broader social and cultural influences which affect the ways in which people behave.

Colquhoun and Robottom (1990) refer to the contradictory messages that children receive regarding abstinence and/or moderation on the one hand and indulgence and enjoyment on the other (p.116). In his article, Tinning (1990) provides an example, as he discusses the experience of Natalie at Primary school as she faces the contradictions of her environment regarding messages relating to health:

> The messages about health, and by association, fitness and looking good which Natalie is exposed to at home and at school are about self-discipline, abstinence, control and will power. The messages about enjoyment, desirability, sensuality, and pleasure are related to consumption of fast food, alcohol, cars and other material goods (p.81).

Tinning (1990) highlights one of the most serious contradictions and distortions of HE -- the matter of choice. In the first place, there is an assumption that restrictions on choice rest with the individual. In fact, the ability to choose relies on the individual's knowledge and attitudes and on his or her skills in influencing life-chances which are, in their turn, influenced by the "social, economic and political organisation of a society which can facilitate or obstruct choices for health" (Combes, 1989, p.68). It is clear that, depending on the circumstances of one's situation in life, there are "gradients of choices ... and dimensions of responsibility" (Combes, 1989, p.71). People's capacity to make responsible choice is inherently tied to the liberating or restrictive nature of their circumstances.

The nature of some materials used to support the initiative in schools suggests that the aims of this Government-promoted initiative invest the programme with an unrealistic expectation of the initiative's capacity to effect changes in knowledge, attitudes, values and skills, the success of which will be judged by a reduction in the rates of morbidity and death of productive young Australians. By ignoring some of the realities of life as many adults, and their

children, live it, the initiative places on schools a responsibility which they cannot meet.

In his study of materials made available for the Health Education programme, for example, Combes (1989) found, in his examination of those related to alcohol, that

> there was virtually no match between these children's drinking experiences which were essentially working class drinking patterns and the predominantly middle-class orientations of most alcohol education material (p.73).

Beckett (1990) is concerned about the conventional perspectives of health matters such as sexuality, which she believes are diversionary in effect and unrealistic. Colquhoun and Robottom (1990) are similarly concerned that rhetoric does not match reality. Given that, in Australia, one third of marriages end in divorce and family disruption, unrealism can be discerned in the Government's proposal for legislative measures to reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS; an early draft states:

> the Parliament believes that HIV/AIDS prevention is best served by support for marriage and stable family, community and personal relationships, (and is least served by heterosexual and homosexual promiscuity) (p. 3).

Beckett (1990) maintains that the theoretical model for HE is "that of an applied science of behavioural change" (p.92). HE programmes are seen to have at their centre social learning theories because they incorporate the cognitive, affective, behavioural and social domains. Key constructs of theories such as modelling, vicarious reinforcements and expectations, for example, have been operationalised into techniques designed to influence and change behaviour.

Social psychology offers other theories which inform HE courses. One is the link between knowledge, changes in attitude and the outcomes of behaviour. As Parcel (1985) notes, it is difficult, given the complex relationship which exists between attitudes and behaviour, to judge to what extent attitudes are determinants of behaviour. In the absence of research findings which establish the link, Parcel (1985) accepts that the work of Fishbein (with regard to the variables of motivation and behavioural intention) has had a useful application in dealing with behaviour relating to such behaviours as alcohol consumption and smoking (p. 41).

The preventive aspect of the aims of Health Education derive from problem-behaviour theory. Its intention is to prevent or delay the onset of health-threatening behaviour such as poor diet, smoking, drug abuse or sexual promiscuity. This theory, as Parcel (1985) states is "concerned with the interrelationships of three major systems of explanatory concepts: the personality system, the perceived environment system, and the behaviour system" (p. 41).

Society appears to expect intervention, yet what form that intervention should take remains controversial. The issue is confused because of conflict

between the rights people have to make decisions for themselves within the law and the inclination governments have to affront these rights and freedoms to maintain degrees of social control. Further, as Williams (1981) says, as in all educational matters, there is division between society's expectations regarding academic progress, which is measurable in some way, and social and moral development, which has no objective measurable component (p. 120). In the matter under discussion, there are no established means of demonstrating that the expectations of the programmes have been met.

Williams and Aspin (1981) discuss the ethics of intervention from the point of view of values: what constitutes "healthy" behaviour? Their discussion focuses on the diversity of beliefs about the nature of morality on the one hand and the comparatively simplistic views which inform HE on the other. The difficult philosophical questions they raise are left unanswered, but they do highlight the conflict between personal autonomy and the processes involved in persuading people that the responses to social and other stimuli contained within the HE curriculum are "the right responses" (p.51). To emphasise the difficulty teachers have in resolving this conflict, Williams and Aspin (1981) discuss the notion that, in following the rules of moral deliberation one may reach mutually contradictory conclusions.

Beckett (1990) advances the argument about the issue of intervention by taking up the related topics of power and socialisation. She relates goals for improving health-related knowledge, skills and beliefs to "literal prescriptions about what people are to think, feel and do" (p.94). The cultural implications of the HE curriculum are also invoked:

> ... the objectives express socially defined rules, structures, meanings and values about the body, the mind and social relationships which are imposed on teachers and others through the rituals and forms of the curriculum. This is a crucial point because it implies manipulation insofar as the prescribed curriculum forces the formation of particular types of people by stressing desirable body care, sexual behaviour, food intake, exercise, ... and last but by no means least, a desirable mentality (p.94).

Not only are Health Education programmes planned and taught by people whose capacity for and beliefs in the morality of intervention vary widely, but they are planned and taught by people whose views about teaching may or may not sit well with health education in school as prescribed by the Tasmanian programme.

Insofar as TVEI programmes deal with affective issues, many of the problematic aspects of intervention similarly apply. The divergence of cultural mores within a school's population, made some aspects of TVEI unsuitable, for example, in one of the schools of the study.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION INITIATIVE (England):

In Chapter 2, Wallace's (1961) description of schools in various cyclical phases of social development was briefly discussed. The conclusion was drawn

that Britain is in a conservative/reactionary cycle and, in keeping with Wallace's description of such a society, subscribes to a philosophy of centralisation which removes responsibility for the education of the young from the family, industry and other social groups, and allocates it solely to schools (p. 48). Twelve years of Conservative government in Britain have resulted in a basic restructuring of education, linking it to the economy and culminating in centralist control. From such control have come curriculum initiatives which reflect the ideology of the government, with its major concern for the country's economy.

The initiative known as TVEI reflects two major concerns of government about the relationship between schooling and society. One is about economic life in a turbulent society and the other is about the maintenance of social stability. As Simon (1988) has remarked:

> The object of bringing about a basic restructuring of education [is to ensure] that things do not get out of hand in terms of the preservation of the status quo and particularly of ensuring social stability (p.222).

There is support for Simon's concern. Pring (1987) quotes Ranson who, when interviewing people of influence within the government in 1984, recorded comments as follows:

> There may be social unrest, but we can cope with the Toxteths. But if we have a highly educated and idle population we may possibly anticipate more serious social conflict. People must be educated once more to know their place (Pring, 1987, p.147).

When Ranson asked a Chief Education officer why there was a perceived need for centralisation of the curriculum, the reply was "to facilitate social control as much as encourage manpower planning" (Pring, 1987, p.147).

Simon (1988) also maintains, in keeping with Wallace's (1961) view, that

> the argument for centralising power is based on the need for explicit social engineering to cope with the dangers arising from over education in a contracting labour market (p.223).

Perception of this need for control has arisen in Britain because of the crisis in the world economy, teacher militancy, falling enrolments, underemployment of labour (particularly that of school leavers) and the Brixton, Toxteth and anti-Poll Tax riots. The statistics are staggering by any standard.

In the mid-seventies in Britain, unemployment had risen to four percent. By 1980 the figure was seven percent. By 1982, it had reached twelve percent, as it was in 1986 (Walford, Purvis and Pollard, 1988, p.6). In recent times, "one million unskilled jobs have been lost from the economy" (Pring, 1987, p.135), the exponential growth of technology being partly responsible (Cumming, 1988, p.180). A decade ago, two thirds of school leavers entered employment. The figure is now around ten percent.

That the bulk of jobs lost has come from the "unskilled" sector highlights a paradox in thinking about employment. Many of these lost jobs are in the areas of employment best known for their gender divisions and discrimination,

their failure to offer any sense of fulfilment and their degrading effect on workers. It is the type of employment that questions the view that employment "*per se* is a good thing from the point of view of society ... and the individual" (Purcell, 1986, p.154).

Such dramatic changes in the employment profile of the present "post-industrial" period also throws into relief the relationship between prestige as derived from occupation and the trend towards voluntary work and self-employment which are emerging as balancing factors in discussing the social ramifications of employment and unemployment for the individual (Purcell, 1986, p.156). Relevant too, are factors such as the redistribution of work, deskilling, changing labour markets and changing interpretations regarding productivity.

The matter of unemployment as a possible source of social unrest and as a brake on developing national economic growth is the pivot of government measures relating to TVEI. One task of this study is to assess the success the programme has had as an initiative of educational reform. To do so, it is necessary to look at some of the features and history of this initiative.

TVEI: ITS AIMS AS A "CURRICULUM" INITIATIVE:

While reviewing documents and curriculum material available at South Central (one of the schools implementing TVEI), the researcher became aware of how the TVEI programme evolved beyond earlier Vocational Education programmes. As the programme has progressed, its concepts of "work" have altered from "skills-based" to "attitudinally-based", while the prospect of "being employed" has given way to becoming "potentially employable". An implication of this important development is that the strategies suggested to promote its implementation derive from TVEI's insistence that curriculum planning focus on matters relating to technological change, equal opportunity and direct opportunities to participate actively in the world of work. Pring (1987) noted that the management of TVEI has evinced a shift in emphasis. Narrowly conceived, job-specific programmes of preparation for work have given place to programmes which emphasise personal and social needs and the notion of personal effectiveness (p.138).

TVEI, a four-year package designed for students between the ages of fourteen and sixteen and leading to the qualification of Certificate of Prevocational Education at age seventeen, was introduced into pilot schools in fourteen Local Education Authorities in 1983, ten months after plans were announced in Parliament. As Pring (1987) has said, curriculum planners were required to develop course content which met certain criteria. These included:

> ... a greater technical and vocational emphasis; the pursuit of more equal opportunities; links between school and college and the world of work; personal qualities such as initiative and responsibility; regular assessment through profiling ... (p.141).

TVEI is an initiative involving curriculum change which is intended to

vocationalise the schooling experiences of students aged fourteen to eighteen.

TVEI urges schools to ensure that:

. the curriculum uses every opportunity to relate education to the world of work by using concrete, real examples if possible;
. young people get the knowledge, competencies and qualifications they need in a highly technological society which is itself part of Europe and the world economy;
. young people themselves get direct opportunities to learn about the economy and the world of work -- through work experience, workshadowing, projects in the community and so on;
. young people learn how to be effective people, solve problems, work in teams, be enterprising and creative through the way they are taught;
. young people have access to initial guidance and counselling and then continuing education and training, and opportunities for progression throughout their lives.

The five aims are supported by key objectives. In relating the whole curriculum to the world of work, one objective is to develop more realistic contexts and experiences for learning across the whole curriculum. A second objective is to make effective use of industry expertise and experience across the whole curriculum. In support of the second aim, objectives include processing student achievement through accreditation, profiling and records of achievement and through modular courses of study which offer opportunities for more students of both sexes to increase access to learning in the Sciences, Technologies and Modern Languages. In developing cross-curricular activities and relating them to the highly technological society, the planning of modular courses involved with technology, economic and industrial understanding, personal and social education and information technology is recommended. A further objective of TVEI, in realising the aim of increasing students' knowledge and experience of the world of work, is to relate programmes of study to educational and employment prospects and offer opportunities for Work Experience. Incorporated into the aims of TVEI are objectives relating to the professional development of teachers for the carriage of the initiative. One such objective involves teachers in developing strategies designed to encourage students to become effective learners and problem solvers.

TVEI: ITS PROGRESS:

In January 1988, six years after the initiative was presented to the educational world "like a bolt from the blue", and with six years of planned and managed change to go, *The Times* stated:

> [TVEI is] one of the most positive advances in secondary schooling since the 1944 Education Act -- the initiative has captured the imagination and application of teachers and pupils alike. It has great potential to redirect schooling towards the world of work. It does not fall into the trap of training for specific jobs or the acquisition of narrow skills. It lays the foundation for craft and technician skills to be acquired.

This article in *The Times* was one of many media comments which were generally in favour of the initiative. The initiative had a high media profile and

between January 1983 and January 1984, as Fiddy (1987) comments, forty-six articles focusing on TVEI were published by *The Times* "Educational Supplement" (p.155). Elsewhere too, TVEI has been judged to be a major innovative programme of educational reform (Sikes and Taylor, 1987, p.55).

The speed of the programme's implementation and the fact that the government had bypassed the growing practice of democratic consultation for curriculum change (they did not involve teacher unions or the Department of Education and Science), gave the initiative its unique character and caused considerable disquiet. At its inception, various views emerged. There were those who believed the initiative would be an effective means of social control because it would reinforce the divisions which had been a part of British economic life. Others, like Adler, for whom, as Pring (1987) states:

> ... education was of intrinsic worth whose aims derived, not from an analysis of adult needs or work related skills, but from the academic traditions through which children were put in touch with the 'very best that has been thought and said' (p.133),

believed the matter of training students for employment was best out of teachers' hands because, in their view, the profession maintained an anti-industrial stance on education and promoted a curriculum which was out of phase with the economic realities (Dale, 1989, p.153).

Slater and Tapper (1981) discuss the point that Britain's schools have placed high value on "areas of knowledge that are only of marginal importance to the efficient operation of the economy" (p.33). Simon (1988), believes that the effect on schools has been to re-establish tripartism because the programme differentiates between students by offering an academic and a technical stream (p.223).

The divisive possibilities of TVEI were also advanced by Gleeson (1987), and supported by Holt (1987). The Grammar school streams still survive (p.73). Lord Young, as Secretary of State for employment stated his idea that fifteen percent of students will go on to higher education, "while another thirty to thirty-five percent will stay on doing the TVEI" (p.74). Dale (1989) maintains that TVEI has had a "narrowing, excessively vocationalising effect on the curriculum" (p.148). Walford (1988) predicts that, despite the aims of TVEI, inequalities of gender and ethnicity will continue to exist within schools and that, despite the fact that Principals had embarked on "major curriculum innovation", the context of schooling remains the same (p.5). This is in keeping with Musgrave's view that educational change has two dimensions, "changing the institutional character of schooling and changing the experience of schooling within the educational institutions" (Slater and Tapper,1981, p.46). In terms of the intentions of the initiative, TVEI appears to contain within it capacities which reflect both dimensions. Certainly the evidence presented as a result of investigations by NFER (commissioned by the Manpower Services Commission, which, instead of the Department of Education and Science carried responsibility for the initiation and implementation of the initiative)

suggests that the resource support for the initiative has encouraged a revitalisation of the curriculum. In fact, the progress of the initiative seems to support Slater and Tapper (1981) when they say that TVEI, as an example of educational change, "is a restructuring of the experience of schooling including the management of knowledge (its content, pedagogy and evaluation) within education institutions" (p.69).

Impressive at the time of the launch of TVEI in 1983, given the history of falling enrolments, cuts in public expenditure, school reorganisation and teacher militancy, was the massive injection of money into the project. Such funding effectively swept opposition away. As the project expanded, some Local Education Authorities set reservations aside, as did some schools. The funding, and the spin-offs for the whole school which the supporting resources were offering in terms of personnel, equipment, and smaller teaching groups, could not be turned down. As Fiddy (1987) comments, "some head teachers who may not have wanted TVEI on philosophical grounds may have felt obliged to accept it for local or pragmatic reasons" (p.151).

The two London schools of this study, Taylor and South Central, confirm the view that the prospect of generous funding encouraged their participation in TVEI. The project began with a £250,000,000 budget and an additional £25,000,000 was made available for In-Service work under the TVEI Related In-Service Training programme (TRIST). Schools received £75 for each student taking the initial programme. LEA capitation expenditure was £0.75 per week (Holt, 1987, p.56).

Harland (1986) describes TVEI as "the biggest single intervention ever made by central government in school curriculum" (p. 38), and suggests that "categorical funding" has been a key factor in the implementation of the programme.

TVEI is a major example of government intervention in schooling. It has been a resource-led curriculum innovation of considerable proportions in terms of the financial support it enjoyed and its prospects for dramatic curriculum change. Some researchers, (Harland (1986) for example), see it as remarkable for its initial success despite the negative expectations those who study the management of change held for it. Holt (1987) comments:

> Less than a decade ago, commentary and research in planned school change revolved almost exclusively around specifying the properties of the innovation, assessing outcomes, and to a lesser extent, planning changes and getting people to change them. As a result of this approach so many educational changes fail to become established (p.82).

By contrast, TVEI appears, superficially at least, to have achieved, as the government hoped it would, the restructuring of schooling for 14-18 year olds and a "reorganising [of] the environment" in which learning occurs (Gleeson, 1987, p.10).

To be tested in the research is the view that Pring (1985), Young (1986) and Holt (1987) advance. They believe that TVEI is different from other official

curriculum initiatives in that it lacks proposals for assessment and prescriptions for courses but has, nevertheless, a coherent philosophy. It has opened opportunities for new teaching styles which focus on individual achievement and negotiated learning plans, new methods of assessment (including profiling), new curriculum content incorporating cross-curricular planning and modular units of learning and it has increased students' opportunities for technological development. These statements suggest an expectation that TVEI has the capacity to reform the curriculum.

TVEI: TEACHER RESPONSE:

Harland (1986) describes teachers' response to TVEI as "creative and innovative" (p.39). Harland(1986) also highlights the unexpected response of teachers to strong central control, as a "central paradox of the TVEI phenomenon" (p.39):

> For so long the rhetoric of development has maintained that strong central control kills local initiative and alienates practitioners; and conversely that creativity, innovation and willingness to experiment depend upon professional autonomy and a good degree of personal security and freedom from authoritarian intervention. TVEI defies this dogma (p.39).

In an attempt to explain the paradox, Harland (1986) discusses benefits offered by the initiative, such as the revitalisation of the school curriculum through the clarification and improved status of subjects less well regarded, and the new freedom experienced by teachers previously dominated by the "academic" factors of schooling (McCulloch,1989). Fiddy (1987) saw the curricular and pedagogic changes afforded by TVEI as "short circuiting" the traditional curriculum (p.156). Holt (1987) also comments on the opportunity TVEI offered "for staff, normally labelled by subject specialism, to plan together cross-curricular programmes" (p.59). Pring (1985) records changes to teaching practice (such as assignment-led activities and the placing of increasing responsibility for learning with the student) which have moved away from the didactic and authoritarian modes of teaching so deleterious to learning. Harland (1986) also mentions the liberating aspect of the programme which brought hope at a time of gloom and energy to a flagging system. She acknowledges the successful model of planned change employed by the Manpower Services Commission which, from the outset, provided for teacher in-service training, and the close monitoring and evaluation of the programme. Beattie (1986) also discusses the fact that TVEI has a coherent philosophy and an organisational structure which is complemented by the management styles of TVEI coordinators (p. 7).

Since teachers' orientation towards a change is essential for its successful implementation (Young, 1986), it is also important to mention the vulnerability of teachers at the time the initiative was launched. Harland (1986) mentions teachers' characteristic reluctance to co-operate in the face of central imperatives. Already distracted by union militancy and the introduction of

legislation encouraging parental choice of schools (which inaugurated the need to market schools in the community if teachers' jobs were to survive), teachers were then as vulnerable as any other occupational and social group in the community to what McCulloch (1987) calls the "Falklands Factor", which gave the government power to oppose anything it believed not to be in the nation's interest (p.22).

Teachers' "traditional inertia and lack of commitment on the part of those not intimately involved" (Sikes and Taylor, 1987, p.56) was anticipated by the Manpower Services Commission and circumvented by the principle of "contractual reciprocity", an approach designed to reduce appreciation of real and potential threats to professional, pedagogic and administrative autonomy (p.56). Teachers were taken by surprise and, because the Manpower Services Commission had been established with the support of the Trades Union Council, those teacher unions affiliated with the TUC were not in a position to offer resistance to TVEI's introduction.

TVEI, as a major curriculum initiative designed to influence what teachers believe about teaching and the way they teach, is expected to redress economic, industrial and technical ills of Britain. The expectation for Health Education is also directed towards economic ends.

THE HEALTH EDUCATION INITIATIVE (Tasmania):

The first sentence of the Tasmanian Education Department's document on Health Education states: "Escalating health-care costs, the increasing incidence of social problems and their effects on the individual and growing interest in health have made Health Education a major issue in society" (p. 9).

Given the statistics referred to earlier in this chapter, it is not surprising, as Kirk and Gray (1990) comment, that community awareness of health has a preventive thrust and focuses on lifestyles as well as national efficiency and economic productivity (p.74). Nor is it surprising that some theorists (Beckett (1990) and Apple (1982), for example) suggest that Health Education in schools must maintain the relationship between schooling and the economic and cultural norms of society. The link between school, health and social expectations is reaffirmed by Combes (1989) who warns, however, that the "sanitised" courses offered and their proposed behavioural outcomes are based on a view of health which is conservative and does not reflect reality.

The Health Education (HE) programme, as a curriculum initiative in its own right, began in Tasmanian Primary schools in 1979. It received increased prominence in Secondary schools during the 1980's when, under the direction of the then Minister of Education of the State's Liberal government, three aspects of the curriculum (personal relationships, sexuality and, in 1991, HIV/AIDS) became compulsory areas of study in all schools operated by the Tasmanian Education Department. Although the initiative's planning was in consultation with officers of the Department's Curriculum Services branch, it was instigated by the State's Health Department and the government's active

support for it was evidenced by Cabinet's close involvement with policy statements. "Health Education (became) the Education Department's (and the Government's) top educational priority for 1987" (Langford and Edwards, 1990, p.4), -- such a priority that for the next three years, with annual funding at the level of approximately $400,000, it became the most costly of all the Department's curriculum projects to date.

HE: DEFINITION AND RATIONALE:

In the document "Health Education in Tasmanian Schools and Colleges" (1987) is a definition of health which informs the rationale. The definition draws from the old English word "Haelth" which means "wholeness" and includes Pericles' view of health as "that state of moral, mental and physical well-being which enables a man to face any causes in life with the utmost facility and grace" (p. 8). The preferred definition of the authors of the document is that of the World Health Organisation (1946) which describes health as a "state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not simply the absence of disease or infirmity" (p. 8). Of added interest is the document's definition of Health Education (HE) as "the process through which people develop the understanding, skills and motivation to act in a responsible way for their own health and for the health of others" (p. 8).

Difficulties arise immediately. It is clear that the need to define HE admits the need to clarify the problematic concept of what health is. How any person views health is very much dependent on that person's world view, position in society and sense of self. It may also be dependent on one's understanding of the development of concepts of health. These concepts include the humoral pathology of Greek belief, the Cartesian view of man as machine, the concern for the structure and function of the body which separates humans from their natural environment and the current view of health as a social concept as distinct from a purely medical concept.

> Health ... is a dynamic state encompassing physical, social and mental well-being of individuals and their communities. These dimensions may be represented diagrammatically as forming a triangle of health:

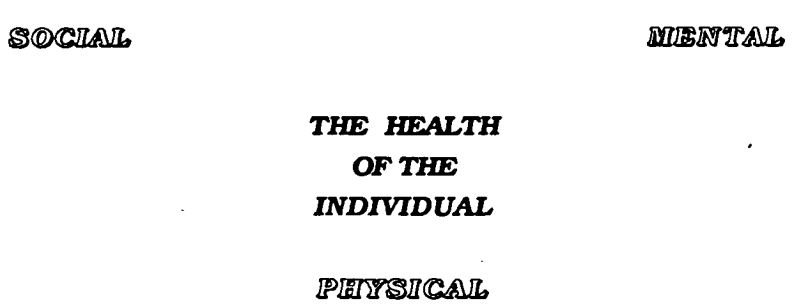

Figure 3

> The triangle illustrates the 'wholeness' of health; the interrelatedness and the interdependence of the three elements of health. If any one

> element is absent, health, as represented by the triangle, collapses (Tasmanian Education Department, 1987, p.8).

Williams and Aspin (1983) warn against accepting without question any definition, given the nature of the authority which may propound it. They maintain that the World Health Organisation is as limited as any group of people, by nature of their selection, and thus are unable to make statements which are representative of the whole spectrum of opinion. Further, Williams and Aspin (1983) have difficulty with the definition of health as a "state of ... well-being" suggesting that the statement is nonsense given its opposite, "illness is a state of ill-being" (p.44). The use of the word "state" also gives a view of health as being a fixed condition which does not allow for the dynamic nature of the human condition (p.44). Definitions of health must admit the circumstances which prevail at the time the statement is made. Hence, definitions of Health Education must allow for varietal contexts. This view also accommodates the notion of the coincidence of health and culture. According to Illich, each culture shapes an unique "Gestalt" of health. "Every person's health is a responsible performance in a social script" (Davies, 1986, p.12). This cultural account of health is also discussed by Beckett (1990), who refers to Crawford's belief that "illness and health inform our understandings of the 'cultural constitution of bodily experience and the systems of meaning in society'" (p.97). Crawford makes the point that health is "a category of experience that reveals tacit assumptions about individual and social reality" (Beckett, 1990, p.97). Beckett (1990) continues the discussion by taking up a point relating to conventional understandings, beliefs, values and expectations about health which, if not questioned, are reproduced in Health Education programmes and which, as is later discussed, may not be appropriate.

> The associated notion of socialisation is highlighted by Parsons; the idea of function is central to a social definition of health and the state of a person's health is defined by the person's capacity to carry out the tasks and roles for which he or she has been socialised. Concepts of health will, therefore vary with expectations of participation in society (p.14).

As Williams and Aspin (1981) remark, "... the only kind of acceptable definition is a stipulative one of the kind: "In this situation (scheme of work, project ...), I take Health Education to be as follows ..." (p.46).

The Tasmanian Department of Health provides a definition which avoids the challenge of the foregoing arguments. Health is described as

> a resource for every day living, and as the extent to which an individual or group is able to realise aspirations and satisfy needs while also coping with the environment. Central to this definition of health is the achievement of a reasonably optimistic and contented state of mind for members of the community (p.4).

So described, health encompasses three interrelated domains; physical health, psychological health, and social health. This concept of health however, raises curriculum and pedagogic difficulties which cause concern for the prospects of Health Education in schools.

HE: ITS PHILOSOPHY AND AIMS:

In 1987 the Education Department expressed its view of health "which encompasses the physical, emotional and social well-being of the individual and the community" and recommended that the following topics be included in the programme:

* Personal relationships,
* Hygiene and care for the body,
* Nutrition,
* Leisure, exercise and rest,
* Communicable diseases,
* Use and abuse of drugs,
* Safety and accidents,
* Environmental and community health and
* Community and other health services.

Four requirements were made of schools. They are:

* to select and plan carefully to teach the areas which are the most appropriate to the needs and interests of students;
* to ensure that the learning environment and access to support personnel are conducive to a successful programme;
* to assist students to gain an understanding of and respect for themselves and others, to develop the ability to communicate with others and to have satisfying interpersonal relationships, and to accept personal responsibility for sound health practices;
* to involve parents and the community in developing a programme that responds to the needs and interests of students.

The aims of the programme are divided into a general statement of intention and components that relate to students' acquisition of knowledge, values and attitudes and skills:

A health education programme should enable students:

* to understand the basic requirements of good health;
* to understand their own health.

The objectives of the programme are to enable students:

* to develop a clear sense of their own worth and to develop respect for others;
* to develop a life-long sense of responsibility for their own health;
* to develop the skills necessary to establish a healthy lifestyle and to maintain health;
* to take constructive action for their personal health, for the health needs of others and for health issues in the community.

A health education programme should include:

KNOWLEDGE

Students should gain an understanding of:

* the nature and physical development of the human body and the impact which various forms of behaviours may have on the body;
* the nature of health;
* the nature of the individual's health;
* the health of others; and
* the roles of the variety of health-related agencies, services and personnel in the community and how these can be utilised.

VALUES AND ATTITUDES
Students should develop:

* an acceptance and a recognition of the value of good health;
* sensitivity to, and an acceptance of the feelings and needs of other people;
* a willingness to become involved in group and community decision-making; and
* a responsibility for personal actions and an acceptance of the consequence of those actions.

SKILLS
Students need to learn:

* to deal with health-related problems;
* to make decisions about their own health;
* to communicate with others and function effectively in relationships with others;
* to engage in behaviour that will promote personal health, including the positive use of leisure;
* to promote and maintain the health of the families and communities in which they live;
* to assess the effect of peer pressure and cope with the stresses of such pressure;
* to appreciate the power of social forces and institutions (including the media) to influence the development of an individual personality ... and to recognise those outside influences that may reinforce health-related behaviour.
* to make good use of community health services.

(Tasmanian Education Department, 1987, p.12).

The aims and objectives of the initiative reflect a view of Health Education which concentrates on changing the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of individuals by providing information leading to decision-making that involves responsible choice.

As is the case with TVEI, the Health Education program is expected to change society's "value atmosphere", its beliefs and practices. Schools are required to take responsibility for the changes from "health-neutral" to "health-enhancing" behaviours believed by government to be essential for the economic advantage of that society.

Implied, then, though not discussed, in the Department's policy statement, "Health Education in Tasmanian Schools and Colleges" (1987), are two questionable assumptions: firstly, that there is a causal link between Health Education (i.e. knowledge) and the way people behave with regard to their health; and secondly, that schools are the appropriate agencies for disseminating the knowledge.

The literature on the evaluation of Health Education programmes is mixed in its assessment of whether there is positive correlation between school Health Education programmes and the desired behaviours of adolescents. Some researchers, including O'Rourke and Koizumi (1982), Pederson, Baskerville and Lefcoe (1981) and Coe, Crouse, Cohen and Fisher (1982) report research findings of measurable changes in attitudes, skills, knowledge and behaviour. On the other hand, Pigg (1983) points to the results of a Canadian survey which suggest

a disturbing level of ignorance among teenagers, despite health education, about fundamental health concepts, for example those relating to drinking and driving and the causes of skin cancer (p.24).

The second assumption may also be challenged.

> It should be stressed that Paedia sets its face against the process by which a "problem" is identified, turned into a subject and then inserted into the school curriculum for its solution. Drug abuse, unsafe driving ... are doubtless serious matters, but it is unfair and unwise to designate the schoolroom as the one place where these things are dealt with. If the school is made the repository of every social concern, education itself is bound to be crowded out -- and the social problems will remain. More or less (Kreuter, Christenson and Davis, 1983, p.29).

The implications for the Health Education curriculum of statements such as this will be discussed.

TVEI AND HE: DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES:

Between the two initiatives there are similarities and differences in terms of the inception and management, and there are similarities and differences of concept and ideology. In considering these, the study reviews the pedagogic influences of the initiatives on the school curriculum and focuses on the cultural aspects of myth, ritual and language which make sense of these initiatives in the culture of schooling.

The most obvious similarities concern the timing of the initiatives. Both TVEI and HE, although existing in embryonic form for some years before, came to light at about the early 1980s, prompted by political intervention in response to community demands. They were carried into schools at a time marked by industrial unrest, falling enrolments and massive cuts in public expenditure -- times that would appear to be inauspicious for dramatic educational change. They were imposed on schools, with some degree of compulsion, at a time of increasing centralisation of curriculum by government. Both had the backing of an economic rationale. Both were resource driven and both had pedagogic ramifications for the whole curriculum which brought the role of schooling in society into sharp debate.

Concepts and Ideologies:

The concepts and ideologies which drive TVEI and HE are remarkably similar. They are allies in political efforts to reconstruct or recreate sources of national wealth. It is an economic argument that drives both initiatives. A healthy workforce is a productive workforce. A trained workforce is a productive workforce. The economic argument denies that the perceived economic problems may derive from factors such as poor business practices, from lack of resources or from unwise investment. Inappropriate schooling is judged to be the cause.

Solutions to, as well as the causes of the problems are seen to be related to people: to the behavioural and psychological aspects of being human. They

focus on an individual's wish and motivation to be healthy and to develop work-place related skills, attitudes and economy-based values and beliefs. Failures of the economy are failures of the individual will. Thus we have what Colquhoun and Robottom (1990) call, the "pervasive ideology of individualism" (p. 109). This informs "vocationalism" (Stronach, 1989, p.14) and "healthism" (Bruni, 1990, p.103) -- both terms coined to summarise the dominant perceptions of health and employment as individualised and personalised to the point where they are "delocated from a social/political context" (Bruni, 1990, p.193).

Personalisation of the ideology distracts from social and environmental factors that affect health and employment, by persuading individuals that the answers to the country's economic ills lie in each person's capacity to exercise self-control, adopt healthy lifestyle habits and enjoy the benefits of the rewards of such control, in one case; and, in the case of TVEI, to develop attributes of thrift and motivation, to learn skills and to acquire attitudes and other personal characteristics such as integrity, loyalty and determination. Contained in the rhetoric is the notion of blaming the victim -- as individual. "Things wouldn't be as they are if you were properly trained, motivated etc." or ".... if you were clean, ate the right foods etc." Marx, Weber and Durkheim identified individualism as being peculiarly associated with capitalism, particularly insofar as it legitimated entrepreneurial activity and property rights (Wuthnow, 1987, p.194).

Pertinent too is the notion of puritanism informing the ideology in that personal effort and accountability to God are the criteria for salvation and that the outcome is a reward for effort.

> In Puritanism the individual stood alone before God, faced with ultimate uncertainty about salvation yet free to make ethical decisions from which evidence of his or her moral worth could be discerned (Wuthnow, 1987, p.195).

Such accountability is implied in the rhetoric of both TVEI and HE. Not only does Puritanism require the individual to stand alone before God but it also requires the individual to work for the good of others and, importantly, to abide by the norms of the group. Thus, as Wuthnow (1987) argues, individualism is restrained from its extreme manifestation of total disaggregation by group norms and behaviours (p. 195); hence the moral dimension of the ideology.

> The direct mediation between individual attributes and national destinies sets up a simple logic, locating responsibility in the attributes of an aggregate of individuals -- a highly voluntaristic and individualistic theory of development, in which groups are seen as no more than the aggregate of individuals (Stronach, 1989, p. 12).

Such a mediation is noted in the Tasmanian Education Department's Policy Statement "Health Education in Tasmanian Schools and Colleges" (1987):

> Many modern diseases can be associated with lifestyles adopted by individuals and, in the sense that they are associated with patterns of behaviour, they are largely preventable, depending on the choices made by

> individuals. Health Education must develop in individuals the capacity to make informed decisions (p. 9).

Hargreaves (1982) writes of the "culture of individualism" which denies the social function of education (p. 85). Tracing the development of child-centred theory from Rousseau and Dewey, Hargreaves (1982) argues that the practical application of the theory is seen in the grouping of students, with its capacity for "personal counselling" (p.88). Hargreaves is concerned that teachers, imbued with the culture of individualism in their attention to the notions of a liberal, humanitarian and child-centred philosophy of teaching, will ignore the social function of schooling. He speaks of "the fallacy of individualism" (p. 93): the simplistic belief that if individuals are successfully educated, are self confident, independent and autonomous, then society will survive. The belief admits that society cannot be changed by education, but sound individuals will effect change. Hargreaves (1982) maintains that this view accommodates "divergent teacher perspectives" (p.93), serving as it does the views of the liberal teacher and the radical teacher; the one preparing students to be autonomous etc. and the other equipping students to counter the injustices and inequalities of society.

The educational discourse associated with "healthism" and "vocationalism" reflects the major potential the initiatives were designed to have for curriculum change. Changes in learning style are major aims of both TVEI and HE and are reflected in statements about teaching such as:

> Formal, didactic methods of teaching are not effective for dealing with health issues which may be of a controversial nature. Learning will be most successful when the teacher listens, accepts the students' point of view, presents more than one side of the argument, encourages them to become involved in decision-making, and respects them as people with feelings and needs (Tasmanian Policy Statement, 1987, p. 15).

TVEI's potential for revitalising the curriculum was noted by Harland (1987) and Fiddy (1987), who believed that TVEI had the potential for "short circuiting" the traditional curriculum.

To the observer, an irony appears. Though both the initiatives arose in response to public demands which included the call "Back to Basics", their potential influence across the curriculum and many of the changes in learning styles they advocate have been reworked from the days of "permissive" schooling and of progressivist ideology, marked by a pastoral paradigm of schooling. Such a pattern contains within it concepts of active learning, student-centred activity, ownership, negotiation, collaboration and contracting, with the teachers' roles described as "enabling" and "facilitating". Stronach (1989) comments on the eclectic though coherent theories which underlie this "new" pedagogy rescued from the past. Notions of ownership, negotiation and participation are central to organisational theory. Notions of participation correlate with productivity, and others are located in theories of personality, life stages and social work contexts (p. 17).

When contemplating the "new" pedagogy it is possible to see the contradictions which are inherent in it, given its eclectic character. Is the pedagogy good practice in schooling or is it, because of its practice in management,

> a recipe for adaptation to continuous change, a nostrum for temporary crisis[?] What seems to be a theory of education turns out to be a theory of productivity in troubled times (Stronach, 1989, p.20).

It is the contention of this study that such a theory is not at odds with the goals of schooling which have as their essence, notions of productivity. In other words schooling has goals and ends and, while these are not conceptualised in terms of product in a measurable sense, there remains the view of schooling as a liberating and empowering experience associated with the realisation of one's humanity in all its contexts.

Some of the major issues relating to the initiatives have serious implications for their implementation. The major pertinent issue is that the initiatives demand considerable adjustments to the way many teachers think about schooling and the way they work with students. Pedagogic shifts are basic to the success of the programmes yet, because they are located in the cultural milieu of the school, the degree of success is hard to measure by any objective criteria.

The Initiatives and the Transmission of Culture:

The technical efficiency model of TVEI is out of touch (as is the medical model of health) with the personal, creative aspects intrinsic to human-ness. Greater productivity is achieved by integrating the technological with the human resource system (productive humanism) (Stronach, 1989, p.17).

Of concern to Apple has long been the way by which schooling perpetuates inequalities. Far from being a liberating force, schooling reproduces the social, economic and class structures within society. People are stratified in employment according to their levels of physical, emotional and mental well-being (Beckett, 1990, p.95).

The link between HE and school and work has been made. The relationship is almost symbiotic: "Healthy people are productive people". The association between health and productive work is present in the rhetoric of HE and TVEI but it is necessary to understand the significance of the connection.

Programmes in TVEI are directed towards the establishing of attitudes and the teaching of skills which serve the workplace and are directed at students who are deficient in these. Again, the emphasis on individual behaviour, a characteristic of HE, serves to reinforce health inequalities, given the factors other than behaviour and personality which influence the making of choices. Riska, as quoted by Beckett (1990) maintains that the issue of "individualism, privatism and self reliance ... are the cornerstones of the ideologies favouring privileged groups in society" (p.95). The explanation offered by reproduction theorists is supported by recent writers (Kirk and Gray, 1990; Tinning, 1990;

Beckett, 1990; Bruni, 1990; and Colquhoun and Robottom, 1990) who believe that, while schooling has the capacity to liberate people from the circumstances of constraint that schooling reproduces at present, the implementation of HE (and, by implication, TVEI) has yet "to break free from the dominant perceptions of health" (and work) (Colquhoun and Robottom, 1990, p.109) which, as has been shown, constrain schooling's capacity to change the *status quo*. Sikes and Taylor (1987) are of the opinion that teachers have yet to adapt their thinking and practice to the attitudinal emphasis contained in the rhetoric of TVEI.

The individualistic core of HE and TVEI is a weakening aspect of the programmes. While the major investigative methodology of this study taps the experiential world of individual teachers as they interpret, evaluate and define meanings, there is a need also to contextualise HE and TVEI, locating them in the cultural, economic and social dimensions of their environment.

Given the "juvenalising" of work and health (Stronach, 1989, p.20), it makes sense to explore the cultural processes which relate to the initiation of the young into the adult world which is, after all, what TVEI and HE are all about.

Study of the relationship between individual outcomes and general outcomes reveals the emergence of myth. The personalisation and personification of healthism and vocationalism throws up the image of the archetypal "ideal worker" and "ideal citizen" against whom one (the individual) must set, mould and mirror one's self. The rhetoric of environmentalism and healthism invokes the attributes of self-reliance, thrift and self control, loyalty and enterprise. Exemplary people have been exhumed to confirm the ideal (Stronach, 1989, p.22). Such myth making

> moves the individual from 'experiential selfhood to social personhood' creating an archetype of the young citizen/worker in a series of idealised personal qualities. Eliade terms this process 'the transformation of man into archetype through repetition' (Stronach, 1999 p. 22).

Wallace identifies a typology of ritual: ritual as a technology; ritual as therapy and anti-therapy; ritual as social control; ritual as salvation; ritual as revitalisation (Bocock, 1974). The rituals associated with TVEI and HE seem to be those of social control and revitalisation. Stronach (1989) maintains that the reality of work determines the nature of education and training. So pervasive is this reality that it takes on the "Sacred Centre" of ritual. Stronach (1989) describes Work Experience, for example, as a kind of pilgrimage to the real world of work. The rituals associated with Work Experience which include dressing appropriately, punctuality and fidelity to the daily, ritualistic tasks of the workplace, have the effect of socialising students to conform to the values and the way of life of the traditional workplace

The concept of social control includes those mechanisms which limit people's behaviour. These include incentives, deterrents, rewards and punishments. The history of health and healing is long, and interwoven with

family, supernatural and religious ritual and belief. Deriving from Greek and Persian medicine, the concept of health gradually developed to become a specialist body of knowledge. Power in the domain of health lay with a corps of specialists who held sway to the point of legitimation and rationalisation. The specialists came to deny the value of old practices, and non-conforming practitioners were excluded by death (as in the Middle Ages) or by denigration (as are, for example, the practitioners of "alternative" medicines, of naturopathy and Christian Science). Modern medicine, with its emphasis on the sick person is based on the rationalisation begun during the Renaissance, when medical knowledge was characterised by observation and recording. Technological developments came with pharmacological discoveries and the invention of the microscope and stethoscope. Formally recognised physicians monopolise the healing services. "The medical profession today has an officially approved monopoly over the definition of health and illness and the treatment of persons defined as 'sick'" (McGuire, 1981, p. 248).

Because modern medicine, with its roots in rationalisation and the scientific method, is almost universally accepted, it exerts great influence on society and is authorised to describe an individual within society. As Mcguire (1981) states:

> The concept of sickness, ... far from being a neutral scientific concept, is ultimately a moral one, establishing an evaluation of normality or desirability. A wide range of disapproved behaviour has been defined by the medical profession ... as sick. ... The power to define sickness and to label someone 'sick' is also the power to discredit that person. If a person's mental health is called into question, the rest of society does not have to take that person seriously (p. 249).

Similarly, "the sick" may be excused from accepting responsibility for the outcomes of their behaviour because they are sick and, providing they show evidence of that sickness, they are allowed the chance of rehabilitation rather than subjection to punishment;

> A person who is permitted to take the 'sick role' is obliged to get well, cooperate with medical help, and act appropriately 'sick' (Mcguire, 1981, p. 248).

Thus, this agency for social control, having defined deviance, humanely seeks to deal with the offender.

In the matter of TVEI and, in the case of Work Experience in particular, Stronach (1989) concludes, that "Work Experience is symbolic rather than 'really real'. ... [It enacts] condensed ideological dramas of the [reality of work]" (p. 24). Much the same could be said of the simulations designed in Health Education programmes. They too "enact condensed ideological dramas of reality" (Stronach, 1989, p. 24).

Discussing "ritual as revitalisation", Stronach (1989) (as does Deal, 1985), questions the rationality of establishing links between a policy which targets the young as agents for change and its results, seen in terms of measurable changes to attitudes, skills and ultimately the economy. The link appears

tenuous to say the least. Stronach (1989) describes a society coping with failure by invoking the past (the values of the work ethic and of a golden age); sentiments which are intended to reinforce and reinvoke views about what worked before as being relevant to today's problems. The fact is that solutions never seem to be forthcoming and attempts to resurrect them suggest what Kundera describes as an "organised forgetting" (Stronach, 1989, p.25). Such community amnesia is seen in the recurrent revival of these solutions, as if no connection is made between their failure and repetitive policy making.

Stronach (1989) observes that the rhetoric relating to TVEI and HE has served to juvenalise the issues. In both cases there is a strong assumption that future economic recovery rests not only with the individual, but with the young. Hence the location of major HE programmes and the billion pound TVEI 14-18 initiative in schools.

SECTION 3

THE RESEARCH

This Section presents the research design and methodology, and describes the five schools that supplied data for the research.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

A. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE
B. FIELD PROPOSITIONS

A. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Research Traditions:

Of the theoretical perspectives brought to bear on qualitative research, each makes certain assumptions about people and society, each follows a fairly defined methodological path and each can be applied to education. A review of these research traditions following Jacob (1987), gives an overview which allows the reader to understand why the tradition of symbolic interactionism is best applied to this study.

Jacob's work highlights the diversity of the research traditions within qualitative research. She identifies "ecological psychology" as the first of these traditions, describing its focus on the psychological habitat and goal-directed behaviour of individuals. Researchers within this tradition look also at behaviour settings to which patterns are attached (Wilson, 1977, p.5). A second of these traditions is "holistic ethnography" which seeks to describe the beliefs and practices of a group and show how these contribute to the culture as a whole.

"Ethnography of communication" is a tradition which involves the researcher in the study of culture as being central to human behaviour. Ethnographers of communication, by focussing on "particular cultural scenes within key institutional settings, see culture as involving both patterns for behaviour and patterns of behaviour" (p.18). Erickson and Mohatt (1982) state:

> A central assumption of ethnographers of communication is that the social structure and the outcomes of institutional processes are produced at least in part by the processes of face to face interaction (Jacob, 1987, p.18).

"Cognitive anthropology", developed in part by Goodenough, focuses on the understanding of the cognitive organisation of cultural knowledge through the study of semantics (p.22).

Symbolic Interactionism:

Another research tradition is "symbolic interactionism". The particular value of this perspective for the present study lies in its general focus, methodology, processes of data collection and processes of data analysis which are suitable for the work of "new" sociologists investigating schools, classrooms and curricula. Matters of social stratification and social mobility, which exercised the "old" educational sociologists of the 1950s and 1960s (Burgess, 1986, p.101), are more easily investigated by other methods. It also has wide implications for sociology. As Charon (1979) observes:

> Symbolic interactionism adds to our understanding of the sociology of knowledge, it describes the social nature of reality ... The perspective can be applied to understanding further the 'collective consciousness' in Durkheim, the 'class consciousness' and 'false consciousness' in Marx, the religious perspectives in Weber and the 'forms of action' in Simmel ... (p. 184). The ... perspective is important to those of us who are students interested in understanding human life and the nature of action, society, truth and freedom (p.185).

Manis and Meltzer (1978), summarising the main features of symbolic interactionism, point out that it deals with the "meaning" component in human conduct. Humans behave as a result of what meanings their surroundings have for them (Jacob, 1984, p.35). From social interaction in a group comes the formation of shared meanings which underline the social source of being human (Manis and Meltzer, 1978, p.5). Jacob (1984), however, maintains that the behaviour of people is the outcome of reflection rather than the result of "internal forces (drives ...) or external forces (cultural norms, social forces)" (p. 35).

> Rather than explaining what people DO on the basis of assumptions about their motives, (symbolic interactionism) examines what people SAY about their motives and looks at the real interaction in which people actually form their conduct. Instead of assuming in advance that behaviour is propelled by a single set of meanings ..., symbolic interactionists study the meanings people construct as they go about their affairs (Hewitt, 1984, p.18).

As Hewitt (1984) further observes, the focus is on observation of people as they "construct their conduct rather than on *a priori* assumptions about motivation" (p.18). Such a focus has phenomenological underpinnings, because, as Wilson (1977) states, researchers "cannot understand human behaviour without understanding the framework within which the subjects interpret their thoughts, feelings and actions" (p.249). Owens (1982) makes a similar point:

> The differing reasons men give for their actions are not themselves without reasons (p.5).

George Herbert Mead formulated the main theoretical roots of this research perspective, which were further developed by Schutz, Blumer, Hughes, Becker and Goffman (Cohen and Manion, 1980, p.3). Mead developed Durkheim's views of society which concerned collective representations and their function in causing groups to act in concert, the role of the individual becoming subservient to the function of the group. For Mead, one's view of one's self "is greatly influenced by group membership and social interaction and the ways in which people negotiate meaning in their everyday lives".

Woods (1979) summarises the perspective thus:

> ... an interactionist's orientation ... lays emphasis on the 'self', how it is constructed, how it interacts with others and with its environment, how it is influenced by, but also influences, external forces (p.9).

From the perspective of symbolic interactionism the researcher sees people as

being

> reflective, intentional actors, constructing and reconstructing a world rich in meaning, motive, emotion and feeling through interaction with others. They draw on structures of experience crystallised in linguistic, economic, political, and other social practices. ... These practices provide frames of experience against which ongoing activity can be mobilised and made sensible through symbolic actions and interactions that are simultaneously individual and social (Morgan, 1983, p.24).

Blumer describes three basic premises on which symbolic interactionism rests. The first is that people react according to the meaning things have for them. "It is meaning which determines action" (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984, p.9). Blumer also maintains that people learn to see the world according to how others act. He believes thirdly, that people "attach meanings to situations, others, things, and themselves through a process of interpretation" (p.9). Blumer (1969) describes the distinctive feature of the perspective as one where meanings, defined as social products "are formed in and through the defining activities of people as they interact" (p.5). This description leads to the essential feature of the third premise.

What follows is a summary of the "root images" of society and behaviour which form the framework for the perspective. Central to the framework is the notion that human society is a society in action. Culture derives from what people do and social structure derives from the manner in which people act towards one another (Blumer, 1969). Such factors as cultural prescriptions, social status and role demands can only be explained by attending to the processes of social interaction which determine behaviour. Social interaction forms behaviour (p.8).

Blumer (1969) relies on George Herbert Mead's work in discussing two aspects of social interaction as "non-symbolic interaction" which requires no interpretation of action to establish meaning, and "symbolic interaction" which does. Symbolic interactionists, engaged in what Morgan (1983) calls "empathic ethnography" (p. 27), then focus on the dynamic and active processes of interaction. "People are constantly undergoing change in interaction and society is changing through interaction" (Cohen and Manion, 1980, p.35). Woods (1979) also comments on the aptness of symbolic interactionist perspectives for the what goes on in classrooms and schools: "an action ... constantly adjusting, reckoning, evaluating, bargaining, acting and changing" (Cohen and Manion, 1980, p.35).

Discussion of the Perspective:

It follows that, in studies such as this, there should be difficulties with the research perspective chosen, since none can wholly satisfy the diversity of investigations undertaken using ethnographic techniques.

One criticism of the perspective is that, focusing as it does on the 'micro-level' of social life, major social issues may be neglected, particularly those relating to the exercise of power (Manis and Meltzer, 1978, p.57). Angus (1986)

expresses another concern: because researchers are dealing with interpretation of others' interpretations, it becomes difficult to institutionalise meanings, and little can be known about "how and why reality comes to be constructed in the ways described" (p. 68). Angus also voices the criticism that the perspective neglects the influence that structural and social forces have on the actions of people (p. 69). This view is supported by Berger and Luckmann (1966), who are critical of a failure by Mead to make the connection between social psychology and the sociology of knowledge.

In describing the perspective as conservative, Angus (1986) suggests that it cannot carry the tensions which exist in the alienation and domination factors of power relations in communication. The perspective does not ignore tensions, but sees them to be the result of a breakdown in communication "between actors over perceptions of their own beliefs and practices" (p. 70) rather than the result of power conflict. Angus (1986) may have missed a major point of distinction between this perspective and others which are more socially focused. He holds a view of society as an objective entity, over which the individual has no control and within which the individual is coerced politically and smothered creatively. Angus is concerned that studies which focus on the micro-world of the classroom for example, ignore power, gender and class categories. The fact is that such studies can throw further light on the hegemonic structures of classroom practice which confirm power, and gender and class relations in school society.

Schutz maintains that because an organisation is one of almost fictional construct, human creativity and the dignity of the individual is asserted. Within this perspective, an organisation is an objective reality as well as a social construct. This means that "the organisation is an idea shared by others" (Foster, 1986, p.56). From a shared view of what is to happen comes an engagement of some rational kind. Such a view of organisations and people's function in their creation is shared by Greenfield (1986) who believes that

> organisations are subjective understandings that people choose to live by -- thereby making them real only through their own will and effort. ... Organisations are reflections of self rather than objective, external entities to which self must be adjusted (Foster, 1986, p.61).

Schooling is a "social construction" built by and around those who are "actors" in the scene. Within a school, the site of this social construction, trends and regularities in behaviour which may transcend differences between individuals are generated and accepted.

Symbolic interactionism operates within a cognitive, cultural context which separates it from the social, personality constructs of other perspectives on human interaction. It is this distinction which gives it its special usefulness as a perspective for this study.

Symbolic interactionism offers a theoretical framework within which to assess the observations of teachers (the responsible agents), as they interact with and make sense of the processes of change. It is a guide for the description

and interpretation of their linguistic and cognitive expressions of beliefs, norms and values as they are engaged in rationalising their acceptance or rejection of curriculum initiatives.

THE APPLICABILITY OF THE PERSPECTIVE TO THE STUDY:

The symbolic interactionist perspective allows that people's behaviour is directed as a consequence of their understandings and plans for action. Behaviour is observable, as Denzin (1972) suggests, at a symbolic level as well as at the behavioural level (p. 78). In studying the behaviour of people according to the perspective, the researcher must take into account the "symbols and symbolic meanings shared, communicated, and manipulated by interacting selves in social situations" (p. 79). In this study, interviews establish the range and variety of this interaction, while the processes of participant observation describe the social situations. Thus the methodology incorporates the principles of the perspective by linking the symbolic aspects of what people say and believe of themselves and of situations with what they actually do.

In summarising the methodological concerns of the symbolic interactionist perspective, Denzin (1972) discusses research as being an act of symbolic interaction. The personal preferences of the sociologist serve to shape the activity of the investigator and the major way in which research methods will approach the field (p. 91).

In accord with symbolic interaction theory, the questions which focus this study are concerned principally with identifying "A co-ordinated set of ideas and actions a person uses in dealing with some problematic situation ... patterns of thought and action which have grown up in response to a specific set of institutional processes" (Blase, 1985, p. 238). The field propositions which follow identify the patterns and co-ordinated set of ideas which arose during the preliminary study at Hungerford in 1988 and which are tested during the course of data collection and analysis.

B. FIELD PROPOSITIONS

The field propositions, organised to reflect the four major areas of the study, were established at the beginning of the research to reflect consideration of the researcher's experience at Hungerford and a study of the literature on planned change. As will be seen, the propositions became modified as the study proceeded. The propositions relating to the four areas of study are as follows:

Curriculum Initiatives:

1. ***The fate of major curriculum initiatives depends on the extent to which they reflect the way school communities think about the***
   function of schooling,
   the nature of knowledge, and
   the delivery of curriculum.
2. ***Initiatives for major curriculum change require people to adopt***

new ideas about knowledge and classroom practice.

Change Agents:

1. *Successful implementation of the initiatives requires a collaboration of roles and responsibilities at each level of school management in accordance with the perceived educational advantages of the change.*
2. *Successful implementation of the initiatives requires Principals who are strong instructional leaders*
3. *Successful implementation of the initiatives requires Senior Staff who are strong instructional leaders.*
4. *Successful implementation of the initiatives requires teachers who are flexible and committed and amenable to "cultural redefinition" (Hargreaves, 1989, p. 29).*

Professional Development:

1. *Planning and initiating change requires clear and realistic statements of aims, objectives and policies.*
2. *The professional development programme should have articulated goals and focus on developing an on-going systematic strategy which fits the initiative.*
3. *The professional development program should include strategies for problem-solving within the school.*

Organisation:

1. *Lasting curriculum change will be achieved if the current culture of the school is destabilised by the initiative.*
2. *Initiatives for curriculum change should take account of the culture that informs schooling, in order to assess in what measure changes would be likely to affront that culture.*
3. *The implementation of initiatives for change will succeed to the degree that the initiatives fit the school's organisational structures.*
4. *Change in the school's organisational structure is a measure of change in the school's culture.*
5. *The process of implementation may be said to have been completed when appropriate adjustments have been made to the school's organisation to accommodate the initiative.*

The propositions run counter to the positivistic thought associated with current practice. Positivism, guided by technological and scientific developments and developments in business management techniques, denies the place of social theory and the socio-cultural circumstances of organisations.

CHAPTER 5

THE SCHOOLS OF THE STUDY
(Selection and Description of Field Sites)

England: Taylor and South Central.
Tasmania: Hungerford, Fortuna and City.

INTRODUCTION:

The selection of sites for field research was influenced by the need to identify schools that were representative of what was happening in England at the time TVEI was in full swing. To this end, advice was sought from the chief evaluator of the Local Education Authority. South Central and Taylor were her suggestions.

Schools for the Tasmanian study were selected partly because they were known to the researcher as being closest in kind to those studied in England. The selection of Hungerford was the result of a preliminary study arising from the implementation of early HE programmes. The experience of the preliminary study had confirmed the value of the topic for study and given direction for the research design and methodology.

Other criteria for the selections were size, history and the school's relationship with the local Education Authority in matters of financial support, policy making and general overview of schooling. In the case of Fortuna and Taylor, neither school was required by its LEA to take up the initiatives of HE or TVEI, but had chosen to include the initiative in the curriculum. Thus, within the study was some diversity. Taylor, for example, was further advanced in the implementation process than was any other school of the study.

That each school was at a slightly different stage in its implementation of the relevant initiative enhanced the prospect that core issues and outcomes might emerge in relief. Because each school was still in the process of implementation however, the researcher knew that staff would be engaged in the "in process" activities of professional development and contact with change agents. For that reason, they could not be required to reconstruct much of the history of the initiative's implementation.

The suitability of the selection of sites was confirmed before the commencement of the study by preliminary visits to each and, in four cases, by interviews with Assistant Principals. Access to the schools in England was arranged through the office of the local University's school placement service. Access to the Tasmanian schools was granted by the Secretary of the Education Department, School Principals and by the Co-Principals in the case of Fortuna.

HUNGERFORD *(H)*

Preliminary Study (1988):

The site for the preliminary study was a Tasmanian rural secondary school of three hundred and fifty students and twenty-eight staff, of which the researcher was Principal.

Hungerford celebrated its 50th Jubilee in 1990. It began as a school designed for the primary and secondary education of children in one of the most clearly defined valley regions of the state. Such is the geographic nature of the area that, before 1975, to travel the 45 kilometres to the state's capital from the valley's largest town of 2,000 people, meant over an an hour's journey along a winding mountainous road of some difficulty, particularly during winter.

The Setting:

The valley's geographic and demographic isolation have the effect of separating the inhabitants from town life and of highlighting attitudes, experiences and occupations associated with country life. The population's principal engagement is in primary industry -- forestry, mixed farming, fishing and the production of berry fruits, apples and pears. Unemployment is a serious problem in the valley.

In 1955 the school became a comprehensive high school, the only one in the valley, and, while it served the educational needs of most children in the area, some parents, in the hope of widening their children's opportunities and choices sent them to study in the city. This situation is typical of Tasmanian country life.

By the mid-1970s the school had reached its peak of six hundred and fifty students, declining to its present three hundred and fifty as the children of the post-Second World War "baby boom" passed out of the system. The implementation of a Liberal government's policy of establishing community schools meant an upgrading of local primary schools to provide secondary classes. Community schools, the abolition of the policy that required students to attend the nearest school within a given zone, and the upgrading of the link road to the city had the effect of redistributing system-wide the children of the valley.

Since the upgrading of the road between the valley and the state's capital, the area has become more widely known for its exquisite natural beauty and its relaxed lifestyle. Easy access to the city allows commuting parents to transport their children to city schools. At the same time, land prices in the valley, still low by city and general standards, attract an itinerant population which drifts in and out of the area taking advantage of relatively cheap rental properties while waiting for government housing to become available in the city.

Student Population:

In terms of intellectual ability, the student population is somewhat

homogeneous, with a tail trailing towards the lower end of the ability spectrum. The rural environment and its support of positive attitudes to schooling, still evident despite demographic changes, has buffered the school against the difficulties of student management which feature large in other places. Students are mainly of Anglo-Saxon/Celtic lineage and come from families who have had a long association with the valley.

Many of the teachers too, have had a long association with the valley, having bought land in the area before road reconstruction began. Of the twenty-eight staff, six have lived in the area for more than ten years, two for twenty-five years and one for thirty. A major characteristic of the school staff is its stability. Staff turnover is low, confined usually to the young and more recently appointed teachers who, because they do not own property and/or are single, are more vulnerable to the Education Department's policy of transferring teachers to other areas when required.

The school is idyllically set amidst mountains and surrounded by hop fields and pastures. Although the main, original and unattractive building was built of brick in 1940, other buildings hastily constructed to cope with the increase in student population during the sixties show signs of age and use and require more upkeep than available funding can cover.

The population peak in the seventies and the resultant upgrading has left the school with facilities including a library, science laboratories and space which are of considerable advantage to the students. This situation has enabled the school make more use of the developments in technology as aids to learning, for example, than is the case for schools experiencing population growth.

Curriculum:

Because of a staffing formula, established by the State's Treasury, which sets a teacher/student ratio based on a per capita index (recently revised to include a "small-schools/rurality" index which has slightly favoured smaller schools), Hungerford has been able to maintain a curriculum which offers excellent choice and diversity. Staff maintain the view that the social advantages of smallness outweigh whatever disadvantages there may be in some limitations of range, such as only two languages instead of the five offered at a competing city school of six hundred students.

The size and nature of the student population have enabled the abolition of sirens and the public address system, thus freeing the school from some of the regimentation commonly accepted as necessary for dealing with the movement of and communication with large groups of people. The system of student management which relies increasingly on students taking responsibility for the things they do, as supported by Glasser (1984), has had the effect of allowing more time to be spent on teaching and learning and less on student discipline. Perhaps paradoxically, as a consequence, a formal system of pastoral care, so important in schools where student management presents real problems, is

absent from the school.

Organisation:

The school operates on a six-day cycle of six 50-minute periods per day. Subjects are compartmentalised and no serious attempt has been made to allow students to manage their own learning time and opportunities. For example, each student is required to take five periods of English per cycle per term for each term for four years. Streaming of students, in one guise or another, is still the practice preferred by teachers in charge of the departments of Maths, Science and the Social Sciences. Responsibility for the different subjects, in terms of courses of study and the organisation of classes has, until recently, remained the province of Senior Masters/Mistresses.

A reconstruction of senior positions has taken place more recently, in response to changes in the direction of schooling as recommended by the government ("Secondary Education: The Future" 1987), the Schools Board of Tasmania (the state's syllabus planning and accrediting body) and as a result of industrial action by the Tasmanian Teachers' Federation. Senior staff, previously allocated subject responsibility, are now required to take on faculty, year group or other responsibilities, bringing the positions more in line with the corresponding positions in Britain. A recent practice, that of nominating teachers for special duties for which a higher allowance would be paid, also mirrors the incentive scheme currently in place in Britain. In 1991 however, this practice was replaced by an Advanced Skills Teachers' award which is based on years of service and evidence of competence.

Educational Change:

It was as Principal at Hungerford that the researcher spent three years "muddling around in a setting to develop an understanding of it" (Corbett, Firestone and Rossman, 1987). This preliminary work served to give direction to the current investigation as the outline below suggests.

In October 1988, during a period of state-wide industrial upheaval in schools, occasioned by government threats to reduce the number of teachers and the resultant disquiet which was exacerbated by the introduction of the document "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987), Hungerford was one of the many schools experiencing internal turmoil. A first series of formal but unstructured interviews with all members of staff, in October 1988, indicated to the researcher that the school was suffering the effects described by Cameron and Chaffee (1987) as occurring "in situations of turbulence and decline". Policies put in place by the Principal, new to the school in 1986, which included the abolition of streaming in Grade 7, had not been well received and proved to have caused bitterness. From the interviews emerged teacher concerns that included lack of confidence in the system, alleged failures of the school administration and the decision-making processes, low self esteem and lack of

enthusiasm on the part of staff. The Principal and Deputy were believed to be inconsistent in their treatment of recalcitrant students. There was evidence that teachers lacked trust in the Principal, there was conflict between senior teachers and grade supervisors, deficiencies in communication between staff, and too little autonomy allowed senior staff by the Principal in matters such as the grouping of students and methods of teaching.

The document "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987) remains the Tasmanian government's policy on education, and the organisational and curriculum changes required to implement that policy remain current. Aspects of these policies as they were being set in place were seen by teachers at Hungerford in ways never intended by those who drafted the policy or by the Principal/Researcher. Three examples of disjunction between intention and implementation follow:

Believing the streaming of students to be educationally unsound, the Principal required changes to be made to the grouping of students at the beginning of the academic year. The requirement, as well as undoing work already completed by staff at the end of the previous year, was seen as a serious incursion on the responsibility of heads of departments.

Requiring the teacher of Special Education to work in class with students in need of assistance rather than withdraw them, which had been a long, albeit dubious practice, was also seen as an offence against professional sensibilities, and an abrupt break in accepted procedure.

By encouraging excursions, visiting speakers and Work Experience, the Principal was seen to be taking away teaching time and once again to be impinging on areas of responsibility sacred to senior staff.

At every turn, the Principal's behaviour met with resistance and contributed unintentionally to conditions which were not conducive to change. Such conditions have been described by Cameron and Chaffee (1984) who list their manifestations as scapegoating of administrators, centralisation of decision-making in the hands of the Principal, few proposals for innovation, absence of long-term planning in the face of the management of short-term crises, low staff morale and loss of credibility. These behaviours are documented throughout the interviews and became central to the Principal's understanding of the staff and their capacity to make changes to schooling.

"Secondary Education: The Future" (1987) and the philosophical statements of the Schools Board's "Tasmanian Certificate of Education" (1988) contain views of schooling which, while not radical, caused considerable disquiet to a body of teachers who, as has been indicated, generally favoured the streaming of students, "strong" discipline, the compartmentalising of subjects and standardised testing, and preferred examinations as the major method of assessment.

The documents mentioned above recommend choice and diversity across the curriculum. They suggest that subjects should be equally valued in

providing increased choice. They recommend teaching methods which go beyond the didactic and they encourage the extrapolation of knowledge. They seek equality of opportunities for boys and girls and insist that all students have equal access to knowledge. They recommend continuity, co-operation and coherence in curriculum design. They propose profiling and student self-appraisal, criterion-based rather than norm-based assessment and modules of learning. They outline fields of knowledge for learning but give schools the freedom to decide when this learning should take place. They emphasise the student's role and personal responsibility for learning.

For many on the staff of Hungerford, the proposals were radical and flew in the face of what they believed to be good schooling. From the interviews conducted in October, 1988, there was evidence that many teachers' views were located at the opposite pole. Teachers reported feeling threatened and stressed. They spoke of low staff morale, the effect of the changes on traditional values and on parental expectations and believed that even the contemplation of these changes resulted in poor preparation and teaching. Staff members expressed alienation from the system and the Principal in a myriad of ways and registered tacit protest by avoiding actions which might further the direction in which she believed the school should be going. They retreated into their classrooms, they "delighted in recounting administrative bungling", were humourless, failed to laugh at jokes, were reluctant attenders at meetings and rushed away from school (p. 209). As Metz (1989) commented in her study of Thomas Mann School in the United States, there was a belief that good teaching was being thwarted by the impossible circumstances thrust upon them. Although Cameron and Chaffee (1987) had found also in stable schools characteristics thought to be the attributes of schools in conditions of turbulence or decline, it was clear to the researcher that these attributes were present in the school to the point where symptoms of "psychic withdrawal", as described by Metz (1989, p.207), were evident.

On reflection, it became clear to the Principal that the school's climate for change had been misjudged. The inability of Hungerford's teachers to accept change no matter how reasoned and professionally sound those changes seemed to be, reflected Fullan's (1989) reference to Shaw's notion of "brute sanity" and recalled Edmund Burke's comment about the English: "sullen in their resistance of innovation, their unalterable perseverance in the wisdom of prejudice".

Notwithstanding the Principal's failure to observe, in some cases, the steps in managing change which have been found to be relatively successful (Fullan, 1982), four major and interrelating factors seemed to be affecting the processes of change at Hungerford. One was the resilience of teachers' complex beliefs and values in the face of dramatic proposals for change; another was the nature of the proposals for change, which were seen to be in direct opposition to practices accepted by the staff; a third was the rejection by staff of the available

professional development programmes and the intervention of change agents established to support the change; and the fourth appeared to be the lack of organisational support for the change within the school, which this study claims to be a direct consequence of the first factor.

Other researchers have established the presence of similar factors in their studies of change. Schein (1985), for example, studied the issue of cultural complexities of schools by stating:

> The concept of organisational culture is structurally complex. By definition it consists of a large set of taken-for-granted implicit assumptions that cover how group members view both their external relationships with various environments and their internal relationships with each other. If the group has a shared history of any length, these assumptions will have become aligned with one another and will have generated a pattern that reflects higher-order assumptions about the nature of reality, time, space, people and relationships. This patterning of basic assumptions, or the cultural paradigm, becomes the deepest and most strongly held level of culture because of the human need for consistency of order (p. 9).

Metz (1989) confirms culture as being a "broad, diffuse, potentially contradictory body of shared interpretations of the 'facts' of the experienced world and of values about 'what ought to be'" (p. 207). Metz (1989) implies that to effect curriculum change by changing the beliefs and practices of teachers is difficult because:

> ... cultural understandings are tacit; they are rarely articulated as abstract propositions. They are elements of common sense so well known that sensible adults don't mention them. Cultural knowledge is too self evident to be discussed (p. 207).

Schein (1985) also discusses culture as the "pattern of basic assumptions" by which people learn to cope with problems of adaptation and integration. This pattern evolves over time and is transmitted to new members. Those who mould their cultural behaviour to the beliefs and norms of the dominant group are accepted, those who do not eventually move on. However, in Schein's view, the assumptions which comprise the pattern become taken for granted, dropping out of awareness in the process (p. 9). Schein also suggests that, in observing culture in daily routines and activities, one encounters the organisation's patterns of interaction: language, themes, behavioural norms and expressions of belief.

In support of his observations, Schein (1985) refers to studies of behavioural regularities concerned with language and rituals, of norms which evolve in working groups and are often expressed in slogans, such as "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay", and of the "rules of the game" as they relate to newcomers and the climate of an organisation (p. 6).

The critical failure on the part of the Principal was in the appreciation of the power of this resilient force of culture which successfully militates against change. Support for this assessment comes from comments made by the Acting-Principal of the school who had taken over from the Principal during the

latter's term as a full-time doctoral student during 1990:

> ... other problems are caused by my inability to break through the traditional power base. The school is alive with streaming in Maths, Science and something not much different in Social Science and English. In addition, (there is) a negative reaction to the 'airy fairy' roles such as assessment and reporting and supportive school environment. There are some good staff of course, but a good clean out of the 'old guard' wouldn't go astray (April, 1990).

The researcher's experience at Hungerford confirms Corbett, Firestone and Rossman's (1987) conclusions that the shared expectations which comprise the school's culture are affected by both the internal and the external environments of the school and that the character of the norms challenged and the newness of the challenge both affect the intensity of staff reaction to change. They also conclude that behavioural change may come before cultural change but it does not ensure that desired new norms will be accepted.

The researcher's experience also supports Smircich's (1983) view of culture as a variable in the study of schools in states of turbulence and decline and during the implementation of change. It is from these conclusions, drawn tentatively from early interviews and reinforced by long-term observations, particularly of the behaviour of senior staff, that this study of the clash of curriculum change and school culture has developed.

This preliminary experience also suggests that the force most in play during the implementation of curriculum change is the cultural force which tends to make schools unique, but which compromises change efforts. The preliminary study identified the problem of implementing change as one associated with the culture of schools.

There follow brief descriptions of the other schools in the study. Each description includes details of physical setting, school population and school philosophy. Reference to the history of change in each school is confined to comments on TVEI or HE, as they affect the background to the school as research site. Details were obtained by the researcher from observation, as a result of discussion with key informants and members of staff and from a survey of schools' documents. (The letter(s) beside the name of each school will identify the source of statements made by school personnel, quoted later in the study).

TAYLOR *(T)*

Taylor, in London, is a voluntary-aided Church of England comprehensive day-school for boys and girls aged 12-18 years, maintained by the Local Education Authority. Despite its financial dependence on the LEA, the school, as is the case with Fortuna, has autonomy in terms of curriculum, courses of study and the hiring and firing of teachers.

History and Setting:

The researcher's notes draw on discussions held with the school's Assistant Principal. The school was taken over by the Anglican Church in 1985 and was turned from a failing school into one that is now over-subscribed.

The researcher's first impression of Taylor was of a physically well-maintained school still in the process of major redevelopment. Taylor appeared to house a more ethnically homogeneous school community than South Central. A full range of specialist facilities is available:

a sixth form centre including private study area,

year group areas, a hall, a dining room,

an extensive design block with excellent modern facilities for work within craft/design technology, graphic communication, food, textiles, art and pottery,

seven science laboratories,

a sports hall,

a music suite,

a drama studio,

a business studies centre and

a resources area comprising a library, careers room, video room and computer room.

School Aims:

Taylor seeks:

a. to provide a secure and caring environment in which students are encouraged to recognise both the source and importance of Christian values;

b. to encourage students' commitment to the needs of the local community, especially the need to bring about greater understanding between people of different social backgrounds, ethnic origins and religious experience;

c. to develop the full potential of every student, with careful regard for academic ability and with a full appreciation of the diverse gifts of individuals.

Organisation:

The Head is assisted in the planning, organisation and execution of the curriculum by an academic team which includes the deputy head (curriculum), three senior teachers and departmental heads.

The National Curriculum is taught to all students. This comprises:

- Religious Education,
- the core subjects: English, Mathematics and Science,
- the foundation subjects: Art, Design, Technology, Music, History, Geography, PE, French, and either Spanish or German;

Within design technology, all students study CDT and Home Economics. In addition, all students take Drama, and third-year students have Careers lessons. Information technology and computer awareness form a part of many

of these courses. Students in Year 2 are taught in mixed-ability groups. In Year 3 there is 'setting' according to ability and speed of working in English and Modular Science. All Second- and Third-Year students are offered opportunities for residential courses during the two years.

All students study English, Mathematics, Science, PE, RE and Life Skills (including Health Education, Political Education and Careers). In addition, they study five other subjects. All students must take at least one Science course. At present, the school offers Physics, Biology, Chemistry and Modular Science. In 1990/91 Balanced Science, as required by the National Curriculum, is to be introduced. Students can also choose from the following subjects: French, Spanish, German, Business and Information Studies, Office Studies, Economics, History, Geography, Child Development, Food Studies, Design and Communication, Design and Realisation, Technology, Electronics, Art, Music, Drama and Media Studies. Unlike South Central, the school has been one of the LEA pilots for the Government's Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI).

The school has a Learning Support Service to give extra help to students who experience language or learning difficulties. Students may be withdrawn from some lessons to receive this help. Staff from this department also assist these students in the normal classroom situation. All students are helped to develop study skills during their time in the school.

Instruction is available to all Years in a wide range of musical instruments, eg. violin, trumpet, clarinet and guitar.

FORTUNA *(F)*

History and Setting:

Fortuna is a co-educational religious school in Tasmania and, although receiving Commonwealth and State grants, it is, like Taylor, philosophically and educationally independent of the state and the local education authority.

It is situated in an older city suburb and has been in place for one hundred years. The buildings on the diverse sites of the school span the period from the mid-19th Century to the 1970s. They represent an irreplaceable stock of historic and culturally significant buildings, providing a corporate identity and sense of continuity. The sites provide an excellent basis to achieve a school of character, an efficient teaching environment, and a place for students to absorb lessons of design quality and care for their environment.

Aims:

Following a period of intensive work by staff, parents, students and old scholars, the following aspirations have been listed by the key groups involved with the school:

Students:

- happy, stimulating, fair and caring environment

- well prepared for employment and life skills
- more outdoor activities with skilled leaders
- treated and valued as responsible individuals
- adequate facilities
- good reputation of school with future employers
- clear delineation of responsibilities
- good communication throughout school community
- effective use of all accessible resources.

Family:

- supportive, caring and harmonious relationships
- competent and well qualified staff
- optimum enrolments and long term viability
- high standing in the general community.
- excellence in fulfilling each child's all-round potential
- reliable and adequate reporting
- value for money and 'user-pays'
- discipline and respect for others
- adequate facilities
- maintain and protect the school's image including the uniform
- happy, caring and safe environment for all
- quality tuition, small group interaction and parent involvement
- effective and receptive management, staff and parents
- separate arrangements to cater for hardship and wide access
- an atmosphere where stereotyping, indoctrination and discrimination have no place.

Staff:

- satisfying, creative, stimulating and secure job
- appropriate remuneration
- full support, appreciation and commitment from others including parents
- career path and professional development opportunities
- adequate facilities, equipment and amenities
- balanced work demands
- defined system of discipline.

Old Scholars:

- promote and build on traditional values and standing of school
- maintain archives for public viewing
- more sports with emphasis on achievement through self-challenge
- develop by renovation of existing sites and buildings
- better access for those isolated geographically
- retain uniforms, school song and 'family' feeling
- greater communication, belonging and involvement
- retain co-education.

Community:

- academically, socially and emotionally well-adapted citizens and employees
- good relations with students and school in general
- reliable, adequate reporting of student achievement to assess character, attitude and performance
- network of communications.

Governors:

- stable, professional and committed leadership
- effective implementation of policies and decisions
- long term viability
- help in the global community
- develop learning environment
- wide exposure to the school's values and philosophy
- strong focus on individual development and self-esteem.

Other Learning Institutions:

- meet academic entry standards
- co-operative development of curriculum, techniques and code of behaviour
- co-operation and competition for student placement
- self-reliant and motivated students
- access to students for counselling about further education
- aid teacher development.

Organisation:

The High School has four Houses. Each House is divided into a number of Tutor Groups, and all students meet daily in their Tutor Group under the supervision of a member of staff.

The Curriculum:

A wide range of subjects is available. Some are taken by all students throughout their High School years -- namely English, Mathematics, Science, Physical Education and Personal and Social Development. All students are involved in Outdoor Education in Years 7 to 9 and opportunities are made available for Year 10 students to continue with this if they wish.

In addition to the compulsory subjects, there are some twenty elective subjects which students may choose in Years 8 to 10. These include:

Modern Languages: French, German, Japanese,

Humanities: Geography, History, Australian Studies,

Commercial and Technological:

Business Studies, Computer Studies, Consumer Education, Keyboarding,

Performing and Creative Arts:

Music, Speech and Drama, Home Economics,

Art, Ceramics, Tech. Drawing, Woodwork.

CITY *(C)*

History and Setting:

City is a co-educational school of seven hundred students. Constructed in 1951, it served the needs of students who attended neither High School (for which, at the time, eligibility was success at Tasmania's equivalent of the 11+ examination) nor the Commercial or Technical Schools which comprised the third arm of the tripartite system. In 1962 City became a comprehensive high school serving the needs of all students. The students come from a population with one third of its labour force employed in a major industrial area in the northern suburbs of the city as labourers and "unskilled" workers. At present, the school's catchment area contains pockets of unemployment ranging from 10% to 45%, reflecting the structural changes to the community brought about by the State's economic problems and the impact of technology on traditional, mostly male-dominated industries (Kennedy et al., 1986, p.48).

The school is situated on a busy arterial road. With no attractive architectural features, the buildings have been agglomerated by a busy programme, intended to accommodate the changing needs of the school's population, which has left sections of the school physically removed from the administration block. But the buildings are well maintained over a site which is served by extensive sportsgrounds and pleasant recreational areas.

Aims:

In the school's prospectus for 1991, the aims of schooling for City are described thus:

- To develop students' minds and bodies and to teach those facts and skills needed for living in the adult world.
- To teach those skills which make it possible for students to enter or train for particular occupations.
- To develop in the students acceptable standards of manners and behaviour which reflect and reinforce the best of the moral and ethical concepts in the community.
- To prepare students for the complexities of human relationships and to carry out their responsibilities as members of a democratic society.
- To encourage students to give service to their community and to enjoy a range of healthy and purposeful leisure activities.

The Curriculum:

City's courses of study and the organisation of schooling are similar to those of Hungerford's. Common courses are studied in Grades 7 and 8 and Mathematics, English, Science, Social Sciences and Physical Education remain compulsory subjects for students in Grade 9 and 10. Students select, for study

over two years, three courses from Art, Craft and Design, Foods, Speech and Drama, Information Technology, Business Studies, Textiles, Design in Metal, Music, Design in Wood, Design in Graphics, Keyboarding and Communication, Consumer Studies, Physical Education Studies, Maths Extended, Science Extended, French and German.

Educational Change:

While the school's brochures do not reflect changes to the organisation of learning which one might expect to accommodate those developments in course content which have taken place during recent years, City has incorporated programmes into that structure which are indicative of the school's concern for its social responsibilities. City leads other schools with its implementation of a peer-support programme intended for senior students to be mentors and guides to juniors. The issue of adolescent health has also been of major concern, particularly for the Principal, and it is as much for this reason as for any other that the school's implementation of the Health Education programme was of particular interest. These emphases, important as the school believes them to be, are not given publicity in either the school's prospectus nor the Teacher's Handbook, which may indicate that they have yet to impinge on the cultural consciousness of the school as programmes that make City a school different from any other in its service to the community.

SOUTH CENTRAL *(SC)*

The Setting:

The school is a London comprehensive school situated in a multi-ethnic and working class residential area, to the north of mainline stations. The area has a distinctive identity and a tradition of community organisation. It is within easy reach of the full range of public transport services and within three minutes walk of both the Local Education Authority (LEA) and the Town Hall. There is immediate access to the commercial and business centres of the City.

On a large single site, the buildings are a mixture of old and new. The greater part of the school is housed in low-level buildings erected in 1960, enclosing pleasing internal grassed courtyards and providing the full range of general and specialist accommodation. There are seven well-equipped laboratories, workshops, Art, Pottery and Home Economics facilities and two gymnasia. There is a library resource area, two Information Technology networks and a dance/drama studio as well as a large assembly hall. The old three-storey building dates from the 1870's and is in a poor state of general repair although within it are a purpose-built Special Needs Area and also the excellent dance/drama studio, both created within the last five years. There are extensive hard-surfaced and athletics areas on site.

Student Population:

The (November 1989) roll was 685, of whom 448 were boys and 237 girls. The minority of girls has led to the formation of one or two all boys' tutor groups in every Year. In November 1989, 63% (438) of the students had a home language which was not English. Forty-eight percent (338) of these bilingual students are of Bangladeshi background and 16.5% (114) are "Stage 1 learners". Bilingual students are distributed fairly evenly throughout the school but the largest numbers, 82 and 94, are in the 4th and 5th Years respectively. The January 1989 language survey showed that a total of twenty-six languages, apart from English, were spoken at home.

Teachers appear to enjoy working in the school, where relationships between staff, and staff and students are markedly friendly and supportive. As is the case at Hungerford, there is a substantial core of teachers who have been in the school for some years. It was the researcher's understanding that teachers who leave the school for professional reasons do so because they have been appointed to more senior positions elsewhere. The school provides excellent experience for student teachers and there are strong links with the University. Several teachers are "visiting" tutors at the University and there are particularly close links between the Special Needs and Language Departments of the two institutions.

In 1990, the staff identified seven key areas for development of the school. They are:

1. Communications -- to improve the means and practice of communication between all constituencies within the school and with parents and other outside agencies.
2. Information Technology -- recognises the need within the National Curriculum to teach Information Technology across the curriculum. To develop a plan to ensure all pupils have opportunity to meet targets and be assessed appropriately.
3. Language Policy -- to develop a whole-school language policy to enable pupils to participate fully in the curriculum.
4. Learning Environment -- to provide a school environment which stimulates, encourages and enables the process of learning.
5. Learning Resources -- to increase the use and improve the provision of resources for learning.
6. Record-Keeping and Homework -- to develop and implement a whole-school policy on homework and record-keeping.
7. Staff Development -- to develop and implement a fully integrated staff development programme.

The school's experience had been mixed in terms of perceived success of the implementation of a number of initiatives for change.

Organisation:

South Central's patterns of schooling were similar to those of Taylor and

City. Common subjects were studied during the Junior Years, with choices being available for the last two years from some twenty other subjects, in addition to the compulsory subjects of English, Mathematics, Science and Physical Education.

SUMMARY:

An overview of the schools' curricula indicates that HE or TVEI is in place, in some measure, in each of the five schools selected for study. In the documents used by the researcher to prepare the overview however, the "essential" educational changes which they were intended to effect are not in evidence.

Neither the schools' sense of self or concept of purpose nor their organisation appeared to have altered to accommodate the curriculum initiatives. Where one of the initiatives challenged the traditional curriculum, as was the case for Taylor, that curriculum subsumed the initiative to the point where it could no longer be identified, and the "hegemony of the academic curriculum" prevailed (Bates, 1986, p. 31).

What emerged from the overview of curriculum and organisation was a strong impression that the initiatives were, at best, tolerated by the schools. They impinged on the organisational and curriculum aspects of the school but they were not embraced by it. Tangential effects were changes in the way people approached their classes and resourced their programmes, but there is no evidence to suggest that the structure of schooling or pedagogy changed as a result of the initiatives. The strength of organisational culture appears to offer a major reason for the schools' intransigence. What people believe about the nature of knowledge and the kinds of school curriculum that should confirm that view of knowledge is considered elsewhere in this study. Also considered are the content of professional development programmes, what change agents believe they are doing and what practices and rituals they engage in as they go about doing it. The study also shows how the school's organisation enacts shared reality and culture, "the glue of organisations" (Bates, 1986, p. 5).

> Culture is constituted and expressed through ... organisations. It is observable, and empirical descriptions can be provided of the ways in which meanings, values, ideas and beliefs of social groups are articulated through various cultural artifacts (Bates, 1986, p. 14).

Schein (1984) discusses the primary mechanisms for embedding culture in organisations, of which the secondary mechanisms are the artifacts. The primary mechanisms include those things that attention is paid to -- the performance of leaders in crisis, the role modelling of teachers and coaches and the criteria for allocating rewards and for selection, promotion, retirement and excommunication (p. 224). These are served by, and, if they are to work, must be consistent with secondary mechanisms -- the organisation's designs, structures, procedures, space and buildings, the formal statements of intention and the stories, legends and parables which function as a cohesive factor for the organisation.

Real changes, as Fullan (1982) or Miles (1987) describe them, are absorbed and institutionalised as part of the school structure. What is being considered is a view that the curriculum changes under review are not real changes. They appear to be first order changes only. They indicate a conflict between ideology of intention and technology of implementation; within Schein's (1984) definition, the primary and secondary mechanisms were not meshing well. They have effected negligible curriculum change, and no improvement in what people believe or what they do (Boyan, 1988, p.337).

In this chapter an attempt has been made to identify characteristics of each of the schools in the study. While there is evidence of considerable similarity between them, particularly as the grouping of students for learning, timetabling and subjects choices are concerned, as Goodlad (1984) found, it is clear that the particular circumstances of each school's internal and external environments have created a mixture of factors which render them different from each other. Such factors have affected the purposes of schooling as described by each of them and many aspects of their operation. Rossman, Corbett and Firestone (1988) remark, such differences, "tradition, leadership, community expectations, and critical events all combine to infuse idiosyncratic elements into a school's culture" (p.7). The study of the implementation of curriculum initiatives in these schools highlights something of the cultural diversity to which these researchers refer.

The schools of the study were similar in an operational sense in that each offered courses from Years 7 to 10 and each was undergoing major curriculum change involving either HE or TVEI programmes. Each school was at a particular point in the processes of curriculum change which made them appropriate sites for study.

CHAPTER 6

METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES AND COLLECTION OF DATA

INTRODUCTION:

Blumer (1969) described symbolic interactionism as a process of understanding society. While Blumer believed that the process should reflect the applications of research applicable to "empirical science" by which propositions are formulated regarding the relationship between categories of data, developing theory and then testing theory so that verifiable knowledge may be established he also argued that their should be developed from empirical reality (Jacob,1987) The fact that theoretical orientation of this study, symbolic interactionism, recommends itself to both a positivistic approach to research which involves external observation and the testing of hypotheses, and the interpretative approach which allows for the study of sociological phenomena from within, has been of advantage to the study since it enables the research to proceed with an integration of elements of the grounded theory approach (discussed later in this chapter), with the phenomenological. This justifies the use of ethnographic research techniques in order to gain insights into the behaviour and responses of people during the processes of curriculum change involving professional development programmes, the intervention of change agents and the adjustments people who comprises organisations make in the face of the change. Dobbert (1975), in discussing the theory of cultural transmission, writes of the unique world view that each culture has and the way in which each culture assigns meaning to behaviour as a result of that view.

Because of the study's focus on the collective culture of schools, this chapter begins by describing the value of ethnographic techniques in carrying out the study. It then reviews the characteristics and applications of participant observation and interview, describes the use to the study of key informants and document analysis and concludes with a discussion of the limitations of these procedures.

THE METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Techniques for studying culture derived originally from Anthropology. Boas and Malinowski established procedures which enabled researchers to capture a picture of the world view and knowledge held by a particular cultural group, without disturbing or intruding upon the essence of that culture. Boas' and Malinowski's practices, later refined and employed across the Social Sciences, offer research techniques which lend themselves to this study, given its focus on the culture of schools.

While mindful of the advice given by Rist (1980) in *Blitzkreig Ethnography*, Wolcott (1980) in *How To Look Like An Anthropologist Without*

Really Being One" and others, regarding the novice's use of ethnographic techniques in qualitative research, the researcher regards some of these techniques as most appropriate for this study.

Supporting the study's theoretical orientation towards symbolic interactionism, the use of ethnographic techniques allowed the researcher to seek explanations for, and progessively develop theories about the problem under investigation. Corbett, Firestone and Rossman (1987) believe that the techniques of ethnography allow the researcher to "foster the collection of rich, detailed data about the participants' norms, beliefs and values" (p.41). The techniques give the researcher the capacity to explain and understand how people make sense of their lives.

ETHNOGRAPHY AND HUMAN BEHAVIOUR

The appropriateness of the approach for this study is also strongly supported by two hypotheses relating to human behaviour which Wilson (1977) identifies as (a) the naturalistic-ecological hypothesis and (b) the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis. The first hypothesis accepts that if the phenomenon under study is to be investigated properly, the investigation must be done as unobtrusively and as naturally as possible. This means that observation and examination must take place in the field rather than in research settings. Taking the qualitative-phenomenological hypothesis, and in keeping with the purpose of this study, Wilson (1977) maintains that the researcher must take from behaviour more than the observable facts and must therefore find ways of identifying the latent meaning of behaviour. "The researcher must also understand the behaviour from the objective outsider's perspective" (pp. 251-253).

Ethnography has been defined as:

> ... literally, an anthropologist's "picture" of a way of life of some interacting human group ... A deceptively simple test for judging the adequacy of an ethnographic account is to ask whether a reader could subsequently anticipate and interpret what occurs in the group as appropriately as its own members (Firestone and Dawson, 1981, p.4).

Goetz and Le Compte (1984) maintain that

> ethnography provides rich, descriptive data about the contexts, activities and beliefs of participants in educational settings ... Typically, such data represent educational processes as they occur. The results of these processes are examined within the whole phenomenon; isolation of outcomes is rarely considered (p.17).

Ethnography is widely used for studying aspects of schooling. Major studies in America have been conducted by Stake (1978), Wolcott (1975), Tirkunuff, Berliner and Rist (1975), and Smith and Keith (1971). In Britain, ethnology has been used by Lacey (1970) and Ball (1981), and in Australia, by Connell (1987). The strength of the methodology, despite a lack of consensus about the nature of its scope and method (Goetz and Le Compte, 1984), lies in its enabling the researcher to understand the subjectivities of the participants in

the cultural site. As Taylor and Bogdan (1984) state, the methodology allows for research to be undertaken which is inductive, which is concerned with settings and which has people (who are looked at holistically) as its focus. As well, researchers using the methodology study the setting, with the intention of understanding people from within the worlds they inhabit. The qualitative researcher suspends his or her own biases and subjectivities by designing research in such a way as to be able to view the setting as if for the first time. There is an emphasis on validity in the research design (pp.7-8).

Ethnographies enable researchers to uncover the rules which people use to make interpretations about the events in their lives. Firestone and Dawson (1981) identify a number of criteria which allow the researcher to identify the participants' meanings. The ways in which people express and live their own interpretations of what is happening in their worlds may be discovered by spending adequate time in the field, by not over-specifying data collection procedures and by constantly refining the research problem in the field. Using primary data increases the sense of reality the reader has about the life of the participants (Firestone and Dawson, 1981, p.10).

Wolcott (1975) also discusses a number of issues which attach to ethnographic research in schools. These include the appropriateness of the problem and the appropriateness of the ethnographer (p.111). Wolcott believes that ethnography is best served when the researcher feels free to "muddle about" in the field. While this may be the ethnographer's dream, Wolcott does admit to the realities of cost and time associated with research and agrees that "some degree of problem orientation and ... some underlying assumptions" should be present (p.115) to give direction to the research. Wolcott (1975) draws on the work of Pelto, who makes much of the fact that the ethnographic researcher is the main instrument of research and as such must bring special qualities, including some formal training in the techniques of ethnography, to bear on the research. Other abilities include maintaining a critical distance from the subject of study while at the same time maintaining personal involvement. If the researcher is the main instrument for ethnographic research, then it follows that the ethnographer's experience and reactions must become part of the account. The suggestion that the subjectivity of the ethnographer is one of the disadvantages of ethnography in terms of reliability is dismissed by Redfield (1953) who recommends that ethnographers not hide behind "a mask of neutrality", but present something of themselves in writing their accounts of the people and events they study (Wolcott, 1975, p.119).

ETHNOGRAPHY AND TEACHING:

Woods (1986) believes the techniques of ethnography to be particularly suited to research by teachers. He maintains that "teaching and ethnography ... [are] eminently suitable co-enterprises" (p.6). Teachers are familiar with telling the stories that comprise the writing process of ethnography, teachers are well experienced as participant observers and interviewers and, because the teacher

is the research instrument, the teacher maintains control over the investigative process (p.9). "Ethnography thus offers teachers an engagement with research and a control over it" (p.9).

Woods' (1986) support of ethnography as an appropriate methodology for exploring educational issues is echoed in the work of Haller and Knapp (1985). These researchers make the link between research into the effectiveness of schools and the assertion that teachers' shared beliefs about behaviour and work, as incorporated in their courses of study and teaching practice, have an impact on student outcomes. It is only through our ability to construct a detailed picture of the full range of dynamics at work that we have any hope of intervening effectively towards the resolution of persisting educational problems (p.478).

While ethnographic techniques are particularly suited to exploring many of the problems which exercise the minds of educators, the processes of ethnography have within them the seeds of difficulty. These include cost, bulk of materials, problems of timing, unpredictability, inadequate attention to 'manipulable variables' and generalisability. Each must be accounted for in the research design.

Costs refer not just to material expenses and the financial ramifications of spending the required amount of time in the field, but also to the "psychic upheaval" which accompanies the researcher's task of interacting with and coming to know the research participants. The bulk of ethnographic research must be accounted for by the research design. Plans must be made for guiding but not limiting procedures: what areas of knowledge and behaviour must be included in interview and observation, what critical events will inform the study and how the sole researcher will reduce data to a manageable amount for analysis. The matter of timing refers to the time it takes between data collection and data analysis, and changes that may occur in the interim. Again, the fact that ethnography allows for analysis to occur concurrently with the processes of data collection by means of the constant comparative method developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), ensures that the problems of maturation are less likely to occur.

As Wolcott (1985) has written, "The purpose of ethnographic research is to describe and interpret cultural behaviour" (p.191).

This study is designed to describe and interpret the cultural response of teachers to change during the implementation of the change. Such a study requires a variety of data-gathering strategies. This is mainly to ensure that the study encapsulates the behaviour of the people facing change, evaluates the programmes of professional development and notes the approach of people involved in transforming others' beliefs, values and practices. The researcher's aim is to provide a credible account which will allow conclusions to be drawn about legitimate expectations for change in schools. Another reason is that multiple methods offset some of the anticipated problems of reliability and validity in a study undertaken by a sole researcher. The use of alternative

methods meets the criteria laid down by Denzin (1978) in his description of triangulation, a process which enhances the validity of the data.

RESEARCH TECHNIQUES AND DATA COLLECTION:

The study employed four major data-gathering methods: participant observation, key informant, interviews, and document analysis. The findings derived from one method support and confirm those derived from another. The multi-method approach also maximises the time spent in the field. In deciding on these methods for research, the researcher was mindful of Wolcott's (1985) advice regarding ethnography never being more than partial and incomplete (p.197).

Procedures used in the collection of data followed the guidelines recommended by Bogdan and Taylor (1975), Le Compte and Goetz (1982), Lofland (1971), Smith and Keith (1971) and Miles and Huberman (1984).

Participant Observation:

There are four degrees of participation in "the life of the field" which an observer may undertake. The *complete participant* takes on a role as a member of the group, concealing the purpose of the study. Such a role would appear to limit the researcher's view of the relationships between the sub-group and the society under study. The role of *participant as observer* however, while not a concealed role, allows the research to be subordinated to the role of participant. Because it is widely known what the researcher's activities are, he or she is given wide access to information. It offers more freedom than that of the complete observer who, at the extreme of this role, is most likely concealed behind a mirror or camera. Participant observation allows the researcher to experience the environment, developing an insider's view of the problem under investigation. It is "an omnibus field strategy" involving "document analysis, interviewing ... direct participation and observation and introspection" (Patton, 1987, p.75).

While accepting the advantages of participant observation described as the "purest" method in ethnography (Woods, 1985, p.36), the researcher chose, for practical reasons, to vary the participant-observer practice by assuming the role of *known participant-observer* in one school, Hungerford, and as *non-participant-observer* in the others. Such potential problems as unforeseen exigencies in terms of time and the competing responsibilities that might arise in the dual roles of guest and teacher (Woods, 1985) were thus minimised. As non-participant observer in the English schools and in two of those in Tasmania, the researcher was aware that the role can make meaning less directly accessible than is the case for participant observation. However, Goetz and Le Compte (1984) confirm that derived or inferred meanings "can be triangulated with data obtained through more direct procedures" (p.146). Thus the study relies on interviewing for validation and verification. The researcher's association with schools allowed her to participate in many of the

professional, sporting and social experiences of the respondents, and the interviews permitted a balance to exist between "the essentials of strangeness and familiarity "(Hammersley, 1983, p.100). Because of this, the functional differences between participant and non-participant observation became ambiguous, as Goetz and Le Compte (1984) found. The researcher also found that, by maintaining a position of marginality and thus restricting interaction with the participants, she was able to record more objectively the interactions between people and note their behaviour. In a sense, by using interview as a data-collection method, one became "an involved observer" (Woods, 1985, p. 39).

Sanday (1979) and Wolcott (1975) recommend that at least a calendar year be spent on the site under study to allow time for the researcher, as a participant observer, to become an unobtrusive observer, and to go about the business of the investigation without disturbing the natural setting. At Hungerford, where the researcher was Principal, there was no need to "take on" the role of participant observer, and her familiarity with the setting also meant a reduction of the time required in the field. To have taken on the life of a teacher in the other schools would have frustrated the gathering of data, because that role would have meant an "egg-crate existence" of the kind described by Lortie (1973). The researcher would have spent much time in the isolated environs of the classroom, unable to wander at will, to see students at work and to observe the behaviour of colleagues. Similarly, in this situation, the difficulty in acquiring documents would have hampered the research. As a participant observer, the researcher would have become ever more immersed in the situation and setting, and it would have been increasingly difficult to maintain the necessary position of critical distance and the measure of detachment that Woods (1986) mentions (p.34).

It became clear during interviews for the preliminary study during 1988, that the position of researcher in the school gave people a chance to speak to a professional rather than to a colleague. The status of the researcher then was an aid to that research. That status also reduced some of the difficulties faced by the participant observer which, as Lofland (1971) described, include becoming involved in factions, becoming personally involved with other participants and having loyalties put to the test (p.95).

Woods (1986) summarises studies in which the researchers have maintained different involvements in the field, ranging from the part-time teaching loads of Burgess, Lacey and Hargreaves for example, to the total immersion by Whyte, who became a member of a Chicago gang (p.34). It is interesting to note however, that both Lacey and Hargreaves modified the measure of participant observation as their research proceeded. Both, for the sake of their research, took on a "freer research role" by scaling down the participant aspect of their roles (Woods, 1986, p.37).

Observation Guide:

In identifying changes to culture which are essential to the management of

successful change, this guide complements the Interview Guide, by seeking evidence in three major areas of the study. These are the realising of the objectives of TVEI, the manner of disseminating information regarding TVEI and changes to pedagogy which can be attributed to the introduction of TVEI. By using the "LEA's Consortium Performance Indicators", which were prepared by South Central, the researcher looked for evidence of:

- active promotion of the principles of equal opportunities,
- access to and progression in Information Technology,
- the development of programmes of in-service training for teachers,
- continuity and coherence in the courses of study being offered,
- changes to teaching styles and curriculum delivery.

In using ethnographic techniques in research, field notes are essential, since they describe what has been observed and what has been noted as important. Appendix 2 offers examples of field notes taken from the researcher's note books, which typify the recording of data. The field notes were dated, as a matter of course, and included descriptions of settings, circumstances, details of people present and the nature of their social interaction. They also include insights, interpretations, beginning analyses and working hypotheses (Patton, 1987, p.94). Where possible, direct quotations were recorded as well as the researcher's experiences, feelings, reactions and reflections. Reflections on interviews and observation, whether completed as participant or non-participant observer, were noted at the same time, and the notes served to support or to raise queries on hypotheses.

Key Informants:

The use of key informants is a major research method for cultural anthropologists, valued as a primary source of information, details of history and events and of social and cultural patterns. The use of key informants also permits the efficient gathering of data that may be excessively difficult or time-consuming to gather by interviews or questionnaire surveys. In each school the key informant was the co-ordinator of the curriculum initiative (the main agent for change). In each case they became useful to the researcher in discussing emerging theories and hunches (Bogdan and Taylor, 1984, p.41). While always being conscious of possible mis-information or bias attending the information and/or advice given by the key informant, the present researcher quickly became aware of the value of such a person to the research over a limited time, in keeping with Woods' (1986) observation that the "key informants give perspective to the whole methodological front" (p.85).

The key informants provided data about the history of the school, the school's experience of change (the people involved and significant stages in the processes of change) and a description of the roles of Principal, appointed change agent and others associated with the implementation of particular changes. Key informants also gave their interpretation of the outcomes of the

implementation processes and their assessment of the success of the changes. In this study, it was possible to ignore Lofland's (1971) advice regarding the use of "low-standing marginals" as key informants (p.95), since in all cases the key informants, although they may have represented lower status subject areas, had, by virtue of the administrative importance given the TVEI and HE initiatives, been promoted within each school.

The key informants of the study were, in the main, reliable sources of information. As Burgess (1985) found when discussing this under-used and under-examined tool of ethnographic research, the role of the key informant was of guide, interpreter and local historian. Key informants did not present the researcher with any of the difficulties described by Burgess (1985). This may well have been because the researcher, unlike Burgess (1985), was a non-participant observer and was thus not vulnerable to the problems that the role of participant can incur.

Lofland's (1971) advice was used in the analysis of reports given by the key informants in assessing their capacity for error and bias. This included a review of the directness of their report and the consistency of their observations: The researcher was mindful of the application of the following procedure in interview and observation also since, in studies of this kind, while data collection is drawn from anecdote and the evidence is, therefore anecdotal, the principles of objectivity must apply in maintaining empirical integrity.

> Is it third or first hand?
> Experienced or heard?
> What was the spatial location of the reporter?
> What was the social location of the reporter?
> Does the informant have any biases which may affect the accuracy of the report?
> What has been the reliability of other reports?
> Is the report internally consistent?
> Do others' reports confirm this report? (p.11).

Schein's (1985) discussion of the value of the "iterative interview" in aiding the revelation of cultural assumptions which rely by definition on the active presence of the "insider" (p. 113), also assisted the design of the study. Not only does the school "insider" or informant provide information of the kind already mentioned, but that person will, if chosen because of their motivation and interest in the puzzlements and surprises under investigation, assist the researcher to construct a model of the school's culture, based on the assumptions that are beginning to emerge as the data collection proceeds. For this study, key informants have been a feature of the research methodology.

Interviews:

As previously mentioned, the time taken by the participant observer in locating settings, gaining entry to the field and becoming familiar with participants is protracted. While participant observers sometimes "spin their wheels" for months at these early stages of research (Bogdan and Taylor, 1982),

studies based on interviewing can be conducted in a shorter span of time, since the researcher does not have to wait for a participant to do or say something relevant, but can take the initiative and generate data.

Interviews are valuable instruments for generating data. They allow the researcher to identify those things which are puzzling "in the context of the researcher's cultural endowment and the cultural endowment of [the researcher's] associates" (Lofland, 1971, p.77). Puzzlements give direction for the construction of the interview questions and comments. The interview method is particularly useful when "the researcher wants to illuminate subjective human experience" (Bogdan and Taylor, 1982, p.81), which is an essential element within the intentions of this study. Other advantages of interviews include access to areas of information not easily available, but which are necessary if a balanced view is to be maintained. They are also a source of information retrieval, allowing background material to be gleaned by the researcher. Interviews "provide hard data which are required by most conventions of research" (Hammersley, 1983, p.110). They are a particularly convenient and highly efficient where time and resources are limited.

There are disadvantages in the interview method in terms of reliability. Much of the information derives from people who have biases and weak memories and who have already processed the information through their own personal filters. A problem too can be the manner of recording the interviews. Obviously, if the obtaining of hard data is important, tape-recording is necessary, but tape-recorders have the effect of constraining some respondents. Once again however, the experience of this study was that with only three exceptions, the recorder was not a barrier to discussion. Other alternatives are to take notes during or immediately after the interview. Whatever the methods of recording, there is still the bulk of material to be considered. Whyte's (1982) study offered suggestions for limiting and managing the bulk of collected data, which involved the indexing and ordering of data as the gathering of information proceeded.

To maximise time spent in the field, the researcher used different interviewing guides, depending on the circumstances and stages of data collection. One was the "informal interview", which takes the form of a conversation and has the effect of personalising contact between the researcher and participants, particularly with key informants, Principals and others associated with entry onto the site and the preliminary stages of the research. Descriptive, evaluative and non-specific questions formed part of the researcher's informal interviewing repertoire. On a number of occasions, particularly on entry to the field sites, informal interviews were conducted as a means of establishing friendly relationships, so important for gaining access to useful data.

It is clear that the reliability of the study, while threatened by one's familiarity with the setting as "a hopelessly enculturated insider" (Wolcott, 1985, p.199), can be balanced by the perceptions the researcher can bring to the

setting. Some familiarity with the situation also allows questions to be directed differently to different people, according to their involvement in the structure of the organisation, their interests and their circumstances. The naturalness of the situation has, however, some disadvantages. If no sought-for information is forthcoming in conversation, the interviewer may feel constrained from asking direct questions. Moreover, because different information arises in conversation with different people, the organisation and systematisation of data gathered informally becomes difficult (Patton, 1987, p.116).

"Interview Guides" helped in the systematising of the process. This method enables specific topics to be covered. The interviewer controls the interview, the wording of questions being established in advance. Because of this, however, some salient points may be omitted. Freedom for the interviewer to decide in which order to ask the questions can result in differently weighted responses, which may then be hard to compare. Use of the "standard open-ended" interview, during which identical preworded and organised questions are asked of each respondent in the same order, has the effect of allowing easy comparison of responses and systematic data gathering to be made. It also reduces the effect of possible interviewer-bias (Patton, 1987, p.117). This strategy was used during most of the interviewing done for data collection.

Two interviews, one unstructured and following Wolcott's (1985) recommended approaches to interviewing (p. 196), involved each of the participants in recounting their experience of curriculum changes. The loosely-structured interview guide of the kind used by Davis and Rizzo was used and included an introduction and requests for information regarding the interviewee's current situation, background, recruitment to teaching, ideological and philosophical perspectives, personal plans and expectations and a conclusion (Lofland, 1971, p.78). The nature of the questions, ranging from open-ended to closed, depending on the topic, and the results of the interviews were coloured by the idiosyncratic aspects of the interviewing situation as allowed by the standard "open ended" interview. Such idiosyncrasies can include the physical surroundings allotted for the interview or those very important, but more subtle variants such as the respondent's mood, attitudes, opinions and ulterior motives (Whyte, 1982, p.111). Introductory questions served to explain the purpose of the study, to assure the participant of anonymity and of the relevance of the questions and to make it clear that the participant could comment at will. Then the researcher proceeded to the second, more structured interview, which included prompts based on the experiences and perceptions shared by others (which had emerged during the first interview). Each interview was recorded and the details of the participant noted on a face sheet. Interviews lasted 40-60 minutes, which seemed long enough to ensure that the researcher maintained a mode of "critical awareness" (Measor, 1985). On two occasions, at South Central and Fortuna, group interviews were held; their purpose was to confirm an emerging theory quickly and to verify information provided earlier in individual interviews. A total of

fifty interviews were conducted. To reduce the bulk of information to manageable proportions, a decision was made to sacrifice breadth for depth.

Schein (1985), in defining "basic cultural essence as the pattern of assumptions that underlie what people value and do" (p.112), offers an approach which assisted the researcher in uncovering or revealing those patterns. He calls the approach "iterative interviewing"; the ten-step approach which he has devised is based on the view that an outsider must have the assistance of the insider if what has for so long been taken for granted is to surface into consciousness. Schein maintains that no amount of "right" questioning will reveal the concealed (p.114).

The appropriateness for, this study, of Schein's (1985) approach to deciphering cultural assumptions can be seen in the interview methodology he recommends. This aims to help the researcher to reconstruct how the school has "solved its major problems of external adaptation and internal integration and which solutions worked repeatedly and became embedded" (p.119). To discover this, the methodology requires the researcher to investigate the critical incidents in the history of the group, and how they were handled.

Interview Guides:

The structured interviews with KEY INFORMANTS, (the Coordinators) followed the approach recommended by Schein (1985), adapting the questions, where necessary, in an attempt to discover the key events in the history of the initiative within the school and to investigate the patterns of management the organisation developed to deal with those events.

1. . Let's go back over the history of TVEI/HE. Can you tell me when it began and describe the events that occurred at that time?
   . Who was involved? (Try to locate the important founding figures or leaders, ... and find out what their values, biases, assumptions and goals were).
   . What were the critical problems in getting started? (Try to find out what the survival issues were and how they were handled).
   . Were there specific goals that emerged? Ways of working? Key values that emerged early?
2. What was the next critical incident that occurred? [Schein defines the "next critical incident" as causing some upheaval in the life of a programme which may affect the goals of the programme or involve personnel within the programme].
   a. Tell me how people were feeling about what was happening. Were they anxious, delighted or angry or what?
   b. What was done? Who did anything? ...
   c. What was the meaning of the response? What goals, values and assumptions were implied or explicitly stated in the response?
   d. What happened? Did the response work? How did people feel subsequently? Did the response continue?

[The interviewer then asks about the next critical event around which the same series of questions would be asked again].

(Adapted from Schein, 1985, p. 120).

Questioning of the key informants also involved giving specific attention to matters such as the aims of TVEI and HE as they were reflected in curriculum

content and organisation, the processes of teaching and learning, approaches to management and the processes of disseminating details of the programme to teachers. Information regarding other aspects of the programme, including perceptions of the role of school co-ordinator, head teacher and others emerged during informal conversations at the outset of interviewing.

In this study, the interview guide above elicited the information that the key informant of South Central had been responsible for curriculum change for fourteen years and in fact attributed successful change to his own efforts. The researcher's wariness in the face of this information was found to be justified by some of the responses to the questions directed at teachers from this school.

The interview schedules for CLASSROOM TEACHERS followed the model provided by Black et al. (1988), and established a picture of the administration of the initiaitives.

- Who is responsible for ensuring that school staff are knowledgeable about TVEI/HE?
- What has been done to help them understand its nature, background and purpose?
- What personal qualities and experiences are likely to be valuable in the co-ordinator?
- How do students view the programme?
- Has the implementation of the courses of TVEI/HE caused changes to the way in which people teach?
- In what way has your teaching style and general classroom practice changed in response to changes to the curriculum or courses of study which have been a consequence of TVEI/HE?
- In what way has the management of the school changed in response to TVEI/HE?
- Is the INSET/Staff Development programme sufficient as support to staff involved in TVEI/HE?
- Within your project, how are decisions made about what is to be disseminated?
- Who is to disseminate this information? When? To whom?

For PRINCIPALS and ASSISTANT PRINCIPALS, the questions were as follows:

- What were your views on TVEI/HE before the school became involved?
- What is your role within TVEI/HE?
- What staffing changes have occurred as a result of TVEI/HE?
- How have the school's management structures changed since, to accommodate TVEI/HE?
- Are there any aspects of TVEI/HE which you would wish to alter?
- What would your advice be to a new co-ordinator of TVEI/HE?
- What are the major successes and failures of TVEI/HE?
- How have students (and parents) responded to the introduction of TVEI/HE?

Schein's(1985) ten recommendations, which influenced the data-gathering process, serve as a summary of the research plan:

1. Entry and Focus on Surprises: On entering the site the researcher begins to experience something of the culture through observation and encountering the unexpected.

2. Systematic Observation and Checking: Through systematic observation, the researcher begins to calibrate the surprises in

assessing the extent to which these surprises are in fact repeatable and not merely sole occurrences.

3. Locating a Motivated Insider: Since the approach is dependent on the insider trying to explain to the outsider the patterns of puzzlements and surprises, the outsider must locate an insider capable of analysing what is going on. Quite often such an insider is puzzled by what may be happening and may also be trying to make sense of it.

4. Revealing Surprises, Puzzlements and Hunches: The researcher and the insider explore explanations for the surprises encountered in ways that prevent the researcher from appearing to be judgemental and the insider from being defensive.

5. Joint Exploration to Find Explanation: Both the researcher and insider seek to decipher the assumptions using theoretical categories. The categories form a checklist which allow the researcher to tap into the mind of the insider in which cultural assumptions lie.

6. Formalising Hypotheses: At this stage emerging hypotheses must be formulated to account for the patterns of puzzlements and surprises which are beginning to emerge. The checklists enable a model of the culture to be built.

7. Systematic Checking and Consolidation: Using the model devised for Step 6, the researcher now has enough knowledge to be able to ask the right questions, analyse documents, examine artifacts and observe.

8. Pushing the Level of Assumptions: [Schein admits the difficulty of "going beyond the articulated values and attempting to understand the deeper layer of assumptions behind them" (p.117)]. This step requires the researcher to state clearly what assumptions are informing the hypotheses which are becoming slowly confirmed as interview and observation continue.

9. Perceptual Recalibration: With the continuing collection of data comes a redefining and reshaping of the model of culture which began to be built during the process of Step 6. Other insiders may confirm the assumptions which have constituted the cultural model during the course of the data gathering.

10. At this stage the researcher must show how the assumptions which comprise the cultural model relate to each other and construct the paradigm (Schein, 1985, pp.114-119).

Document Analysis and Library Research:

Glaser and Strauss (1967) emphasise the importance of the library as a source of data for research. They suggest that the reason for library sources often being overlooked has to do with the need for verification and the wish researchers have to work in real life, concrete situations. They also believe that some researchers doubt their own competence to use library materials as primary sources of data (p. 163). Glaser and Strauss present library research as a way of "extending the range of qualitative data serviceable for generating theory, ... with relatively little expenditure of time, money and effort" (p.161).

The collection of accounts of personal experiences can be as useful as the collection of material through interview by the researcher. While there may be the need to evaluate such material in terms of how typical it may be and how refined and trustworthy the accounts, the fact is that such material provides a subjective recollection of experience. Burgess (1982) refers to Angell who believes that such material can help to secure hunches, to instigate the rough formulation of hypotheses and to obtain an historical understanding of a group (p.132). Glaser and Strauss (1967) compare the field and library as sources of data. They write of caches of documents of the kind compiled in this study, containing interviews and conversations and evaluations which were pertinent to a problem and which, when combined with the results of field work, enabled the generation of a substantive theory. The advantages of library materials include their accessibility. Problems of space and time are overcome through library access. The materials can allow gaps in research to be filled quickly and just as efficiently as returning to the field. Such materials brought details of British research within reach of the researcher after her return to Australia.

Because of the ethnographic nature of this study, school documents have provided a rich support in the form of secondary material, and have contributed to the formulation of explanations for the phenomena under study.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY:

This section discusses the study's limitations by considering some problems applying to the use of ethnographic techniques. These problems include issues of validity and reliability of the work of a sole researcher, the time spent in the field, the generalisability from the data collected and analysed and the amount of narrative detail that accompanies the presentation and analysis of this data. A further problem concerns the nature of the curriculum changes themselves.

The Sole Researcher and Familiarity with the Field:

Research that requires the processes of "going native", living for a considerable time within a new culture, learning the language and acquiring status and acceptability appropriate to one's position within that society may certainly justify the time Sanday (1989) recommends. But the researcher who studies an institution within a familiar culture does not need to take time from other aspects of the research task to "settle in" to the culture. Problems may arise, however, from spending too much time in the field. One is described by Hammersley (1986) who writes of himself as having suffered "saturation and field work fatigue", which resulted in a diminishing of his critical perspective. He found as his study progressed, that he was "tuning out" and missing new dimensions of meaning because he had "heard it all before". He complained about losing his inquisitiveness (p.103). It has been suggested that familiarity with the setting and the culture may blind the researcher to aspects of that culture which are essential to the study and have a bearing on the outcomes of

the investigation.

It is clear however, that in recent times many ethnographies have been successfully written as a result of such research. Richardson (1953) was a British seaman who studied island fishing villages in eastern Canada. Lenze and Burling studied hospitals (Burling was a doctor). Angus (1986), while studying the reproduction of structures, tradition and understanding in a Catholic school, was a full-time teacher in the school for five years. Sykes (1978) suggests that the researcher's familiarity with the situation under study has a socially facilitating effect. Burnett (1969) claims that a substantial general knowledge of a culture allows a more detailed approach to the investigation. Miles and Huberman (1984) believe that research is best when the researcher knows something about the phenomenon and the setting under study (p. 46). As Sanday (1979) explains, since researchers "use themselves as the principal and most reliable instrument of observation, selection, co-ordination, and interpretation", researchers must take advantage of their own subjective understandings of the research settings (Firestone and Dawson, 1981, p.8).

Time:

One of the features of ethnography is that time must be spent by the researcher gathering data in the field. The availability of time affects the design of the study. To investigate the "basic complexities and patterns of social reality", the researcher must develop an holistic view of the sub-culture (Patton, 1987, p.79). This is important in terms of the validity of the conclusions drawn. It also highlights one of the difficulties faced by a sole researcher. One year in the field has been cited as a minimum period (Firestone and Dawson, 1981, p.6). As mentioned, Sanday (1979) emphasises the general agreement among ethnographers regarding the centrality of extended participant observation of at least a year both to studies of comparative cultures and to the study of institutional settings within a culture.

> In doing ethnographical studies of schools, for example, it has been recommended that the time of the study should, at the very least, span the school year (p.528).

Owens (1982) also discusses the advantages of long term immersion in the field. An extended time allows for the researcher to become accepted, to "learn the language", to be able to distinguish the important from the trivial and to check developing and deepening perceptions as time passes, using, as Wilson (1977) would say, the opportunity to refine theory by using the tension between participant data and observer analysis (p.250).In the case of this study, the researcher argues that the time factor is not as important as it would be to an ethnographer.

While the research draws quite heavily, and appropriately on ethnographic techniques, the researcher recognises that the study beggars description as an ethnography. Because of the study's symbolic interactionist

orientation by which cultural standards are interpreted by individuals on the basis of their goals and perceptions ...(Jacob, 1987, p.33), rather than, in the case of the anthropological tradition by which the "subjective is defined within the culture of a group" (Jacob, 1987, p.33) , ethnographic techniques used, are not intended to paint a composite picture of the culture of schools facing change. Rather, the research highlights features of the culture that, because of their familiarity, constitute the reality of what make schools different from other human structures. The "world view" of teachers constitutes the world of the researcher, and the microscope of ethnography is an invaluable instrument for viewing those elements of that world which are targeted by initiatives for change.

The realities of the research task, arising from the exigencies of personal circumstances and financial support for the study, precluded spending what may well be an ideal period in the field. Certainly while one appreciates, with Wolcott (1975), the inadequacy of the three-day site visit favoured by some qualitative researchers (Firestone and Dawson, 1981, p6), but for a teacher-researcher already immersed in the field and therefore familiar with the culture and language, the key factor in seeking valid conclusions must be attitude rather than time. Wolcott (1985), although recommending a minimum period of study of one year in the field has, since 1975, it would appear, softened his stand on this matter. He states that "ethnography is not length of time in the field".

Time is one of several "necessary but not sufficient" ingredients of ethnography; no sufficient ethnography without it, but no necessary ethnography with it. Based on any one researcher's skill and sensitivity, and the particular problem and setting, optimum periods of field work may vary as much as the circumstances for pursuing it, but time alone provides no guarantee that one has come to know and understand a setting thoroughly (p.189). Goetz and Le Compte (1984) also maintain that while "some studies may take months or year, some quasi-ethnographies may be based legitimately on a few weeks' study" (p. 240).

It seems important to outline other details of the research design which take account of the problems of a single researcher with limited time and an attention to the essentials of good research (whether quantitative or qualitative): the matters of validity and the absence of bias from the study.

Three aspects of the study may raise doubts about the general applicability of the findings to initiatives for curriculum change. These relate to the data, the selection of sites and the controversial nature of the particular changes under discussion.

Generalisability: Data:

While the researcher's observations and comparisons add some objectivity to the conclusions, most of the data is concerned with the experiences, perceptions of events and beliefs of the people interviewed and observed. Similarly, the documents used in the study -- brochures, prospectuses,

journals and minutes of meetings for example -- were written by people with particular biases, beliefs and perceptions. To bring sense and order to the collection of data, the research design includes a strategy, based on Lofland's (1971) six-part continuum, which brings the abstract "social phenomena" into manageable categories.

- Acts: Action in a situation that is temporarily brief, consuming only a few seconds, minutes, or hours.
- Activities: Actions [over]... months constituting significant elements of persons' involvement.
- Meanings: The verbal production of participants that define and direct action.
- Participation: Persons' holistic involvement in, or adaptation to, a setting or situation under study.
- Relationships: Interrelationships among several persons considered simultaneously.
- Settings: The entire setting under study conceived as the unit of analysis (Lofland, 1971, p.15).

While each of these bears on aspects of this study, the "Meanings" category becomes the focus. Lofland (1971) intends the "Meanings" category to concentrate on participants' "verbal productions which transcend behaviour, ... forming the distinctly human phenomenon of definitions of objects, events and human nature" (p.24). In the term "meanings" is included "culture", "values", "norms", "understandings", "beliefs", "world view" etc. (p.24).

As the researcher used this strategy, common features began to emerge across sites. This suggested a degree of comparability that would allow reasonable generalisability.

Generalisability: Selection:

Another limitation on the generalisability of findings to other situations of curriculum change is the matter of the schools identified for study. As Chapter 5 indicates, one school, Hungerford was the school best known to the researcher in which the problems for study emerged. While this factor may appear to compromise the results of the study, Cronbach (1975) makes the point that, since generalisations have a short shelf life, the primary goal of research remains an interpretation in the context of a specific situation. It was in the context of Hungerford that were raised the issues of curriculum change and its impact on the knowledge beliefs and practices of teachers and the processes of professional development, the intervention of change agents and the school's structural response as a measure of effective change. The choice of Hungerford as a site for the study was useful as a reference point for comparison, as a school where the researcher could act as participant-observer and with added interest in that, as a country school, it differed from the others in several of its characteristics. The study revealed a great deal about the processes of change in the secondary school because of the variety and also because of the similarities in the sample.

Generalisability: Nature of the Initiatives:

The controversial nature of the change initiatives on which this study is based may be seen to impose limitations on the validity of its findings. One way of dealing with this limitation has been to detail at length an analysis of the initiatives as they impinge on teachers' beliefs about knowledge and their consequent teaching practice. This is also an explanation for the detailed discussion of research methodology in justifying the approach chosen for the study.

The approach requires a great deal of narrative which may create reservations in the minds of some readers. However, the narrative is justified in that it contributes to an understanding of the complex realities of the situation under investigation. Stenhouse comments that "narrative, as a form of presentation, has two great strengths: it is simple and direct to read and it is subtle" (Crossley, 1983, p.116). Crossley (1983) takes the view that the narrative style democratises research reports, making them more comprehensible and hence more accessible to a wider range of readers than may be the case "with more scientific studies" (p.116).

DATA ANALYSIS:

Qualitative data at its best captures phenomena which can reveal the cultural underpinnings of a group. To reveal the rich and holistic descriptions latent within the data, the researcher must subject it to a suitable method of analysis. The method chosen as best suited to the analysis of the data amassed during this study is the "grounded theory" approach, developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), by which explanations of phenomena evolve during analysis in the form of emerging theories. An advantage of the method is that collecting, coding, analysing data and theorising are simultaneous, iterative, and progressive (Kozma, 1985, p.304). Called the "constant comparative method", this process also allows for the stages of the study to be developed as it proceeds. The comparisons afford insights which are then categorised for their recurring properties and which may form the beginnings of hypotheses.

The method is a four-step process. As the collection and simultaneous analysis of data proceeds, theoretical concepts (categories) emerge, and elements of these concepts (properties) are identified. Hypotheses about the issues of the study are generated, incidents of each category, property or hypothesis are compared, categories and properties are integrated and theoretical statements are then presented as grounded propositions.

Value of Grounded Theory to the Study:

One goal of grounded theory is to develop an understanding of the basic social processes which attach to the recurring phenomena in the organisation of behaviour in the face of, in this case, curriculum change. Curriculum change is, as Kozma (1985) states, pervasive and, like all other basic social processes has both uniformities and variations. The benefits of grounded theory to this

study are that it enables close co-operation between researcher and practitioners in the investigation of complex problems related to their work, and the researcher is intimately involved in the social situation under study. This point is emphasised by Glaser and Strauss:

> ... theory ought to be developed in intimate relationship with data, with researchers fully aware of themselves as instruments for developing that grounded theory. This is true whether they generate the data themselves or ground their theoretical work in data collected by others (Strauss, 1987, p.6).

Data is not forced to a preconceived theory. It can be highly integrated and functional. Verification is built into it by the researcher's going into and returning from the field during the course of the study and using different research techniques at different times. Theory is being constantly developed in the research situation and maintains an holistic focus.

Another feature of grounded theory is the process of theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling facilitates the generation of theory because the researcher selects cases which are already known for their relevance to the investigation because of their similarities or because of their differences. The suitability of the selection of schools for the study is confirmed by the notion of sampling. Such choice or sampling facilitates the expansion or refinement of concepts and theory that are developing.

Another occurrence in evolving grounded theory is "theoretical saturation", a situation which develops when data no long develop the properties of a category (Spector, 1984, p.462). Having reached the category's saturation point in all categories established, the researcher is then in a position to be "empirically confident" about integrating categories, proposing hypotheses and tying hypotheses to theory (Spector, 1984, p.462).

The process of hypothesis-generation is distinct from hypothesis-testing, which characterises quantitative research, because it enables recurring themes to be categorised according to their properties, conditions and consequences (Spector, 1984, p.460).

The approach is a method for discovering theories, concepts, hypotheses, and propositions directly from data, rather than from *a priori* assumptions, other research, or existing theoretical frameworks. In generating grounded theory, researchers do not seek to prove their theories, but merely to demonstrate plausible support for them. Glaser and Strauss argue that key criteria in evaluating theories are whether they 'fit' and 'work' (Taylor, 1984, p.126). Because grounded theory is a style of analysis rather than a prescribed method, it allows a certain flexibility in research design. While theories derive from data, such theorising does not mean that theory generated by others working in related research areas does not offer some direction to one's research design. Such theory can be drawn into one's work without it constraining one's own enquiry. Extant propositions or categories are considered with those that are empirically derived and are modified and refined

to fit the data as analysis proceeds (Kozma, 1985, p.302). Such theories or propositions can provide a theoretical perspective for gaining conceptual entry to the subject matter and for raising relevant questions (Schatzman and Strauss, 1973, p.12). This does not deny the usefulness of grounded theory when there is either little known about the problem or inadequate existing theory to offer satisfactory explanation of the phenomenon.

Validity and Reliability:

Writing in 1979, Miles, in the interest of achieving acceptable measures of validity and reliability in qualitative analysis, proposed the integration of qualitative and quantitative procedures as suggested by Sieber (p.595). Such a proposal arose from his concerns that because, in the process of developing grounded theory, the researcher is "open to what the site has to tell us and slowly evolving a coherent framework rather than imposing one from the start" (p.591), and so the method can lack clarity and focus. Miles (1979) was also concerned that a review of influential books by people such as Schatzman, Filstead, Glaser, and Bogdan and Taylor showed that little emphasis was placed on the matter of the processes of qualitative data analysis (p.4). Miles (1979) shared Strauss's view that, to improve qualitative analysis "requires more explicitly formulated, reliable and valid methods that currently exist" (p.4). Miles (1979) took up the challenge to formulate clearer guidelines for the analysis of qualitative data. This study has adopted these strategies which have been described by Miles and Huberman (1984).

Four major processes have been identified by Miles (1979). These are: the intertwining of analysis and data collection; the formulation of classes of phenomena; the identification of themes and the provisional testing of hypotheses. These processes are in accordance with the principles of "grounded theory". What Miles (1979) has provided is a set of rules which meet the requirements of empiricism. The passing of a decade has seen further refinement of these propositions:

> Consider the validity of any particular generalisation. Is there supportive evidence from elsewhere in the data? Does it hold true for several different people, roles, groups or occasions? Is there any negative evidence?
>
> Given a generalisation, make a prediction. What else would be true if this generalisation were true? Then go look at the "else" to see if it is there or not. Test propositions. Does Y always go with Z, and is it reasonable to think that it causes Z? Are there certain conditions necessary for Y to cause Z?
>
> Look at extreme bias cases: if even the most self-interested role group gives an explanation which fits yours, though it's against their interest or bias, then the conclusion is stronger (Miles, 1979, p.596).

Since Miles (1979) drew on Seiber's suggestions for analysis, the processes have been further refined, as will be seen in the presentation and analysis of data contained in later chapters.

SECTION 4

DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

This section presents and discusses the research data, with reference to the appropriate theoretical literature.

In Chapter 7, the **programme** elements relating to knowledge and pedagogy contained in TVEI and HE are discussed. The remainder of this section, comprising three chapters, deals with the matter of intervention as a major aspect of the **process** of implementing the changes. In the first of these chapters, the role of Principals, Senior staff and Teachers as change agents is examined. In Chapter 9, findings relating to the involvement of personnel specifically appointed as agents for change are discussed. Chapter 10 deals with programmes of professional development and other evidence of system support for the curriculum change initiatives.

The chapters conclude with a synthesis and discussion of the findings. (Comments from school personnel are coded by using the initials of the school and the page number of the record of transcripts which follow the examples provided in Appendices 2B and 4).

CHAPTER 7

KNOWLEDGE AND THE CURRICULUM INITIATIVES: TEACHERS' BELIEFS AND UNDERSTANDING.

This chapter discusses the general proposition relating to the function of schooling as reflected in the initiatives and incorporated into the beliefs and practices of teachers. The issue of knowledge and the containment of knowledge within the curriculum is examined.

PROPOSITIONS:

Curriculum Initiatives:

1. ***The fate of major curriculum initiatives depends on the extent to which they reflect the way school communities think about the***
   function of schooling,
   the nature of knowledge, and
   the delivery of curriculum.
2. ***Initiatives for major curriculum change require people to adopt new ideas about knowledge and classroom practice.***

EDUCATION AND SCHOOLING

Hamm (1989) identifies three meanings which can be attributed to "education": the sociological meaning, which sees education as "the processes of socialising a child into the extant culture" (p.30) regardless of the nature of that process; the institutional meaning which pertains to what happens to an individual within the physical arrangement of a school; and a third meaning, which is encapsulated in Peters' analysis as "general enlightenment" (Hamm, 1989, p.31). Peters' view of education is of an initiation into knowledge in which something of value is passed from teacher to student. Like Dewey, Peters believed that education is on-going and life-long and has a developmental and transforming function.

Shipman's (1968) definition in which "schooling" is substituted for "education" is modified thus:

> [Schooling] is the organised part of the process through which each successive generation learns the accumulated knowledge of a society (Shipman, 1968, p.3).

> School is an institution which deliberately and systematically ... attempts to transform from a condition of ignorance to one of enlightenment the intellect, the morality, and the technical knowledge and skills of an attentive group of persons assembled in a definite place at a definite time (Wallace, 1961, p.27).

Wallace's (1961) definition of school reflects the distinction made in this

study between schooling and education. The distinction derives from Herskovits (1956) who discusses education as "part of the enculturative experience that, through the learning process, equips an individual to take his place as an adult member of his society" (p.310).

> A much more restricted sense of the word "education" limits its use to those processes of teaching and learning carried on at specific times, in particular places outside the home, for definite periods, by persons especially prepared or trained for the task. This assigns to education the meaning of schooling (p.310).

During interviews and in discussion with teachers about the aims of the initiatives, beliefs about the function of schooling emerged. At South Central there was some emphasis on schooling as an important means of empowering students to exercise control in their life and on the belief that they must be taught to be self-sufficient.

> *What we're trying to do by changing the style of teaching is to put children in touch with the world of work and the world of industry (SC30).*

The weight of evidence gained from interviews and informal discussions with teachers supports the conclusion that for them, the function of schooling is the transmission of culture, with a particular emphasis on the transmission of that knowledge society deems essential. Such a definition of the function of schools admits a combination of views which draws on Parson's work and that of R. S. Peters and resolves itself in a statement which reflects these authors' views. Parsons ascribes functions to schooling which accord with those of the teachers in the study. These are:

> emancipation of the child from the family; learning of society's values and norms, at a higher level than is available in the family; differentiation of the school class in terms of achievement and differential valuation of achievements; and the selection and allocation of human resources into the adult role system (Reid, 1978, p.369).

While Reid (1978) concentrates on the third function in his discussion of Parson's description, this study emphasises the second, that of internalising society's social values and norms. R. S. Peters, although finding it difficult to "demarcate the concept of education" (Hamm, 1989, p.32), discusses the deliberateness of the process and the initiation of its outcomes.

> Peters talks of education as being a deliberate attempt of someone (often a teacher) to initiate someone else (the student) into a hitherto unknown world of knowledge, understanding and practice ... (Hamm, 1989, p.33).

> For Peters, the central features of education are the criteria attributes of value and knowledge. In addition there is a procedural requirement (Hamm, 1989, p.34).

While the terms "enculturation", "education" and "schooling" are synonymous in describing the process by which an individual masters and manipulates his culture, "schooling" pertains only to the organised element of that process and so the distinction is pertinent to the study.

The discussion leads now to what the TVEI and HE documents say about what is to be learned through their respective programmes.

THE INITIATIVES AS EDUCATION

It is important to review the objectives of TVEI and HE to discover what values and norms are being transmitted.

The aims of TVEI are to ensure that the education of 14-18 year olds provides young people in a rapidly changing society with learning opportunities which will equip them for the demands of working life.

HE [aims to] enable the student:

. to understand the basic requirements of good health
. to understand his or her own health
. to develop a clear sense of his or her own worth and to develop respect for others
. to develop a lifelong sense of responsibility for his or her own health
. to develop the skills necessary to establish a healthy lifestyle and to maintain health
. to take constructive action for his or her personal health, for the health needs of others and for health issues in the community.

Because both initiatives have been recommended to schools for compulsory study, their incorporation into the curriculum have implications for the organisation of learning and impinge on wider educational issues. One of these is a fundamental issue of the education debate -- the incompatibility between an education that is preoccupied with a specific aspect of life and one that offers "the world" in the sense of a general and liberal education.

Respondents in each school held reservations about the aims of the initiatives for political, social or academic reasons. Taba states that:

> The school is created by society for the purpose of reproducing in the learner the knowledge, attitudes, values, and techniques that have cultural relevance or currency (MacIsaac, 1988, p.50).

HEALTH EDUCATION AS A FUNCTION OF SCHOOLING:

The dominant themes of the HE programme may be summarised here as a concern for individuals: there is advantage in store for them if they take responsibility for their own health and, to some degree, the health of the community. Responsibility rests with the individual to take charge of his or her life and to make the right choices to enhance it. A criticism of this perspective is that it removes the individual from the context of his or her environment and reduces the community's responsibility to provide a supportive environment for the individual's choice. The individual's range of options is thus restricted, and so the right to choose is cramped and the resultant responsibility diminished.

The HE programme confirms the role of vested interests in health care. The effect of public health care agencies such as Medicare (Australia) and Britain's Health Care and its rationalisation, is to create a situation which further disadvantages those individuals whose real choices are constrained by

environment. Public health care, directed as it must be towards the whole community, cannot match the facilities that are available to those who can choose private health care. The need to choose public health care thus restricts the health options open to the individual.

In its submission to Cabinet, the Education Department made the statement that:

> . Health Education programmes cater for the social, emotional and physical well-being of the individual, and the community.
> . ... Health Education programmes are based on the premise that the family is the primary unit in our society, and seek to develop more completely those skills necessary to make individuals successful, confident and capable of living in today's society.
> . Health Education develops skills in the individual such as communication, parenting and decision-making.
> . Health Education supports families by providing knowledge and information that may enable them to discuss matters that they may not in ordinary circumstances feel competent or comfortable to engage in (Cabinet Submission -- Tasmanian Parliament, 1987, p.4).

When it comes to the issues that might reflect adversely on community attitudes and thus stir society to reflect on and perhaps change counteractive attitudes and practices, the submission provides for a political power of veto:

> Principals should provide details of the proposed topics to the appropriate Director of the region and obtain approval (Cabinet Submission -- Tasmanian Parliament, 1987, p.9).

Such a requirement negates the professional rights of teachers -- a slight further compounded by a provision in the submission which would allow parents to withdraw their children from the courses.

TECHNICAL AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION INITIATIVE AS A FUNCTION OF SCHOOLING:

In the rhetoric which surrounds the aims of TVEI, again the focus is on the individual. There is no reciprocal message involving the cooperation of the community by rationalising the culture of the work place for instance, or by encouraging gender equity in terms of attitudes rather than opportunities. This statement affirms the instrumental character of curriculum decision-making in its concern for social efficiency and effectiveness.

Student experience reinforces some of the inequalities in the work place. There is no evidence in the documents that work is depicted as an emancipatory occupation. The routines of Work Studies and Work Experience serve to confirm the concept that work is enslaving, despite the fact, as both Watkins (1988) and Stronach observe, that there is little congruence between the world of work as the school portrays it and the realities of that world (Stronach, 1988, p.83).

There is, therefore, another distortion built into curriculum delivery. If curriculum is responsible for the way children classify the world and regulate their social relations (Reynolds and Skilbeck, 1976, p.38), the message they are being given is inaccurate. Feinberg states that plans for reform of schooling

have latently served conservative interests of stability and social stratification (Apple, 1976, p.48). The intentions of reformers to use the needs of industry to build curriculum has already been discussed in this document. As Davis and Smith (1988) put it:

> ... vocational education ... is an ideology of production regulating education rather than an example of flexible educational ideology and practice servicing industry (p.83).

Curriculum design for TVEI shows that the ultimate job skills become the *raison d'être* of the programme and become translated into objectives (Davis and Smith, 1988, p.83).

The objectives of the initiatives, point to a preoccupation with what Popkewitz (1986) calls the "possessive individual" and reflects the view that

> each individual possesses sets of skills, abilities and attributes which are amenable to development, each according to the peculiarities of the individual. ... Those who prevail are more adept at meritorious application and in talent; those who fail do so as a result of their own inadequacies, either intellectual or moral (p.20).

The objectives model of curriculum design fails the intentions of the programmes since the objectives for both TVEI and HE do not recognise the principles of sameness and difference. Children do not come to school with the same experiences and sensibilities, "awareness or cognitive orientations" (Popkewitz, 1986, p.20). Popkewitz (1986) identifies differences between schools, which confirm the "cultural capital" of the middle class. In the presentation of knowledge, there is that associated with the expectations of the middle class and there is that organised for the "functional skills and knowledge" of the remainder (p.20).

In response to political pressure or community demand, the schools are moving away from fulfilling their major role as a sub-system of the social system, which is "the perpetuation, transformation, and generation of knowledge grounded in the disciplines" (MacIsaac, 1988, p.53).

The findings of this study support the view that the focus of TVEI and HE is on the behavioural outcomes, and that they are wanting in concern for knowledge. This view sees the initiatives as consistent with the progressive, child-centred methodological dimension.

TEACHERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE OBJECTIVES OF TVEI AND HE:

Many of the respondents made comments relating specifically to the aims of the initiatives. The interview schedule concentrated on these aims. In the case of TVEI it was generally accepted that the aims were clearly directed towards the world of work and the expectations of that world and that, to further the general aims of the programme, it was the task of the school to increase links with business and industry (SC6).

One of the specific aims of TVEI is to promote the concept of equality for all, regardless of gender and including students with special needs. The

fulfilment of this aim could be an important measure of the programme's success. At South Central and Taylor, the researcher found considerable evidence of good intentions in the matter of equality and of specific action that had been taken to ensure that the programme's emphasis on technological education for girls was met. On the whole, however, the results were judged to be disappointing. South Central had undertaken much planning to run a "Girls in Technology" day in 1989. The day was deemed to be successful but, as the minutes of the consortium's planning indicate, the programme was abandoned (Co-Ordinator's Meeting -- 6/2/90). It was also reported at that meeting that there were no girls enrolled in the consortium's "Girls Only Technology" group.

At Taylor, a bus, equipped to demonstrate "Women in Engineering and Science" and provided by the consortium, was engaged to make regular visits to the school. *"It was a waste of time -- the bus was late most of the time and the equipment didn't work" (T39).* Thus, in the efforts to foster gender equality, there was a considerable distance between stated intention and what actually happened.

As if anticipating the difficulties schools would face when equalising gender opportunities for choice of subjects, the Times Educational Supplement had suggested, in the early years of TVEI:

> ... one way of persuading pupils to take unusual subjects is to simply call it something different or insert an ingredient which is more attractive to either sex, for example boys are attracted to subjects with the word "technology" in them (3/5/85).

There was no evidence, in either of the English schools, that this "sleight of hand" advice had been heeded.

As has already been discussed, the aims of TVEI were easily identified, but those of HE were less clear. They were generally judged by the respondents of Fortuna, City and Hungerford to be ambitious, unrealistic, "nebulous and a bit silly" (H79). Nevertheless there was a commitment to try to implement what was understood to be the aims of HE.

> *Children are better off knowing about themselves than about Newton's third law of motion (C41).*

However, there was evidence of serious reservations:

> *Those who have tried to equalise the differences between boys and girls have caused more harm than if they had left them alone (C41).*

Teachers who questioned the validity of the initiatives' aims did so because they believed that the aims did not reflect an accurate concept of the realities of children's lives, nor account for their level of intellectual development or their stage of socialisation.

As evidence of the validity of this criticism, South Central offered an example. The content of the courses which reflected the aims of equality had emphasised the cultural gap between groups in the school. The Bengali girls were faced with family problems if they exhibited any inclination towards self-

determination or assertiveness. For them also, training interviews, for example, were of little value because their future would almost certainly be spent at home (SC6). Good intentions on the part of the teachers were thwarted because some of the elements of the initiative ignore the realities of the students' lives.

Teachers criticised the aims of both initiatives in that they fail to take account of the immaturity of the students. At Hungerford a number of respondents made the point that the aims of HE cannot be met with students who are still incapable of extrapolating knowledge from one teaching area to another or to their experience of living:

> *Teenagers are selfish -- they are inwardly focused -- they make up their own mind-pictures about themselves between the ages of twelve and sixteen. They are still emotionally and socially immature (H79).*

> *Our courses may raise student awareness (about their responsibilities) but children don't change because of that (H80).*

> *Training interviews may well take up the issues of women in the work place, but the ambitions of girls are to travel, to help their parents, to have a flat and then to settle down to a career (SC9).*

In the matter of equality of student access to the initiatives, where one might expect to find teachers reluctant to commit some of their students to the cohorts of the pilot schemes of TVEI as Taylor did, there was only a hint that TVEI and HE were intended for students of one particular academic or social group, "*special needs students should be targeted*" (SC18). At Taylor, one teacher worried that *"the best kids would be creamed off" (T39)* leaving the others as members of the TVEI cohort. It may also have been expected that, given the aims of HE and the implication of "wellness" and "illness" in those aims, certain children would have been targeted for that programme. At South Central, Taylor, Hungerford and City High, while some frustration was expressed by teachers regarding the quality of some of the material (as being inappropriately designed for children less academically skilled than others) there seemed a general acceptance of the principle that TVEI and HE were for all students. This reflected a view expressed in the discussion document "Implementing the 14-18 Curriculum":

> Although the more academic pupils get good value from their schooling, we are not producing sufficient young people with the appropriate skills, knowledge and attitudes for the more sophisticated and rapidly changing world they are now entering (Fraser, 1984, p.14).

Of the five schools, Fortuna's teachers expressed what is the most controversial issue surrounding the implementation of these initiatives. Of all curriculum changes, these are so significant BECAUSE they do not have academic excellence as their stated aims.

> *Students in years 11 and 12 are highly academic and the reasons for them being there is to pass exams at the end of the course -- their success is attached to their exams (F68).*

City's statement of aims for the implementation of HE however, shows support for the view taken by the HE programme, that the responsibility for an individual's health care lies with the individual. One of City's aims is:

> To foster the realisation that HE is a life-long on-going process, that requires
> - the development of skills to enable the individual to behave appropriately in varying social situations
> - the development of skills to promote positive and satisfactory relationships with families, friends and community members for mutual benefit
> - the development of those skills necessary for a productive, healthy lifestyle.

The components of the school's programme are behavioural in the early stages and become increasingly knowledge-based. A Grade 8 student, for example, is involved in the values and expectations pertaining to the "Who am I?" unit, while in Grade 10 the focus is entirely Biology-based.

The document from City that outlines "The environmental context for learning", considers the following factors which have a sharp focus on behavioural responses:

1. Effective classroom environment in which there is warmth, trust, openness, honesty, the right to privacy, confidentiality and mutual support takes time to develop. Teachers can assist this process by using trust building activities.
2. Classroom materials need to be student-related and stimulating so that students are motivated to discover and learn and develop skills for themselves.
3. Students need opportunities to give, receive, share, co-operate and interact with each other.
4. The classroom environment should encourage students to:
   - develop a positive self concept
   - seek accurate health information and resources
   - consider alternative behaviours and their consequences and so make informed health decisions
   - participate and communicate appropriately
   - respond sensitively to the needs of others
   - believe that each individual's contribution is worthwhile
   - develop satisfying interpersonal relationships
   - adapt to environmental changes
   - pursue personal interest in health
   - become actively involved in their own total health environment.

At Hungerford the emphasis in the HE curriculum was on knowledge rather than on behaviour. The programme involved such "across-the-curriculum" components as the Australian Dietary guidelines (Home Economics), Water Safety (Physical Education) and Self Esteem (Health), while general study of the Anatomy was offered in Science.

The curriculum components at Hungerford lacked the continuity and coherence of those of City High. This highlights a major problem between the preferred (i.e. prescribed in the HE Guidelines) and the practical, as understood by HE co-ordinators.

THE NATURE OF KNOWLEDGE:

The way teachers select and structure knowledge bears on the way they think about the purpose of schooling and what is to be taught. Despite there being general acceptance of the aims of TVEI and HE in the five schools studied, the organisation of the curriculum to accommodate these initiatives reflects practices which fly in the face of these aims. These practices result from the way teachers have stratified the subjects of the curriculum, establishing an hierarchy of learning.

Though the initiatives recommend the "across-the-curriculum" approach to planning, this is rarely in evidence; schools most commonly opt to steer a middle course, making the programme a subject in its own right, linking with other subjects when appropriate. In general, however, whether the model for implementation is "across-the-curriculum" or standing as a subject in its own right or a combination of both, schools offer very little that is new and different to accommodate the aims of the programmes. Course outlines, timetabling structures and patterns of learning deemed appropriate for times past continue to confirm these five schools as sites of cultural persistence. There is little evidence of any changing of attitudes, beliefs, norms and values as far as the hierarchy of subjects is concerned, despite there being significant reasons for change (many of which, as the interviews confirm, are accepted by teachers). The tradition of the hegemonic curriculum continues (Hargreaves, 1989, p.28).

Practices put in place when students left school early to seek employment are still evident and suggest that vestiges of the tripartite system of schooling remain. For example, students still make selections of their subjects from option lists. The status of subjects and the status of teachers continue to dictate what is to be offered (and probably to influence what is selected). This practice has serious ramifications for the "broad and balanced" principle of curriculum design, strongly supported by HMI's "Aspects of Secondary Education" (1979) and Tasmania's "Secondary Education, The Future"(1987). In fact "balance" loses out in its competition with "choice".

One might criticise Peters' views of education because they do not take into account one of the matters of learning previously mentioned by Wallace (1961): the "technic", "the most conspicuous matter of learning" (p.30). It is not included as part of the process of learning by Peters because the cognitive skills of the learner in this case are of a practical nature rather than intellectual; "technic" is ruled out for failing the notion of worthiness. Further criticism of Peters' work concerns his emphasis on intellect to the exclusion of the emotional factors involved in learning and his emphasis on the breadth and depth of knowledge, which appears to favour the intellectually gifted because of the theoretical nature of what is to be learned in order to justify the accolade of "worthiness" (Hamm, 1989, p.41).

Issues which emerged during discussions of the initiatives and from a review of the literature concerned identify what could well have been an issue

for debate between Peters and Wallace. The researcher's discussions with staff revealed little concern for the notions of worthiness in terms of intellectual pursuits as discussed by Peters. Rather, considerations of process or content gave way to concern for outcomes. The issues were those of assessment and accreditation. Despite the variation one might bring to conceptualising and organising the curriculum, as Goodson (1989) suggests, we are still dealing with the curriculum as subject specialisation.

Because of the long history of examinations (assessment) as determinants of the course of curriculum and as directors of teaching methodology, the researcher had expected that within the schools, the status of the subjects (and, accordingly, the level of funding and staffing) would turn on discussions of assessment and accreditation which would reflect the historic influence of the examination system. However this was not the case for Taylor or for Fortuna nor was it so important for City. For Hungerford and South Central, these issues were very important. For them the view was that, without formal procedures for assessment and accreditation, the courses were "empty courses" (SC18). The resilience of the "triple alliance" of academic subjects, academic examinations and able students is difficult to understand, given the replacement of examinations with criteria-based and on-going assessment, records of achievement and profiling, and given the emphasis in teaching on the processes of learning and the development of skills as well as the acquisition of knowledge. The trend towards devolution also renders this resilience puzzling until one realises that neither HE nor TVEI fit the conventions of schooling as they apply to teachers' concepts of knowledge and the planning and delivery of curriculum, which have been established for so long (Goodson, 1989). A further explanation is that the "reconstruction of knowledge and curriculum" (p.24) according the expectations of comprehensive schooling is just beginning. The differences between schools was significant in that, for the first time, a weakness in the traditional links between school subjects and the essential component of assessment was appearing. This, if it becomes a trend, may well constitute a reconstruction of the pedagogic and curriculum arms of the pedagogical, curriculum and examination trilogy as defined by Goodson (1989).

As a pilot school for TVEI, Taylor had integrated elements of the programme into existing accredited courses without difficulty and to the point where students could not distinguish which were the TVEI elements of their courses (T36). Fortuna's HE courses were incorporated into a Personal and Social Development programme which operated as an extension of Pastoral Care, so there appeared to be no expectation of assessment:

> *Students are generally well motivated so the issue of assessment is not so important (F67).*

> *The fact that there is no accreditation reflects the integrated expectations for the subject (SC28).*

There being no accreditation freed us to enjoy the course (C39)

Even if the assessment component wasn't there, students would have gained something from the course (C47).

Students are generally well motivated so the issue of assessment is not so important (F67).

It's easy to teach and students get the idea that it is something they're not going to be examined in (F63).

For many teachers, however, and despite the recognised difficulty of "assessing attitudes and values" (C55), a concern was that:

Students see it as a non-subject, and, like the Pastoral Programme, don't take it seriously (SC17).

(Because there was no assessment) kids saw lessons as time-off (H74).

Kids expect a mark to give the subject value (H74).

TVEI falls apart because there are no exams. Of course I don't tell them. ... through the grape-vine though they do find out (SC13).

Students are released from Maths to attend Peer Support Programmes but they don't even think of catching up (C56).

These comments about assessment and accreditation suggest a significant break with the 'revered academic traditions' of the past (Goodson, 1983, p. 26). There emerged however, strong support for Goodson's (1983) view that teachers are accommodating their ideas to the utilitarian tradition of school subjects already low in status. The utilitarian tradition carries a thrust towards child-centred teaching styles and practical and common-sense course content (p.30).

It was all right -- okay to learn new styles of teaching but in the early days, kids did the old style exams which reflected old styles of teaching (T37).

THE PLACE OF HE AND TVEI IN THE TRADITIONAL CURRICULUM:

It is evident that the mechanisms which protect the status of traditional subjects do not operate in the case of HE and TVEI. Two such mechanisms are the amount of time made available and the parental support sought for the subject. Mathematics in the schools of the study was allocated more time per week than any but the other "basic" subjects, English and Science. Apportioned to Mathematics was Home Study time, which implied parental co-operation and an acceptance by parents of the importance of Mathematics. This confirmed the place of Mathematics in the subject hierarchy. There is no evidence that similar assumptions can be made in the case of either HE or TVEI, since in no school was Home Study time allocated these courses.

Again, as has already been suggested, a review of the content of the school curriculum shows, in terms of knowledge and instructional methods, while "academic" studies are basically concerned with knowledge which has no immediate application, technical studies have a work-related orientation

towards productivity. A further distinction may be seen in the range and diversity of the fields of knowledge covered by each. In South Central for example, the TVEI curriculum was extremely narrow, including in its core studies the World of Work, Political Awareness, Economic Awareness, Community Enterprise, Work Experience, Legal Awareness and Information Technology. Important too is that fact that in Years 4 and 5, students may select courses which, with TVEI, lock them into technical and work-related courses. This has the effect of excluding them from study in the Arts or the Humanities and of giving them a view of themselves as instruments for productivity rather than as human beings interacting with a societal system. That students can be allowed to take this course suggests a process "which makes absolute certain capacities but ignores others because they appear fortuitous and of no utility within the economic system" (Tanguy, 1985, p.29).

> The function [of TVEI] is to inculcate the aptitudes, proficiencies, and interests required for the accomplishment of certain tasks in industry and administration (p.27).

When examining the organisational provisions made for the management of TVEI and HE in schools, one is left with the conclusion that, while there is a change in the relationship between the technically- and the academically-oriented structure of knowledge within the curriculum, the academic hierarchy remains the dominant organising feature. Thus it can be said that despite the gains TVEI and HE may be believed to be making of the traditional curriculum,

> ... changes in the status of knowledge do not seem to challenge the rules governing its distribution ... (Tanguy, 1985, p.30).

Taylor, as has been said, integrated its TVEI programme with requirements for GCSE. If one views the function of schooling in its structural-functionalist role, Taylor's curriculum model serves very well. For the alternative view of schools as places of liberation and of teachers as transforming intellectuals, another theory of curriculum design and model for implementation is required. The findings of the study suggest a model of curriculum design which suits the notion of a school in conflict with the expectations of society.

DISCUSSION:

What emerges from this review of the place of HE and TVEI in curriculum is "seeming chaos of curriculum deliberation" (Brady, 1983, p.27), which suggests that the objectives model of curriculum development does not represent what really happens when courses of study are introduced to the curriculum. Curriculum models designed by Bobbitt, Tyler and Taba which adopt the theories of knowledge and curriculum propounded by Peters and Hirst seem to neglect the realism of curriculum design which accounts for differences between students, their learning characteristics, their socio-economic needs and circumstances, their motivation or even an understanding about how children

actually learn. Hirst believes that

> there can be no curriculum without objectives [for the development of mind] so that progressive distinction of knowledge can be achieved by the individual for whom no experience is intelligible other than by concepts which frame it and make it what it is (Eggleston, 1977, p.18).

As Bullivant found, in his study of an Australian Social Science Curriculum project, there is no evidence of a linear quasi-scientific process, but more a dialectical conversation through which knowledge is advanced (Brady, 1986, p.27). That this should be so is a clear indication of the ideological conflicts which underlie the design, development and management of curriculum in schools. Eggleston (1977) tries to analyse the conflict by discussing the curriculum from two diametrically opposed perspectives; the received, "reflective" perspective and the "reflexive" perspective. Both fit easily within the framework discussed by Rossman, Corbett and Firestone (1988) who discuss the "sacred" and "profane" nature of school cultures.

The "reflective" of Eggleston's study is the "given" of curriculum knowledge. This perspective shows curriculum fixed in tradition and supported by "established standards, norms of behaviour, rituals and hierarchical divisions" (Eggleston, 1977, p.16). It has links with the "sacred" perspective of Rossman's study.

The "reflexive" (or the "profane" perspective of Rossman et al. (1988)) contains the notion that curriculum is an artifact, constructed by teachers as new areas of knowledge open up and perceptions of knowledge change. This perspective challenges the "absoluteness" of the curriculum of the received perspective. There is no accumulation of evidence from the data to suggest that the initiatives were viewed from this vantage-point by teachers.

Hirst argues that "any curriculum must remain true to the underlying forms of knowledge" and that such forms of knowledge and the progressive development of mind by students determine the objectives of the curriculum. Study of the documents outlining the objectives of the initiatives and teachers' understanding of the initiatives, as revealed in interviews and discussion, fail to reveal evidence that TVEI or HE derive from any specific philosophy of knowledge or that they embrace any identifiable field of knowledge. In fact, they fail to meet the traditional view of what education is about. One may conclude that teachers in practice subscribe to Hirst's views that "the central objectives of education are the developing of mind" rather than, as Bourdieu and Phenix argue, to accommodate the "human-ness" of children or to account for the variations of cultural groups and abilities within schools (Eggleston, 1977, p.19). In the hierarchy of teachers' esteem, the affective aspects of curriculum occupy a lowly place.

Emerging from the review of schools' curriculum documents and from interviews and observation is the view that TVEI and HE are at one neither with Hirst nor with Bourdieu. The intention to reconstruct the curriculum in order to relate schooling more closely to the prevailing economic and social realities of

society (which is, after all, the ultimate purpose of the curriculum initiatives under study), falls at the fence of improvement. It is difficult to find in the documents evidence of praxis, that reflective action which encapsulates identifiable beliefs about the nature of knowledge. As Dobson's (1987) comments confirm, evidence of congruent statements about the ideas and beliefs pertaining to knowledge which underpin TVEI and HE is lacking (p.277). This claim does not negate these initiatives as curricula of a different colour and with value in their own right.

> An intellectually honest definition of curriculum should present a view of humans and translate this view into the curriculum function (Dobson, 1987, p. 278).

Such a definition accounts for the nature of people and is in contrast to the traditional perspective of Hirst and Peters. It is this perspective, with its emphasis on the technical and political ends of schooling which is best understood by teachers. Within this perspective a deficit model of school emerges according to Popkewitz (1983) in which knowledge is defined atomistically and the individual is defined as an essentially receptive organism whose qualities are shaped by the environment and who is denied any role in creating history or culture. Alternative curriculum theories, which construct learning so as to take account of aesthetic and ethical values, appear from the study to be less well understood. These values are more in evidence in the initiatives than in some areas of the traditional curriculum and it is these values which appear to have escaped teachers' awareness. Teachers have indulged in a general dismissal of the initiatives either symbolically (in terms of time, space and personnel allocated to them) or in the assumptions which attach to what they believe is happening.

An analysis of the language used by the teachers to describe their response to the introduction of the initiatives, suggests idiosyncratic and contradictory understandings of the purpose behind the initiatives. Common (1984) identifies assertive and emotive language as two kinds used by teachers in making sense of their experiences of curriculum. Assertive language is used to express what is believed about the observable order of things or the relationships between things housed in the forms of knowledge and the fields of knowledge described by Hirst (p.346). Assertive language also has the socialising function of interpreting human experience:

> ... the language is normative in the sense that it conveys the norms and ideology of the cultural context. As a consequence, the language may assert truth claims or unjustified beliefs assumed to be true about the natural and cultural order of things (Common, 1984, p.347).

Common (1984) distinguishes between the *a priori* assumptions and the contingency beliefs which characterise assertive language. *A priori* assumptions apply to staunchly-held beliefs that are resistant to refutation. Contingency beliefs are those arising from a current development or state of affairs. Examples of assertive language pepper the opinions and beliefs of the

respondents of the study. Teachers at South Central asserted that TVEI was an initiative designed to prepare students to be "work fodder" attached to Thatcherist monetarism or to make them self-sufficient. At City, the statement was made that *"children are better off knowing about themselves than about Newton's Third Law of Motion" (C41)*, an assertion which identifies a particular understanding of the curriculum intentions of HE.

Emotive language "is the language of personal meaning, which is distinct from the language of assertion, which is that of universalised meaning" (Common, 1984, p.348). Such language allows the speaker to express understanding of "a piece of human life as it is lived" (Common, 1984, p.349). In making sense of experience, it also directs experience:

> *I didn't see much educational advantage in it (TVEI). I saw a split in the staff (T38).*

> *I hated it. It was divisive -- it favoured certain students. Humanities would be denuded by it (T40).*

DELIVERING THE CURRICULUM:

Despite the rhetoric, there is divergence between "broad and balanced curriculum" and the implementation of the initiatives. The polarisation of students is continued through the nature of the options offered, through the choices made and because of the nature and limitations of a subject-centred curriculum. The case of Hungerford illustrates the point. While subjects such as English, Social Sciences, Science and Mathematics retain their position as compulsory subjects, students then select from Advanced Maths, Rural Science, Typing, Information Technology, Child Care, Technical Drawing, Woodwork, Metalwork, Cooking, Sewing, Art, Music and Speech and Drama.

Teachers who know children well know the type of children who are drawn to certain subjects and those who know teachers well know that teachers build into their courses elements which exclude certain types of students. Thus, certain types of students are dissuaded from exercising real choice in the selection of their subjects. Choice is an illusion for some, and none of the five schools can be exempted from a charge of failing their students in this matter.

In Tasmania, the Schools Board, with its system of accreditation by criteria-based assessment, has legitimised the process of freeing curriculum from its hegemonic structures. Many teachers have yet to accept the fact with all its possibilities for liberating schooling. In Britain, on the other hand, the National Curriculum has reaffirmed the hegemonic structures and has threatened the option programmes on which TVEI depended (SC16).

An early assertion of this study was that reforms to schooling which last are those that impinge on the management of classrooms and teaching methodology. The findings of this study show that implementing curriculum change turns on the issues of learning and teaching -- the principal matters of pedagogy. Lasting change is classroom change.

Managing the Classroom:

Obvious in the schools under review was their organisational sameness and the similar manner in which learning was structured. Each school, regardless of differences in beliefs, values, norms, experiences and national boundaries, regardless of management and decision-making models, regardless of hierarchical structures and regardless of the opportunities for organisational restructuring (such as that offered in Tasmania by the Schools Board's new syllabus) is organised in the same way for learning.

> There are seven lessons each day. Your programme for the week will look like this:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Integrated Studies | 9 periods |
> | Maths | 5 periods |
> | Science | 3 periods |
> | Language Awareness Carousel | 3 periods |
> | Creative Arts | 4 periods |
> | Art | 2 periods |
> | Home Economics | 2 periods |
> | Design and Technology | 2 periods |
> | P.E. | 4 periods |
> | Pastoral Programme | 1 period |
> | TOTAL | 35 periods |
>
> In Years 4 and 5 English, Maths, P.E., Pastoral Programme and Games are taken by all students. Then pupils follow an individually chosen course which must include at least one Science, at least one Humanities subject and at least one creative/practical subject ...
>
> (Prospectus, South Central)

Seventeen subjects are then listed, of which nine may be selected. The selections are made at the end of a student's third year in high school not at the end of the second year which is still the practice in Tasmania. Nothing in the school's prospectus refers to TVEI.

Students are still expected to take a fixed number of periods in a consistently common collection of subjects, for one to four years. While there is some diversity between subjects (but little within subjects), expectations regarding choice and diversity in the curriculum as suggested by Tasmania's "Secondary Education: The Future" (1986) or HMI's "Aspects of Secondary Education in England" are not being met. Both documents recommend a curriculum which provides a broad and balanced education by offering choice which excludes no major area of knowledge.

As examples of school timetabling and subject choices of the five schools show, learning continues to be rigidly structured. That this is so makes a statement about school practice which denies what is known about how people learn. No adults learn in a piecemeal fashion, taking up the subject of interest for forty to sixty minutes and then, despite commitment to it, dropping the interest for two or three days to then return to it. Such patterns of exposure to new knowledge deny the continuity and coherence of experience which are

essential to learning. By failing to engage students in the practices of a productive worker, such time-management does little to prepare students for the world of work. The management of learning in secondary schools continues to be artificially constructed. The structure of the timetable is central to school organisation and affects the quality of learning. It confirms the compartmentalised and loosely coupled characteristics of schools as organisations and it dilutes the essence of learning -- the extrapolation of knowledge.

In Tasmania in the early seventies, influenced by the work of Illich and Friere, Middleton (1982) was instrumental in establishing an "alternative" school in Hobart. Under the auspices of Tasmania's Education Department, the school's intention was to break "the organisational rituals which shackle large schools" (Middleton, 1982, p. 138). Middleton, although recognising that students were rarely able to work on a task to completion, also found that when, to overcome this, "new" subjects such as Integrated Studies were introduced, they invariably suffered the timetabling fate of all innovations before them.

> How is a child who is never given real choices to make going to think of himself as a person who is capable of making choices and decisions ... are we trying to raise sheep ... or free men? (Middleton, 1982, p. 29).

Middleton (1982) experimented with non-graded frameworks of study, with vertical frameworks of organisation, mini-schools, teaching teams and schools without walls. However, the beliefs and values inherent in the old patterns of timetabling and school organisation were stronger than those reflected in Middleton's practice. When his school completed its four-year cycle and closed, as was the plan at its inception, nothing of Middleton's creative practice was taken up by other secondary schools in Tasmania.

The Tasmanian schools of the study appear to have neglected the opportunities offered by recent bureaucratic changes to accreditation and syllabus committees. The Schools Board emerges as a radical server of progressive educational thought, in contrast to its image, in the minds of many teachers, as a repressive, reactionary body. The content of some recent reform reports such as "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987), makes provision for enlightened practice in schools, but no school in this study appears to have engaged in the creative timetabling that would enable them to take up what those recommendations offer.

In England, where just one effect of the National Curriculum is to reconstitute Humanities courses and Liberal Studies courses (of the kind offered at South Central as History, Language and Literature), can be seen a return to the hierarchies of subjects and to practices which stratify learning.

Rather than TVEI and HE being recognised as opportunities for major shifts in the content of schooling, the same old patterns for the structuring of learning prevail:

> *We cut down the lines from four to three to accommodate the "extras" (H86).*

TVEI is bolted onto the curriculum (SC16).

I was paired with the Head. She took three lessons. Paired staffing went quickly by the board. I knew she would never teach (SC24).

Time is taken from Maths and the Humanities (H71).

By chance there was some time left after rationalisation of the timetable (F60).

There was no major timetabling change -- just one lesson per cycle (H73).

I had positive images of TVEI. I couldn't be drafted last year because I was too busy on my timetable and couldn't spare a couple of hours. This year they reduced it from two hours to one (SC12).

I was reluctant to take it because time had been taken from my area of Special Needs (SC18).

In each of the five schools of the study, other subjects were squeezed a little to make room on the timetable for HE and TVEI so that each became one in "the loosely bound bundle of separate subjects" (Pusey, 1976, p.59). In no case have there been major shifts in the concept and practice of timetabling so as to accommodate the dramatic possibilities for structural change offered by TVEI and HE.

Some of Middleton's (1982) problem lay in the understanding teachers have of where subjects fit into the curriculum. Two views of "fit" operate in the case of TVEI and HE. Respondents were divided in their views of whether the initiatives should be subjects in their own right, stand alone subjects or a mixture of both.

There has been a gap in my perception and expectation and how the experience of TVEI has gone here (SC12).

My perception of TVEI varies from what happens in this school. I always assumed that TVEI was something that enhanced the curriculum. It was not a subject in itself which is what happened here (SC28).

At Hungerford, it was a staff decision that HE would be an "across-the-curriculum" initiative. In all the schools except Taylor, the initiatives developed as "stand alone" and so had to compete with all other subjects for time, space, resources and personnel. At Taylor, almost from the outset and probably as a result of the school being a pilot school in the early days of the national project, there developed the confidence and expertise to incorporate elements of the programme into subjects already in place; this process was aided by the assessment requirements for these subjects.

Without exception, the respondents in the five schools, while they accepted traditional organisational patterns of timetabling and the grouping of students as being appropriate for the initiatives, recognised that traditional teaching methods were not suited to the teaching of TVEI or HE. It transpired that those

teachers who were most interested in the initiatives were those whose teaching methodology and philosophy suited the aims of the initiatives:

Teaching methods had to change (SC9).

Teaching is more pupil centred -- based on activity (SC10).

The TVEI modules give teachers a chance to broaden their teaching skills (SC23).

TVEI encouraged change to teaching styles -- encouraged active learning (T31).

TVEI pushed people down the road on which they were already going, which was towards activity learning, group learning and programme-based learning (T32).

Teaching changed dramatically in the face of TVEI (T36).

There were changes to teaching styles and organisation. Team teaching activity learning was the natural inclination of many staff (T37).

... we need to change teaching methods because of the individual nature of the course (H82).

Teaching strategies have to change once you become involved (C53).

My methods change all the time and they would change in response to HE. There'd be more discussion, more role play, more group work etc. that you wouldn't use in more skills- and knowledge-centred subjects. There's not much discussion in Maths and Science because of the skills development focus (H87).

It's clear that work in the affective area of the curriculum demands different teaching strategies (F63).

One's teaching style will become more informal (C42).

Teaching styles vary. They include role play, active listening, discussion, debates. They are interactive and child-centred (F59).

It was also the general view that some teachers were more able teachers of HE and TVEI and that one's ability in the new area depended on one's traditional subject area.

My background made it easy for me to fit in. If I'd been teaching Maths or something, it would have been difficult to fit into the programme (C55).

We're not strong on the knowledge base of the topics and different styles of teaching -- though enjoyable, it was thought that we'd be better in our subject areas -- Maths and Science (F62).

Staff are not falling over themselves to teach it (F63).

We have people who go to teach it who decide it's not for them (F63).

Because of the affective nature of TVEI and HE, there is an expectation that the grouping of students would be different from the grouping for other subject

areas. It is clear from observing the schools under study that the grouping of students did not take into account the special needs of students in the new areas of the curriculum. The only concession to the different teaching styles was an intention that groups be as small as possible.

Small groups allow the nurturing of students through role play (F59).

Small groups, although a luxury, are important (H94).

What became evident at South Central was the frustration of teachers who believed that TVEI projected students into a future beyond their capacity to conceptualise, given the level of their maturity and experience.

Kids don't latch onto it -- partly to do with accreditation and partly to do with projecting into the future (SC30).

The gender factor also becomes important in this summary of findings. At Hungerford in particular, student gender, experience and age differences became problems for some aspects of the HE programme (H81). In England, girls were not taken by the title of the initiative TVEI (T31); and both South Central and Taylor had difficulty in accommodating girls. At Taylor the story was told by three respondents about a girl who had been coerced to become a member of the pilot cohort, to make up the numbers, to the detriment of her future. She "had to" do Physics and Electronics but "was really a Humanities person" (T38).

There is a gap between what students can be persuaded to see as relevant and what they do see as relevant -- girls want to travel, have a flat, help parents and then settle to a career! (SC9).

As was the case for the grouping of students, no special allowances were made in any school for changes to be made to the allocation of space. Classes were moved to more suitable rooms only if rooms were vacant. In spite of this, most respondents recognised the fact that different teaching styles required different allocations of space (C48 and C54).

SYNTHESIS AND CONCLUSION:

Wallace (1961) asks "What should a man learn?" and, as has already been discussed, he suggests that what a person needs to learn depends on what is "needful in society" at a particular time in that society's life cycle (p.38). Behind the organisation and packaging of the knowledge components of what is to be learned are theories and models for planning and organising the delivery of such knowledge.

A review of the documents which outline the direction TVEI and HE teaching programmes might take, suggests an emphasis on the politics of teaching rather than on any informing theory about what is to be taught. Teachers' statements regarding the initiatives suggest that HE and TVEI sit uneasily within the curriculum traditions of schools. The organised and traditional disciplines and teacher behaviour within those disciplines persist. Teachers introduce and sequence courses, they may write some aspects of them,

they select materials for their support and they maintain a degree of autonomy in so doing. In the case of the initiatives under review however, the findings show that teachers do not have the same control. Teachers' autonomy is minimal. They are guided by a central authority in the way their colleagues in "traditional" subjects areas are, but they are not given control over the content of the course, the composition of their classes or the nature of their materials -- there is no opportunity for teachers to become familiar with the norms and values of the courses nor to question the content, because there is no direct departmental support. Such a situation is an example of the "deskilling" of teachers which Carlson (1986), discusses.

McLaughlin and Talbert (1990) suggest criteria by which the quality of classroom practice may be judged. Among them are motivation, which causes a teacher to take up willingly the challenge of a new teaching task and enthusiasm, which sustains them and feeds on the interest evoked in the students. Both of these elements of good practice require the whole-hearted involvement of the teacher in the subject. Apparently neither TVEI nor HE have inspired this response. Reasons that suggest themselves involve the management of the programmes at their inception, when teachers were denied the opportunity to become involved in the planning. What was seen to be a way of reducing teachers' work loads, the appointment of a Coordinator, one of whose duties it has been to prepare materials, has had the effect of reducing teachers to instruments and ensured that a measure of control was kept by the Coordinator over the types of material used by students. It is also difficult to find specific curriculum policy which may have informed practice, and it is clear that, despite the rhetoric, the initiatives were granted little status and respectability, since no pedagogic response was made, in terms of school organisation, to match the change.

As Williams (1981) notes, HE lacks the "tradition" of English, Mathematics, the Sciences and so on, and therefore is accorded little status. Examination needs as well as the knowledge content of these traditional subjects dominate in terms of timetabling and, at a time of environmental turbulence, competition for scarce resources of personnel and money confuses the issue.

It must be said Williams (1981) writes from an English perspective and before the British Education Reform Act of 1988, which confirmed subject hierarchies and may well have the effect of breaking down tentative efforts made toward integration of subjects seen, for example, in the design and implementation of Humanities courses. The situation in Tasmania is not as restrained in the case of Years 7-10, given the proposals for the Tasmanian Certificate of Education and the requirements of "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987), which lay to rest the contention from the traditionalists that teaching courses relating to the pastoral responsibility of schools could not be incorporated into the mainstream curriculum but had to be bolted on or fitted

in. Williams (1981) suggests that school health co-ordinators have the responsibility for persuading their colleagues of the value of pastoral programmes. Williams (1981) does not discuss however, the dramatic cultural shifts this study identifies, which must occur in the attitudes teachers have towards their responsibilities to enable them to accommodate such initiatives.

Williams (1981) offers two suggestions for the accommodation of health education within secondary schools (p.124). The models he suggests were also those suggested for TVEI and for "Language Across The Curriculum" in Tasmania which recommended, in the first place, a "cross-curricular" approach involving all teachers. Certainly, such an approach should allow the initiative to become incorporated into the ethos of the school but, as this study contends, the approach has not met with success.

The organisational model is the most easily accommodated into the curriculum; it maintains the *status quo* of the hierarchy of subjects and, as the least demanding of everybody and of the organisation's structures, provides a discrete course organised as is any other, with a knowledge content defined, assessment procedures set in place and teachers designated to teach it. As Williams (1981) remarks, "the programme is timetabled and can be organised with the minimum of fuss and inconvenience to the rest of the curriculum and school" (p.124). That, it may be asserted, is the very problem with the model. The pedagogical circumstances of subject-content, student grouping, assessment, and accreditation which pertain to other subjects in the curriculum do not, as the findings show, pertain to Health Education and TVEI. Of the models, as Kirk and Gray (1990) suggest, the strongest is the "separate subjects, with strong boundaries and a body of highly specialised and credentialled teachers. The weakest ... model is the integrated 'topic', which has no recognisable or coherent shape and no specialist teaching force" (p.71).

Kirk and Gray (1990), while they do not specifically endorse the "across the curriculum" model of implementation, do emphasise the difficulty in recruiting people best able to teach in the new area. Such is the stranglehold traditional examination based courses of study have on the curriculum that "soft" courses, those of lower status, are harder to staff. Thus, to increase the status of the subject and to attract teachers in matching the second of the models proposed with current organisational practice, would mean to yield some of the valuable features of the initiatives. These include a new relationship between teachers and students (in which both parties engage in dialogue exploring values, beliefs, attitudes and knowledge), opportunities for self-evaluation and self-determination, student-centred activity and:

> a teaching methodology that is able to treat the formation of attitudes, values and beliefs [as] strongly implied by a health promotion approach that encourages students to see beyond their immediate circumstances to the wider forces that structure their lifestyle (Kirk and Gray, 1981, p.74).

Quoting Bernstein, Goodson and Popkewitz, Kirk and Gray (1990) maintain that "successful subjects are those that set up and maintain strong boundaries

between their own and other fields of knowledge" (p.71).

Although, as Goodson (1983) states, the content, rationale and aims for subjects within the curriculum have changed over time, this study maintains that the hierarchy of subjects and the organisational structures which sustain this hierarchy remain as much in place in the nineties as they were in the fifties. Certainly, the medical model of HE, as a knowledge-based subject located variously in Biology, Home Economics and Physical Education and the vocational model of TVEI which was located in Technical Education and an optional extra "Careers", have developed along the lines of Goodson's description. The developments include the recognition of dimensions other than medical and vocational which are inherent in the more recent concepts within TVEI and HE. This recognition however may be seen as part of the rhetoric of debate, and Nichols warns against complacency: "Again and again, instances are to be found where important facets of social structure are referred to, but not situated in their context" (Stronach, 1989, p.17).

Continuing to bedevil the implementation of these initiatives are the organisational structures which relate specifically to the culture of school: those beliefs, attitudes, knowledge and values which people bring to schooling and which are critical issues in the discussion of TVEI and HE.

Pedagogic practice in each of the schools of the study also confirms Goodson's (1990) view of the place of utilitarian knowledge in the curriculum. It has low status because of its approach (child-centred), and its pedagogic management (progressive) does not reflect the methods used in the traditional disciplines. This does not deny that all schooling has, as a major aim, the vocational preparation of students but, as Goodson (1990) points out, such preparation has formerly been for high status positions; and the incorporating of courses of study into the prevailing curriculum, as a means towards widening that preparation, has a chequered history in terms of legitimisation.

Shipman (1969) observed that

> ... the more progressive the curriculum has come to be the more concentrated it becomes on the section of the pupil clientele not suitable for A or O level examinations (Goodson, 1988, p.187).

Layton outlines three stages in the legitimising process; the first is the introduction of a curriculum area which, while it has no specialist teachers, is accepted by students because of its relevance. Over time, the subject builds up a body of scholarly work and a "corps of trained specialists" emerges. Relevance, once the attractive feature of the course, now gives way to reputation and increased academic status and, in the final stage of legitimation, the subject is carried along by a group of specialists who select subject matter and establish practices for the management of the subject. In this way

> Students are initiated into a tradition, their attitudes approaching passivity and resignation, a prelude to disenchantment (Goodson, 1988, p.184).

Taylor quickly incorporated elements of TVEI into the GCSE curriculum, with the result that the process of legitimising the new courses of study was not necessary, and so that school managed to avoid the stages of legitimising TVEI as a subject in its own right. The other schools in the study did not, and the struggle for legitimation is still going on. Hungerford, City, South Central and Fortuna are at the stage of the evolution of their respective initiatives where specialists are being trained to give expertise and status to the subject which, according to South Central *"has no context, no status and is not a real discipline -- a mish-mash" (SC30);* and a jargon specific to the subject (perhaps resulting in pseudo-scientific status and hence acceptability) is developing. Yet to happen in these schools is an organisational adjustment in terms of time and space, which would indicate full recognition of the value of these subjects. While the rhetoric affords the initiatives general worth, such worth is not recognised in the practice of school management. HE and TVEI have received no time-allocation in their own right and there is no suite or wing available to the teaching of either programme, a matter mentioned on a number of occasions by City, for example, whose teachers found the physical environmental hostile to the intentions of their courses.

Although four of the schools of the study are still seeking legitimisation for the programmes, they have generally settled notions on some aspects of planning. They have no doubt that it is the heterogeneous body of students that is targeted by the programmes. However at Fortuna, because of the demands of pre-tertiary examinations, students in Years 11 and 12 have no access to the programme. South Central indicated a similar dilemma in an expression of concern by a respondent about the "creaming" of students from the programme to attend to more traditional subject matters; the legitimacy of this worry can be divined from the school's brochure, which states that Learning Support students may stay on to Sixth Form to study for the CPVE (The Certificate of Pre-Vocational Experience). In both schools, a hierarchy of curriculum was still in place.

The design of curriculum pertaining to Government-inspired initiatives reflects their political origins in terms of political behaviour, defined by Easton as "interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society" (MacIsaac, 1988, p.43).

Both TVEI and HE are values driven. The nature of these values may be identified in a review of the objectives established for each programme. While the objectives accord with the views teachers say they hold for schooling, the initiatives fail to fit within the traditional framework of subject hierarchies. Chapter 8 identifies the roles of the various change agents and examines how their behaviour influences teachers' attitudes and practices, in attempting to establish a "fit" between the objectives of the initiatives and the beliefs and organisational practices of schools.

CHAPTER 8

PRINCIPALS, SENIOR STAFF AND TEACHERS AS AGENTS OF CURRICULUM CHANGE.

INTRODUCTION:

Beginning with an appraisal of role theory (a sub-theory of symbolic interactionism) and a discussion of its applicability to this study, this chapter and Chapter 9 continue with a summary of the propositions concerning the effectiveness of change agents. Then, drawing on minutes of meetings and interviews with key personnel, the researcher describes the planning for intervention that was set in place for officially appointed change agents. The chapters include an examination of teachers' experience relating to the work of change agents. The roles and responsibilities of the main participants in the implementation of major curriculum change are reviewed. These are, as identified in the literature, the Principal, senior staff, teachers and those people selected specifically to promote the change.

In an earlier chapter, mention was made of some reservations held by Angus (1986) and Sharp and Green (1975) regarding the suitability of the symbolic interactionist perspective for investigating problems caused by the structures and forces of society. As Kuhn (1972) states in his discussion of the development of the perspective, the symbolic interactionist view contains serious ambiguities, allowing for "a welter of partial orientations which bear varying relationships to the general point of view" (p.62). The ambiguity of the perspective, in Kuhn's view, centres on Mead's distinction between determinancy and indeterminacy regarding one's sense of self and one's behaviour.

> In Mead's view, the individual, while internalising experience and engaging in self-conscious action, is influenced by the circumstances of environment and relationships. Language is a focusing factor in the internalising process and is concomitant with the resulting action or role-taking (Kuhn, 1972, p.60).

The two most frequent considerations regarding the ambiguity of the perspective are:

> (1) the question whether the self is conceived (for research purposes), as the antecedent variable with criterion events (especially behaviour) as consequent variables, or conversely, whether antecedent variables (ascribed identities, affiliations, associations, or communication variables, and other events) are conceived to predict -- that is to exist in regularity with -- consequent self variations and
>
> (2) the question whether the relevant antecedent variables are conceived to be immediate or remote in time with respect to the events thought of as consequent (p.60).

In his attempt to resolve the ambiguities, Kuhn expanded on the

perspective by introducing the concept of social structure. He thus went some way towards an answer to the objections Angus (1986) and others have to the theory. Kuhn attempted to draw together the constituent elements of a phenomenon to establish patterns of configuration among them (Clagett, 1988, p.97).

Despite its ambiguities, Kuhn (1972) supports the perspective as follows:

> ... symbolic interactionism is logically consistent with the basic propositions of the social sciences; the psychic unity of man (Boas); the extreme cultural variability of man; the creativity of man; the continual socialisability and modifiability of man; the ability of man to feed back complex correctives to his behaviour without engaging in trial and error, or conditioning, learning (p.72).

Kuhn (1972) concludes that the perspective derives from its very ambiguities an unexpected virtue, because it leaves open the opportunity for other orientations and sub-theories to develop. One such orientation is role theory which is not sharply distinguishable -- if at all -- from symbolic interactionism.

The term "role theory" suggests a dramaturgical model of human behaviour which would view people as disassociated from reality, given the notion that they are performing in life from some kind of script. Such a suggestion has the effect of compounding the difficulties of research in the area of human behaviour, since it tends to deny the function of self in determining role. However, this exaggerated concept of the term distorts the meaning it holds in practice.

The emphasis in role theory is on "overt role-playing and on the researchable relation between role-expectations and role-performance ..." (p.62). Briefly, role theory deals with the issues of determinancy and indeterminacy as they relate to role-taking and self concept (Kuhn, 1972, p.63). At the time, Kuhn esteemed current studies in role theory as being useful in examining role conflict and the contradictions internalised by individuals. The evidence from these studies suggests that the relationships observed between role-expectations and role-performance help researchers make "predictions with respect to subsequent behaviours" (p.63). The idea of role-expectation also serves as a conceptual bridge between social structure and role behaviour. A cognitive concept, role-expectation incorporates such cultural aspects as beliefs, expectancies and subjective probabilities, comprising the rights and privileges, duties and obligations which pertain to positions in society (Sarbin and Allen, 1968, p.497).

The influence of this combination of roles and identities on human behaviour becomes important when considering role relationships which exist in schools. Because they are responsive to the structures, roles and identities influence teachers' attitudes and behaviour towards change and the agents for change. Clagett (1988) has established the reciprocal relationship between social situations and people responding to those situations as dimensions of that situation (p.104).

The introduction of TVEI and HE in schools, the major curriculum change that they were intended to induce, the management of the initiatives, the planning for their implementation and the "atmosphere" of school culture could all be identified as elements of Clagett's social situation. The respondents to the situation at each level of schooling all had roles to make and roles to take as part of the implementation processes. Hence the use of role theory as a major perspective of the study.

> Role perspective attempts to explain behaviour by noting how a person's actions derive from his social position and from the obligations and privileges of his position. Role theory assumes that organisational or societal expectations control the actions of individuals in a given position in much the same way as a script controls actors in a given role (Spector, 1984, p.462).

The perspective offers the opportunity to describe behaviour as a consequence of role demands, rather than as the outcome of personality. The researcher's choice of the perspective as an orientation of the study was made in the light of Kuhn's and Clagett's work. During the progress of the research, the choice proved justified, particularly when most of the people involved were identified and judged in their relationship to the curriculum change according to the roles ascribed to them within their schools. Spector (1984) refers to the work of Guskin and Guskin who identified three behaviours regarding role performance which the propositions seek to confirm:

> (1) teacher behaviour which is the result of what others demand of him/her;
> (2) teacher behaviour which results from teachers' belief about what a teacher should be, or
> (3) the behaviour common to most teachers in specific settings such as the classroom (p.462).

Spector's (1984) summary is applicable to the investigation of the roles and responsibilities people within the school have with regard to curriculum change.

PROPOSITIONS

1. Successful implementation of the initiatives requires a collaboration of roles and responsibilities at each level of school management in accordance with the perceived advantages of the requirements of the initiatives.

2. Successful implementation of the initiatives requires Principals who are strong instructional leaders.

3. Successful implementation of the initiatives requires senior Staff who are strong instructional leaders.

4. Successful implementation of the initiatives requires teachers who are flexible and committed and amenable to "cultural redefinition" (Hargreaves, 1989, p. 29).

Intervention in Change:

The success of planned change is influenced by the roles people assume during the implementation of the change. Most people in schools have some capacity and some responsibility for assisting the processes, and so they are all, in a sense, change agents. This study investigates the roles and the responsibilities of Principals, senior staff, teachers and the people who were designated as major agents for change within the schools of the study, and called "coordinators".

The work of Argyris (1973) assisted this phase of the study. It is his view that, while functioning to an acceptable level of effectiveness and efficiency, organisations continue to work at achieving objectives, maintaining a supportive internal environment and maintaining control over the external environment. When planned change can be encompassed by the organisation's usual problem-solving and decision-making procedures, then the organisation's competency remains at the acceptable level. However, change that cannot be adequately handled by those procedures induces a state of disequilibrium. Then the inadequacies of organisational management must be compensated for by people within the organisation who are able to counter the difficulties. These people (the change agents) employ strategies for accommodating the new knowledge and introduce new ways for processing and implementing that knowledge through practice.

The initiatives that are the focus of this study were generated by external agencies. The nature of the initiatives and the emphasis that the curriculum was expected to give them called for major re-adjustments outside the scope of a school's normal problem-solving procedures. Therefore, the contribution that the people most affected by them might make towards their implementation in other circumstances, was not available. Accordingly, the government departments which undertook the implementation of the initiatives, provided for special change agents to be appointed. The programmes for change agents had been set in place by the external managers of the initiatives.

The circumstances of the curriculum change initiatives made it important for the researcher to establish the extent to which planning, programmes and training had been offered to those people who, in their relationships with colleagues and peers, as Lippett (1973) points out,

> [have] responsibility for initiating, designing and implementing change efforts that, hopefully, will change individual, group, organisational, or community performance and behaviour. This often involves manipulation of others so as to cause them to change in one direction or another (p.66).

Attendant on these tasks are the roles which change agents assume during the course of implementation. Havelock (1973) identifies four principal roles:

- the catalyst, in persuading the organisation to change,
- the solution-giver, in offering solutions to the problems that arise during the early stages of the intervention,
- the process-helper, in identifying areas that require resource

assistance, and

- the resource-linker, in offering staff access to resources which will promote the change.

The tasks required of the change agent range from orientation, where the change agent is an expert, to facilitation, where the change agent is collaborator with the teacher who has become the expert.

For both TVEI and HE, people were specifically appointed within each school to establish the change in the school. Before interviews were conducted, the researcher established with the key informant in each school the extent to which school personnel were responsible for the carriage of the initiatives into the curriculum.

MANAGEMENT OF THE INITIATIVES:

Proposition 1

- ***Successful implementation of the initiatives requires a collaboration of roles and responsibilities at each level of school management in accordance with the perceived advantages of the requirements of the initiatives.***

Health Education:

To establish the system-support infrastructure for the implementation of HE programmes, the Education Department of Tasmania, responsible for schools in numbers equivalent to those of a London borough, supported a plethora of working parties during the years 1986-1990. These included the Health Education Professional Development Group, the Advisory Group on the Drug/Health Education Project, the Working Party on Health Education Policy, and programmes aimed at co-ordinating the HE Convenor Course, the Management and Evaluation projects and the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse. As could be expected of a small system, each committee was comprised of members who sat on at least one other committee. While one might expect across-committee membership to favour efficient planning, the fact is that it did not.

The comment that follows was contained in a memo from the senior officer responsible for the HE Evaluation Unit to the Chairman of the Secondary Renewal Group who, as Superintendent of the Curriculum Development and Evaluation Section of the Education Department was also a member of the Health Education Professional Development Group.

> As a member of both these groups, I feel concerned that there seems to be an undesirable lack of contact between the activities and processes to support schools in these major curriculum changes. ... At present, the plans for HE convenors seem to take little account of the processes set up to support secondary renewal. It is important that the links are made conceptually and also in terms of the role that might be played by convenors and health coordinators (3/10/87).

In the Minutes of the meeting of the HE Professional Development Group (7/10/87), the matter contained in the memo was raised and "the group then moved on to discuss the training programme". The comment was not taken up, and the rationalisation it recommends did not take place. Such operational inefficiencies, possibly connected with ill-defined roles, had the effect of distracting discussion from the issues of professional development and the work of the change agents.

The model used by the Tasmanian Education Department was the "Train the Trainer", or "ripple" model, which had been widely used in the implementation of the Department's Early Literacy Inservice Course(ELIC). The model provides for twenty-four trainers to be attached to the training programme for 0.4 of their working commitment. The training procedures allow convenors to work in teams of three, taking responsibility for fifteen schools. Trainers (convenors) are responsible for the training of school change agents (coordinators). The training has as its goal to equip the coordinators to assist with the development of HE programmes within the schools of the district, supported by specialist staff (the convenors) and, for material resources, by the central agency. According to Langford and Edwards (1989), the model appeared to be successful because of the level of funding accorded it, the "mix" of trainers, which included guidance officers and teachers and

> The strong sense of camaraderie amongst convenors and the intrinsic worth and good educational sense represented by the programme (p.3).

Implementation of the model was hampered, however, by

- a perceived overly optimistic time-scale for programme implementation;
- perceived absence of management direction on occasions;
- assorted difficulties associated with the definition of the role of school coordinator and the attitudes towards that role, both by those holding it and others;
- unexpectedly high convenor loss rate; and
- the absence of any coherent theory of change to underpin programme development (Langford and Edwards, 1989, p.4).

Minutes of the Health Education Professional Group (7/10/87), record a brainstorming session which identified the role of the convenor as catalyst, problem-solver and solution-giver, a role description which represents that detailed earlier by Havelock (1973). In these recorded discussions, the interpersonal aspect of the convenor's role was emphasised, stressing the behavioural focus of the programme. The minutes record a reference to the convenors as "Local Managers" but, of the eight skills provided as examples of what convenors need, all are behavioural rather than managerial.

The training programme, with an emphasis on management, focused on the "how" of training rather than on the "what", according to one of the convenors:

> The coordinator's role we saw as contact person in the school, to

> collaborate with the convenor, and to assess what happens in school. Rather, I saw the role of the coordinator to assist in setting up the opportunity for training ... and sharing those skills already existing in the school (Langford and Edwards, 1989, p.25).

In these statements may be seen that perceptions of the coordinator's task recorded by the convenors differed from those of the change agents in schools. The coordinators themselves saw their role as one of facilitating change. (As will be seen, such a perception was shared by TVEI coordinators). The trainers of the coordinators, on the other hand, perceived the task of the trained coordinator to be involvement with the change. Support for this is suggested in the minutes of the Health Education Professional Development Group (14/12/87), at which one of the three day training sessions was planned.

> Day 1 provided a programme which was based on the view that "changes will have to be brought about to allow HE to grow in schools" and
> Day 2 "That the interpersonal core of HE must be well understood by teachers".
> Day 3 was spent on role play in which convenors meet the Principal, meet members of the Parents' and Friends' Association and conduct a simulated workshop session.

Running parallel with the training sessions was the planning for and trialling of HE courses for study at schools and university, the latter providing accreditation for university qualifications.

Technical and Vocational Education Initiative:

The management model for the implementing the programme for TVEI was quite different from that for HE. The Greenwich model is used as a representative example. In Britain, a group of schools formed a consortium and worked together, at least in the early stages of the program's implementation.

For much of the "management" phase, resources and personnel were centrally controlled and Principals of schools in the consortium constituted an essential element of management. The involvement of Principals served to maintain an institutional perspective for the programme, while the roles of the coordinators were student-centred. The management model also involved the coordination of programmes across the consortium and, to this end, a Consortium Coordinator was appointed and each school in the consortium appointed a school coordinator. From the management model of Greenwich can be seen that each area of school management was represented on committees which, while numerous, appeared to attain a degree of across-the-board integrity not found in the Tasmanian experience. The reason for this may have been the highly specified and prioritised issues of, for example, equal opportunities, skills-strengthening in information technology and subject relevance, for which programmes and teachers could be readily identified and targeted for change.

Also different from the Tasmanian experience was the availability of generous financial resources for professional development, provided by a

central Training Agency. In her evaluation of the TVEI Preparatory Scheme, Young (1989) found that the TVEI policy was an example of successful use of professional development support. The funding, provided for improved access of students to Information Technology, also required and included the training of teachers.

In her report, Young (1989) also categorises five roles for those charged with effecting change: a day-to-day management role, an information-giving and proselytising role, a liaison role between school departments and institutions on the one hand and TVEI and outside agencies on the other. The fourth role was that of curriculum development which involved:

- chairing, convening curriculum development groups across projects;
- promoting curriculum developments within the school;
- supporting the TVEI curriculum developments, trying to integrate and disseminate TVEI throughout the school (p.28).

Monitoring tasks constituted the fifth category of duties.

Young (1989) draws on NFER work to support her view that the coordinators of TVEI saw themselves as facilitators (p.28) (as did those of HE). The minutes of meetings suggest that, of the categories described by Young (1989), the matters of management preoccupy the planning phase of change programmes, and matters of curriculum change are confined to incorporating the aims of TVEI into existing GCSE courses, to establishing a Core Studies Programme and to strengthening cross-curricular initiatives and equal opportunities. Notes of a workshop of school coordinators (Appendix 7) also show a preoccupation with management factors rather than with issues of curriculum change.

This brief review suggests that, particularly in the case of HE, planning for the change agents' role, if it was intended to be interventionist or specifically directional, lacked coherence. There is no evidence to suggest that the planners of curriculum change had a model of planned change in mind. This conclusion is supported by notes arising from a workshop (Appendix 7), in which obstacles encountered by the school coordinators were listed. The list, while it suggests the nature of the support the coordinators expected, does not refer to the absence of a coherent plan for change which they were to implement. The expectations held by change agents then, were that they would act as facilitators of change rather than as the carriers of it -- a view which was not shared by their teacher colleagues.

Proposition 2

The success of the initiatives requires Principals who are strong instructional leaders.

The study of the Principals' role in the change process as perceived by the teachers of this study indicate the expectations teachers have regarding Principals' involvement in change which appear not to have been met out by the experience of teachers during the implementation of TVEI and HE.The findings

in this section may well confirm the assertions of the school effectiveness literature, that the Principal plays a major, central part in school reform through curriculum change (Timar & Kirp, 1988). despite the fact that this study reports on initiatives that appear to have failed. Similarly, the key role of senior staff, and their capacity to effect curriculum change by leading school reform, as observed by Earley and Fletcher-Campbell (1989), is not confirmed by this study. In fact their role is seen by teachers as somewhat disabling for change-processes in schools, as will be shown.

The findings do suggest however, that the success of initiatives for educational change depends mainly upon the collaboration between all the agents for change within the school. Of these, it is the classroom teachers who are the effecters of change in schools.

The findings suggest that the respondents had expectations regarding the Principal's roles which were not realised.

> *The Head facilitates or blocks change ... yet no change takes place because the Head wants it (SC4).*

> *The Head embraced the idea but it was managed by the deputy (SC29).*

> *The Principal said, "We'll set our own agenda" (C44).*

> *The Principal plays a very important part in the change process (H78).*

As could be expected, the Principals of the five schools of the study were very different in terms of management styles and personalities, but in no school did the Principal function as the main agent for change. Without exception, the Principal facilitated the change by, at the most fundamental level, allowing it to go ahead and giving tacit permission for the school to make the necessary adjustments for the change to be implemented:

> *The Principal made it a school commitment (C47).*

> *The Head behaved in a typical Head way. If there's money there 'grab it' and then find somebody else to do the job (SC24).*

At Taylor and Fortuna, the Principals were as removed from the process of implementation as they could be. They welcomed the researcher and then directed her to the Deputy Principal in one case and to the coordinator in the other. At City and South Central, the researcher was directed to the coordinator after interviewing the Principal. In all cases it was clear that the Principals had no direct or active responsibility for managing the change. What was observed and recorded during interviews was that the Principal's capacity for influencing change was a tangential process. In one school, the Principal was perceived to be using the implementation process as an opportunity to keep people "on their toes". He did this, according to a respondent, by the deliberate practice of manipulating positions as a way of controlling power in staff politics. This could be said to have had an effect on the way in which the initiatives were implemented.

The Principal created lots of problems by allowing acting positions to continue for longer than need be (SC24).

The Principal facilitates or blocks change by the appointment of staff (SC4).

The Principal behaved in a typical Principal way. If there's money to be had, then grab it and then find somebody else to do the job (SC24).

A timorous Principal nearly ruined the programme by interfering in the more sensitive aspects of the programme (H78).

The Principal was swept along with the promise of money. He decided the school was going to do it. He left it to the Deputy, who disseminated odd bits of information (T38).

The Principal embraced the idea, but it was managed by the Deputy (T32).

It was also observed that the Principal's role in the change became less clearly defined in the minds of the respondents the further they were removed from the school's management team. Deputies, particularly those with responsibility for curriculum development, and coordinators referred to the Principal's role in a specific way, but staff members less closely associated with the team were less aware of the role the Principal played.

The role of the Principal as instructional leader in the matter of curriculum change has been given great prominence in recent times (Deal, 1988; Hall, 1988; Hall and Giffen, 1982; Leithwood and Montgomery, 1982). Brookover (1979), for example, suggests that "the Principal's direct performance in the instructional area is essential to the establishment of a school climate that supports achievement" (Kroeze, 1983, p.1). A review of the bibliographic material prepared by Fletcher-Campbell (1988), the Eric Clearing House on Educational Management (1988), Hallinger and Murphy (1986) and Hord and Murphy (1985), also reveals a preoccupation with the technical, educational and human roles of Principals as instructional leaders, with little reference to principalship as an example of a boundary function operating within a school's sub-system. However, the work of Tye (1986), Anderson (1986) and others suggest that, in the secondary school, the Principal's role is not direct involvement in, but facilitating support for the school's instructional programme.

Much of the literature relating to the successful intervention by Principals in teaching, in classroom management and in the structuring of the curriculum is based on research in primary schools; what little there is concerning the secondary sector does not convincingly support the notion of the Principal as a key participant in instructional leadership, despite opinion to the contrary (Kroeze, 1983, p.1). Greenfield is quoted by Weindling (1990) thus:

> a majority of U.S. studies appear to be guided by idealising conceptions of what Principals should be like, rather than conceptions grounded in observations of actual behaviour (p.189).

Hord and Murphy (1985) have found that recent studies are narrow in focus and draw from an inappropriate perspective of the Principal of a secondary school. Their accounts of what instructional leaders should do stem from the experience of the further education sector, whose contextual differences, clients and outcomes are such as to make the attempted application to secondary schools inappropriate.

The literature, in seeking a definition of instructional leadership and describing what instructional leaders do and how they do it, is marred by ambiguity and vagueness (Kroeze, 1983, p.4). As well as an absence of research data (Ginsberg, 1988), the literature lacks evidence of models which acknowledge the complexity of secondary school organisation and environment or which enable findings which may be practically applied in order to effect school improvement (Kroeze, 1983, p.2). Bossert (1988), in suggesting that the instructional role of the Principal is more symbolic than instrumental, also believes that Principals affect the passage of educational change by manipulating the structural and technical aspects of school organisation rather than by any direct involvement. Pitner and Elliott and Wallberg describe the relationship between the Principal and curriculum change as reciprocal: "largely mediated by factors within and external to the school environment (Boyan, 1988, p.100). Finn maintains that it is the Principal's role to act as business executives do, by "making the whole institution operate effectively. Principals in secondary schools are unable to provide quality instructional leadership and others must take on this responsibility. Persons other than the Principal influence the instructional process" (Newberg and Glatthorn, 1982, p.11).

Mintzberg's (1973) investigation into managers' work supports this view. He points out that, if one takes into account the processes involved in the implementation of lasting change, and the variety, diversity and brevity of Principals' tasks, one realises how impossible it really is to attend to the matter of leadership in specific projects in any but a removed way. Torrington and Weightman (1989), draw on a study by Hall, Mackey and Morgan to show the work of Principals to be trivial, fragmented, reactive and rudderless (p.186). "... realistically, Principals can be involved [only] in a peripheral way in curriculum study". Hord and Murphy (1985) believe that Principals are poor candidates for the role of curriculum change agents, on the grounds of their lack of experience and academic expertise in particular subject areas, which is a source of teacher-resistance to their involvement in the task (p. 38). Ball (1987), in discussing headship, highlights the dilemma created by the twin problems of domination and integration:

> Heads and their followers are trapped in this sealed political dialectic of colleagueship and hierarchy, professional and employee [evidence of] the political discrepancies which are now invested in the job (pp.164-165).

Newberg and Glatthorn (1982), studying Principals in four American

Junior high schools as agents for curriculum change and their instructional leadership roles, found that, while Principals may set academic goals, they do not monitor them closely, they use slogans as rallying cries around goals, but the slogans seldom transform the direction of the school or the level of staff commitment, and their supervision of staff is mainly for evaluation purposes. This view supports a major contention of this study that Principals cannot be "instructional leaders", as defined for the purposes of this study, given the nature of schools as organisations which "decouple" the main activity of schooling (instruction) from the school's organisational structure (Meyer and Rowan, 1975, p.87).

Ball (1987) writes of Principals of secondary schools being reluctant to engage in matters of pedagogy and curriculum as they affect subject departments (p.40). Such reluctance negates any role they may claim as instructional leaders. This study suggests that the actual role of the Principal and the organisational structures of schools combine to curtail the Principal's capacity to be an effective initiator of curriculum change. The study confirms the view that:

> *The Head facilitates or blocks change ... yet no change takes place because the Head wants it (SC4)*

Proposition 3

The success of the initiatives requires senior staff who are strong instructional leaders.

It was at the level of middle management that the complexities of the factors assisting with the progress of curriculum change in the schools became clear.

The task of running the programmes in the schools was given to appointed coordinators, none of whom were heads of subject departments. That senior staff (Senior Masters/Mistresses) were believed to be primarily responsible for their specific subject areas appeared to exclude them from active involvement in the initiatives. Thus senior staff were removed from the implementation processes, only becoming engaged when the processes impinged on their subject area.

At South Central, the promise of money with which heads of department might radicalise their departments encouraged senior staff to participate in the preparation of a bid to the LEA. In the case of Taylor, the Deputy Head prepared the bid independently of senior staff, "sold it to the others and then left" (T34). Some respondents did believe the senior staff to have considerable power for change.

> *Senior staff are powerful. Even the Principal can jump up and down on the spot, but really the teachers are following the senior staff's directions (C56).*

This opinion was not universal, however. As one respondent said,

> *I don't think they have a huge amount of management power (T41).*

This respondent, from Taylor, suggested that the heads of department had lost some of the power that they once had. One reason given had to do with the increase in the professionalism of teachers which limits the input senior staff have in managing the instructional programmes of their departments (T41). At Taylor, the traditional meeting of heads of departments, originally meant to be a policy-making group, had been abandoned, possibly because the issues under debate in the 1990s are beyond the power of traditional department heads to manage (T41). Fortuna's senior staff also had very little active input in the initial planning for the implementation of HE but, like the Principal, took on the role of supporter and facilitator (F58). A general opinion was expressed by one respondent.

> *Senior Masters are losing status. They won't be about in five years' time. Their involvement in HE was not needed (C48).*

Another finding concerned what heads of departments saw as an eroding of their power and influence, with the result that they preferred not to become involved.

> *Senior staff were not very involved unless they had a stake, but even when they were expected to co-operate as in the case of the Heads of Design and Science, they couldn't because their views were so polarised (T36).*

> *They were not keen for early involvement. They were suspicious and thought they would lose power (T35).*

> *It's easier to bypass senior staff and go to those 'who think like me' (H94)*

As will be shown, the role of the Deputy Head became important where that Deputy was the coordinator of the programme.

The subject expertise of senior staff, their classroom experience and continuing daily contact with the classroom combine with their location in the administrative structure to make them appear to be the logical people to take on the role as major agents for curriculum change. "Middle management as an example of collective management is likely to facilitate more change than charismatic leadership" (Murgatroyd, 1986, p. 115). Senior staff "maintain a position in the school which is the most taxing, the most challenging and, basically the most important of all administrative posts" (Marcial, 1984, p.88).

Lambert (1975) discusses four major roles of senior staff:

Instrumental-Academic: this role is for the development and carrying out of school policy, the formulation of departmental policy and curriculum development;

Instrumental-Institutional: in this role, the head of department attends to the mechanics of organisation -- the ordering of text books and the deployment of staff, for example;

Expressive-Institutional: in this role, the person provides links with outside agencies, parents and extra-curricular activities;

Expressive-Academic; this role provides the human dimension of the quadrant, involving the senior staff in the tasks done least well --

assisting new staff, supervising and monitoring staff, and providing opportunities for staff development.

Blackburn (1983) and Bailey (1973) suggest that the "expressive-academic" role is the key function of senior staff (Ribbens, 1985, p.361). In explaining how teachers become enculturated as members of the school society, Alfonso (1983) describes subject departments as the point of entry for secondary teachers, stating that teachers identify first with their subject departments where, as Goodson (1988) remarks, they are initiated into "differing visions of knowledge, hierarchies and content, teacher role and overall pedagogic orientation", becoming part of the "pervasive phenomenon" of the department's sub-culture (p. 181). Ball (1987) writes of teachers being socialised into and "immersed into the particular self evidences of their chosen intellectual sub-world" which separates them from other areas of specialisation (p.41).

Drucker (1977) describes the management task of senior staff as fulfilling the specific functions of the institution, making work productive and managing social impacts and responsibilities. Drucker (1977) identifies their management roles as the setting of objectives, and the organising, motivating, measuring (evaluation) and developing of people. All of these operations demand a high degree of interpersonal skill. The academic role of senior staff as heads of subject disciplines is given very little emphasis in discussion of their roles. Much of the discussion of their work attends to their management roles. Hoyle (1981) describes management as

> ... a continuous process through which members of an organisation seek to co-ordinate their activities and utilise their resources in order fulfil the various tasks of the organisation as efficiently as possible (p.108).

Hoyle (1981) identifies healthy organisations as those having clear goals, adequate communication, decision-making structures and problem-solving procedures, resource utilisation, intensiveness, high morale, adaptability and innovativeness. He also refers to the "basic task- and person-dimension" of leadership theory, taking up Yukl's view of the importance of decision centralisation; this is the participative dimension (Hoyle, 1986, p.109), an aspect of the theory of which Ball (1987) is suspicious. In his study, he found that Principals saw consultation with senior staff as an adjunct to decision-making rather than as an essential part of the process, and he writes of an "appearance of participation, pseudo participation" as being more the practice (p.125).

Mintzberg (1973) carries forward the human face of managerial activities in his classification of roles under the headings:

- *Interpersonal Roles*, which include motivation, and negotiation;
- *Information Roles*, which include consultation, and dissemination; and
- *Decisional Roles* which involve organising, resource allocation and innovation.

Hoyle (1988) offers a useful model based on Hodgkinson's work, which describes

the administrative and management functions of senior staff:

The model locates the power dimension of senior staff within the subject department. Bacharach and Lawler (1980) found that much of the political analysis centres on the influence of the academic department. In his description of the models of educational management, Marland lists the duties of academic senior staff thus:

> Take a major part in appointing teachers
> Deploy teachers
> Monitor teachers' work
> Assist in the development of teachers' professional skills
> Contribute to the initial training of student teachers
> Take a part in the planning of the school's overall curriculum and lead the planning of curriculum within the department
> Oversee the work of pupils
> Manage the finances and physical resources and learning methods efficiently
> Assist in the overall running of the school
> (Ribbens, 1988).

Marland's list, in common with others, is task-oriented, dealing with the mechanics, the "what" of the role of senior staff, with little regard for the "how" factor. Although Marland and Hill (1981) do agree that a member of senior staff is "the catalyst and co-ordinator of a team", who requires "intellectual, administrative and human relational skills" to perform as a senior member of the school, their list does not reflect this. Marland does recognise however, the tensions of the task, which he sees as deriving from the pressures which come from the school itself and the requirements of the subject field; and he describes conflict between what senior staff would like to have done or believe should be done and what is organisationally possible to do (Tyldesley, 1984, p.255).

Tyldesley offers another list, including: "... to hold regular, full meetings of the department ..." (p.253), which is later revised to: "... to give clear simple messages, maintaining these consistently and without dilution" (p.262). Reynolds (1990), on the other hand, provides a list which is more concerned with attitudes and intentions, allowing a human face to the role. Included by Reynolds are such factors as consciousness of climate, great expectations, a sense of mission, motivational strategies, high standards, expertise and force of character (p.17).

Of the five leadership qualities Weindling (1990) identifies from the work of Farrar (1987) and others, there are three that seem to be accepted as part of the incorporation of duties of leaders in whatever field. They are:

- the ability to articulate a philosophy of the school and a vision of what it should be like;

- the ability to convince others to work for that vision and
- a willingness to share responsibility by increasing the authority of others.

The lists supplied by Marland and Hill(1981), Reynolds (1990) and Weindling (1990), reflect the shift in the general perception of leadership that has occurred over the last thirty years. As Weindling (1990) mentions, the shift has been from the description of the Head as autocrat in the fifties, through "chief executive" in the seventies to "leading professional for the present" (p.189). Brydson (1983) also comments on a shift, in this case of emphasis, from the academic to the managerial functions of the perceived role of senior staff.

> Traditionally the major area of concern for departmental heads has been rational decisions concerning education theory and subject knowledge made prior to pupil contact (p.6).

Brydson's (1983) article does not go far enough in detailing the changes to the role of the senior staff. He attaches tasks to the points of each arm of Lambert's (1975) quadrant but it appears that Lambert's model is not able to accommodate the changes in concept. Brydson (1983) makes no mention, for example, of the cultural or political changes taking place in schools, where the baronial role of senior staff, fixed in place in a hierarchy marked by line management, is evolving towards participatory decision-making and power-sharing practices and processes.

Saran and Trafford (1990) provide a list of tasks which are more reflective of the current situation than anything Marland and Hill (1981) or Brydson (1983) have described. Conceptual changes to the "purpose, processes and procedures" of the role of senior staff show them, as professional leaders, taking up the direction of educational change, developing new skills of leadership to cope with changing circumstances, and being conscious of costs, market forces and political penetration into schools. But these same changes of direction have caused contradictions and conflicts to emerge in their role delineations.

Discussions with senior staff highlight the difficulties they encounter when, for example, the organisation moves from rich to poor environments and they experience a shift in role.

Two responsibilities appear to attach to their instructional leadership role. One is the capacity to act as a cognitive mediator and the other is the capacity to empower teachers. Both responsibilities require the instructional leader to be able to send the right signals and provide the information which will enable teachers to draw on their own professional abilities in making their contribution to curriculum change.

In the schools of the study, senior staff were not generally among those primarily involved in the processes of implementation of the government initiatives. The organisational, environmental and cultural complexities of schooling appear to set the expectations of the role and function of senior staff as instructional leaders at variance with the ideal, as the data show.

From among the characteristics of loosely-coupled systems described by Weick (1985), secondary schools exhibit features which disconnect the work activity from its effects and from other aspects of the organisation. The

location of the "nested compartmentalised" subject departments is one major feature of secondary school structure from which others stem. As organisations, they are highly decentralised, the interdependence between teachers is low, task structures are highly differentiated, there is evidence of goal ambiguity and procedures and processes have a low level of formalisation. In subject departments' relations with each other and with the school can be noted

> ... the absence of tightly regulated linkages and a lack of agreement within or between these units with members having different and even contrary perceptions of the school setting and its functioning (Newberg and Glatthorn, 1982, p.9).

Deal and Celotti (1977) conclude their discussion of the characteristics of loosely-coupled organisations by stating that such is the lack of agreement about school goals or the connection between institutional strategies and learning, that any attempt at co-ordination would uncouple the system even further.

Lincoln (1985) discusses six themes found in most organisations which confirm the foregoing, and justify the researcher's view that schools are alienated from the predictability and rationality on which most models for the implementation of curriculum change are based. Lincoln (1985) found that schools are not as rational as they may appear, that the structures are segmented, that stable segments are small but that where there are strong connections between the segments there is less ambiguity of goals (p.109). As examples of units within a loosely-coupled organisation, subject departments have certain constraints and some areas of independence from one another, which lead to an internal cohesiveness that is supportive of and supported by the culture of the department. Weick (1985), states that loose coupling "generates variation, preserves anonymity, [and] localises trouble" (Lincoln, 1986l, p.133). One should expect then, that it is at this level of system stratification that curriculum change would be most easily effected through the leadership of the senior staff. This seems not to be the case however.

These findings support the view that effective instructional leadership as it relates to subject-orientated curriculum change is appropriately located in subject departments; but, because of the loosely-coupled nature of these departments, whole-school curriculum change cannot be effected from within subject departments.

While the structural aspects of school organisation seem to favour curriculum change and improvement at a subject-department level, the key function of senior staff, curriculum leadership, has generally not been well developed (Hargreaves, 1984, p.102). Ribbens (1985) found that senior staff, believing that they were without power to effect change, had to be persuaded to take charge of their departments and that many of them experienced role-conflict arising from the expectations and ambiguities of the role (Ribbens, 1985, p.361); and that "consistent role inconsistency" arises also from the

incongruities between organisations and environment.

Hargreaves (1984) offers reasons for such role inconsistency. These include situations

- where a person occupies two positions, the roles of which are incompatible,
- where there is lack of consensus about the content of a role,
- where there is lack of consensus amongst the occupants of complementary role,
- where various role partners have conflicting expectations,
- where role expectations are unclear and
- where there is a lack of the basic qualities required to perform the role adequately.

A problem for research is noted by Ribbens (1986):

> What we still know every little about is what senior staff actually do, how they account for their actions and how they interact with relevant others within particular schools (Day and Moore, 1986, p.5).

Day and Moore (1986) suggest that, despite the details of duties contained in position statements, few senior staff practise anything like the generally-held concept of their role. Bloomer (1984) agrees that departmental organisation is not as good as it should be and suggests possible reasons why. These include the complication of the increasing heterogeneity of students, and changes to teaching practice; team teaching; mixed ability classes and changing curriculum; the "modern democratic management styles, which while increasing the effectiveness of the department require greater skill and adaptability on the part of the senior staff; and the lack of specific preparation for the role" (p.265). Another factor, which appears to compound the difficulty of explaining the role of senior staff as instructional leaders in curriculum improvement, is called the "controversial context of supervision" (Sergiovanni and Starratt, 1983 p.216). This involves power relationships between Principals and senior staff and between senior staff and teachers (neither wishing to afford greater power to the other) and the context of the environment, both internal and external, in which they operate. Bullock (1986) found that senior staff wanted strong teams but were weak at delegating, were keen to innovate but were frustrated by innovation, and failed to evaluate what was being done (p.38).

This study suggests that the poor performance of senior staff as instructional leaders in whole-school curriculum change is not wholly explained by role theory. Environmental and cultural factors appear to offer a more acceptable explanation.

Little is known about the way in which the environment impinges on the work of subject departments. The internal environment is comprised of organisation's norms, beliefs and practices and the external consists of political, economic and social factors; all of these affect decision-making practices and the behaviour of senior staff in the face of calls for curriculum change. It has been suggested, and the view is presented in the data, that the loosely-coupled nature of schools as organisations and the presence of effective

Principals buffer departments from the effects of environment, an experience noted at Taylor by the Deputy Head.

As Torrington and Weightman (1989) mention, subject departments have, to date, remained largely unevaluated in schools, because to discuss differences between departments, for example, is to call to account those responsible, and this behaviour runs counter to the cultural norms of the profession of teaching (p.164); this is one reason why Principals and senior staff do little close evaluation of the instructional programmes of subject departments.

The matter is associated with that of autonomy, which Ball (1987) describes as a curious construct in the context of schooling. He sees autonomy as "a weak and limited concept", "a cosy illusion", "a major compromise between freedom and control", "a privilege granted by the Head on certain terms and conditions", "a sacred touchstone. It stands as a symbol of professional status for the teacher and is taken for granted as a powerful limitation on the power of the head" (p.121). The concept of autonomy has other limiting aspects, as Hargreaves (1984) has noted. One of these is the discreteness of subject departments in their subject sub-cultures and subject specialities. Goodson (1988), in exploring subject sub-cultures, talks of the "persuasive phenomenon of these sub-cultures in teacher preparation", but remarks that they also have the effect of isolating departments. He quotes an extract from the Norwood Report (1943):

> Subjects have tended to become preserves belonging to specialist teachers, barriers have been erected between them and teachers have felt unqualified and not free to trespass upon the dominions of other (p.196).

Goodson (1984) also refers to the hegemony of the academic subjects over the utilitarian areas and pedagogic aspects of the curriculum, a matter discussed in Chapter 7. Murgatroyd and Reynolds (1984), in providing a case illustration of leadership in the classroom, emphasise the conflict which can arise when decisions are made to have senior management watching teachers teach (p.291). The processes of schooling are enmeshed in the school culture, an intricate threadwork of knowledge, values, beliefs and norms that comprise the fragile but resilient web of school life.

Proposition 4

The success of the initiatives requires teachers who are flexible and committed and amenable to "cultural redefinition" (Hargreaves, 1989, p.29).

Miles (1987) believes that fundamental elements of the successful implementation of change are power sharing, shared goals, staff willingness and initiative and involvement in decision making. It was at the classroom-teacher stratum of the schools that the study found wide divergence between these ideals and the perception of what was happening. The truth was that implementation of the initiatives proceeded with little evidence of these

elements being present in any appreciable measure.

In all schools there was evidence that some teachers resisted the initiatives. At both South Central and Taylor, there was considerable disquiet and some cynicism about the political overtones of TVEI. A respondent at South Central expressed it most strongly: in her words, the programme was designed "*to provide work fodder for Thatcher's monetarism*" *(SC30)*. Other comments:

> *There has been a gap in my perception and expectation and how the experience of TVEI has gone here (SC12).*
>
> *Our early feelings were anxious and suspicious -- we believed that the kids were being disadvantaged (SC18).*
>
> *There were enough people willing to go ahead even if they didn't understand the programme (SC29).*
>
> *The matter of democratic decision-making here was interesting. Everyone knew it was a "fait accompli" (SC29).*
>
> *No-one had a clear idea of why we were doing it or for what reason it was being introduced into the school (SC28).*
>
> *Staff reaction was hostile because decisions were made without consultation (T36).*
>
> *I wasn't really looking forward to it. I thought it would be a mish-mash of work-related things that kids don't really see as the stuff you study (SC30).*
>
> *My perception of it was that it was located in the coordinator and the people who took it (SC30).*
>
> *The staff were suspicious of it because it was thought to be a way of directing kids vocationally (T31).*
>
> *Teachers were resistant and cynical (H74).*
>
> *Many staff don't know what's going on because the bulk of the professional development is directed towards those few people who are involved (H79).*
>
> *Staff was most keen -- volunteers were important to the programme and the matter of staff consensus was very important (F58).*
>
> *I'm not skilled enough to talk about the issues -- not confident -- I would need to read up on them (F63).*
>
> *Staff were generally accepting of the principles of the programme (C57).*
>
> *Teachers agreed to do it, and work was forthcoming (C16).*
>
> *I would have used people in favour of the programme and others would have seen the benefit -- ripple effect (SC29).*
>
> *We were told, "We've now been accepted -- we're going to put a package together" (T37).*
>
> *I hated it. It was divisive. It would favour certain students and staff and*

bring resources to certain areas -- the Humanities would be denuded by it -- children would be forced to do it and it was a change for change's sake -- a fly-by-nighter. It was introduced in a vigorous undemocratic manner. Had there been a vote on it, it would have been defeated. It was decided by the Head and Deputy Head to go ahead (T40).

Acceptance of the programmes by some teachers seemed to be for reasons that were less than idealistic. One teacher at South Central saw the initiative as a road to continuing employment, *"I became involved as a way of obtaining employment" (SC30)*, and others at South Central and Taylor recognised the opportunities offered for promotion or for a temporary enhancement of careers at least (SC11). In each of the five schools in the study, coordinators were placed in promotion positions to carry out the task. Also recognised, by teachers at South Central and Taylor, was the increased status given to low-status subjects such as Technology and Business Studies.

To a lesser extent, HE served to raise the status of Physical Education and Home Economics in the curriculum at Fortuna, Hungerford and City and opened opportunities for promotion to teachers in subject areas known well for their lack of promotion opportunities.

A key factor in teachers' responses was concern for the plight of "traditional" subjects, when plans for the initiatives involved the taking of time away from various areas of the curriculum.

Work Experience takes time from other subjects (SC11).

The programme interferes with GCSE course work (SC11).

Not more health! What about our subject areas? What about some real stuff? (C56).

Most staff see it as 'mickey mouse' subjects (H77).

There's less time for traditional subjects -- pinching time from the important subjects (C57).

Teachers adjust to change but attitudes don't really change (H82).

Suddenly HE is a divine revelation and should be a curriculum priority but I wasn't told (H89).

Nobody consulted me on the blue print for the new society (H90).

Staff favoured the introduction of TVEI though details were a bit blurred when it was first mooted (SC28).

Staff were told that they would learn as the programme proceeded (SC28).

People still think it's useless (SC9).

Teachers were against it. They were against the Deputy and they were against the politics of it (SC25).

Humanities people are still antagonistic. They resented the resource deployment. Everything was geared towards practical education (T35).

It is appropriate to consider characteristics, first of teachers and then of their occupation, which affect their capacity for and likelihood of success as change agents. What expectations may administrators have of teachers as agents for change?

Early research into the characteristics of teachers by Lortie (1975), Jackson and Guba (1957), Bidwell (1965) and Blumberg and Schmuck (1972) depicts an occupational group for whom even the contemplation of change is anathema. Explanation for this lies, first of all, in the kinds of people who become teachers. Such people, according to Jackson and Guba (1957), have a preference for deference and order and, as teachers-in-training, are slightly more submissive and less likely to take leadership roles than students in other faculties. Lortie (1975), in his study of teachers' occupational attitudes, found that teaching attracted people with a bias towards the perpetuation of the existing school system's *status quo*. Harris (1983) refers to a study by Reimer which found that only twenty per cent of teaching time was given to subject teaching, the rest being spent in indirectly promulgating ideas and attitudes pertaining to "the maintenance of social order that legitimises existing social relations" (p.117).

Harris's point is shared by Keddie (1973), Apple (1979) and Anyon (1980) who discuss the way in which knowledge is selected, distributed and resourced according to the status of the subject and according to the status of the students. Attitudes, beliefs about self and society, while they may be more often implied than overtly stated, reinforce moral or social norms without much reference to the intellect. Teachers, the recepticles and dispensers of knowledge, are "the creatures of norms and the arbiters of justice" (Common, 1984, p.22). Lortie (1975) maintains that the structure of teaching at the secondary level is a constraint on teachers as agents of change because of their subject orientation and expertise, both of which are called into question in the face of the "endemic uncertainties" (p.61) evoked by proposals for extensive curriculum change.

Thus teachers may exhibit one or some of the behaviours described by Rokeach (1960), in his investigations of personality traits (specifically dogmatism and closed-mindedness) as they relate to educational change:

1. An unwillingness to examine new evidence after an opinion is formed.
2. A tendency to dismiss evidence or logic summarily if it is in conflict with one's position.
3. A tendency to view controversial issues in terms of absolutes.
4. The tendency to form strong beliefs which are resistant to change even on the basis of equivocal evidence.
5. A tendency to reject people because of their beliefs and to isolate contradictory beliefs in logic-tight compartments.
6. A need for early closure in reaching conclusions; and intolerance for ambiguity (p. 52).

Later studies by Russell (1977) confirm Rokeach's findings. Those who scored at a lower level on the dogmatism scale were more open to innovation, so

were teachers of Home Economics in comparison with teachers of Manual Arts and so were writers compared with non-writers (p.60). What emerges so far is a profile, confirmed by data, of teachers as reluctant agents of change. One explanation lies in a consideration of the complexity of a teacher's task. What is it that teachers do exactly?

Teaching is full of uncertainties. It is marked by an absence of concrete models for emulation, so teachers must learn from experience how best to achieve the comfortable relationship with the students that is most likely to result in learning. They cope daily with a diversity of human personalities, pressures of fixed timetables and the demands of the curriculum. Teachers are constantly reinterpreting and redefining their roles in the face of changing environmental and organisational demands. Even though they are party to the constructs of the school's sub-culture, they are required to adopt, assimilate or adapt to aspects of that sub-culture that they may not find attractive.

Fullan (1983) describes the "subjective reality of teaching" (p.27), developed by Leiberman and Miller as the "dailiness" of school routine, its predictability, the isolation of the classroom and the unchanging physical environment (p.58). Further, teachers never know with certainty the outcomes of their work. Teaching is characterised by unclear lines of influence, ambiguities associated with assessment, control over the curriculum and, as Apple(1983) states, ambiguity relating to "contradictory class location, the relationship to the history of patriarchal control, the sexual division of labour and the actual conditions of their work" (p.624).

The absence of models that may guide their practice is one of the problems of the classroom teacher. Their supervision by tutors is not, once their training is finished, usually supplemented with any discernible steadying hand offered by the Subject Head or the Principal. Part of the school's sub-culture that they assimilate in time is their social position in the classroom and their autonomy over classroom practice. This makes them unwilling to accept incursions therein by other authorities. It also supplies the second reason why classroom teachers are unwilling change agents. Teachers are generally antagonistic to curriculum reform since that reform impinges directly on classroom practice.

Hicks and Blackington (1965) offer two basic dimensions of a profession:

> Members of a profession show themselves to be fulfilling a social function as a primary reference point for guiding their work. Such people possess a specialist knowledge and a means of verifying claims to knowledge that enable them to perform their function with an economy unique to that individual or group (p.22).

Teaching meets the criteria for a profession as laid down by Hicks and Blackington (1965). However, and perversely, certain controls inherent in the occupation, which may superficially be seen to be of benefit to teachers, constrain and deny its professionalism. Despite rhetoric to the contrary, teaching is a controlled occupation. It bears few marks of a profession. Etzioni (1964) gives it semi-professional status. Teaching is a salaried occupation.

Teachers are employees and have contracted to perform certain tasks. Harris (1983) describes teachers as workers; as salaried labourers with little control over the labour process and no access to the means of production (p.37). Teachers' are granted such badges of professionalism as salary schedules and tenure; they qualify for professional status on the criteria of prolonged intellectual preparation, the refining of knowledge and involvement in some sense of ethical transaction; yet teachers do not function as principals in their own right, being agents of others. It is the lack of self-determination that Dreeben (1970) sees as the differentiation between a profession and an occupation. Teachers cannot be entrepreneurial in their daily undertakings. The major characteristics of teaching are self-restricting and "fit the patterns of coercive demands" (Dreeben, 1970, p.10).

A major difficulty is the constraining nature of tenure. Tenure cushions teachers against the need to fulfil a requirement of a profession -- to keep abreast of developments in the field. Teachers' professional associations also have an ambivalent role to play in teachers' lives. They do not, for example, regulate entry into the profession as other professional organisations do. Teacher associations, which operate more like unions, are self-seeking; their function to protect their members overrides any other function they may have.

Other, less rational factors which militate against the concept of teaching as a profession include the public's estimation, the source of its members and its feminisation. Teaching, compared with other professions is held in low public esteem, teachers are generally drawn from the upper lower-class and lower middle-class strata of the population (Purvis, 1973, p.52) and, according to figures from an Australian College of Education survey (1990), sixty percent of teachers are women.

Control over and power in schools is concentrated in many hands. Central or local authorities "technics not intellects" (Wallace, 1985, p.269), exercise control over the employment of teachers, their conditions of service and some aspects of the curriculum; and they are partly responsible for the patterns of bureaucratic control which continue in schools. Principals of schools legitimise this power. They establish the moral order within which power relations operate. King (1983) suggests that the ideology which legitimises the power relationships and informs school organisations is contained in the notion of community. Characteristics of a community include the establishment of relationships which are marked by loyalty and personal support of an intimate, affective, enduring and voluntary kind. Easthope refers to the Principal as "sovereign head". King (1983), referring to the rituals and ceremonies which attend the legitimising of the role of the Principal, describes it as one with religious overtones. Easthope (1975) also refers to the "hierarchical community" which characterises school organisation. The role of senior staff and their power to influence change has already been discussed. Ranking low in the hierarchy are teachers, but, as this study confirms, their

power can be quite formidable.

Embodied in the notion of power is the matter of consent. "Consent is a matter of power over power" (Common, 1984, p124). Common (1984) makes the point that the real power in schools is teacher-consent. Fullan (1982) states that "educational change depends on what teachers do and think -- it's as simple and as complex as that" (p.107). Most discussions of power in schools concentrate on that of Principals or Superintendents. Barnett (1984) takes a "bottom-up" perspective. "People continually alternate the roles of power-holder and power-subjects during their interactions" (p.43).

Lortie (1975) discusses power of teachers as it works in a collective sense, since, in his view, the isolated nature of teacher's classroom activities would appear to reduce the power of individual teachers. Willower's (1967) work suggests that this may not be so. Teachers become serious wielders of power as individuals according to their organisational position, pupil control, ideology and dogmatism (p.35). Barnett (1974), while maintaining the conventional view of power as the control one person has over another, discusses the concept of power by ascription. He describes the situation where a subordinate may have the resources of information, knowledge and skills which may be essential for the proper functioning of the superordinate (p.44). In this way a situation of power dependency arises, which gives the subordinate considerable power. Barnett (1984) refers to Verchota's study which found that a teacher has more power than the Principal over the departmental Head. By exercising certain strategies and manipulating situations, teachers have considerable and powerful influence also over Principals and administrators. Their capacity to exercise such power has implications for the fate of proposals for curriculum change. Acceptance by teachers of the desirability of the change is an essential element of its successful implementation.

The point has been made that the characteristics, personalities and conditions of teaching combined to make teachers reluctant agents for change. Teacher resistance to change, although believed by Crossley (1983) to be less important than once thought, cannot be dismissed as a major factor of educational change, since curriculum change impacts so directly on that area of schooling over which teachers exercise almost complete autonomy, classroom practice. This does not discount the fact that teachers do work as professionals; resistance to proposals for change does not necessarily signify incipient rebellion, deficiencies of personality or unprofessional attitudes. Such resistance may be founded on educational principles or personal integrity and so may be a positive feature of the phenomenon of educational change.

Zaltman, Duncan and Holbeck (1977) say that "resistance is a healthy phenomenon" (p.30) and point out two bases on which the resistance may be founded:

> It is important to distinguish between resistance whose premise is that the proposed change is the wrong solution to an acknowledged problem and resistance whose premise is that proposed change is irrelevant because

there is no corresponding problem" (p.30).

Resistance may lead eventually to lasting change, particularly when the change processes allow for the maintenance of the sense of community and a consciousness of the individual's self-esteem, competence and autonomy, processes that involve teachers as partners in the enterprise. While it is clear that proposals for change invoke uncertainty and threaten established norms, behaviours and beliefs, the processes, if properly handled, will mobilise the capacity and power of teachers in support of the change. The alternative course, which by-passes classroom teachers, exposes the enterprise to the capacity and power they have of jettisoning the proposal altogether as they mobilise and withdraw from the process. The balance of power-sharing in schools is fragile.

CHAPTER 9

SCHOOL COORDINATORS AS CHANGE AGENTS

As the conceptual framework of the study is developed, the view that curriculum change is cultural change continues to be emphasised. The processes of change are the processes of cultural transition and, while Bashi and Sass (1989) argue that change is not lasting or sustainable unless it becomes absorbed or assimilated by school culture, the researcher maintains that change is not lasting or sustainable unless school culture itself changes to accommodate the change. The history of curriculum change in schools records many unsuccessful attempts. Assimilation and absorption has been the objective of their implementation process rather than change to the deep structures of schooling.

The process of planned change has identifiable characteristics. One is that change is consciously and deliberately proposed; another is the involvement of change agents; a third is the translation of theory into practice by a modification of knowledge and patterns of practice; and the last is the human interaction and intervention in the change.

Caldwell (1987) summarises findings derived from survey data from 170 schools and a closer study of five, conducted by Miles et al. He writes of sixteen factors which can be extrapolated to encourage the successful implementation of change initiatives to influence school improvement. Some have already been discussed in this study as a result of the researcher's own findings. These include the Principal's role as leader of change (shown in this study to be less important than has been suggested elsewhere), the capacity of the school to manage school-based decisions regarding change projects, and, important to this study, the matter of "programme fit". Other factors include power sharing, vision, rewards for staff, control over the resources of staff and funding, staff willingness to change, supporting networks, evolutionary programme development, coping, good implementation, institutionalisation and organisational change.

Key factors were identified by Caldwell (1987, p.25). These have a particular bearing on what follows, since they are encapsulated in the anticipated roles that officially-appointed change agents (in this case, Coordinators) play in the implementation of curriculum change. Empowerment of staff (involving, for example, "bottom-up" involvement of departmentally based planning groups), support of initiatives and clear decisions by individuals (unmarred by subtle benevolent control) and assistance with problem-solving seem best to suit the disposition of the ideal Coordinator. Assistance with problem-solving covers the "coping" aspect of the implementation, and should be seen as a long-term task. It will involve the change agent in developing networks of support, both internal and external, tailored to the special needs of the school; it will also involve brokering and

imaginatively dealing with difficulties that will inevitably arise during the course of the implementation process.

This *implementation-dominant* model is appropriate for initiatives such as TVEI and HE because it focuses on the cultural and system characteristics of schools, on the interlocking of ideas and practices which are often resistant to change, and on an understanding of changing social systems; and on the difficulties of effecting change for all these reasons (Cameron, 1984, p.4). The researcher looked for evidence of this model in the roles and practices of Coordinators in the schools of the study, but found that the *adoption* model was dominant. The adoption model, called by Berman (1990) the *technological-experimental* paradigm, focuses on management matters, matters of prescription and processes that are replicable and testable in terms of success.The technological and commercial models of change promoted by writers such as Peters and Waterman (1983) and Peters and Austin (1987) have had a record of failure in schools. This was evidently the model favoured by the then Director-General of Education and encouraged in Tasmania in the late eighties; every Principal in the State was given a copy of Peters and Austin's *A Passion for Excellence* (1987). To draw on technological theories of management means an approach to changing people's beliefs and practices that

> ... requires the belief that one can create generalisable and easily diffused products that can be used in a great number of settings -- a doctrine of transferability (Aoki, 1984, p.110).

Something of this paradigm developed as the Research, Development, Diffusion and Adoption model was evident in the implementation process of the initiatives, contained in "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987); for this reason, as Guba comments, the implementation of this Tasmanian document's recommendations had the seeds of failure planted within it. Guba questioned also the suitability of the RDDA model for implementing curriculum change, suggesting that failures which could be attributed to it included

(1) Establishing unachievable aspirations
(2) Ignoring the idiosyncratic goals of individuals
(3) Changing program directions as a means of overcoming difficulties which arise from conditions (1) and (2)
(4) Overcentralising and overcontrolling programmes which have been assessed as failures (Aoki, 1984, p.111).

The model presumes that teachers are "instruments" to be used in the process of implementing curriculum change. As Carson (1983), Giroux (1984) and others maintain, application of the model disassociates teachers from the processes of change. By having little or no control over ends, as appeared to be the case at Hungerford, teachers had little or no capacity to devise more effective means for managing change.

> What is objectionable is the fact that viewing teachers instrumentally effectively strips them of the human-ness of their being, ... (Aoki, 1984, p.111).

Aoki also believes that Fullan's discussion of the "fidelity" model of implementation contains within it a view of teachers as mere instruments of change rather than as participators in all phases of the process. Thus implementation within the "fidelity" framework involves the following reductionist process.

> Doing curriculum implementation is installing curriculum X.
>
> The interest of the teacher is in placing curriculum X in a classroom or school faithfully and efficiently.
>
> The implied view of curriculum is that of a commodity to be dispensed by teachers and consumed by students.
>
> The implied view of the good teacher is one who installs curriculum X efficiently and faithfully.
>
> The implementer's subjectivity is irrelevant, as implementing curriculum X is seen as an objective process.
>
> The implied relationship between theory and practice underlying this view of implementation is one in which to implement is to put into practice curriculum-as-plan. (That is, to apply to a practical situation an ideal construct). (Aoki, 1984, p.112).

Musella (1989), in his study of a particular curriculum change, found evidence of failure of the RDDA model, which he reports in terms of managing the programme and the intervention of change agents

Management:

1. Teachers were not involved in the planning or goal-setting process.
2. The problems the changes were to solve were not clearly articulated, and there was no acknowledgement of there being a problem to begin with.
3. Information about the nature of the change was neither consistent nor clearly understood by those responsible for facilitating and implementing the change.
4. The resources available to assist in the implementation process were inadequate.
5. It was not clear what specific changes were expected, hence there was no way of knowing if the changes could be implemented.
6. What were presented as minor changes were, in fact, major changes in teacher role.
7. The timeline set for implementation was far from realistic. (p.95).

Work of Change Agents

1. The purpose is not made clear.
2. Those responsible for changing are not involved in the planning.
3. An appeal is based on personal reasons.
4. The social patterns of the work group are ignored.
5. There is poor communication regarding a change.
6. There is a fear of failure.
7. Excessive work pressure is involved.
8. The "cost" is too high, or the reward for making the change is seen as inadequate.
9. The current situation seems satisfactory.
10. There is a lack of respect for and trust in the change initiator. (p.96).

An alternative to RDDA is a model of "implementation as praxis" (Aoki, 1986, p.113). This focuses on the communal condition of people and the "irreducible transcendence of the human person with respect to the current of social life" (p.114). Such a focus avoids the tendency to reduce people to the level

of instruments and suggests that implementation of curriculum within a communal situation "may be seen as a dialectical relationship among teachers, students and the curriculum change" (p.114). Fullan calls this "mutual adaptation".

The preliminary study at Hungerford, when the change involved the implementation of "Secondary Education: The Future", found that teachers were removed from a role that would have engaged them in the curriculum change. There was no opportunity for reflection or action, as praxis requires, given the absence of professional development programmes designed to support the implementation of the recommended changes; and there was no close attention given to the desirability of involving teachers intimately in the process.

Lippitt (1978) writes about the Coordinators' role in manipulating situations and circumstances; Argyris (1973) talks about controlling the conditions or creating the conditions for controlling and manipulating process or content; Dennison and Kelly (1989) however, suggest that the Coordinator must manage situations and circumstances which are outside their control. Schein (1983) discusses the phases of implementation involving the change agent -- gaining acceptance, helping the change and terminating the relationship when the change is in place. Havelock (1973) says that a change agent should be a catalyst, a solution giver, a process helper, a resource linker, a programme facilitator and a problem-solving enabler.

As described in advertisements for the Coordinators' positions for South Central and Taylor, the primary tasks of the change agent were to be technical and managerial. These were to coordinate liaison with personnel within the consortium, to coordinate the monitoring of student progress and the compilation of statistics for records, to coordinate work and residential experience (Taylor), to assist the Deputy with the implementation of the programme, to assist with career-counselling and guidance supervision and to assist the monitoring and evaluation of the programme. Caldwell's criteria were ignored, as were requirements such as those recommended by Argyris (1973). For Argyris, the change agents' tasks (within the framework of the organisation's objectives to achieve its goals and, maintain the internal environment and maintain the external environment) are to generate valid information, create opportunities for informed and free choice and to foster internal commitment to the choice (Argyris, 1973, p.31).

> The professional change agent has responsibility for initiating, designing and implementing change efforts that hopefully, will change individuals, group and organisational, or community performance or behaviour. This often involves manipulation of others so as to cause them to change in one direction or another. ... "Manipulate" here means the act of arranging conditions so that change in a certain direction may or will take place (p.1).

In support, Mintzberg (1973) refers to the elements of change agents' roles as

informational, interpersonal and decisional.

As has been discussed, neither TVEI nor HE fitted within the existing framework of curriculum mainly because of the affective nature of their content. There is an expectation that planning for the introduction of initiatives which are different from the usual, would differ from planning to introduce a subject that fits into traditional patterns. The tasks of the Coordinators in this study however, appear to match tasks of agents for changes which can be fitted into the usual routines: in other words, the tasks are calculated to maintain equilibrium and the organisation's usual level of competency. Because the initiatives are so different from subjects within the traditional curriculum, their implementation required change agents whose task would effect change in some aspect of the organisation's operations. As Cameron (1984) notes, such tasks require the change agents to develop a certain awareness in the individuals within the school, within groups and at the organisational level. The change agent encourages individuals to have confidence in their abilities to manage change, and to participate in the management of change. The change agent encourages the group to share responsibility for the change, to maintain a healthy view of the change through evaluation and to have confidence in the group's capacity to manage the change. The change agent encourages others to accept that the organisation can accommodate the change by solving problems and taking responsibility for what it does, by evaluating group processes and concentrating on successes. Concomitant with establishing the conditions within the school that favour change, the change agent has to make periodical assessments of the discrepancies that exist between the goals of the change initiatives and the school's organisational capacity (in terms of norms, practice and group collaboration) to institutionalise it. These tasks appear to be essential for establishing the most suitable conditions for major change within schools. It became clear as the study proceeded that in the schools of the study, not only were these conditions overlooked, but the tasks of the change agent had never been clearly defined and were often ambiguous.

The proposition to be tested in this chapter arises from the foregoing discussion.

Proposition

Successful implementation requires change agents with a mastery of the initiatives which includes theoretical knowledge as well as a capacity for problem solving.

In the five schools, the decisions to go ahead with the initiatives, whether voluntarily or compulsorily, were made at senior management level. Teachers were not involved in the decision to put the initiative in place. In all the schools, one member of the senior staff team, usually at Deputy Principal level, was given responsibility for the overview of the initiative. The task involved

this person more in management matters than in ways that might directly influence curriculum. Thus the senior person became concerned with timetabling and the provision and management of the relief schedules, but not with attempting to change the values and assumptions teachers have about teaching. In each school too, the Principal played a facilitating role in that the Principal accepted the initiative into the school and acquiesced to the processes of implementation.

In each school, one person was identified and invited to carry out the task of implementing the initiatives. Tasks for the Coordinators were common across the schools. The initiatives were seen to need the support of specially-appointed individuals. In keeping with the "adoption model" of implementation, there appeared to be a tacit acceptance that the initiatives were curriculum "extras" and therefore needed to be introduced in ways that were least disturbing. Thus, for example, in South Central and City the tasks of the Coordinators appeared to be those of resource-arranger who ensures the availability of resources, information-linker who clarifies information, technical-assister who attempts to overcome the difficulties of a particular problem and educator/capacity-builder who helps the school to cope with foreseen problems. As the change agents said of themselves:

I get their ideas and I make their work easier (SC24).

That's one of the things with these sorts of courses. The teachers have their other teaching responsibilities so you have to make sure it's fairly well organised and doesn't take too much of their time. They decide what resources they need. They don't want to go chasing around (C48).

Teachers haven't had to sit down before each lesson and worry about what they're going to do (C47).

I make it as easy as possible for those (teachers) who have to do it (SC23).

As the teachers said of the change agents:

The Coordinator and the Deputy did all the work (T36).

We drop in and take stuff from her baskets (F64).

Our Coordinator supplies the material (H94).

Teachers are overworked -- the Coordinator must provide materials (H91).

The Coordinator doesn't give us enough advice. He doesn't know what's going on. There's duplication of materials (H87).

These comments suggest that teachers were only loosely involved in the process of implementation. Because of the lack of involvement on the part of staff, and because the Coordinators appeared to succeed in a major function, that of introducing the initiative to the school with as little pain as possible, the impact of the change on schools was reduced. The "adoption model" chosen for

the implementaion of the initiatives, with its emphasis on management and minimal disruption to teaching practices and to school organisation, had no capacity to effect the lasting change that the initiatives promised.

A survey of Coordinators taken by Black et al. (1988) supports the findings of this study. Black's (1988) results showed that three percent of respondents saw their task as decision-making, twenty-three per cent saw their task as facilitating the change, sixteen percent as administering and three percent were engaged in other activities.

What follows is a summary of change agents' activities set within the organisational constructs of their school.

WORK LOAD

It is hardly necessary to point out that the people charged with the responsibility of implementing the change must also be granted sufficient time to do the work. It is simply unrealistic to imagine that the tasks and the contacts required can be fitted into spare moments in a teacher's day. In all cases Coordinators had been allocated only a part-time commitment to TVEI or HE. A common response by Coordinators to the question of support for implementation followed this pattern:

> *My management of HE was fitted in (H94).*

This was a matter of considerable concern to them, given the nature of their responsibilities.

SELECTION AND STATUS

The selection of the Coordinators is an interesting aspect of the study. The Coordinator at South Central justifies his selection thus:

> *I am not an educator. My training is in management and counselling (SC 24).*

It is clear that the success of a programme depends on the acceptability of the change agent to the staff. In the case of South Central there was resistance to the appointment of the Coordinator based on personal dislike:

> *R. won't have anything to do with it because of its inception.* (The scheme was promoted by the Deputy Principal, since left the school, who supported it, reputably, as a means of improving his curriculum vitae). *R. is not keen on D. (the Coordinator) either.*

Other staff at South Central responded similarly:

> *The TVEI Coordinator was not very acceptable (SC15).*

This supports Dennison and Kelly (1989) when they comment that teachers often resent or have reservations about the appointment of the Coordinator. In the case of South Central's appointment, only staff on Scale D salaries were eligible to apply for the position of TVEI Coordinator. At Taylor, the selection of Coordinator was made mainly because of the successful

applicant's subject orientation -- Business Studies. At Hungerford and City, where early aspects of the HE programme had been incorporated for years in the Science faculty, the selection of the Coordinators was made from the ranks of the Science teachers; in these schools, the position was later confirmed by promotion, possibly not on merit, but on experience. At Fortuna, the only school where the Coordinator spoke of problems from senior staff, no increased status or salary went with the appointment. Fortuna based their selection of a Coordinator on judgments made about the affective aspects of the programme rather than, as was the case at Hungerford and City, subject specialisation. Of the selections, that of Fortuna seemed best to reflect the spirit of the curriculum initiatives.

Each school appointed a member of the teaching team to act as Coordinator. In all the schools except Fortuna, these people were given recognition: their positions were upgraded -- to that of Head Teacher in the case of Tasmania, or attracting a higher level of incentive allowance in England. This did not happen in the case of Fortuna's Coordinator which goes some little way to explain why, at Fortuna, HE remained relatively unchallenging to the existing subject status and examinations. Generally, the task of the Coordinators was recognised as one deserving of status.

The creation of new posts had an effect on school management in that the incumbent was in a position to influence decisions at senior management level. This was important, since it allowed inter-departmental collaboration and an overview of the school and made it theoretically possible for the change agent to cause colleagues to see the initiatives as an integral part of the curriculum rather than as a separate element of it or an "add on". The fact that at South Central, the position was advertised at a level to which only those already on Scale D could apply, suggests the importance given the position by school management.

Raised status was perceived to give "clout", enabling the co-ordinator to tell a head of department what to do (Black, 1988, p.20).

> *B is on scale E. Every week he reports to senior management so there is good internal communication and he has clout (SC 24).*

> *Heads wanted consortium Coordinator at deputy head level ... CDT should have been given high status too, because of weakness in schools. Needed clout to work through and over existing teachers (SC 24).*

> *F came from existing high level of responsibility. That clout was needed not just to develop awareness and involvement in the school, but to negotiate in the consortium (SC 26).*

While their enhanced position appeared to have facilitated the work of the change agents, there were difficulties of role conflicts. At Taylor, for example there was conflict between the Head of Science and the TVEI Coordinator. At Hungerford:

> *The VP didn't understand the programme. I had the consensus of the staff but the VP had a different view (H91).*

One of the unintended outcomes of TVEI and HE was that opportunities for promotion became available to people who were less likely to reach substantive positions, according to traditional promotion patterns.

> *TVEI was good for Business Studies. It gave status to the subject. It used to be looked on as a "training" subject (T33).*

With status came position power and access to information and personnel important for the work of the people concerned, which had the effect of enhancing their credibility with others.

> *The Coordinator has more credibility if managing the programme from day to day (SC29).*

PERCEPTIONS OF THE TASK

In discussion with the Coordinators and from observation, it was clear that their perception of their duties fell into five main categories:

- the planning and day-to-day management of the programme;
- information giving and proselytising;
- being a link person;
- taking a role in curriculum development including professional development; and
- monitoring development for the state or consortium team.

As has already been mentioned, one of the principal tasks of the Coordinators in each of the schools was concerned with the responsibility of preparing and allocating resources to teachers. *"The modules are accompanied by sheets passed out in the morning" (SC16).* Because these were understood by teachers to be the Coordinator's main contribution to the programme, they were also the main target of discussion and criticism. The resources were generally seen by teachers as inappropriate.

> *Most of it is print material and is no good for Bengalis (SC9).*

> *There's lots of bumf to get through (SC11).*

> *Materials need to be changed to suit the school -- they are inappropriate for multicultural mixed ability groups (SC17).*

> *It's pen and pencil mainly (SC16).*

Although teachers at Taylor appeared to take a greater role in the preparation of TVEI materials for their teaching, given that TVEI modules were incorporated into "normal" teaching schedules (T35), there was an expectation that the change agents, in taking responsibility for planning and resourcing the programme, would also take responsibility for remedying areas of deficiency. Very little more appeared to be expected of the them.

While South Central was concerned with the *kind* of resources offered, Hungerford was conscious of the *lack* of resource support for different groups of students. More than is the case with TVEI, aspects of the HE programme call on different kinds of resources for students at different stages of maturity. In all

cases however, dissatisfaction was felt because of the absence of audio-visual resources and the lack of provision for out-of-school visits and visits to schools by the legion of people who could give support to such programmes. It is clear that the provision of resources did not match the intention of the programmes.

At South Central there seemed not to be any encouragement for teachers to modify the material made available by the Coordinator; and there as elsewhere there were comments indicating that teachers were not, by any means, "owning the change".

> *There is a kind of overlay -- an extra layer of subject upon your subject specialisation and, therefore, it's superfluous (SC12).*

> *I resent having HE programme being yet another thing we have to cover. It's another call on our time. We're busy teachers (H87).*

The Coordinators controlled the implementation process and, in effect ran the programmes in much the way that Heads of Department ran their subject departments.

> *I was really running a department (SC23).*

But there was one significant difference. The "professionalism" teachers bring to the teaching of their subject-specialisation in terms of course-content, preparation and management of their teaching is absent. With TVEI and HE, few teachers bring to the classroom the same confidence, commitment or expertise they have in their special subject. This confirms Pusey's (1976) significant view that, in this case at least, "The classroom teacher has very little direct responsibility for the curriculum" (p.59).

The issue of shared planning, or implementation by consensus, could be expected to work in the favour of change agents at the level of Coordinator as described in this study. The flattening of management hierarchies, by drawing Coordinators from the ranks of teachers, should allow the culture of teaching to predominate over that of administration, and so should assure the cooperation of teachers. Teachers strongly endorse the issue of increasing their influence through structured participation in school decision-making (Corcoran, 1990, p.157). But in the case of these initiatives, such an increase in influence was denied to the teachers who had been appointed as the main change agents by the roles and tasks ascribed to them and by their dearth of training as effective change agents. As Gross (1979) comments:

> Individuals who manage educational innovations generally receive little or no preparation for their challenging assignments and few have previously served in these demanding roles. They attempt to carry out their responsibilities and cope with their managerial tasks as best they can, leaning heavily on intuition, previous work-experience and 'common sense' (p.20).

Gross (1979) states that processes of change are marked by *ad hoc* decisions and an absence of any systematic planning about what is to be done or any systematic change strategy.

> They mismanage the process as much because of the way they have conceptualised it and their identification of the external and internal circumstances which may direct them towards the targets of change (p.20).

Gross (1979) adds emphasis by pointing out that most innovations in the American school system are introduced on a "crash basis" (p. 20), leaving the people with the task of managing them short on time and expertise. Experience with TVEI suggests a similar tendency to precipitate implementation with similar consequences. In Britain, schools interested in trialling TVEI were given ten days to submit their bids. Local Education Authorities had not the time to put such services as consultants and resource support in place before the project was underway in schools. As a result, Taylor experienced early implementation difficulties.

Little mention is made in the literature of unsuccessful innovations, but Gross (1989) and Fullan (1982) discuss some. In each case, one of the reasons for failure was the inept management of the programme by change agents; for example, change agents did not take into account obstacles which, in many cases should have been anticipated. In this study, similar ineptitudes appear. At South Central, little account was taken of the strong antagonism to the innovation expressed by the staff on the grounds that it was a politically directed programme and insincere, or at best, unrealistic in its claim to serve the interests of students. No one could have anticipated some other problems encountered by TVEI (the political uproar over rate-capping and the poll tax for example), and in both countries, efforts to secure better teaching conditions for teachers and teaching. From the discussions with Coordinators and as an outcome of attendance at meetings called by the Coordinator at Hungerford, the researcher concluded that at least some of the Coordinators had little knowledge of the curriculum initiative they had been given the task to implement. The root cause of this lack of informed understanding must be traced back, of course, to the management of professional development and the failure of external agencies to ensure a staff (and school) commitment to the change.

In the early stages of the process of implementation and in the face of the suspicion and cynicism they encountered from their fellow-teachers, the Coordinators pressed on with the task, taking refuge in the administrative aspects of the task. Helping teachers by preparing and distributing resources, they neglected the processes aimed at changing attitudes and values, beliefs and practices. There was also evidence that some Coordinators lacked, in their own teaching repertoires, the instructional skills required by the initiatives.

Curriculum change requires teachers to modify their roles. Such modification is directed by a plethora of influences which include interpersonal and organisational factors. These factors, some of which were discussed earlier, are drawn together here, by reference to Katz and Kahn's (1978) theoretical model of factors involved in the taking of organisational roles.

The model, with its "organisational factors" component, makes an important link between the influence of a societal function (in this case school organisation) on behaviour (of teachers) and (their) expectations. The organisational factors have within them certain hierarchies of position and status which have a specific function to perform. "Roles become an enactment by an individual of part of the social structure". Thus are drawn together, quite properly, the social world and the world of self, under the umbrellas of structural-functionalist and symbolic-interactionist perspectives (Knowles, 1982, p.6).

In a sense, role theory links the world of the individual and the world of society, bringing to the interdependency a fine interaction, of the kind described by Cicourel. Although more concerned with interaction than with roles, Cicourel sees people as possessing such a shared understanding of the social world that their interpretations of information, utterances, and norms reflect this understanding (Knowles, 1982, p.8). What one should expect to emerge then, from a study of interaction arising from proposals for curriculum change is a "common scheme of reference" and a "reciprocity of perspectives", which would confirm the very attitudes, behaviours, norms, beliefs and values that the educational reforms are attempting to change or modify.

Guskin and Guskin addressed the issues thus:

> ... the adoption of an educational innovation is affected both by the nature of the school as an organisation and by the individual's own behaviour pattern. Teachers, like other role encumbents, will tend to resist changes in their accustomed roles unless there are concomitant changes in the role expectations and regulations governing their behaviour (Spector, 1984,p.44).

In each school of the study there was evidence of conditions in place to support the initiatives. These included support from the management team and high levels of funding which enabled their attendance at meetings of consortia members and consultants, or their involvement in "Train-the-Trainers" sessions operating in Tasmania. There was support from within the staff, in the case of Fortuna and Taylor in particular, and support from external agencies. It was also clear that the Coordinators, regardless of how they came to occupy their positions and regardless of the amount of training they received to carry out their tasks, were given encouragement to undertake them and were furnished with some appreciation of what was required.

> *Involvement in curriculum change means that people have to work and own the change. For some the way of teaching may be threatening -- pastoral programmes are active learning -- certain elements are threatening, like the non-content modules which are pure process(SC23).*

> *I've always been a curriculum developer. One of the things I'm good at is getting people to work (SC25).*

A statement by Hungerford"s Coordinator, when asked to comment on the success of HE, throws into relief some of the obstacles faced by the change agents

which served to diminish chances for successful implementation.

> *The value atmosphere hasn't changed. The programme (HE) is a dismal failure .. Behaviour is worse; selfish and miserable. ... Pressures from home, the media and different stages of student maturity are influential (reasons) (H91).*

Six categories of challenge to change agents emerged as recurring themes throughout the study. These were:

- teacher capacity and overload,
- additional demands on school personnel,
- time,
- the school's organisational climate,
- communication difficulties and
- the presence of conflicting educational goals.

The barriers to change ranged from the management of the change (with easily identifiable difficulties to do with time, the allocation of space and staff to the programme) to the cultural problems which derived from goal conflicts, and which appear not to have been well understood by the change agents.

Management issues, such as time, space and staff, appear to be less difficult to manoeuvre in support of the initiatives than are the cultural issues. However, the management issues are the organisational manifestations of what school communities think and believe about their schools. That the change agents were not assisted in their task by significant management changes indicates that the culture of the schools was not affected by the initiatives.

Popkewitz (1983) investigates the resilience of institutional patterns and concludes that reform can be a symbolic act that can conserve rather than change existing patterns. He suggests that change agents provide a rhetoric of progress (p.8). The fact that the change agents were appointed from within the school suggests one reason for the difficulty these people had. They were operating within the patterns established by dominant interests. They became, as Handy (1985) comments, a part of the school's task culture. They were required to take on certain roles, not created by themselves or by those whose beliefs and practices they were to modify, but by bureaucratic procedures firmly entrenched. It seems to have been a matter of administrative expediency that these positions were created and, in terms of an organisation's sub-conscious, an attempt to gain and maintain control over the direction of implementation. The role of power relationships appear not to have changed in the schools of the study, despite the elevation of these teachers. There is no evidence to suggest that the school's hierarchical structures changed to accommodate the role of the change agent. Meyer and Rowan (1978) suggest that schools maintain a schooling rule which accords with the expectations society has of them, and which is the sum total of all the ritualistic requirements.

Schein (1985) also maintains that much of what appears to be change is surface ritual rather than fundamental structural adaptation. Relatively easy to change for one reason, management practices are similarly easy to change

again. Unless the culture that has put them in place undergoes radical change, changes to management issues will revert to their original configuration. As manifestations of the school's culture, they are indicators of the school's "mind set". The impression gained by the researcher is that the difficulties experienced by change agents, in carrying out their tasks effectively, lie with that quality of culture referred to by Schein (1985). Schein points out that cultural understandings shared by groups to make sense of their environments are tacit. They are self-evident and therefore rarely debated. "The tacit quality of culture gives it its force" (Metz, 1989.p.207). Metz (1989) also maintains that

> Change in the culture will be effected by the way in which the existing culture filters the meaning of the group's continuing or new experiences (p.207).

The researcher concludes that the Coordinators were preoccupied with first order or surface changes to the curriculum in their schools. Activities based principally on resourcing teachers (by providing materials, extra staff, time for attendance at seminars etc.) did not offer opportunities for cultural redefinition of the group. Such redefinition would involve an understanding of the work roles which comprise team interaction and through which the team might realise organisational goals. Members of groups change their beliefs and assumptions as they solve problems which arise within their environments repeatedly and reliably over time (Schein, 1985).

The expectation that the appointed change agents would assist the schools to modify their beliefs and practices by increasing the group's capacity for problem-solving, by improving communication patterns and by increasing confidence between group members was not realised in the case of either TVEI or HE. The model of implementation had first order or surface changes as its priority of adoption and assimilation, whereas an appreciation of the need for second order or deep change was required if the implementation of either initiative was to have the effect of reform to schooling.

The Coordinators of this study did not give teachers a role to play in the management of the change. As Fullan (1983) found in his study, where teachers have the opportunity to interact, the pain of change is reduced. Where such interaction takes place, it is more likely that teachers will make more of the professional development and other opportunities for support which may be offered to them (p.122).

CHAPTER 10

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND SYSTEM SUPPORT:

In the literature on organisational change, two kinds of planned change are identified. One is "the adoption model" -- the deliberate effort to introduce specific changes into an organisation. The other model of planned change is to develop within an organisation its own capacity to effect change, without reference to a specific initiative (Cameron, 1984, p.2). The implementation of HE and TVEI is concerned with the adoption of innovation and follows a path reminiscent of earlier adoption models operating within a technological paradigm, by which externally mandated initiatives for educational change were planned for schools. Practice of the adoption model involves the provision of funding to stimulate adoption, the demonstration of projects to show the innovation at its most exemplary (e.g. Pilot schools, of which Taylor was one) and establishing validating practices (visits to schools within the consortia to exemplify these practices, consortia newsletters, agency-funded and -published evaluation projects) (Berman,1990, p.260). The model implies a view that schools are uniform and that the innovations are replicable, in terms of their anticipated success, across a school system. That the model failed to account for the environmental and cultural factors that affect schools' organisation has been offered as a reason for the ineffectiveness of many of the innovations planned for schools at system level during the sixties and seventies (Berman, 1990).

This chapter discusses the role of planned professional development programmes as an essential component of curriculum change in schools. The chapter reviews teachers' expectations and opinions of the programmes. Reference is made to the structure of the programmes, to their content and to their outcomes. The context in which the programmes took place is also discussed as having considerable bearing on the outcomes of planning. The chapter concludes with a summary of the contextual factors affecting professional development programmes.

INTRODUCTION:

In discussing the influence of professional development programmes on the change process, it is important to keep in mind the distinction between initiatives that require a review or an update of methods or an initiative that requires a mastery of new skills and methods and new teaching repertoires. Joyce and Showers (1981) assert that, where major pedagogical changes are required, carefully planned in-service programmes are essential.

As Clark and Astuto (1984) state, professional development viewed as a process rather than an event is an essential element of successful curriculum change (p.87). Professional development operates as specific staff-training

activities, followed up by on-going support which will include opportunities for regular meetings and interactions between all members of staff involved with the change, at all levels.

Professional development is, for this study, accepted as being synonymous with the In-service Education (INSET) and staff development. It is

> any systematic attempt to alter the professional practices, beliefs and understandings of school persons towards an articulated end (Purkey and Smith, 1985, p.381).

Levine (1991) discusses issues of school effectiveness in his summary of the findings from research and practice which encourages the reform of schooling. He reviews the guidelines which are believed to enhance the effectiveness of schools. Management and organisational issues which give support to professional development activities are found to be very important, particularly where they focus on classroom management and instruction. For example:

> Improvement goals must be sharply focused to avoid overloading teachers and schools.
>
> Effective school programmes should be 'data-driven' in the sense that appropriate information should be collected and used to guide participants in preparing and carrying out plans for improvement (p.391).
>
> Substantial staff development time must be provided for participating faculties, at least part of this time during the regular teacher work day.
>
> Faculties engaged in effective schools projects must not wait very long before beginning to address issues involving the improvement of instruction (p.390).

Conners' (1991) study reveals that the most valuable professional development programmes are those that take place within the school:

> The value attached to school-based in-service activities supports the argument that school is the most effective unit for change; and that effective professional development will not occur if people are isolated from their every day work environment (p.77).

Conners (1981) discusses four paradigms for teacher development:

. the "deficiency" or "defect" approach, which emphasises obsolescence (of teachers' knowledge and skills) and inefficiency;

. the teacher-growth approach, where the teacher initiates his or her own involvement in programmes;

. the problem-solving approach, which requires the involvement of teachers in issues of difficulty with a collaborative intention of resolving them.

. an approach that derives from the view teachers have that change is an integral aspect of teaching and learning as society changes, and that schools will adjust almost automatically to these changes.

The professional development programmes planned for the implementation of TVEI and HE were designed to effect changes in the way teachers think about and teach the components of the courses. From the

minutes of consortia and cluster meetings and from discussion with teachers, a profile of the professional development programmes emerged and planned components of the programmes could be identified. Teachers were introduced to the theory behind the initiatives through lectures, films and class or group discussions. Workshop sessions were conducted which allowed the participants to see modelling of some of the strategies recommended. In the case of in-house programmes, opportunities were given for teachers to present and comment on strategies that worked for them. One component that was not in evidence was classroom-based activity involving peer- and consultant-involvement in coaching the classroom teacher. While some attention was given each component of the programmes, perhaps the one best done was the theory component. This observation is supported by teachers' statements that there was little follow up to or feedback from the introductory sessions.

In investigating the content, it is necessary to consider the complexities of planning such programmes. The first concerns the issue of teaching teachers how to learn. What are generally perceived to be the difficulties faced when trying to accommodate the different learning styles manifested by teachers are compounded in this case by the concomitant role of the change agents in the implementation process.

Planning for professional development necessarily involves a view of teachers as learners. Three concepts are readily available from the literature. Johnson (1985) identifies the image of the teacher as a "rational adopter", one who is persuaded to change by the power of the information presented. A second image, and one favoured by Joyce and Showers (1981) as coming closest to the model of teacher as learner, is of the teachers as "passive consumer"or "stone age obstructionist" or "powerless functionary" who has little capacity or inclination to change. If the first image is the one most often used to drive professional development programmes, the following comes closest to showing what this study suggests the kind of learners teachers really are. Johnson (1985) describes them as "pragmatic skeptics" who are guided by the practicality ethic. If the change proposed is practical in that it caters for the complexities of classroom management, it matches the beliefs held and current practices of the teacher, and it yields outcomes commensurate with effort, then it has some chance of succeeding.

Complicating the task for programme planners and seminar leaders is the matter of teachers' cognitive levels. Teachers with high cognitive levels are more likely to be reflective of practice and more open to employing new strategies. Teachers with lower cognitive levels tend to be less likely to be innovative in classroom practice, as studies conducted by Hunt and Joyce show (Johnson, 1985). Another complication is the matter of teachers' personality constructs and the link between personality and experience which allows a person to translate meaning from one circumstance in constructing meaning in another. Rokeach's work, dealing with factors of teachers' personalities and their capacity to manage change has already been discussed.

The discussion about teachers as learners implies that there are particular conditions conducive to learning. An understanding of these conditions and the nature of the teacher as learner influenced the researcher's investigation.

Of importance to the schools of the study is another issue of teacher development. It focuses on the whole process of change having been directed from outside the institutions that are required to change. As Fullan (1972) comments and as Chapter 9 found, when innovations and the processes for change linked to them are developed externally to the school, the innovation itself assumes an "artificial priority", and the consumers of the innovation become passive in their acceptance of it. Their acceptance, however, entitles them to the information, training and support that will empower them to "deliver the goods" competently. Fullan believes that change, imposed on schools in this way, is rarely successful (p.15). Such change follows the pattern of administration -- ideas, funding, and the processes of adoption.

As has been previously noted, the "adoption" model fails to account for the complexities associated with major curriculum change. Such complexities, as Miles (1964) discusses, include boundary maintenance operations, size and territoriality, physical facilities, the use of time, instructional methods, expectations of the roles of staff and the school's ethos (p.16), aspects of which will be discussed in this chapter.

As discussed in Chapter 6, data analysis in ethnography allows for the statement of propositions to emerge. These propositions are grounded in the data, and are formulated (following Glaser and Strauss (1967)) by means of a four-step process, known as the constant comparative method.

Study of the data collected in the field enables categories, properties and hypotheses about the phenomena to be generated; incidents applicable to each category, property or hypothesis can be compared; categories and properties can be integrated and grounded theory developed as propositions in explanation of the phenomenon. Glaser and Strauss (1967) also discuss the matter of "saturation", the point at which, categories and the properties of the problem having continued to recur, the researcher can be confident that those properties and categories will emerge for the duration of the investigation. The data collected in this study provided the grounds for propositions concerning professional development, seen as a critical component in the process of curriculum change.

Proposition

The professional development programme should have articulated goals and focus as much on problem-solving as on developing a systematic strategy which fits the initiative.

In the five schools, respondents believed in the potential efficacy of professional development programmes for the implementation of planned change.

Professional development is very important ...(C53).

We need more evidence of "good practice" (T30).

...most definitely ... I've stressed the fact that I don't feel confident to take on a (HE) course at present without training and I've been assured that will happen (C40).

Also without exception, each school produced respondents who expressed the view that the support programmes available to them were quite inadequate:

It was very badly organised ... lots of bad feeling -- there was no supply staff (T34).

We had no INSET support (SC16).

We need more (SC16).

It's always desirable, but with so many people involved it's difficult to organise ((C42).

There's not enough -- we need to prioritise programmes (C43).

Many staff do not know what's going on because professional development is directed more towards the individuals than to the whole staff (H71).

We're keen to do more. We need more (F64).

Involvement in curriculum change means that people have to work and own the change -- for some the [new] way of teaching may be a challenge. Pastoral programmes is "active learning". But certain elements are threatening -- staff had very little knowledge -- the new initiative (TVEI) was foisted on us (SC28).

The last of these statements raises the issues mentioned above: the kind of professional development available and the direction of the change from outside the school.

There is an understanding on the part of teachers that the initiatives demand some modification to current thinking as well as to current practices. They also discern that, as Gross (1971) suggests, in-service programmes concentrate on the specific initiative, and do not contain any intention to empower teachers with a capacity to effect change regardless of the initiative. For both TVEI and HE the system support is, in effect, related to the outcomes of change rather than to the processes of changing. While professional development programmes may be designed to serve three purposes (to effect compliance, remediate deficiencies, and to strengthen and enrich existing knowledge and skills), the programmes serving the initiatives of the study seemed merely to seek compliance and remediate teachers' deficiencies.

In maintaining the "adoption perspective", the model of change observed in the schools of the study can be described as the "deficiency" model (Sergiovanni & Moore, 1989, p.239), which is based on the view that teachers lack the knowledge and skills to implement the initiative and are in need of remediation. It implies that they should therefore engage in after-school or

day-release activities to become "inserviced". This situation is lamented by Barth (1989).

> When a school or a school system deliberately sets out to foster new skills by committing everyone to required workshops, little usually happens, except that everyone feels virtuous at having gone through the motions (Sergiovanni & Moore, 1989, p.239).

Purkey and Smith (1985) also comment on the "deficiency" model of professional development, noting a distinction between it, the old model, and the new, in which remediation gives way to a situation where "school staffs can collaboratively identify and solve their school's problems" (p.381). While each of the study's schools' approach to professional development is difficult to identify, given their varying perspectives of change, growth and problem-solving, an overall impression is that they have not identified the real problems raised by the initiatives, and so are not on the road to solving them.

The understanding of teachers regarding the professional development programmes put in place for them and their attitudes to the proposals for change suggest that it was the "deficiency" model which operated, which did not satisfy them but for which they saw no alternative. This attitude to professional development accords with Conners' (1991) findings (in a study of teachers' expectations from professional development programmes) that the most highly-rated objectives for both men and women were:

> To become acquainted with the latest developments in my fields of teaching [and]
> To obtain curriculum content that I can readily adapt into my present teaching practices (p.67).

Although most comments recorded in the Minutes of Coordinators' meetings relate to management difficulties or matters of inconvenience in implementing the curriculum change, some reflect the difficulties of planning for professional development. Teachers are faced with countervailing forces. When offered the opportunity for time out for professional development, they must choose between improving their own knowledge and skills and, as they perceive it, the fulfilment of their teaching responsibilities; at the same time, they are beset by loyalties, sometimes in apparent conflict, to their subject department and to the school, to their students and to their colleagues or, in other words, "by [dual] dispositions towards conservatism or experimentation in matters of curriculum and instruction" (Little, 1990, p.191). These extracts from interviews indicate these ambiguities:

> *It's OK, if there's time (T31).*

> *It's very important but it can create other problems because of what happens when one is away (C53).*

> *I had no training for HE having missed a seminar because of the demands of Drama (C55).*

In preparing for professional development support for the curriculum initiatives, planners in both England and Tasmania spent much time on the

organisational and managerial matters of curriculum change. They seem to have neglected to consider that the need for support lay more in the change itself than in its implementation. Teachers' orientations towards or away from change depend on the assumptions that inform their teaching and the values that are tested at the point of change. To justify the changes, it is primarily their set of values which decides that different actions and interpretations are really more important than those previously, perhaps preciously, held.

Interviews and document analysis in this research indicated that three aspects of the planning for professional development should be examined. These are the context, the management and the financial provisions.

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

As detailed earlier, at the time the initiatives of HE and TVEI were planned, the external environment -- social, political and economic -- was turbulent. Schooling, along with the rest of society's elements, felt the effects of the turbulence.

Teachers and Coordinators found that the industrial activities of teacher unions in both England and Tasmania were factors in the availability of professional development. With the exception of Fortuna and Taylor, both independent of government policy, attendance at courses outside of and even within school hours was severely hampered. Union strictures had the effect of indicating whether the limited opportunities offered to schools for staff development could in fact be taken up. As well, and despite a generous provision for it, the supply of relief staff was not adequate to cover the relief requirements for teachers wishing to attend available courses. In England, CPVE, planning for the GCSE and the National Curriculum overlapped with planning for TVEI; similarly in Tasmania, the revision of Schools Board syllabuses was concurrent with planning for HE. Expectations of syllabus-writing committees and their attendance at information and training sessions had the effect of overloading teachers. Reduced student populations and consequent lack of opportunities for promotion, public condemnation of schooling and conflicting educational expectations of schools by the community were factors that added to the decline in teacher morale in both England and Tasmania.

In England, the poll tax and rate capping brought the future of TVEI into question. Rate capping meant that the employment of teachers able to continue the TVEI initiatives was very much in the hands of Boards of Governors and LEAs. In Tasmania, budget restrictions on all government departments meant the loss of five hundred teachers from a teaching force of only five thousand, bringing with it, for those that remained, the uncertainties and professional decline that attend on such drastic measures. As organisations become places of low morale, conservatism, poor planning and resistance to change (Cameron & Chaffee, 1987, p.223), then it can be expected that "[they shift] focus to internal efficiency concerns rather than emphasising innovation, or more generally effectiveness" (Nottenburg, 1982, p.255). It is paradoxical that dramatic changes

in teaching, as required by the initiatives, were being expected at such a time. The climate was one which would certainly militate against the intentions of the best-planned professional development.

MANAGEMENT:

From interviews and conversations with teachers, from a review of consortium documents, consultancies' plans and cabinet submissions there emerges a clear belief that an essential part of the whole process of the implementation of curriculum change is the training and preparation of teachers concerned with the change. As France (1990) points out, successful professional programmes accompanying curriculum change include the following features:

> Clear perceptions of programme goals and adult learning processes.
>
> Strategies to strengthen individual and group commitment to work related problem solving and change management.
>
> The presentation of theory and the use of demonstration, feedback, coaching, networking and other techniques appropriate to learning objectives.
>
> Enhancement of experiential learning skills of action, reflection, conceptualisation and experimentation, provision for follow-through activities and development of insight and skill over time.
>
> Strategies to gear new learning into the school culture through school community collaboration within a coherent policy framework (p.120).

Theoretically at least, the need is appreciated system-wide and within the schools of the study. Yet no school was seriously involved in the processes of professional preparation for the change in any way that could be judged appropriate. A well-orchestrated, coherent plan of change directed by TRIST, the TVEI-Related Inservice Training scheme, existed in England and raised the expectations of curriculum change planners. But the needs of teachers as "grass roots" managers of change were never met in the systematic way envisaged by the plan.

The data show that what passed as professional development in planning for and implementing change fell short of the desired outcomes. The initiatives prevailed and are "in place" to some extent; but without the support expected for them and believed necessary, their prospect of fulfilling the hope that inspired them is open to doubt.

As Huberman and Miles (1984) comment:

> Large-scale, change-bearing innovations lived or died by the amount and quality of assistance that their users received once the change process was underway (p.273).

Huberman and Miles (1984) see professional development programmes as essential to the implementation process. Writing of the confusion, self-doubt and temporary setbacks experienced early in the process of implementation

where it requires changes to instructional and management practice, they say:

> We found that successful implementation usually entailed anticipating these events and taking measures to reduce their intensity or duration (p. 72).

However, and as Huberman and Miles found,

> ... site personnel may well have pressed the need for ongoing assistance but did not ... provide much of it -- often because they had not included it in their implementation plan (p. 82).

Timar and Kirp (1988) write of the "pathologies" of reform and the discontinuity of means and ends. Some supporting reasons for this description suggest themselves in explanation of the weakness of the professional development component of the planning for change. These include the contextual issues already discussed, some of which came from within the ranks of teachers (industrial unrest and reluctance to leave their classes to attend courses) and may have discouraged planners from serious engagement in the necessary planning. The other issues that made the period for implementing TVEI and HE difficult, originated outside the schools. The fact that the planning met with difficulty cannot, however, hide the apparent ineptitude that allowed it to fail as effective support for the initiatives.

What emerges from interviews with teachers is a reflective statement on the change process in the light of their personal experience. Professional development programmes focusing on the implementation of curriculum initiatives seemed to be inappropriate and untimely, the factors of poor organisation and low staff morale taking their toll of teacher goodwill and commitment to retraining.

Health Education

In the document, "Health Education and Secondary Renewal" (1987), a professional development programme was described which put the onus on the school to direct the programme of teacher training. The school was required to review the elements of the Health Education programme already in place and to plan to "fill the gaps" to enable a "comprehensive health education programme, which takes account of the particular needs of the students in the school" to result. In this statement may be seen a major feature of difference between the initiatives of the study. HE, unlike TVEI, is a course; a single curriculum change initiative. TVEI, as Pring (1985) suggests, began as a series of schemes relating to certain criteria for coherence (p.15). Nevertheless, it is appropriate that France's (1990) criteria for successful professional development programmes be matched against the planning for HE. The following extracts are taken for the Tasmanian Education Department"s document: "Health Education and Secondary Renewal" (1987).

> In terms of organisation, health education may be included in subjects, as appropriate, across the curriculum; or it may be allocated a set period of time each day, perhaps as part of the pastoral care programme; or a combination of those models may be used. Timetabling and patterns of

programme organisation are, of course, matters for decision at school level.

> A health education leadership programme, involving 24 teachers and guidance officers for a total of 11 days is planned. The participants will be nominated in consultation with principals, regional officers and curriculum officers, and will be expected to provide leadership to health Coordinators on a cluster basis (p.3).

Although school-focused, the professional development plan offers no evidence of school response to the initiative, in terms of what might be perceived state-wide to be required for staff assistance. In no document available to the researcher was there any evidence of a coherent professional development plan. In 1989 an "Interim Report of School-Level Developments for the Whole State as at Mid 1989" reviewed eight areas of programme management. These were concerned with the appointment of a school co-ordinator, the establishment of an HE working party, advice to the Parents' and Friends' Association, the attendance of the school's HE Coordinator at training workshops and meetings, the commencement of HE professional development programmes in school, the preparation of a policy for HE and the commencement of trialling of HE units.

In its submission to State Cabinet (1986), the Education Department again indicated that schools would

- select and plan carefully to teach the areas which are the most appropriate to the needs and interests of students;
- ensure that the learning environment and access to support personnel are conducive to a successful programme;
- assist students to gain an understanding of and respect for themselves and others;
- involve parents and the community in developing a programme that responds to the needs and interests of students.

These documents, remarkable in their lack of specificity, while describing the intentions and anticipated outcomes of change, only hint at how best a teacher might bring about such change. The documents are concerned with the management of change rather than with the processes required to change teachers' ideology and practices.

Such a view is confirmed by the statements about change contained in the Education Department's report "School and Peer Leadership Project for Teachers and Parents" (1988). (The document evaluated a component of the HE programme supported as a project by the National Campaign Against Drug Abuse):

> There have been specific and substantial outcomes for teachers directly participating in the project. These include new knowledge, new attitudes and new actions:
>
> Knowledge of key issues re drug education -- "Participants left knowing that alcohol and tobacco are major drug problems" (Teacher);
>
> Knowledge of effective classroom strategies -- "I've learned lots of new strategies, e.g. ways to get new kids to mix ... to talk to each other, strategies for active listening.

New actions by teachers include:

> Developing and implementing new programmes in their own classrooms: e.g. one teacher has developed and conducted a short course ... focusing on decision making, values and self esteem;
> Developing school programmes on the basis of new resources: "I now base the school's personal relationship course on Western Australian materials" (p.11).

The criteria for successful professional development programmes recommended by France (1990), are listed earlier in this chapter. The HE programme "draws a blank" on all of these except one: it did provide for the use by the change agents of demonstration, feedback and coaching. In fact, no coherent plan for professional development can be identified for the implementation of HE.

Technical and Vocational Initiative:

In marked contrast to the above, the TRIST (TVEI- Related Inservice Training) programme, later to give way to GRIST (Grants-Related Inservice Training scheme), and to INSET (In-Service Training), in response to the recommendations of the White Paper "Better Schools", was a £25 million change-orientated support for TVEI.

Established in 1985, this support programme required each school in a consortium to submit a proposal for specific assistance, in addition to professional development programmes already in place. To be successful, each submission was required to show how the school was to train teachers, deliver the content of the TVEI course and manage a programme designed to develop new attitudes, knowledge and skills and to motivate teachers to create genuine change in schools. So specific was the TRIST plan that, to complement their current plans, schools had to consider a systematic assessment of training needs (based on an LEA's curriculum development plans) and promote curriculum change of the kind recommended by TVEI (Finn and Straker, 1987). The Manpower Services Commission demanded "a not inconsiderable enabling structure and process" before the submissions were approved.

> Authority and institution Coordinators were to be appointed, schemes were expected to include programmes of staff and management development, and the MSC invested in conferences for Coordinators, where management and managing change were often a theme (Finn & Straker, 1987, p.94).

If they were to receive funding support for professional development, the schools were required to show evidence of quite specific intentions. These had to focus on curriculum development (specific subjects or skills), professional development (subject knowledge and teaching and organisational skills), institutional development (school or college focus and consortia or institutional networks), and Local Education Authority development (including training for advisers, Coordinators etc. (Williams, 1991, p.158). Training for staff had to provide opportunities for experience:

- in the relevant areas of the curriculum including those areas of

shortage -- CDT, technology information, business studies, etc.

- to accommodate students of all abilities and both sexes across the curriculum
- to manage curriculum and organisational change
- to include formal assessment and profiling
- to include organisational and management skills in providing a more relevant, broad and balanced curriculum
- to include liaison between schools and colleges
- to enhance students' economic awareness and understanding of the world of work (Williams, 1991).

The significant difference between the professional development programmes designed for each country seems to stem from the source of each initiative. In the case of TVEI, control was maintained by the Manpower Services Commission, which had the responsibility for servicing the specific TVEI related projects. In the case of HE, however, the Tasmanian Education Department took over from the Department of Health, where the idea originated, and serviced the project as one of many competing for reduced and reducing resources. Clark and Astuto (1984) suggest that the tendency to assume that generous funding ensures successful change efforts is naive, and that the human element is the key to success; and they state that recent studies fail to link funding levels with successful change. It is clear however, that money does matter in a major way. The human element at management level matters too, if the funding is to be disbursed in such a way as to maximise its effectiveness.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR CHANGE:

Funding for TVEI, including the teacher development provisions, was lavish. The TVEI budget (two years) for each of the English schools of this study amounted to more than the an entire year's budget for a comparable Tasmanian school. The paradox that, at a time of retrenchment and economic rationalisation, money becomes available in such quantity, can be explained by the government's perception of the extent of the need and the power of schooling to overcome it. The perception in schools, however, was that the money would help, even if it was supplied for what many considered to be peripheral activities.

In England both Taylor and South City had received direct allocations of funding and, with the added support of the consortium, had every capacity, so far as finance was concerned, to implement the programmes appropriately. If the funding did not guarantee successful curriculum change, this had to be because of the human element. The research indicates that the human element at all levels can be allocated some of the responsibility for discernible failures.

For the schools of the study in England, the attraction of the initiatives was financial in the first instance and educational, though only marginally, in the second. South Central saw and took the opportunity for "*creatively hijacking Government money*" (SC1). Taylor agreed that "*money was the major incentive for involvement*" (T52). That schools compromised their political and philosophical autonomy in order to gain financial benefit is a

measure of how successfully centralist policy-making can link schooling to social needs.

This chapter has pointed out the contextual features of the period that saw the introduction of TVEI. Therein lies evidence of a lack of wisdom at management level, inefficiencies within the LEAs and a certain cynicism towards the programme within the schools. Both Taylor and South Central were attracted by what the funding could mean for the whole teaching programme, and some of the respondents' comments (made, it must be said, after the onset of disillusionment) display some scorn of the intentions behind the funding.

Nevertheless, both schools went some way towards successful change, and their students were certainly better off as a result. Because one of the aims of TVEI was the increased student contact with Information Technology, for example, the purchases of computers at Taylor and South City promoted a change of direction that would not have taken place were such funding unavailable. However, disappointment seems to prevail, particularly with regard to professional development:

It was very badly organised with no supply staff (T34).

There was no support staff from the LEA -- no supply for professional development and not enough support from the TVEI (T34).

The importance of the funding was noted in staff responses to the question regarding the future of the programmes. At South City, the prospect of rate capping and the financial ramifications of local management of the school threatened the programme. A comment such as "*Main scale teachers don't cost as much*" suggests concern that the incentive allowance which encouraged teachers to take on the roles of Coordinators might no longer be forthcoming.

Though not comparable in magnitude, provision for the implementation of HE made by the Government of Tasmania was generous. However, the funds were not allocated to schools but were centrally disbursed for provision of relief staff and for support materials. The implementation of HE shows similarities to that of TVEI, and for similar reasons. There was a failure of the management to face up to the realities of the times, poor planning and a failure to deliver promised support. In Tasmania, where the aims of HE pertained to psychological and behavioural ends, expenditure was less in evidence and thus its effectiveness in promoting change more difficult to judge.

Financial support for both initiatives was therefore available and, though it did not assure success, it played a major role in whatever was achieved. Despite the different models used for the disbursement of monies, the extent of the funding enabled the initiatives to be put in place, and became itself part of the complexity of curriculum change.

TVEI's emphasis on information technology and opportunities for girls and, for Taylor, the prospect of residential training courses for students made the funding irresistible. Taylor and City were not alone, however, in seeing the

advantages such funding offered to schools. It was clear that the provisions of TVEI offered schools the chance to employ funds in such a way that eventually all students would benefit and the school would become a more attractive centre. This latter factor was of extreme importance to British schools, as the 1986 Education Act had put schools in such a position that they had to compete for students and to market themselves if they were to remain viable in their communities. There is no doubt that teachers at both South Central and Taylor realised the potential of TVEI for dramatic change to the provision of schooling.

> *The staff were sold on TVEI on the basis of lots of money which could be redirected to other areas (SC26).*

The findings also show that teachers were aware that a major intention of the programme was to link school with the world of work. In the case of South Central, links were established with the City Guilds and with a major philanthropic foundation; the school also participated in the COMPACT programme which assured students of job interviews if certain conditions relating to attendance at school and school performance were met. Early funding enabled twelve members of staff at South Central to be freed to write an Integrated Studies course, and it enabled the purchase of computer equipment.

> *We used TVEI opportunities to enhance the work of the English department -- and did things to help with the GCSE (SC30)*

> *In the end it became how money was to be spent -- a major problem with TVEI was the focus on money (SC25).*

> *The only reason we went for it and the LEA went for it was that there was a lot of money put forward. I didn't see any educational advantage. In fact, I saw a split in the school (T38).*

The money then, enabled the initiative to be modified to suit the schools. Taylor, by whatever route, did fund programmes to the point where TVEI became integrated within the total school programme. Students were not able to distinguish between what was GCSE and what was TVEI. South Central had not reached that stage and seemed to have no intentions in that direction.

While the programme devised for HE was overseen by Government, plans for its introduction were different and thus funding for the programme was less direct than in Britain. Because the programme was compulsory for State schools and because the model of implementation required no initiatives on their part, there was no direct funding for the schools and thus no capacity for Hungerford, City or Fortuna to engage in the "creative hijacking" that had such a cheering effect on Taylor and South Central. Most of the funding for HE was spent on the provision of consultants to schools and on opportunities for professional development.

OUTCOMES:

Despite deficiencies in management and problems relating to the implementation of HE and TVEI, there is considerable evidence that changes did

take place in the way teachers thought about their teaching and that changes did occur in their teaching practice. Huberman and Miles (1984) offer a useful list of teachers' positive responses to aspects of the implementation process: changes in classroom practice; repertoire expansion; relational changes; improved understanding of students; self efficacy; transfer; changes in attitudes and changes in professional self image (p.154). Four of these responses are easily identifiable from the data for this study, changes to classroom practices being the most frequently reported and recognised, either directly or by implication, as an essential element of the change.

From interviews and observation came suggestions that the development of modules and the increasing practice of assignment-led learning brought real changes to practice. In particular, there was a perceptible transfer from an authoritarian mode of teaching to one which increasingly placed responsibility for learning on the shoulders of the student.

Changes to Classroom Practice:

They (teaching styles) had to change (SC9).

I always taught like that (SC10).

I learned a lot from the programme but I didn't need to make a major change (SC11).

TVEI has increased opportunities for active learning (T32).

TVEI pushed people down the road on which they were already going, which was towards activity learning, group learning and programme-based learning (T32).

There wasn't much change (T35).

(Teaching styles) changed dramatically in the face of TVEI (T36).

There were changes to teaching styles and organisation of team teaching and activity learning (was) the natural inclination of many staff (T37).

Teaching strategies have to change once you become involved (C53).

We need to change styles because of the individual nature of the course (H82).

I change my teaching material to match my teaching strengths (H88).

Changes to teaching styles appear to be principally related to the instruction and management of students. Activities and materials, the discussions and the monitoring of progress, while turning away from the didactic, still reflect an authoritarian approach to teaching. Teachers remain in charge. There was no evidence, for example of student-initiated activity or materials preparation, or peer support for learning. Teachers, in maintaining control over their classrooms, were not free to engage in team teaching or in consultation with colleagues. Daily routines continued and the privatism and isolation of the

classroom did not change. Nor is there evidence to suggest that the changes to teaching involved opportunities for critical reflection on their practice. From these observations, it is reasonable to conclude that teachers were not in fact changing as the initiatives require, in terms of their beliefs, assumptions and perceptions about schooling and their part in it; rather, they were simply accommodating the initiatives. This conclusion suggests that certain superficial changes may prove to be adequate to meet the bureaucratic expectations of the initiatives but that, to suppose that those changes will be "deep" enough to effect changes in teachers' culture is to expect more from the initiatives than should properly be expected given the experiences teachers record in response to the initiatives of this study.

Repertoire Expansion:

The modules give teachers a chance to broaden teaching skills (SC 23).

Teaching styles vary including role play, active listening, discussion, debates ... interactive and child centred (F59).

My methods change all the time and they would change in response to HE -- more discussion, role play, more group work etc., that you wouldn't use in more skills- and knowledge-centred subjects (H87).

The indication here is that, as Huberman and Miles suggest (1984), teachers have developed more "meat" in their curriculum and have more approaches to call upon in their general teaching. The expansion of their teaching repertoire is significant since, by gaining new skills, teachers may be more inclined to take up other initiatives (p.154).

Relational Changes and Improved Understanding of Students:

The researcher found that teachers and students enjoyed closer and more egalitarian relationships because students were being required to take more responsibility for their learning. Shared responsibility involves negotiation and the development of a different quality of contact between the two people, as the role of the teacher transforms from lecturer to facilitator.

I became more student-centred -- based work on activities (SC10).

It was O.K. to take a course (e.g. Mini Enterprise) but that meant stepping out of the syllabus for a month or so and, while doing that might have advantaged the student because they enjoyed learning more, it did cut down the time given to the teaching of the syllabus (T37).

Discipline became more of a problem with boys as styles changed (C39).

Teaching styles will become more informal (C42).

A child said, " You're much nicer when we do personal development". When you go back to larger classes, you can't use the same strategies (C48).

The findings suggest that there was a perception among the teachers, even though they were generally dissatisfied with the provision of professional development opportunities and saw other difficulties, that changes to

curriculum did take place, at least in classroom practice.

In his explanation of teachers' orientations towards the processes of curriculum change, Theissen (1989) identifies teacher-centred adaptation, professional renewal, structures-direction and strategic-influence (p.133). In the study teachers reflected each of these orientations.

Teacher-Centred Adaptation:

Theissen (1989) discusses the role teachers believe they play in evaluating, assessing and modifying the curriculum initiatives in order to ease the integration of that initiative into their current programmes and teaching repertoire. Teachers believe that they have the right to make judgments on these aspects of the proposed changes. For teachers following this orientation, the classroom is beyond politics and the influence of administrators (p.135). Within their classrooms, they are assimilators of change rather than change agents. As Theissen (1989) comments, such teachers see certain values attached to their status in the classroom. Because curriculum is what teachers do in the classroom, then it follows that they must act in the classroom in the way that best suits their interpretation of the initiative. While they accept their role as instruments in the implementation of the change, they claim the right to mould the change to suit themselves. They hold on to both their independence, which screens them from the administrative dictates of the central authority, and their collegiality, which supplies moral support from their peers. It appears that, while each initiative prompted change, many teachers of the study were oriented towards the changes in this way, and so change occurred only insofar as they were prepared to accommodate it.

Professional Renewal Orientation:

Theissen (1989) ascribes this orientation to teachers concerned with the value of their teaching and who view their work as "the complex and dynamic interrelationships of teachers, students and resources" (p.138). They intend to collaborate with the intentions of the curriculum initiative in ways which will ensure its happy integration with the best of what they know of classroom practice. Thus, in assessing the worth of the curriculum initiative in its classroom application, these teachers are concerned about what is happening to both teachers and students.

> Reflecting on the change-in-use creates an ongoing cycle of translation, evaluation, and transformation in curriculum change. ... Curriculum change in the professional-renewal orientation is the reflective research for practical answers to this fundamental question of value (p.137).

These teachers are potential collaborators in the change process. They are interdependent, reflective in their evaluation and aware of their professional responsibility; by definition, they are not slavish conformists.

> Teachers provide a form of quality control to resist those changes that require conformity to administratively expedient but educationally questionable practices (p.138).

At the same time, these teachers are "personalising" the change. Inherent in this orientation is the belief that teachers have the right to exercise their power to render inoperative unacceptable imposed curriculum changes or to transform what the change prescribes into practices that they regard as more valuable (Theissen, 1989, p.138).

Statements from interviews suggest that a number of teachers were of this orientation. Most were sensitive to the political dimensions of the change, but were willing to cooperate insofar as the change might bring educational benefits to the students or to the school. Because of this view, some teachers resisted plans for professional development which would impinge on their classroom responsibilities.

> *[Professional Development] is very important but it can create other problems because of what happens when one is away (C53).*

> *It's OK if there's time (T31).*

Both of the orientations above focus on the role and responsibilities of teachers in the change process. Teachers with these orientations are pivotal, in their capacity to support, modify or resist change efforts, to the successful implementation of change. They are more likely to adjust the change initiatives "to fit" than significantly alter their own practice or play a part in changing schooling.

Theissen (1989) describes the manner of teachers' working as a micro-form of autonomy (p.141) which separates the teacher and their practices from the philosophies and expectations of their system.

Of the remaining two orientations discussed by Theissen (1989), the structured-direction orientation and the strategic-influence orientation were reflected within the schools of the study, but only at levels of responsibility outside of the classroom. The designated change agents, the Coordinators and the senior staff charged with the overview of the initiatives, reflected the structure-directed orientation. These people, carrying the responsibility for ensuring that the curriculum change is successful, view it more from the theoretical than from the practical angle. For them, the curriculum prescribed by the initiative was the document to be implemented with organisational support, for which the teachers would be trained in the levels of expertise it required. Professional development was, for them, a vital element of the change.

> For structured-direction teachers, curriculum change is dominated by the development of products -- curriculum documents that illustrate what the change is and guide teachers through the necessary steps to implement change in their classrooms (p.142).

The strategies-influence orientation is that of teachers who admit the role of the "expert" in curriculum matters, who emerges from Head Office understanding the nature of the change and armed with the strategies which best suit its implementation. For these, too, the training of the teachers is an

essential part of their vision.

> ...the key educators become an integral part of the communication network within the school, among schools and between schools and the central office (Theissen, 1989, p.142).

The orientations of teachers faced with the implementation of change then, are either classroom-focused or school-management and system-focused. However, they are merely orientations, not characteristics, and do not exist apart from the contextual factors of the situation. In the context of this study, where classroom teachers and change-Coordinators were interviewed and observed after the initiatives had been in action for some time, the polarisation of attitudes did appear to some degree, and Theissen's categories helped in their interpretation.

SECTION 5

REVIEW OF PROPOSITIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this section, the study looks at schools as organisations, at characteristics of their culture and at the interaction of culture and change. The final chapter reviews the study and, with the conclusions, offers suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 11

ORGANISATIONAL RESPONSE TO CURRICULUM CHANGE

This study argues that the success of initiatives for curriculum change may be judged by the school's organisational response to the implementation of the change. The essence of the argument is that a school as an organisational entity is a "cultural artefact" in that it reflects in its organisational structures what people in it believe about knowledge and what should be taught, about teaching and how it is best done and about students and how they learn. The school's organisation reveals these ideas through timetabling, the management of space and the deployment of personnel and other resources. Any changes that take place in people's beliefs about knowledge and pedagogy are reflected in the school's organisational patterns. The argument leads to the following propositions to be tested.

Proposition 1

Initiatives for educational change should take due account of the current culture that informs schooling, in order to assess in what measure the changes would be likely to affront that culture.

Proposition 2

The implementation of initiatives for change will succeed to the degree that the requirements of the initiatives "fit" the school's internal organisational structures.

Proposition 3

The process of implementation may be said to be completed when appropriate adjustments have been made to the school's organisation to accommodate the initiative.

TRADITIONAL PERSPECTIVE OF ORGANISATIONS:

Since Weber's coining of the word "bureaucracy", theorists have constantly reworked his concept of bureaucratic systems; however, no other system seems to contain the special features that constitute the organisation of schools.

Weber's definition of systems refers to an ideal type of human organisation with certain factors inherent in them. These include rules, procedures, competence contracts and objectivity, all of which derive from situations that are predictable and stable. Issuing from traditional theory is a view of rational man. The theory's key elements are an hierarchical, organisational structure, a division of labour, systems of rules, impersonality of relationships within the organisation and promotion based on technical competence and rational, goal-oriented processes.

The positivist traditions of science, the norms of rationalism and order

and the procedures of comparative and quantitative analysis have been applied to schools as if, being organisations, they fit this description. However, in schools arise conflicting and confusing phenomena that stem from the complexities, diversities and intricacies of an every-day existence that distances them from "traditional organisations", those rational, goal-oriented and goal-attaining entities. School organisation does not fit this mould; in schools, "individual responsibility frequently exceeds authority. Decision making does not always wait for formal decision situations" (Lotto, 1981, p. 26).

Enquiry into the cultural context of organisations reveals that the world view or the structure of consciousness that prevails is dominated by the structures of capitalist society. "Organisational theory is thus an historical product, reflecting and reconstructing -- like all products of mental labour -- more or less adequately, its own environment" (Heydebrand, 1977, p.85). Conventional organisational theory reflects the ideological forces of our society -- "pragmatic, rational, scientific, hierarchical and competitive" (Lotto, 1981, p.28).

Many of Weber's tenets for bureaucracy have informed major texts on educational administration, having within them certain assumptions about schools that have been incorporated into the practice of educational management (Pugh, Hickson and Hinings, 1973, p.22).

Lotto (1981) suggests that another view of organisations could come from taking an opposing ideology and developing another analytical approach. For example, an organisation may be seen from an Oriental perspective, with its acceptance of life (watching rather than controlling events), its concept of complementary opposites and its pleasure in considering the conundrums and paradoxes of life (instead of worrying over puzzling ambiguities, as the western mind does). This perspective is also characterised by reverence for life, in which human-ness is a welcome facet of an organisation. From this vantage point, schools could be seen as potentially excellent organisations. Such a perspective would encourage organising to be done with emphasis on relationships and honour, with patience and with attention to the known and unknown. Time would become a neutral variable; co-operation and participation would be real concepts and realisable stepping stones on the way to an objective.

The rational view does not allow for the unpredictability, the subjectivity and the transactional factors (present when people interact with one another at a personal level) that permeate school life.

To be in a position to consider how strategies for planned educational change impinge on school organisation, it is necessary to identify the organisation's structural elements and how they distinguish it from other bureaucracies.

If change agents do not allow for the fact that schools do not fit the patterns of traditional organisations or the Weberian idea, or if, aware of the special characteristics of schools, they try to simplify the issues, they are laying

a thorny path for educational change.

ALTERNATIVES TO THE TRADITIONAL PERSPECTIVE:

Lotto (1981) offers an alternative to the Weberian structures of organisational practice. In this, the "market place" model, the organisation is no longer a cumulative or singular entity but is constructed of the individuals who participate in it. The characteristic of the market place is a two-way, mutually beneficial exchange in which both parties express satisfaction that the exchange has been equitable. There is equity through competition. In the traditional model, equity is often problematic. In the market place model, organisational effectiveness becomes less of a function than does participant satisfaction which displaces the centrality of goals. Variables in this model focus on the nature of exchange and incentives, the effectiveness of the exchange and the transaction costs (p.31).

In enquiry and analysis of organisations and in judging organisational effectiveness, it is inevitable that the values and biases of the enquirer play a role. As Lotto (1981) observes, contemporary organisational research and theory continue to rely on the perspective of the analytical scientist and on logical positivism. This study suggests that the enquiry methods used in the natural sciences are inappropriate in matters pertaining to the organisational field. In this study, the researcher has taken an ethnomethodological view of organisational analysis, such as is offered by Lotto (1981). Ethnomethodologists "employ a mode of enquiry that they consider more appropriate (than "scientific" analysis) to the social process field" (p.35). The study of organisations then, shifts from the examination of objective natural phenomena to inspection, description and understanding of human processes. This view incorporates the "cultural perspective" described in the following section of this chapter.

An attempt to humanise the study of organisations offers other interesting alternatives to the classical theory which has enjoyed currency for a century. Lotto (1981) describes them as tending to complement rather than contest Weberian thought.

Those alternatives suited to the study of educational settings are becoming more frequently cited in the literature. One construct that strikes at the heart of the bureaucratic model is that of the loosely-coupled system. The idea frees analysts from the view that organisations consist of tightly-connected units or processes. The system also recognises the dual face of educational organisations, seen in this study's review of the roles of senior staff. On the one hand they have the tasks of instruction, while at the same time they have the institutionalised responsibility of accreditation and certification. Quite often their second role, which they assume through promotion, dominates their instructional effectiveness (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.5).

Another alternative is to view schools as organised anarchies -- the

"garbage can" model. Because they display "problematic preferences, unclear participation and unclear technology", schools as organisations show little ability to solve problems. In fact, as Clark (1981) remarks, they seldom solve problems and in most instances would not know if a problem has been solved (p.55).

The "incentive system" model is one where, in determining organisational actions, personal satisfaction supersedes organisational goals.

Clark (1981) describes the "natural selection" model of school organisation as being characterised by the short-term adaptation which occurs in schools. These adaptations are often untested, opportunistic and "based on idiosyncratic criteria" (p.55). To take a Marxian perspective is to view organisational forms as deriving from the historical processes that gave rise to them. Many of the structural contradictions in educational organisations are overlooked because they support pervasive social values. The dialectical view allows examination of the structural elements of educational organisations as organisational variables, alternative structural characteristics, and optional organisational forms.

THE CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE:

The theory that informs this study has a cultural dimension. The cultural perspective of a human organisation is in sharp contrast with the "rational" perspective of Weberian bureaucracy with its notions of the organisation as "unitary, fixed, monolithic, normative and inert" (Sparkes, 1991, p.5).

Geertz defines culture as

> ... an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which [people] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life. ... a [person] is an animal suspended in webs of signification he himself has spun. I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science but an interpretative one in search of meaning" (Marshall and McLean, 1985, p. 4).

From Wuthnow (1987) comes a complementary description of culture:

> Culture consists of meanings. It represents the individual's interpretation of reality and it supplies meaning to the individual in the sense of an integrative or informing world view (p. 11).

Smircich and Morgan view the culture of organisations from an interpretative perspective, as an "ongoing process of leaders and followers, continually constructing and reconstructing reality" (Reynolds, 1982, p.27). Sparkes (1991) also discusses the notion of culture as constantly changing within an historical context and cites Bates:

> Learning a culture, living a culture, changing a culture is, therefore, to take part in the processes of history. In this process there are both possibilities and constraints (p.5).

Organisations, like people, have "personal histories and biographic idiosyncrasies" carried in the memories of people and interpreted to newcomers as part of their socialisation of the organisations (Rossman, Corbett and Firestone, 1988, p.5).

A culture becomes defined, then, as members react to, interpret, shape and reinterpret the organisation, its structure, processes, and events. The interplay of individual idiosyncrasies and collective meaning expresses itself in patterns of norms, beliefs and values. "Culture is socially shared and transmitted knowledge of what is and what ought to be, symbolised in act and artifact" (Rossman, Corbett and Firestone, 1988, p.5). Shared knowledge carried in the minds of members, its behaviours (acts) and its products (artifacts) carry cultural meaning which is often expressed, through language and in other symbolic ways (p.5).

After some time at a new school for example, most staff members know what the important expectations for behaviour are, recognise to whom the expectations apply and adhere faithfully to these expectations. Thus two other components of a culture's structure appear -- the transmission and the enforcement of behavioural expectations. The system's norms define where change is legitimate, the impetus to change relates to the sharing of existing definitions of what is true and good (p.10).

The meanings that comprise a culture are not uniformly important to the persistence of the culture. "Sacred" norms, beliefs and values are enduring, efficacious, and give meaning to life. "Profane" elements reflect adjustments to every day life. Continually being refined, the profane can be altered, debated, planned and improved. One is inviolate, giving depth to the culture, the other alterable, giving it dynamism. The distinction between the sacred and profane aspects of culture denotes a qualitative difference between the interactions of culture and change.

Together, both sacred and profane norms define "the existing regularities of school life, that is, ingrained patterns of behaviour and believing" (Sarason, 1971, p.11).

Among the components of culture are "myths". Myths are the aggregation of the symbols, stories and world views people carry with them to make sense of their world.

> ... the embodied myth in the organisation's dominant coalition influences what information is perceived, interpreted or reported by the boundary spanners (Nottenburg and Fedor, 1982, p.255).

"... Myths enable people to feel better about what they do, and so they are more likely to work harder" (Davies and Easterby-Smith, 1985, p.54). Myths and the language used in discussing these myths have a binding influence when these myths serve the organisation. Imposed change and environmental turbulence reveal the importance of myths which hitherto have been taken for granted or even unrecognised.

Myths have mechanisms for assimilating or rejecting fluctuations and deviations in what is considered significant. These mechanisms offset uncertainty, reject anomalies and reinforce the myth. There can come a point at which anomalies can no longer be assimilated or dismissed (Nottenburg and Fedor, 1982, p. 256). At this point, the myth is challenged and either becomes less dominant and another more so, or the conditions which prompt challenge to the myth become increasingly obvious and may destroy the myth, thus achieving change. Davies and Easterby-Smith (1985) describe the strength of myth as being a characteristic of "strong" cultures. "Once a myth has been accepted as a basis for a group's belief structures, it will be strongly resistant to change" (p.41).

The strength of myth in constructing attitudes to aspects of curriculum change emerged during the study of Taylor. Taylor was a trial school for TVEI and so there were certain criteria the school had to meet to ensure proper programme evaluation. One of these was the expectation that the same number of girls as boys would be attracted to the optional subjects offered. However:

> *We had difficulty getting the right numbers and the right mix of girls and boys - some students were forced to do it. One girl was in tears. She had to do Physics and Electronics but was really a Humanities person (T38).*

The outcome was that the girl's chances for a career in Drama were thwarted. The telling of the story, by three teachers independently, revealed that, in their view the initiative was an imposition on the school and deplorable because it had serious consequences for students. Interestingly, there was no story told about students whose lives were seen to have been enhanced by their involvement with TVEI.

An organisation's symbols are elements of the myth and expressions of the culture. Among the myriads of symbols discernible in a school are school rules, acceptable standards of dress and interpersonal behaviour, and rites and ceremonies. Even buildings and the use of space are culturally significant.

Cohen (1974) makes the point that:

> Symbols are objects, acts, relationships, or linguistic formations that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of meanings, evoke emotions, and impel [people] to action (p.2).

The most powerful symbol of all is language. Smircich (1983) highlights the "patterns of symbolic action that create and maintain a sense of organisation. ... Symbolic modes, such as language, facilitate shared realities" (p.354).

It is through language that leaders in schools control and "manage meaning in such a way that individuals organise themselves to the achievement of desirable ends" (Smircich and Morgan, 1982, p.258). Leadership for change is "the management of meanings and the shaping of interpretation" (Peters, 1978; Smircich and Morgan, 1982, p.351) through language. Foster (1986) discusses language as the symbol from which beliefs, values and norms of behaviour

derive, particularly as they relate to freedom, truth and justice (p.197). "The common objectivications of everyday life are maintained primarily by linguistic signification" (Berger and Luckman, 1965, p. 15).

It seems appropriate then, to focus on symbols, especially language, as "a principal way of understanding people's perspectives" (Ouchi and Wilkins, 1988, p.227) in their response to curriculum change.

It is the communication, the flow of information between change agents and the teachers who are expected to implement the change, that creates the environment for the assault on the school's culture. As with all symbols, language becomes effective communication only insofar as it transmits the reality in the mind of the originator to the mind of the receiver. Therefore for proposed change to be effected, the language in which it is proposed must present the change in such a way that it is not only clearly perceived, but also attracts and interests the receiver to the degree that it will replace any myths that oppose it.

The thesis of this study is that there must be congruence between the construction of the reality (proposed curriculum change) through the symbols and metaphors of language, and the definition of that reality in the minds and behaviour of those who are expected, as Smircich and Morgan (1982) suggest, to "... surrender their power and control to others" assuming a dependent role in the interaction of communication. The successful implementation of curriculum change depends heavily on the success of this communication.

CULTURE AND THE ENVIRONMENT:

Schools, like other human organisations, exist within an environment upon which they are partly dependent and which in part depends on them. Contingency theory, with its concepts of differentiation (the sub-division of parts) and integration (the interrelationship between the parts) matches the organisational theory which describes schools as loosely-coupled open systems. Schools are influenced by their environments and share with them overlapping goals. Flexible, differentiated structures are needed to handle the different problems which this inter-action engenders. Contingency theory states "that effective organisations develop structures to match the demands or needs of technologies and environment" (Bolman and Deal, 1989, p.24).

Schools are susceptible to external influences which are beyond their control. Since the seventies, as Drucker has observed, "turbulent times" have enveloped society and become a major element of the social environment within which schools exist. Their characteristics are economic uncertainty, shifts in power structures and new concepts of work, education and leisure. Schools respond to external pressures in some way. Though the response is often slow to appear publicly, they do not remain unaffected by these pressures.

The immediate response is internal, in that major changes in the external environment alter the environment within the organisation. Here the school

management can exercise control within the constraints of the external environment. It is clear that while society's environments constrain organisational action, organisational outcomes are critically influenced by the context within which they occur.

Environmental influences on schools stem from many sources, and their power to change the internal environment depends on the extent of their overlap with priorities within the school. The influence wielded by external demands may have different effects in new and long-established schools, in stable and turbulent environments, and during periods of demographic and/or fiscal growth and decline.

As schools try to reconcile considerable social and political shifts to old patterns of school practice and thought, the myths that inform their culture come under attack and the environment within the organisation can become turbulent. Signs of the turbulence, discernible among staff at all levels, can include secrecy, rigidity, scapegoating, conservatism, poor planning, low morale and resistance to change. Turbulence in organisations creates "feelings of crisis, anxiety and stress, along with a narrowing of the perceptual field and limitations of information that can be perceived ... rigidity of response and primitive forms of reaction" (Cameron, 1987, p.226). These conditions, from which "progressive consensus" is absent, could be said not to be in the best interest of change (Ball,1987).

Cameron (1987) identified "the essence of the administrative process" in turbulent times as the "management of uncertainty". Pfeffer (1987) maintains that the importance of managing the environment overrides the importance of managing the organisation. It is the environmental dimension of organisational activity that becomes important to the processes involved in coming to decisions that will (or are intended to) resolve the uncertainty and quell the turbulence. The decisions will necessarily involve change within the school, for without some internal change, the external pressures will continue to disturb the internal environment.

Environmental uncertainty influences structural and instructional leadership and decision-making in schools. One of the negative effects of a turbulent environment mentioned by Hoy and Miskel (1989) is the uncertainty which affects the flow of information through the organisation.

> A general assumption is made that decision making processes are affected both by environmental uncertainty and the equivocal nature of the information generated by unstable and complex environments (p.34).

An important matter associated with managing change in turbulent times is the flow and quality of information. The establishing and maintaining of reliable, two-way channels of information facilitates the processes of decision-making at school-management level (Hoy and Miskel, 1989).

This information perspective is important to the study since, as Hoy and Miskel (1989) maintain, it is the quality and direction of the flow of

information that becomes affected by unstable and complex environments. Respondents from all the schools looked to professional development as one way of getting information about the initiatives and the processes of implementation. Teachers were widely concerned by the lack of this information.

I need more evidence of "good practice" (T31).

Many staff don't know what's going on because professional development is directed more towards individuals than to the whole staff (H72).

Teachers were surprised by the suddenness of the programme (H82).

Suddenly HE is a divine revelation and should be a curriculum priority but I wasn't told (H99).

There were enough people willing to go ahead even if they didn't understand the programme (SC29).

Information was presented at meetings but there was no hard sell (SC10).

TVEI was not discussed as a faculty matter -- The staff needed to be more involved -- more information (SC13).

There was not much done to ensure that staff knew what was going on (SC17).

DH gave little bits of information -- no-one really knew much (T37).

Only the people who were interested were fully informed (C39).

People only look for what concerns them (C41).

(Communication about the programme) was generally poor (H77).

The study proposes that successfully implemented curriculum change will, as Fullan (1986) suggests accommodate the possibility of turbulence, unpredictable though the events which precipitate turbulence may be. Unexpected disruptions to the implementation of TVEI and HE, as has already been mentioned, occurred across all sites with the onset of industrial strife. Planning strategies which recognise and account for the conditions of turbulence and its associated construct of uncertainty could be expected to be incorporated into programmes for implementing change. The perspective of the environmental dimension overlaps the cultural dimension. Through communication, the values, norms and beliefs that comprise the group's culture can be set against the demands of change. Thus it become possible for accommodations or modifications to occur in the culture. This can happen as new ideas alter individuals' concepts of reality and the changed constructs are communicated to the group; as a result, uncertainty is reduced and the turbulence subsides. It is the human aspects of managerial activity that are most important in times of turbulence within the organisation.

Important to this study is the view that senior staff are pivotal to the

successful management of curriculum change and that they may be hindered or supported by the cultural and environmental factors of the school context. The work of Lawrence and Lorsch (1967) and Galbraith (1977) on turbulent environments helps to focus the study on the structures of subject departments as an example of the nesting of sub-systems within organisations. Senior staff, as middle managers and instructional leaders within their subject departments, cannot be untouched by environmental factors. They are responsible for the implementation of curriculum and for managing the implementation process of changes to the curriculum. The effectiveness of senior staff as change agents is related to the extent to which they understand and manage the environmental and cultural contexts of their subject departments within the loosely-coupled organisational structure of their schools. Within the context of conflict, schools and subject departments with uniform culture systems face change with difficulty. Change that violates behaviour patterns generates resistance and turmoil. If the beliefs, values and norms of a subject department's culture reject proposed change, implementation of the change will not succeed within that department nor, perhaps, within the school.

In investigating this dimension, the study proposes that successfully implemented curriculum change at subject department levels will include strategies which recognise and account for the conditions of turbulence and its associated construct of uncertainty.

CULTURE AND CHANGE:

The investigation for this study was based on the cultural view of schools as described above. Culture is a stabilising conservative force for any social system. Much cultural content has a deep sense of obligation about it which causes people to behave in certain ways because they think it right to do so. Fullan (1982)

> ... all change, whether desired or not, whether imposed or voluntarily pursued, represents a serious personal and collective experience characterised by ambivalence and uncertainty (p.26).

The understanding people have of the reality of their situation becomes a crucial factor in effecting curriculum change. It must also be an important consideration in studying the management of curriculum change.

The work of Argyris and Schon on the nature of radical changes to schooling has been expanded by Corbett, Firestone and Rossman (1987), Tye (1985) and others. They believe that no radical change (change that is lasting and effective) occurs unless it is accompanied by changed attitudes. All change assails culture; lasting change requires modification of culture.

These writers locate change at the centre of culture. Tye (1985) writes of the deep structures of culture, Corbett, Firestone and Rossman (1987) of the "sacred" (the immutable) and "profane" (the superficial more easily altered, less radical) aspects of culture. Marshall and McLean (1985) discuss changes to

culture at Corbett, Firestone and Rossman's "sacred" level as "changes of category" and their "profane" aspect as "changes within category" (p.6).

> Changes within a category involve adjustments, say in how one performs one's job, while the basic ground rules within which one is working remain the same. ... Watzlawick et. al. (1984) have called this 'first order change'. A change of category (or second order change) occurs if basic assumptions change. ... a change of behaviour must be accompanied by a different attitude to the task that may represent a radical change (p.7).

For change to take root in a culture, then, it must be "second order change", overcoming all those strongest-held cultural myths (basic assumptions) that it may assault. Changes must occur in the concepts that inform the culture before they will become permanent. The initiators of change must achieve this conversion of minds as an essential component of the change process before they can expect the implementation phase to begin in earnest.

Changes may be benign, carefully planned and rational, but if they attack the sacred they attack the *raison d'être* of schooling. Indeed, attacks on the sacred will fail either quickly through outright rejection or ultimately if they fail to gain concomitant acceptance of the new norms. Without this internalisation of norms, behavioural changes tend to disappear when special support is removed. It is unlikely in these circumstances that innovations will ever reach routinisation, the final stage in the change cycle.

CULTURE, CHANGE AND THE SCHOOLS OF THE STUDY:

Organisational structures of schools; course content, classroom practices, time tabling and the grouping of students are the constructs of schooling which reflect teachers' knowledge, beliefs, norms and values. Lasting and effective curriculum change may be said to be effected when one can observe a reconstruction or transformation of organisational structures. The culture of people within organisations; their norms, values and beliefs must change as an integral, essential and accompanying feature of curriculum change.

Ouchi and Wilkins (1985) write of "thin" cultures, the implication being that the cultural thin-ness of some schools makes them more easily susceptible to change. The "deep structures" of Tye's (1985) description and the "sacredness" of the cultural constructs of schooling as described by Corbett et al. (1987) suggest that in many schools, elements of their culture may be resilient and, in an ecological sense, grow more resistant to change because of an experience of a failed attempt to change.

Deal (1988) suggests that powerful forces for change in schools may weaken the culture of schools to the point where old cultural patterns may not be equal to the new demands (p.215). Westoby (1988) states that the current external pressures on schools are too strong for buffering strategies to work against the effects of falling enrolments, financial restrictions and curriculum change (p.8).

Many schools in Britain and Australia continue to face external pressures

(the effects of declining enrolments, community demands and government directives to school systems) to change. These pressures not only cause the turbulence that will only be abated by change, but the nature of the pressures and how they are controlled externally have an important bearing on the capacity of schools to effect change.

For example, a school's capacity to respond effectively to the decline in enrolments is very dependent on how the financial, social, professional, organisational and cultural effects of declining enrolments are managed. Declining enrolments can debilitate school systems as financial resources are reduced.

A number of commonly predicted negative attributes can attach to depressed schools. These include resistance to change, lack of innovation, poor planning, low staff morale, scapegoating, conflict and conservatism (Cameron, 1987, p.225).

The processes of effecting change in schools can also cause negative reactions "disillusionment, burnout, cynicism and apathy"; conflict and disagreement are inevitable (Fullan, 1982, p.91). Resistance from a particular subject-department's culture at the point of curriculum change, is also of major relevance.

Wallace (1970) argues that three cultural processes are relevant for a study of change: evolutionary processes, additive processes and transformative processes. Wallace's work, although concerned with culture and society in broad terms, provides notions that fit, to some extent, the schools of this study. First he presents the paradigm in which change proceeds according to the principles of logic, in which the solution to one set of problems spins off as solutions to others; as examples of this, the "additive" process, he cites the logical developments of Euclidean Geometry and the consequency of inventions during the Industrial Revolution. At the micro level of this study, City most nearly identifies with this process, as this school made successful adjustments to each phase of the introduction of HE into the curriculum.

Wallace (1970) discusses the evolutionary or "moving equilibrium" processes, in which a culture remains in a steady state yet changes by accepting inputs (accepted innovations) and produces outputs (abandoned elements of culture) at about the same rates. The process occurs in an orderly stream of replacement and realignment. Of the schools, Taylor seemed to reflect this process by gradually assimilating TVEI into its GCSE structure, despite some disequilibrium in the early phases of change.

The third category of change constructs described by Wallace (1970) is the transformative or revitalisation process, in which organised attempts to change the culture rapidly result in severe dislocations within the system, by which it "is pushed beyond the limits of equilibrium" (p.188). Wallace (1970) offers the example of the Seneca Indians at the end of the eighteenth century as his example (p.189). "squabbling factions were unable to achieve a common

policy" (p.190); but from this quasi-pathological state of behaviour they emerged to find resolution in a steady state. As with the Seneca Indians, so Hungerford and South Central fall into this category, although the resolution position had been reached by neither of these schools at the time of the research.

CHANGES TO ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURES AS A MEASURE OF INNOVATION EFFECTIVENESS:

It has been maintained throughout this study that aspects of school's organisation are tangible manifestations of the beliefs, norms and values held by school personnel. It is the view of Corbett, Firestone and Rossman (1987) that lasting and effective curriculum change requires a reconstruction or transformation of organisational culture; that the organisation's norms, values and beliefs must change as an integral essential feature of this change. Beare (1989a) states:

> A curriculum philosophy will be supported by organisational structures and by operational procedures which are in keeping with that philosophy. ... and those structures are therefore usually accurate indicators of the world map inside the heads of the leaders (p.192).

Beare (1989a), Astuto and Clark (1986) and others maintain that successful change in schools is contingent on the behaviour and influence of the Principal. In this study, apart from encouraging the change (because of compulsion in the case of HE and with the prospect of significant financial benefit for the school in the case of TVEI), Principals were little in evidence as direct agents of change. Because of the Principal's duties in a secondary school, he or she is removed from the classroom activity where the change is to be effected, and so he or she can only take the role as one who acquiesces to the processes of implementation. Even as a teaching practitioner (as in many Primary schools), it would be as a member of the teaching staff, and not by virtue of the office, that a Principal could be a direct agent of change.

Recurring themes emerged during interview and observation regarding organisational support for the curriculum initiatives, which are not contingent on the work of individuals within the organisation but which are located in what the collective group believes and understands about what it is doing. These themes included timetabling provision for the initiatives, the grouping of students, the deployment of staff and the provision of facilities, including space, all of which constitute the symbolic manifestations of the initiatives' embeddedness in schools' practice.

The Management of Time.

Of the many recommendations connected with reform to schooling, the issue of time arises frequently, the view being that better teaching and learning will result if more time is given to the tasks. An increase in the length of the school day received considerable attention in most of the reform reports described earlier in the study. Of the four important aspects of the educational

process discussed by the "National Commission on Excellence in Education" (1983), time was one. The commission recommended that more time be given to the learning of "the new basics". Goodlad (1983) was more concerned about the use of available time and described the variable nature of the use of time across the curriculum and across classes. Boyer (1983) too was of the opinion that lengthening the school day should be a priority for reform (p.283). Sizer (1984) was more concerned with the appropriate disbursement of time according to the needs, learning styles and learning rates of students (p.214). Sizer (1984) put the needs of students' learning above those aspects of curriculum design that demand specific time-slots. (The Tasmanian Certificate of Education, for example, specifies nominal hours of twenty-five, one hundred and one hundred and twenty-five to be given to the teaching of particular subjects). Strategies for increasing instructional time were explored by these reform reports with little concern for maximising the time already available or allotting time to teachers for the management of the curriculum.

The issue of time in this study has two aspects: its availability for the management of planning for change and what the time-tabling arrangements in schools imply about the management of learning.

In an earlier chapter, time was mentioned as an issue for professional development. What little there was for it was reduced as a result of industrial action which prohibited teachers' attendance at professional development activities when those activities fell outside school hours or were not accompanied by offers of relief teachers. Even apart from these difficulties, there was a perception on the part of teachers that the resourcing of the initiatives was makeshift, as a consequence of lack of time for meetings and for planning (SC10).

From the history of implementation of the HE and TVEI initiatives as described in this study, it is clear that there was not enough time available for the planned implementation of change in the systematic way that Fullan (1986) discusses. In his study he identifies seven steps in implementing of change. These are the establishment of the project; assessment and goal setting; identifying a solution; preparing for implementation; implementing the project; reviewing progress and problems; and maintenance and utilisation (p.79). The long-term preparation and on-going consultation required by these steps demand that provisions for the time they consume should be included in the management plans for initiatives for change. No such provisions were made for TVEI or HE.

Of more direct relevance for the impact of change on school culture is the management of time within the school.

As mentioned in Chapter 5, timetables were found to be common to the five schools. Ainley, Reed and Miller(1986) also found, in their research into school organisation and the quality of schooling involving fifty schools, that over 70% of high schools in Victoria (Australia) were organised on a cycle of

thirty periods of fifty minutes duration per week. This circumstance has an historical explanation, if one recalls the need for uniformity within systems of centralised schooling.

The way time is used in schools has become an important issue in discussions about school effectiveness. As Hoyle (1986) remarks, the allocation of time on the timetable is one of the critical incidents that occur in school organisation.

> Timetable allocation is taken as an indicator of the status of a subject and hence of those who teach it. Any reduction will therefore be hotly contested (p.163).

The matter of time is more than a political or economic matter in school organisation. In reflecting the status of subjects, the timetable also reflects what people believe about teaching. In each school the structures of timetabling compartmentalise and constrain learning because of the artificiality of the construct of the timetable itself. The equal allocation of time to all subjects has increasingly been advocated of late, to ensure that each subject is similarly valued and, by implication, each teacher and each student (by subject choices) similarly valued. Thus equivalent time is given to Mathematics, English and Home Economics, for example, with little regard for the special nature of each subject as a discipline, or the fields and forms of knowledge each represents. The schools visited in the preparation of the Norwood Report in 1943 could well be the schools of today. The researcher found, as Goodson (1983) comments:

> A certain sameness in the curriculum of schools resulted from the double necessity of finding a place for the many subjects competing for time in the curriculum and the need to teach these subjects in such a way and to such a standard as will ensure success in the School Certificate examination (p.18).

The resilience of the "triple alliance" of academic subjects, academic examinations and able students is difficult to understand, given the replacement of examinations with criteria-based and on going assessment, records of achievement and profiling, and given the emphasis in teaching on the processes of learning and the development of skills as well as the acquisition of knowledge. The trend towards devolution also renders this resilience puzzling until one realises that neither HE nor TVEI fit the conventions of schooling as they apply to teachers' concepts of knowledge and the planning and delivery of curriculum, which have been established for so long (Goodson, 1989). A further explanation is that the "reconstruction of knowledge and curriculum" (p.24) according the expectations of comprehensive schooling is just beginning. Because of their requirements for teaching, HE and TVEI may well encourage the reconstruction of the pedagogic and curriculum arms of the pedagogical, curriculum and examination trilogy as defined by Goodson (1989). Despite the variation one might bring to conceptualising and organising the curriculum, as Goodson (1989) suggests, we are still dealing with the curriculum as if it refers solely to subjects, thus maintaining some vestige of the hegemony of

examination boards over schooling, with their emphasis on examinable knowledge. TVEI and HE are yet to be accommodated in schools' timetabling:

TVEI is bolted onto the curriculum (SC16).

HE takes time from Humanities and Maths (H71).

There's been no major (timetabling) change, -- one lesson per six days (H73).

Teachers were dismayed to see the loss of Thursday afternoons to TVEI. Now it's been reduced to the last lesson of the afternoon (SC13).

TVEI interferes with GCSE course work (SC11).

Each group was to be double staffed but that didn't happen (SC8,10).

Students are released from Maths to attend Peer Support programmes but they don't think of making up the time (C58).

At no stage did teachers offer suggestions for changes to the management of time which would facilitate the initiatives. Teachers generally accepted that accommodating the initiatives within the timetable was a necessary inconvenience which compromised real teaching.

We lose two periods of Science time with Grade 7 to do Personal Development! We cut down from four lines to three to accommodate the extras (H86).

There's less time for traditional subjects -- we're pinching time from important subjects (C57).

Three weeks into Term 1, I was asked to take on a (TVEI) class. I had space on my timetable (SC16).

We're not strong on the knowledge base of the topics (for HE) and the different styles of teaching. Though enjoyable it was thought we'd be better in our own subject areas (Mathematics, Science and Manual Arts teachers. Fortuna).

In explaining this fact one may suggest that the same awkwardness that attends the place of TVEI and HE within the curriculum attends their location within the time-table.

It's difficult to know where to put HE (H82).

A further explanation is that teachers are still traditionally oriented towards familiar timetabling structures. In discussing some of the problems they experienced during the process of implementing either initiative, the matter of timetabling was given little emphasis. Where it was mentioned it was with an implication that the initiatives compromise "real" teaching; there was no suggestion that the requirements of the initiatives could not be met with the organisation of the timetable being as it was.

One of the contentions of this study is that the value placed on certain aspects of curriculum may be judged by the ways in which resources are

organised and managed. One of the resources is time. Since there was no specific provision made in the timetabling of any of the schools, it may be assumed that, in implementing the initiatives, the issue of time was not thought by teachers or administrators to be important. What is also suggested by these findings is the intransigence of school organisation especially in the matter of time. Timetabling can be viewed from an economic perspective, in which time (as a resource) combines with other inputs to determine levels of productivity. The difficulty of this perspective is that, while time may be a fixed factor in school management, aspects relating to the cognitive or affective nature of the curriculum or those relating to the delivery of curriculum, including the quality of instruction, are not. Time is allocated to predetermined ends, without reference to the psychological perspective associated with the mastery of learning. Timetabling is also one area where the bureaucratisation of schooling remains. Regardless of the autonomy and independence teachers display within classrooms, timetabling controls the work of the classroom and the work of the school overall, through the school's management team. Timetablers reflect something of the principles of factory organisation, based on the principles of Taylor (Ball & Goodson,1985, p.10). When administrators and teachers understand schools as cultural sites and learning as a process rather than an outcome, school management structures may be able to respond better to initiatives for curriculum change.

The Grouping of Students:

The American reform reports reflect the same ambivalence regarding the grouping of students as exists in the schools of the study. Goodlad (1983) discusses the issue from the point of view of equity in access to knowledge and describes tracking/streaming as a device for reducing the differences between students within a class so as to reduce the complexity of the teaching task. Boyer (1983) suggests that decisions about curriculum are made as a result of the way students are grouped, and suggests that such groupings should be academic, vocational and general. Adler (1982), despite the conservative nature of his recommendations for curriculum, comments on the "abominable discrimination" which results from tracking practices. In their place he advocates single track, large group instructions with tutorial opportunities. In marked contrast to the views of Goodlad and Boyer, Conant, as Passow (1984) indicates, recommends that students should be grouped by ability, subject by subject (p.54).

Previous studies on the grouping of students suggest perspectives similar to those discussed with regard to the matter of time. Major industrialists were the force behind the practice of differentiating between students on the grounds of gender, aptitude achievement or aspirations. In the early days of TVEI and HE, concern was expressed that the initiatives could be socially and educationally divisive. There was some evidence that this had occurred at

Taylor for example, when certain students were drafted to form the cohort for the first residential course, some being "forced" to do it, to meet required ratios of boys and girls for options (T38). HE was absent from the curriculum of Fortuna's Years 11 and 12 because of the demands of the examinations for the Higher School Certificate (F59). In the main, as far as could be observed, the same teaching groups that were in place for teaching across each school were retained for TVEI and HE. There were differences in the grouping of students for optional subjects, but generally, the groups for TVEI and HE were those organised for routine and pastoral activities.

As the study proceeded, the evidence led to the emergence of the view that neither TVEI nor HE had been successfully implemented in the sense that Fullan (1982) and others describe implementation One explanation already given is that the nature of knowledge and the pedagogical expression of that knowledge reflected in the initiatives is outside the traditional understanding by teachers of knowledge and its application. It would have been consistent with this emerging view if, in the matter of the grouping of students, there had been correspondingly traditional methods of classroom management for these programmes. This was not the case. Teachers recognised that the grouping of students for affectivity-based teaching/learning should be different from the traditional groupings for knowledge-based subjects. Both City and Hungerford were concerned that the range in experience and maturity contained within usual teaching groups might cause difficulty in some aspects of the HE programme. Similarly the matter of gender became a factor for one of the teachers at City, who found that boys were less likely to respond well to the type of learning offered by the HE programme. The size of groups was also generally an issue attached to discussions about new teaching and learning styles, with their emphasis on activity learning, problem solving and negotiated study.

Small groups are a luxury but important (H94).

Small groups are important (F67).

Small groups allows the nurturing of students through role play (F59).

...must distinguish between the needs of year groups and gender (H71).

Where, in the schools of the study, provision was made in the plans for implementation for small group, tutorial-type situations to operate, there was general appreciation expressed by teachers:

Teachers involved in TVEI are generally enthusiastic about it. To quote one; "One thing TVEI has done is to give half classes with new equipment, making it a joy to teach and a stimulus to students. Problem solving is difficult with full classes"(T35).

TVEI encouraged team teaching but not in Science (T38).

At South Central it was clear that the exigencies of school organisation subsumed the potential benefits of paired teaching:

I was paired with P. (the Principal). She took three lessons, then it went by the wayside (SC24).

One of the most valued aspects of TVEI was that it allowed changes in staffing practices to take place. Funding for TVEI enabled more staff to be employed so that classes could be smaller; as well, it enabled teachers to be free for professional development. An increase in staffing levels, which included provision for clerical as well as teaching staff, also suggested a commitment to TVEI. As Black et al. (1988) comment:

> Additional staffing was ... "the symbolic assurance that the Authority was paying what it was asking for" (p.29).

Although there was little evidence of extra staff in place at South Central, Taylor did take advantage of this aid to implementation.

Provision of Space:

Hoyle (1986) discusses the symbolic significance of space as attesting to the importance of individuals within systems. His findings, in a study of the allocation of staffrooms to teachers, can be extrapolated to the findings of this study in that the allocation of space for teaching is a measure of the significance of that subject within a school's curriculum and within the status-hierarchy of teachers. At City the issue of appropriate teaching space for HE was seen as important by respondents. During the researcher's periods of observation, there was no evidence in any of the schools, of special allotment of space for materials storage, for preparation or for teaching TVEI or HE.

Personnel:

One of the essential features of change inherent in the initiatives is the involvement of teachers in cooperative endeavours. As has been shown, teachers relied on the support of the schools' change agents for the provisions of funds, material and the organisation of extra-curricula activities associated with TVEI and HE. However, in the actual teaching programmes, cooperation across the teaching team was not evident, a factor that is perhaps understandable in the light of Lortie's (1975) work, which emphasises the insularity and isolated nature of teaching. Despite this, teachers did feel the need for collegial support, probably because of the difficulties implementation of the initiatives presented to them in terms of their subject specialisation:

There is a kind of overlay - an extra subject on top of your subject specialisation (SC12)

and the lack of available opportunities for the planning of courses and the lack of commitment to the initiatives:

Teachers' own backgrounds worked against the ideas and aims of TVEI (SC17).

We were supposed to plan together but it didn't happen because of lack of time (SC13).

I'd make time for people to plan -- no point in having one person prepare the material. Needs to be integrated -- everyone must have an input (T30).

I support it but would let it go in difficult times (C46).

The findings of this section suggest a persistence in the established organisational behaviour of schools which appears to work against the formation of a "particular school culture devoted to educational gains" (Willower & Smith, 1986, p.14). If the curriculum changes of this study are to become institutionalised, the establishment of a teachers' culture which requires shared decision-making, good teacher to teacher communication and interaction, commitment and shared expectations is necessary. Teachers' insistence on professional autonomy, already discussed, is just one of the barriers to the establishment of this new culture. Because schools of the study appear to lack this coherence-factor in their culture, the evidence of change effectiveness one looks for in alterations to school organisation is not to be found.

As Snyder (1990) observes:

> Interventions in schools can be enacted only if the teachers understand the intervention and are willing participants in the change process (p.155).

The evidence suggests that teachers were not committed to the changes and, because of this lack of commitment, the desirable changes in the major areas of school organisation (timetabling, the grouping of students and the allocation of space for teaching) were not made.

That there was not the required commitment may be understood in the context of schooling as outlined. Pedagogy is still influenced by old patterns of organisation based on examinations and standardised testing, on compartmentalised subject departments and on industrial models of organisation. Teachers' timetables are geared towards the responsibilities of classroom teaching rather than to a balance of these with opportunities for planning and reflection. Teachers are confined by their organisation to the classroom which "sustains their pedagogical conservatism and makes collaboration between them difficult" (Hargreaves, 1989, p.33). In this way, Hargreaves (1989) maintains, the existing culture of teaching is reproduced. This constrains action which might lead to the destabilisation of culture. Such destabilisation is an essential component of the change process.

Zucker (1977) discusses the history of cultural transmission which is confirmed by the behaviour of teachers. She maintains that the influence of individuals in affecting transmission is less than that of the institutionalised context of the transmission.

> Continuity of the transmission also increases institutionalisation since the more the history of the transmission process in known, the greater degree of continuity the actors assume (p.729).

Subject departments may well be the source of this transmission, if, as it

is believed, it is through subject departments that teachers are professionally "socialised into teaching". This becomes significant for the way in which the implementation of change is planned. Hargreaves (1989) recommends that that it is the conditions of teaching (which affect the school's culture) rather than the responses teachers may make to proposals for change that should be the target of curriculum reform (p.33). The evidence of the findings of this study support this view.

SUMMARY:

As Armstrong (1987) observes, the debate on innovation and change in schools needs to be reconstructed and recentred around the belief systems, the personalities and the life histories of the critical participants (p.105). Carlson (1986), discussing the paradoxical role of teachers as "political functionaries and puppets of capitalistic ideologies", maintains the thesis "that teachers represent a pivotal and political group ... any movement to transform schools will not succeed without their leadership or support" (p.17). Successful change is dependent on the patterns of interactions established between individuals whose common interpretative frames allow them to make sense of their environment (Erickson, 1987, p.13). Thus teachers may either succumb to the confusion and threat to stability that change brings, or work to incorporate the change into their cultural system with a "sense of mastery, accomplishment and personal growth" (Fullan, 1982, p.26). The behaviour of teachers is culturally derived from a sharing of a particular view of the function of schooling, styles of work, conceptions of knowledge and professional ideologies. There is also a shared perception of their place within the scheme of things, particularly as that place relates to power relationships within their own sphere of operation. Power relationships derive from the tools, symbols, customs, rites and language which reflect the school's beliefs and values. Successful change depends on there being a capacity for a teaching staff to change its culture "which means a fundamental change in values and value orientation" and a process of "reconstructive learning" for the cultural system of the school (Conway, 1985, pp. 9-11).

Technical and Vocational Education Initiative and Health Education, were external to schools in their origin and in their overall management. The intent of both was to achieve a major curriculum change that involved an upheaval in curriculum content and a changed emphasis in subject status. Plans for their implementation differed, but were formulated partly at system level.

In the case of HE, the plans and financial support depended heavily on in-service courses and convenor support which, in the event, proved impractical. Implementation was timed to begin within a short time after the initiatives were announced, and with scant, if any, attention to the need to "convert" either the school-organisation's culture or the deeply-held concepts of the teachers.

Because, as Torrington and Weightman (1989) remark, "the culture of a school is least responsive to prescription" (p.168), an attempt is made in the concluding section of this chapter to identify other matters of school's organisation which work against the cultural destabilisation which must take place if attempts to introduce dramatic curriculum change are to be successful. The implication of these comments is that, regardless of the debate about change as it impinges on the sacred and profane of school cultures, it is possible to improve the capacity of schools to make changes which may affect people's understanding, beliefs, and practices in schools.

The five schools of the study manifested certain characteristics which combine to make the task of implementing change difficult. In all cases decisions were made without consultation with teachers. Once the decision was taken to proceed with implementation, the cooperation of teachers was sought through professional development programmes and the intervention of change agents. The schools appeared to be confused about the goals of the initiatives. Confusion arose because teachers were faced with curriculum initiatives which challenged their understanding of what curriculum should be and the method and manner of managing that curriculum. The initiatives challenged their understanding of the functions of schooling and made the goals of schooling, already amorphous, even more abstract. Attitudes, in this case regarding the initiatives, which require changes to teaching styles and a restructuring of time are, as Sirotnik (1989) suggests, conditioned by the very essence of their beliefs regarding the appropriateness of the grouping of students and the management of time and space. Such beliefs and values are, in their turn, rooted in values concerning the function of schooling, and the nature of freedom and justice (p.103).

The nature of schools as loosely coupled organisations allows teachers to function independently of others. Their actions are often unaccountable and the processes of their work can seem disconnected from the intentions of the organisation. Despite strong effort, on the part of change agents and the professional development programmes, to encourage collegiality and collaboration among staff, the isolated nature of teaching generates very little collaborative behaviour. In all cases, while what happened in the schools could not be described as dysfunctional, there was evidence of the dominance of individuality over the notion of consensus of action or decision-making, which is an essential condition for the acceptance of change.

While the proposals for change offered incentives for some teachers to take on responsibility for implementing the initiatives as change agents, these incentives mainly served individual needs for status and influence. Even for those teachers, the effort and risk associated with any major change carried little reward. The incentives were less than nothing for those many teachers of South Central and Hungerford, for example, for whom the initiatives ran counter to their beliefs and practice.

Environmental turbulence, both external and internal played a part in the difficulty schools experienced at the time the initiatives were introduced. Much of what was proposed in the area of professional development, for example, was lost to industrial strife, economic cutbacks, local management of schools, and to the other demands placed on staff by their LEAs and accrediting authorities. In Tasmania, recommendations of "Secondary Education: The Future" (1987), and the syllabus and criteria-based requirements for the State's Certificate of Education matched the expectations of the National Curriculum in England. The initiatives of TVEI and HE had to compete with a multiplicity of activities, all of which needed to use the same information links and channels of communication.

The discussion in the preceding paragraphs establishes the disjunction between the intentions of TVEI and HE and the culture of the school as an organisation. The curriculum changes the initiatives aim to effect require a refocusing of teachers' view of their work -- a realignment of teaching practice and the beliefs and values underlying that practice with the new understandings inherent in the initiatives. Because of the absence of significant change to the organisational manifestations of the schools' culture, the researcher concluded that no deep-structured, institutionalised change had taken place.

The schools of the study were not organised in ways which could accommodate TVEI and HE as initiatives for curriculum change. Because the implementation model was inappropriately geared to the industrial model of schooling, the professional development programmes and the work of change agents were not strong enough to carry the change to the point where teachers' beliefs and practices were destabilised and replaced by creative alternatives which would be reflected in the organisational structures of their schools.

CHAPTER 12

OVERVIEW, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Following an overview of the study, this chapter presents a summary of the major conclusions for each of the variables of the study: curriculum, change agents, professional development and organisation. Identification of possible directions for further research concludes each part.

OVERVIEW:

In this study, major curriculum changes under way in Tasmania (Health Education) and in England (Technical and Vocational Education) are used as benchmarks for examining some characteristics of effective reform to schooling. HE and TVEI are examples of government initiatives designed to reform schooling. Research for the study took place in five schools.

The research identifies four key factors for the implementation of curriculum change. These are the educational status of the initiatives, the provision of professional development programmes, the intervention of change agents in the implementation process and the organisational response schools make to change.

The ethnographic techniques of structured and informal interviews, participant observation, the use of key informants and the analysis of documents were used for the collection of data. The data were analysed concurrently to generate conclusions about the phenomena associated with curriculum change. Established theories were explored to elucidate the phenomena revealed by the data, and were incorporated into or modified by emerging propositions.

The conceptual and theoretical perspectives of the study were the management of planned change, (Fullan, 1982; Huberman & Miles, 1984), organisational theory (Greenfield, 1975; Gronn, 1983; Willower, 1982 and Morgan, 1986) and organisational culture (Beare, 1989; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Handy & Aitken,1986; Rossman, Corbett & Firestone, 1988).

These perspectives of the change process clarified concepts and brought some understanding of how initiatives for positive change might be introduced and implemented in such a way as to enhance the effectiveness of schooling. More specifically, the emphasis on the school Principal as the main agent of change was found to be misplaced; conflict was identified between the role expectations of bureaucratic management models (which carry the initiatives of the study) and the values, beliefs and practices that inform the roles played by teachers; and a useful framework was built for examining the cultural constructs of schooling and educational change.

This chapter presents the major conclusions that emerged from the study

under the headings of *curriculum initiatives, professional development, change agents* and *organisational support*. The conclusions are organised around the propositions outlined in Chapter 4, and now recast according to the findings of the research, and the major theoretical constructs already described.

The conclusions are introduced by a consideration of the sociopolitical framework established for the study by recent literature on school reform and school effectiveness.

REFORM OF SCHOOLING:

An understanding of any initiative can be enhanced or distorted by the understanding of schooling one has. The manner of managing schooling and successfully managing change depends on a school's collective view of what schooling is for. However, the function of schooling, at its most basic level, is rarely articulated in discussion about the nature and the implementation of the curriculum initiatives TVEI and HE. This is probably because most people believe that everyone has much the same view of what schooling is about; it is assumed to be one of the pieces of baggage carried by our culture. The fact is that, if the question is discussed at any length, views about the purposes of schooling are found to vary considerably.

Two views of the purpose of schooling emerged during the study. The first forms part of the discussion of the reform movements and the second appears in the examination of the knowledge and values-components of the initiatives themselves.

In discussion of the reform movements, the two themes, *equity* and *excellence* recur. In supporting the principles of equity, schools attempt to offer opportunities for all students to access knowledge and skills in equal measure. In supporting the principle of excellence, schools endeavour to offer students opportunities to realise their highest potential. Under both headings, schools are trying to meet the demands of society in a way that will keep it functioning. Although the terms are not mutually exclusive, they have, in use, become indicators of a polarised view of schooling as a political tool. "Equity" gives students a chance to compete on equal terms so they might "make it" in society. "Excellence" aims at keeping society functioning, by turning out students well equipped to follow society's trends.

It was in the name of excellence that governments in Britain, the United States and Australia intervened in schooling. In line with conservative economists' views that governments should no longer be the main provider of education, Government directives in Britain first effected structural changes to the management of schooling. Local management of British schools evolved to the point of allowing some schools to elect to "go it alone", with the support of school boards only, with the result that they were obliged to respond to market forces and compete for students. Later, in both America and Britain, centralised curriculum programmes were imposed to ensure "a return to the basics" of schooling, and requirements were raised for accountability and levels of

achievement to ensure that the functional link between schooling and national economic development would be maintained.

The second view of the purpose of schooling is also ideological, but debates whether education should be *individualist* or *collectivist*. Where the principles of individualism prevail, concern for the individual (as with the concept of equity) dominates curriculum and management decisions. In collectivism, individuality is subservient to the needs of the whole. Where individualism is a school's organising principle, the education of each child as a special individual is the school's paramount task. Schools organised along collectivist lines induct children into the roles they must play in order to perpetuate cultural, social and economic structures. Concepts of excellence are encapsulated within the collectivist principles of school organisation in the reform literature.

Reform efforts, aiming at "excellence", have focused on centralising curriculum, with the intention of raising overall academic standards. Measures to achieve this include increasing the length of the school day, increasing college-entry requirements, implementing academic enrichment programmes and establishing statewide assessment programmes for the monitoring of student progress. The Commission on Excellence Report is one of a number of American reform reports which criticises the absence of academic rigour in schools' curricula, pointing out that students are more inclined to enrol in general courses such as Physical Education and Health Education, Work Experience outside the school and personal development courses than in foreign languages or Higher Mathematics. The Commission's conclusion was that academic expectations in high schools were depressed and that minimum standards were becoming increasingly acceptable (Timar & Kirp, 1988, p.29). This established the political agenda for educational reform through mandated curriculum change in the USA.

> Stripped to its essence, the goal of educational reform is to change the behaviour of individuals and institutions so they conform to the changes mandated by the excellence agenda (Timar & Kirp, 1988, p. 41).

Curriculum Initiatives:

PROPOSITIONS

1. ***The fate of major curriculum initiatives depends on the extent to which they reflect the way school communities think about***
   the function of schooling,
   the nature of knowledge and
   the delivery of curriculum.
2. ***Initiatives for major curriculum change require people to adopt new ideas about knowledge and classroom practice.***

The HE and TVEI curriculum reforms, when they reached the classroom, became disconnected from their intention as educational reform (i.e. "excellence") initiatives. This was because the nature of knowledge reflected in their design and the pedagogical ramifications of their implementation bore

little resemblance to that intention or to what was actually happening in schools. Disconnection from their intentions occurred because the schools' organisational culture could not adjust to accommodate them as anything but a change in curriculum content. That they have been judged by this study to have failed as effective reform initiatives stems from the contradictions inherent in them.

The contradictions may be seen by examining the shifts that have taken place over recent decades in people's thinking about what happens in schools. These shifts are interrelated, and include world views about values within our society, the goals of education and the delivery of curriculum.

Increasingly, western society is looking beyond national boundaries to accept global concerns; we are looking at the influence of environment in our lives rather than at heredity alone. In matters of privileges and rights, the latter are valued above the former. In the case of decision-making, democracy prevails over meritocracy and where the physical once prevailed, the psychological and sociological now have precedence. As Fantini (1986) remarks, we have moved in the larger world view

> ... from a concept based on Newton's law of mechanics to one of Einstein's theory of relativity. From an emphasis on the importance of heredity, we have moved, with such thinkers as Freud, Darwin, and B.F. Skinner, to a concept of the environment, from the physical universe outside the person to the psychological universe within the person (p.38).

These shifts have been echoed in the management of and teaching in schools. Educational goals have accommodated these global shifts by encouraging the development of individual talent at the expense of occupational development for example, and cooperation and human caring has been emphasised at the expense of individualism and self-interest. The holistic development of children has taken over from the requirement for them to adjust, through schooling, to the demands of society. In the design and delivery of curriculum, diversity replaces uniformity and standardisation; options and choice replace chance, and the role of the teacher has shifted from primary deliverer of knowledge to facilitator. Testing as diagnosis has replaced testing as measurement, and individualised norms, through such notions as criteria-based assessment, have replaced group norms.

In the management of education, as has been seen, public control of schooling has replaced professional control, and decentralisation of management (but not curriculum) has replaced centralised control.

The conclusion then, that HE and TVEI have become disconnected from the intentions held for them as agencies for educational reform in the direction of "excellence", arises from the fact that the developments which have taken place in the practice of schooling, reflecting the shifts in thinking about the world, are not in tune with the intentions of the reform movements. Thus, though intended as a move towards "excellence", the initiatives were, in practice, more comfortably aligned with the "equity" and individualism that

prevails in schools.

One might then conclude that HE and TVEI should have been easily accommodated into the curricula of the schools of the study. Again, this study suggests that it is the conservatism of the traditional school curriculum that is the constraint on easy absorption of curriculum initiatives such as HE and TVEI. The irony is that, in spite of the general philosophical shift towards individualism, the traditional school curriculum remains largely unchanged and reinforces in many ways the collectivism of the intentions behind the reform literature.

At their most basic, HE and TVEI confirm the expectations society has of its schools: to prepare children for an adult role which requires a degree of conformity to prevailing economic and social structures. For this reason, their philosophy can be seen to align them with traditional subjects of the curriculum.

Pedagogically, however, HE and TVEI are non-traditional. They require pedagogical practice which differs from that directed towards the traditional curriculum. There is, for example, no capacity within the initiatives for assessment or measurement that can identify achievement. In this, the initiatives do not qualify for one of the major measures of an excellent (reformed) school -- improved student outcomes. TVEI and HE are excluded from the "new basics" (English, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies and Computer Science) recommended as the "core" curriculum by the National Commission on Excellence in Education and favoured by the reform movement to foster traditional values through traditional studies. Since much in the design of TVEI and HE that concerns classroom practices and materials stresses individuality (e.g. negotiated learning, group work and paced learning), in which the teacher facilitates children's access to information, the design of the initiatives does not meet the expectations of an "excellent" school, with its by-products of conformity and discipline. With the absence of programmes for assessment in HE and TVEI is the absence of competition, a further hallmark of the reform movement. It is competition from which academic advancement derives. It is the absence of competition in the conception of TVEI that may explain why in 1987, Holt commented that no independent (non state-aided) school had shown an interest in adopting TVEI. Moreover, as an aside, nor had the government offered funding as an encouragement to these schools to adopt an initiative which had been sold to the public sector as having such promise (p.74).

It is difficult to identify where TVEI and HE fit in discussion of the processes and outcomes of schooling. In the matter of outcomes in the case of TVEI, one can see it as having extrinsic value in terms of its targeting special courses and special, vocationally oriented skills and in terms of its pedagogical emphasis on the instrumental nature of learning. On the other hand there is provision, in the processes of learning incorporated into the TVEI courses, for students to take centre stage in their learning by "negotiating their own

curriculum" and "learning how to learn", which are, in fact, intrinsic aspects of learning. In the case of HE, similar ambiguity is seen in the programme's emphasis on individual control which, at first promise, suggests a move away from a structural-functionalist view of the purpose of schools to one that empowers the individual as an agent of social change, without reference to the social benchmarks already in place. Such promise is, however, subsumed in a more global sense by the conflicting values of equity and excellence and their *alter egos* of individualism and collectivism which compound the complexities of school reform and curriculum change. Discussion of the link between the function of schooling and the implementation of curriculum change on the one hand, and teaching styles on the other, raises a point which is relevant to the success of implementation.

The findings leave no doubt that teachers can think about teaching and classroom management in ways that reflect the requirements of the initiatives. As this study found, teachers were aware that traditional teaching styles had to give way to new practices; the initiatives demanded an expansion of repertoires, changes in attitudes towards students and changes in teachers' personal views. In fact, some of these practices were no longer regarded as new by many teachers, who had already adopted them.

An irony is that these very changes had been targeted during the main phases of the criticism directed towards public schooling during the 1970s, when decline in standards was attributed, by the writers of the Black Papers (1969), to progressive teaching methods. While admitting that the new methods allow students to become more creative and responsible learners, a DES report in 1977 suggested that child-centred methods become traps for the less able and less experienced teachers. By contrast and invoking, by implication, the principles of responsible learning, another DES report in 1988 complained about the amount of time students spent writing and listening in class (Merson, 1990).

There was a lack of evidence about the subjects and areas of teaching where these changes of style were in use. Two broad classifications of teaching styles were identified in the schools of the study. One, generally reserved for the main teaching subjects, was the didactic style, where the teacher directs the students towards predetermined ends; the other was the exploratory approach, in which students negotiated their learning within flexible time scales and scopes and were permitted to modify the path of their work in consultation with the teacher. This finding supports Merson (1990) who found, in his ORACLE study of 1980, that teachers adopt a range of teaching styles and vary their styles for particular reasons. The reasons they gave Merson were usually based on what they believed about teaching and learning, but did not refer to what they may have believed about the content of the course which they were teaching. Teachers also, as Huberman and Miles (1984) found, adopt teaching styles which are appropriate to the needs of students.

The researcher concluded from this that, while changes to teachers'

practice had not become institutionalised in quite the way that would indicate reform, the exploratory style more usually adopted for the initiatives was congruent with the aims of both TVEI and HE.. A second conclusion was that some teachers, because of the nature of their main teaching subject, were at ease with the teaching-style requirements of the initiative. Those who were not, as indicated by interviews at Fortuna, for example, did not teach it. If it is a fact that technology teachers are most inclined towards a regular and phased didactic, as Merson (1990) claims, this may well explain why the CDT department at South Central was the most reluctant of all departments to accept the initiative.

> *The Head of CDT can't handle TVEI - - can't work. INSET offered but still Head of CDT won't move (SC 23).*

The matter of teachers' response to change brings to the fore the "chicken and egg" debate about thinking and doing. Do teachers change their practices because they have been convinced to change, or does change in thinking follow successful practice of changed procedures? This question is relevant when one is dealing with the content of professional development programmes and the activities of change agents.

Drawing on findings of the study, one can identify some of the forces that either facilitate or obstruct changes in teachers' beliefs and values. These include the understanding teachers have of the changes proposed and their understanding of their capacity to effect such change. Other factors are the experience teachers have had of past changes, the amount of work and effort demanded by the changes, available system support during the time of implementation and, of course, their own philosophy of education and their answer to the question, "What should a person learn?".

Because the evidence from the study shows that teachers employ a repertoire of styles depending on the content of their teaching, the organisation and resourcing of learning and the nature of their students, the "chicken and egg" argument appears unprofitable. The numerous and varied factors that operate render futile any attempt to demonstrate that, simply because practice has changed, a change in attitude must have occurred. Indeed, a conclusion that, for change to occur, both attitude and practice must undergo any closely-linked change is tentative at best.

Some peripheral factors, those which relate to <u>the way teachers accommodate the requirements of change,</u> are pertinent here, because HE and TVEI require teachers to think differently about the manner of their teaching if they are to achieve the aims of the initiatives. The study confirms that teachers can be expected to change their ways in response to the requirements of new proposals, but only according to the way such proposals mesh with the norms of teaching practice peculiar to the school. This view is confirmed by Rossman, Corbett and Firestone (1988) who found in their study of change at Monroe, Somerville and Westtown that:

Innovations that further already established purposes will be welcomed,

but others will be resisted (p.20).

It is also the view of Rossman, Corbett and Firestone that, when changes impinge on those normative elements which "approach the realm of the sacred", they will be next to impossible to alter (p.20). From the findings of this study, it is difficult to generalise on this point, since within each school, in the matter of teaching styles, teachers responded to the enquiry without direct reference to cultural norms. Their responses indicated that they adapted their practice according to the degree of congruence which existed between the requirements of the initiatives and their major teaching subjects, experience and personalities. The study indicates then, that changes to classroom practice will follow the introduction of proposals for change where the requirements of that change are compatible with teachers' teaching styles.

Expectations regarding this aspect of the curriculum change were never met because, in both cases, teachers were disassociated from the changes. Teachers were, as Huberman and Miles (1984) found in their study of innovation in twelve schools, targets for rather than initiators of change (p.45). Teachers were subjected to administrative pressure to change and, while some were aggressively opposed to it, as was most obviously the case at South Central, most were neutral in their opinions. This response can be expected when, with the intention of changing the structure of education, power-coercive strategies for change are a feature of the planning. Because much of the planning for implementation, including the preparation of materials, was in the hands of the assigned change agents, teachers were in fact decoupled from the process. The effect was to de-energise them. Teachers expressed relief that materials were being prepared by the Coordinators and left in baskets for collection at the beginning of lessons. With little chance of review or follow up, this spoon-feeding exacerbated the lack of control by the teachers over the environment of their classrooms. Their lack of control was compounded by overload, no sense of the direction of the change and the need, not of their making, for trial and error with subject materials and class groupings. Unwittingly, teachers were taking part in their own deskilling. Huberman and Miles (1984) speak of resulting anxieties. Teachers were concerned that the changes would find them wanting, and so became apprehensive. They were aware that the materials provided did not necessarily match their style of teaching or the responsibility for subtle interpretations of subject matter, which was theirs alone, and this caused confusion and anxiety. Further anxiety was caused by the organisational arrangements made to accommodate the changes, which distracted teachers from their "real" work. The situation of professional readiness and the appropriate logistical arrangements necessary for smooth implementation of change were absent.

Implications and Directions for Further Research:

The essential dilemma that arises from this part of the discussion

concerns the matter of curriculum change imposed by governments and that designed by schools. On the one hand, governments believe that imposition is necessary if the demands society is making of schooling are to be met. On the other, school-based curriculum changes, which reflect teachers' professional judgments about the purposes of schooling and the needs of children, may be judged by politicians and others to fail in reflecting society's expectations.

The findings of this study suggest that curriculum change initiatives must have a coherent philosophical and ideological foundation; but the issue of coherence requires a greater degree of consensus between schools and their communities than there currently is. It may well be that the trend towards the local management of schools may redress the balance and lead to the achievement of this coherence in the matter of curriculum policy for schools.

Change Agents:

PROPOSITIONS

1. ***Successful implementation of the initiatives requires a collaboration of roles and responsibilities at each level of school management in accordance with the perceived educational advantages of the change.***
2. ***Successful implementation of the initiatives requires Principals who are strong supporters of the change.***
3. ***While successful implementation of the initiatives may be enhanced by a commitment of Senior Staff to the change, their role in the processes of change remains ambivalent.***
4. ***Successful implementation of the initiatives requires teachers who are flexible and committed and amenable to "cultural redefinition" (Hargreaves, 1989, p. 29).***
5. ***Successful implementation requires committed change agents with a mastery of the initiative, a capacity for problem-solving and management skills.***

The Principal:

From the data for this study there has emerged a consistent view that the Principal's role in change is not that of an active agent of change. This conclusion confirms the theory which implicates the culture of the school and its teachers in the change process, but suggests that the role of the Principal in the implementation of change is of less than major significance.

As the leader of the school however, the Principal's acceptance of the initiative and cooperation with the more active agents for change is of prime importance if the change is to be effective.

The Head of Department:

The findings, however, do not suggest that there is no role for senior staff to play as change agents. The study established the importance of subject

departments' autonomy and influence within the school. While it would not be in the best interests of major curriculum change to strengthen the effects of loose coupling within schools, the role of subject departments cannot be ignored. Subject departments exemplify the goal diffuseness of which Miles (1981) writes, since they are often at odds with whole-school planning and school aims. The implementation of HE and TVEI met with subject department opposition, arising from threats to autonomy and the prospect of reduced resources for and reduced status of some departments.

Given the dramatic shifts in school management practice of recent decades, subject departments are becoming anachronisms. They have become increasingly vulnerable to the deskilling processes that have operated in the manner described in the study. They are becoming increasingly irrelevant, as major curriculum issues are dealt with in agencies external to the school. As has been discussed however, they continue as strong sub-cultures from which emerge norms, beliefs and loyalties which have wide whole-school implications; this influence is particularly significant in the face of proposals taken at the administrative level to implement changes to curriculum. Departments also contain within them "deep histories" which influence attitudes to almost everything that happens in school. Miles et al. (1986) discuss these histories as the experience of change, the experience of a "golden age" and the growth of staff cohesiveness within a department. Because of departments' closer links with instruction than with administration, teachers' concerns with curriculum and pedagogy become more immediate within the subject department than they seem at school level.

Implications and Directions for Further Research:

For school reform to occur, it would appear that subject departments, as important elements in the school culture, will need to assume a new image. If curriculum management is to be tightly coupled, the management role of the Subject Head must be directed towards ensuring that the subject becomes subservient to the curriculum plans for the whole school. To effect such change requires further research into the relationship between the subject orientations of departments and the management of curriculum possible at whole-school level. Investigation would also be needed into structures that might be set in place to give collegial support and status to teachers without distracting them from the school's primary goals. Because of the strength of subject departments as they currently are, their function as a sub-culture within the school must not be discounted. The cultural underpinnings of the departments are the things that teachers need to help them make sense of what they do, and which, as Metz (1989) says, provide teachers with a way to feel competent in their work. Therefore, any change that is made to the departments' role must preserve the positive aspects of the departments' cultural strength.

The Appointed Change Agent (Coordinator):

In each of the five schools, the coordinator's principal task was to sensitise others to the changes and so influence them to change their attitudes, values, roles, skills and practices. Part of the role was to manage the professional culture of the school by encouraging collegiality, and collaborative work within sub-cultures recognised for their boundary operations and fragmentation.

Each coordinator, in discussion, confirmed the complexities of the change process. At the time of interview, each coordinator had experienced the unpredictability of people within organisations and the cultural control people have over the response the organisation might make to proposals for change. The complex motivational and behavioural patterns of teachers impinged on the work of the coordinators, but in none of the five cases was there evidence that they had been prepared to encounter these patterns. The coordinators, while given system support through "train-the-trainers" programme or assistance and group support from other members of their consortium, were given little chance to reflect on the specific peculiarities of their schools, which would present them with particular problems. These shortcomings in the planning for implementation were compounded by teaching and administrative loads they carried, in addition to their work as coordinators of the initiatives. Moreover, they were not well prepared for the expectations teachers had of the change agent's role.

Role theory has been used in this study to understand better the interpersonal behaviour of people within organisations. The exploration of role theory within the context of planned curriculum change also reveals a deficiency in the model for studies of this kind. It would seem that the model lacks a dimension which appears to warrant further analysis.

Aspects of role theory, role conflict and role ambiguity are described by Owens (1987) in terms of their application to the functional purpose of schooling. Owens (1987) discusses role conflict as it occurs between line managers and staff in hierarchical terms. Starratt (1990) uses the analogy of drama in making sense of schooling; this is a helpful analogy, since it offers perspectives, such as scripts, coaching and improvising, for example, which move one on from the notion of "a fixed formula of prescribed behaviours" (p.139), which limits the application of role theory to cultural sites. The application of the analogy of social drama to the study of schools also provides a framework for the study of alienation, regardless of its causes. Starratt (1990), in presenting his embryonic theory concludes:

> By considering the needs of the social drama and its ongoing renewal, policy makers for schools can encourage a curriculum and a pedagogy that attends to the multiform issues involved in the social drama (p.141).

This offers an holistic perspective for analysing schools and change instead of the more fragmented interpretation offered by systems theory.

Implications and Directions for Further Research:

Given some deficiencies in the model of implementation used for the management of TVEI and HE, the outcome of the discussion of role theory suggests that some of the difficulty encountered by the change agents in accommodating their role within their schools may have been reduced had expectations of them and their roles been delineated at the outset. Part of the professional development of teachers should include information about the role expectations for those specifically charged with change.

The link between the role of the change agent and the professional development programme is that the change agent has the task of implementing the change initiative within the framework of a professional development programme which, as was the case for both HE and TVEI, was prepared by agencies external to the school. Even at consortium level, decisions were made for the consortium with little allowance for variations between schools. This practice was in keeping with one major characteristic of the adoption model of implementation -- that of training the change agent to become a specialist in the area of curriculum content, acquiring considerable technical skill. But, in this model, there is little attention paid to expertise in the management of the processes of curriculum change. More research seems necessary into the link between the technical curriculum-development role and the curriculum-implementation process, as Fullan (1983) suggests. Such a suggestion assumes that other models of implementation would emerge as more appropriate and effective than the adoption model.

This study is preoccupied with the implementation of change during one major phase of the change's history, the early stage of implementation. An area for further research is that of the progress of change over time and also during each of its major phases. Although it has already been shown that initiatives for change themselves are modified, as a result of cultural pressures, to the point of acceptability for implementation, little is known about the phases of these changes. It is not clear, for example, whether modified initiatives ever revert to their original formulation over time.

Professional Development:

PROPOSITIONS

1. ***Planning and initiating change requires clear and realistic statements of aims, objectives and policies.***
2. ***The professional development programme should have articulated goals and focus on developing an on-going systematic strategy which fits the initiative.***
3. ***The professional development program should include strategies for problem-solving within the school.***

The typology of strategies for effecting curriculum change, while useful as a framework for analysing the total change-process within a school or system, lacks the capacity to encompass aspects of change other than those which are

technical or rational. The study concludes that the models of professional development for HE and TVEI were rational-empirical in kind. The focus of the planning was on the teacher as deficient in instruction-skills and knowledge and as needing to be taught new knowledge and skills. Teachers' renewal was the intention of the programmes and their goals were to increase teachers' capacity to instruct.

Implications and Directions for Further Research

The study leads to different ways of thinking about professional development. Professional development should encompass a view of teachers as leading change agents in their classrooms through enhanced knowledge and understanding of their tasks. Teachers must be involved in the planning of their professional development programmes according to need and according to the organisational dynamics of their schools. This must include consideration of the norms and beliefs teachers hold about teaching and curriculum design and development.

A model recommended by Fenstermacher and Berliner (1985) may be explored. The components of the model are a definition of the task, the initiation of the staff activity, the intentions of the activity, specifics about who is to be involved and how to engage support, a description of participant roles and an evaluation perspective. Such a design is based on the theory that professional development is justified in the contribution it makes to the attainment of goals which are encapsulated within the proposals for change. The goals must be coherent and logically consistent, as has already been discussed in an earlier section of the study.

The planning of professional development programmes should accommodate the findings of this study. Teachers accept that professional development is an integral part of the change process. They express the view that such programmes should involve as many teachers as possible rather than one or two, and so should be held "on-site". That teachers believe this to be important suggests an understanding of the workplace as a powerful site for fostering norms and patterns of interaction between colleagues.

> Some schools sustain shared expectations (norms) both for extensive collegial work and for analysis of and experimentation with their practices; continuous improvement is a shared undertaking ... (Fenstermacher & Berliner, 1985, p.303).

The concept of collegiality leads to Fullan's (1989) view of professional development, in which curriculum projects have the dual goal of implementing the curriculum and improving the interactive professionalism of teachers. For Fullan (1989), one of the outcomes of professional development is the empowerment of teachers and a greater sense of critical collegiality and professionalism. One of the insistent issues of change in schools has been that of the participation of people within schools in the decisions taken regarding the initiatives. Miles (1981) calls this a "sort of shibboleth in the folk lore of

school improvement" (p.100). In marked contrast to assumptions made regarding the matter of participation, Giacquinta suggests that strategies involving subordinate participation can lead to conflict and confusion. Since a major function of professional development programmes is to engage teachers in the total process of the implementation process, and since the critical issues of participation and collaboration are still in a state of debate, it is clear that more research is required. Teachers and administrators alike need help to understand how adults learn, how the processes of learning about innovations work and what engagement with the processes may be required of them.

A major finding of the study is that opportunities for teachers' personal development were constrained by the variable context of their teaching days. At South Central, for example, the variability arose from industrial strife and from poor management of resources, which affected the availability of support staff and restricted teachers' opportunities to attend seminars. A further constraint was teachers' own unwillingness, unconvinced as many were about the efficacy of the initiative, to forgo teaching in favour of opportunities for professional development.

Organisation:

PROPOSITIONS

1. ***Lasting curriculum change will be achieved only if the current culture of the school is destabilised by the initiative.***
2. ***Initiatives for curriculum change should take account of the culture that informs schooling, in order to assess in what measure changes would be likely to affront that culture.***
3. ***The implementation of initiatives for change will succeed to the degree that the initiatives fit the school's organisational structures.***
4. ***Change in the school's organisational structure is a measure of change in the school's culture.***
5. ***The process of implementation may be said to have been completed when appropriate adjustments have been made to the school's organisation to accommodate the initiative.***

Least well represented in the literature on educational change has been the manner in which curriculum change is reflected in the organisational structures of schools. This study has identified and discussed interrelated aspects of schools' culture. One is the concept of the functions of schooling, represented in the structuring and delivery of learning which have been discussed by Giroux (1985), Apple (1979) and others and described as the "learning milieu" (Holly, 1986). A second is the occupational culture of teachers, reflected in teachers' work and attitudes, which comprises the "meaning structures" for each school, and which tends to operate in the interests of stability, predictability and control.

These meaning structures are evident in the way the schools of the study

organised themselves for acceptance of TVEI or HE. With the possible exception of Taylor, whose the curriculum absorbed TVEI -- the extreme of institutionalisation --, what emerged from the study of the schools was an example of what Purkey and Smith describe as "institutionalised resistance to change" (Holly, 1986), in which the innovations failed to become part of the message system of the school.

Taylor proceeded to the stage where its culture filtered out or rendered harmless the radical features of the initiative, leaving unharmed the ineffective, less dramatic components (Holly, 1986, p.356). The other schools were left in a situation where, judging by the absence of organisational support for the initiatives in terms of the grouping of students, timetabling and the provision of space, the interactive processes of institutionalisation were not in evidence.

> Context controls (or at least heavily conditions) the implementation. ... Programmes can be delayed, modified, scaled down or otherwise adapted or distorted to fit their environment ... before (after a long struggle) sinking into common consciousness (Holly, 1986, p.357).

Implications and Directions for Further Research

An intention of this study was to identify and describe the existence of cultural characteristics within schools that influence the implementation of curriculum change. The study makes no claim to establish the extent to which, in the implementation process, these characteristics prevail over factors within the innovations themselves. What has been established is that the organisational aspects of school management reflect the nature of the school's culture; and that, particularly when initiatives for change have philosophical and/or pedagogical implications for the school community, changes in organisation will serve as indicators of the effectiveness of the initiative's reform. When the expectations of the initiative for change are translated into a new set of shared meanings, born of a resolution of conflict between competing value systems for which current organisational structures are collectively known to be no longer adequate, those structures will change.

Earlier in the study, the researcher discussed the nature of culture in terms of its immutability. The suggestion was that, if culture could be changed, then what was changed was not culture. The distinction was made between the sacred and profane components of culture, as outlined by Rossman, Corbett and Firestone (1988) and in the work of Deal (1985) and others, who maintain that culture (the ideas, beliefs, norms and practices -- shared understandings of groups) can be manipulated. Fullan (1985) advises that schools can develop a capacity for innovation which, while deriving from supportive norms, can change them. The processes of Organisational Development, as a deliberate attempt to change cultures, does so by emphasising system change rather than attitudinal change. Indirectly then, OD aims to modify the culture of the school by engaging in first order change or structural rearrangements which can be quite easily changed. A conclusion drawn from study of the literature is that the

organisational manifestations of attitudinal change had not been seen as an integral part of the change process involving HE and TVEI. This study has established a strong relationship between the components of the change process and the hitherto neglected component of schools' organisational features. Where organisational structures change to accommodate changes to teachers' beliefs, attitudes, norms and practices then curriculum change may be said to have been implemented. Since it is in organisational structures that one can most clearly observe the manifestations of school culture, further research may fruitfully examine these structures, and the extent to which they influence and are influenced by the collective culture of schools.

CONCLUSION:

In investigating processes in the implementation of two major curriculum change initiatives, the researcher has attempted to keep in focus the expectations of society (through government) regarding the capacity of those initiatives to reform schooling. The examination of reform movements concluded that there is lack of uniformity in concepts of the purpose of schooling, and that schools, in determining their agenda for reform, are often at a point of tension with the expectations of their communities and their understanding of what schooling should be. The *excellence-equity* debate on the subject of curriculum and the *collectivist-individualist* debate regarding school organisation runs concurrently with the *centralisation-devolution* direction of government in school planning, with all the contradictions inherent in these concepts-in-practice evident. These concepts coalesce in the ebb and flow of the debate that the need to attain higher standards in school as a means of improving national standards of productivity fails to recognise the function of schooling and the nature of schools. As one might expect, the bureaucratic demands of government for change reflected in the initiatives of this study clash with models of school management implemented by those within schools. Further, this study shows that the strategies for change set in place by groups external to schools, which were reflected, in the case of this study, in the design of the initiatives, professional development programmes and the intervention of change agents, were incompatible with the complexities of schooling which nest within school cultures.

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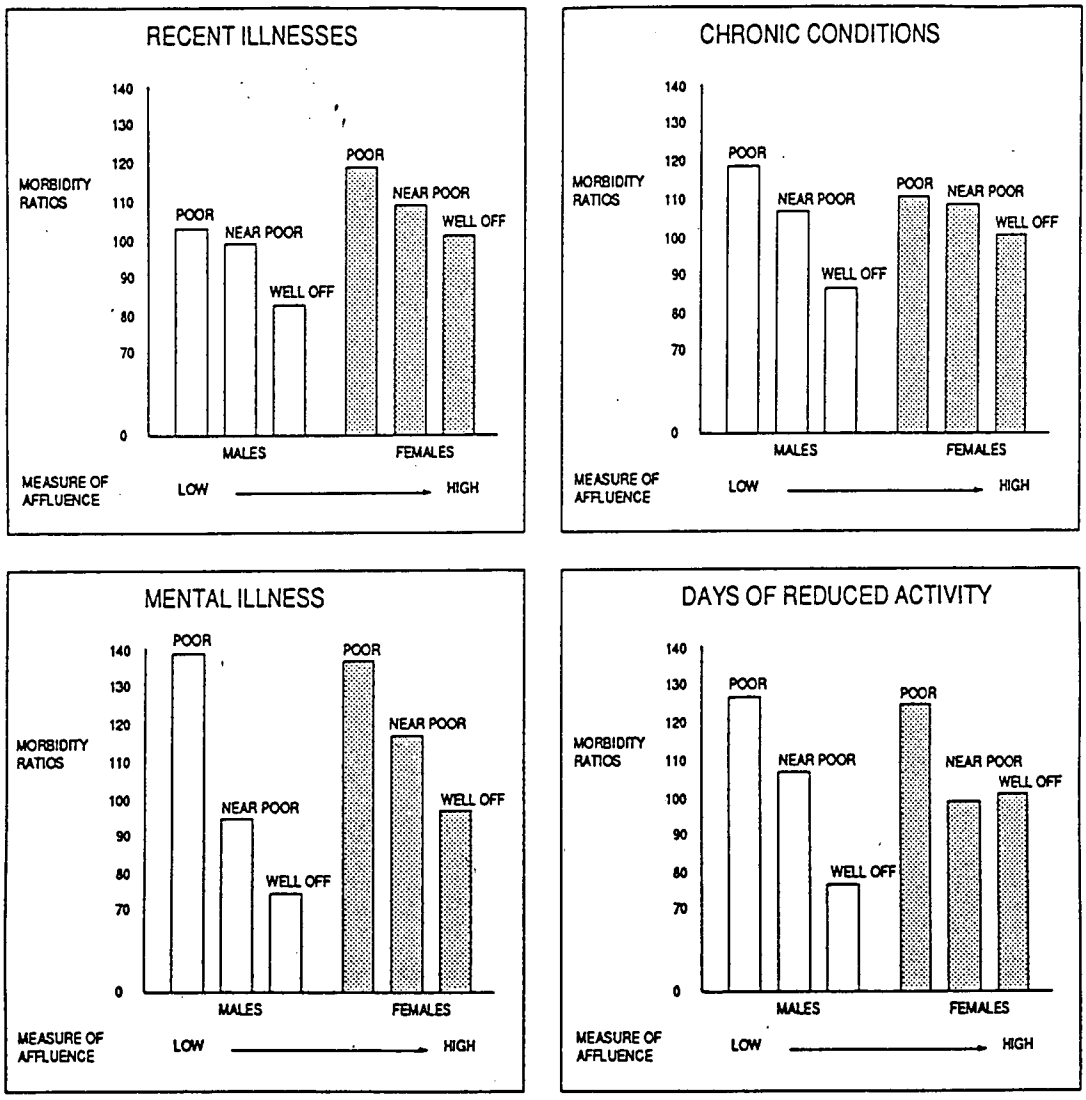
APPENDICES:

APPENDIX 1:

ILLNESSES AND OTHER HEALTH PROBLEMS: DIFFERENCES RELATED TO LEVEL OF INCOME



Data source: Broadhead P., "Social Status and Morbidity in Australia" *Community Health Studies* 1985, ix, 2, 87-98.

- Illnesses and "days of reduced activity" are generally more frequent among people with low incomes(the poor)
- The most marked differences between the poor and the well-off are for mental illnesses
- Females generally had higher morbidity ratios at each level of affluence than did males, whereas poor males had higher ratios for both chronic conditions and mental illness
- The poor are below the Henderson Poverty Line (HPL)
- The near poor are 100-200 per cent of HPL
- The well-off are over 200 per cent HPL

APPENDIX 2:

FIELD NOTES:

(A) FROM THE RESEARCHER'S DIARY:

VISIT TO SOUTH CENTRAL - 14TH MAY, 1990.

As I came near to the school I heard a fire alarm. Since it was the school's lunch hour it seemed inappropriate that a fire drill would be underway. The seriousness of the situation came to me as I rounded the corned and saw the fire engines and the tangle of hoses on the footpath. At the same time, I was aware of a basketball court alive with students and teachers clustered in a state of some confusion obviously waiting for advice or instruction. I was overwhelmed by the familiarity of the scene.

After about fifteen minutes during which it became clear to those waiting that the procedures for fire emergencies had yet to be put in place, the students moved to the gymnasium where they were told the cause of the fire and advised of the routines for the remainder of the day. It was then that I caught up with my first teacher for interview.

Because of the crisis during which he had been required to be on duty, Lew had had no lunch. He had a headache and, since the interview had been delayed by thirty minutes he was now pressed for time. I knew that talking to me was the last thing he wanted to do but I pressed on because what he was to tell me according to the school's Coordinator, would direct me in my interviews with other teachers. I was pleased with the outcome.

My second interview began late because of the fire and was somewhat pressured because of time constraints and aggravated because the only power point in the room was not working and I had to record details of the interview without using a tape recorder.

NOTES: The school really is bleak. -- it's enclosed by high razor wire fences -- both grounds and buildings are poorly maintained.

At 3pm I spoke again to the Coordinator and asked for minutes of the school's early planning meetings for TVEI. He said there were none but that he would give me the minutes of the consortium meetings.

I spent some time that day in the library looking through the school's archival material. In the absence of a librarian who had left and for whom no replacement had been put in train, I found a haphazard collection of materials which predated 1985.

APPENDIX 2B:

Key Informant - Co-Ordinator RECORD OF INTERVIEW (SW - #1.)- Fortuna- 10/8/90. (Extract from Transcript)

I. What's been your involvement in HE?

R. I'm a Social Science trained teacher originally and then aside from teaching, I've also done radio work and when I was working for Radio Australia was the researcher, writer and presenter for a Primary school Health Education series which was broadcast by Radio National. I did that for a few years. When I was teaching here part-time, I was also working for the ABC, so I had done quite a lot of that sort of work. In researching for the radio series we'd looked at all sorts of materials particularly the South Australian series which is a K-12 one, and was the most developed of what was around and that was about six or seven years ago. Since then a lot of the other states have developed material. The South Australian stuff had a very philosophical basis and a lot of personally interactive work that the kids could do. There were a lot of activities which was very much practical learning. We really designed our radio series around that sort of thing. We wrote work sheets for teachers and sent them out and packages as well. That was useful for me to draw on, although it was Primary, it led into the stuff that we were doing

I. Do you recall the philosophy of that South Australian material that interested you at the time?

R. Well, principally it's a balanced look at the whole person. In very simple terms it looks at the health of the whole person - the five aspects; physical mental, social, emotional and spiritual. It's an interesting thumbnail way of summarising what the whole thing's about. Of course you look at the fact that they are very much interrelated. You can't simply just carve out one section for information although you can deal with things physical and work on social relationships, but in the end they all impinge on each other. But it's quite a useful way of doing it. Health Education, not now, but some time ago tended to be looked at as a physical emphasis on the body rather than being looked at as a whole person.

I. You've come into HE in an unusual way. Usually it's someone who's come to HE through Home Economics or Physical Education.

R. Well when I was teaching Social Science too. The secondary Social Science -- when I was teaching it there -- was the Sex education area and the Drugs' education area was part of the Year 9 and 10 Social Science syllabus, and I have that background.

I. Were you given the task of co-ordinating the He programme from its inception?

R. No.

I. You mentioned earlier that it was a school-based decision that the school went ahead with HE.

R. Well it was a pretty broad discussion. There was a stage when we were looking at curriculum development and at that point we were looking at what

here is, generally speaking, a fairly academic curriculum and realised that there were things that we ought to be dealing with that simply wouldn't fit into a Physics or a Home Economics or an English or a Drama pigeon hole but were more across the curriculum in more genuinely Social Science areas; and we also didn't have a place to do our Careers teaching in the structure. We wanted to do some Drugs' education but we didn't have a space for that and we wanted a Sex education programme within a context, rather than having people from family planning popping in and out and making it seem like some artificial or special thing rather than looking at it as part of the growth and development of the whole person and that sort of thing is just part of the process of change and growth which is a much better way of teaching Sex education. Or discussion about that sort of stuff amongst about probably a third to half of the High school staff set us off on a series of meetings after school, where people threw in ideas and worked out roughly what they thought could be covered ideally (I'm just remembering vaguely), then various people undertook to do a bit of research into particular areas that we thought could be included in draft sample programmes.

I. Were they Heads of Departments?

R. No. No. Just common teachers and some Heads of Departments. There was quite a wide range of involvement and one of the joint heads of school, M.B., who is very interested in that area as well. She had been doing some work with the Grade 7s on a Peace Education - International Relationship course .and that was just one lesson a week and we subsumed that into the Grade 7 part of this course and developed it into a conflict resolution/environmental/international spectrum.

I. So you had the support of the Principal. What active role did the Principal play in the implementation of HE into the school?

R. She was very committed to it and there was also commitment from the School Board to it because one of the people on the School Board was a member of the medical faculty at Uni and the Board actually passed a directive that explicit Sex education was to be taught so I've always had much more liberty here than some of the High schools are able to have. Interpret explicit as you will but I've been able to talk freely from the very beginning about things like Aids and not have to wait to be given the imprimatur from above and beyond. Topics like contraception and abortion, I've been able to deal with as they've arisen and I don't sort of have to run away and get special permission to deal with them. So that's given the course a lot of strength and M's been concerned that that sort of work was done but in the context of the whole person, so again it's not within the context of something that just pops up from somewhere, it's looked at from a much broader range of decision making.

I. What might have happened in the school had the Principal not supported the programme?

R. It still would have gone ahead because the way the school operates we have a Director of Studies here who is in fact in charge of the academic programme and

any decision that comes through from teachers or heads of subjects normally goes through him. He has the responsibilities for the timetable and other functions. but there have been a number of staff initiatives that have gone through and they don't necessarily have to have the support from the top before they start. It comes through from the staff.and we have met with parents as well so there's a fairly strong basis of support.

I. How long did it take you to put the programme in place?

R. I think we worked from six to eight months of one year to set it up for the following year

I. Can you remember a critical incident that occurred during the time of setting up the programme - some influx of funding or something else that happened to affect the planning?

R. One of the Heads of Departments who is now head of High School. J.G,was very much in favour of it. She spent a lot of energy getting meetings together in the first place. That was really important and she had a lot of respect as a senior member of staff and that certainly helped. That gave us a lot of energy to get going.

I. And so her role as a senior member of staff facilitated the discussion and enabled staff to come together. Do you think that the role of someone like that in the implementation of change is important?

R. I think it was very helpful in that case and she also made it very clear that she was not interested in taking it over but that she was generally being there as a support and facilitating person, so ... and again it's very much as this school operates. There wasn't any problem with gender of any sort and every-one felt comfortable throwing in their views and at that stage we didn't even have a co-ordinator of the subject as it then became.

I How much staff involvement was there during the planning?

R. There would have been regularly about a third of the staff - about fifteen regularly at a meeting and they were after school meetings so they were voluntary, so that was a pretty good turnout.

I. What was the composition of the group?

R. It was across the spread of subject areas. We had people from English, Science, and Business Studies. They came from Business Studies because they were involved with the Careers course.

I. What was the link between HE and Careers?

R. We didn't call HE an HE course. We called it Personal and Social Development course. The way we see it, all the things we do are either personal or social development so it's bit broader than what's in the State health syllabus and we see Careers education as part of personal development. And we're able to do some preparatory and post Work Experience in class time, which means we've got small groups of kids and that's helpful.

I. Did you have any anxiety about being given the task of co-ordinating the course?

R. No, because I was really co-ordinating it. I didn't feel ... I had a lot of support.

I certainly was anxious initially; there were all sorts of things that I was concerned about that were functional things and philosophical things; staffing was absolutely vital. We wanted the right people with the right sort of background and the right sort of manner and teaching style.

I. How did you manage that?

R. A lot of negotiation ... with a lot of support from people and a lot of negotiation with the time-table with M. What happened in the end was that we suggested and eliminated and talked a lot. In our school a lot is done by consensus. We talked with staff members and asked for expressions of interest and then we approached various people.

I. Did you target any people who hadn't expressed an interest?

R. Yes - I think we did. I can't remember precisely how it started. See, one of the Maths teachers began teaching from its inception. He has a background in Drama. He's come to Maths teaching by a bizarre route but that and the sorts of ways in which Drama is taught as a tool for social interaction we thought he would be useful. He deals with Grades 7 and 8. We've since found a number of things. Small groups size and the right people for the right class sizes. We aimed for groups between 15 and 20 -- not always possible but we've aimed for it. On timetabling -- we've only ended up with one hour a week but it's compulsory through the whole high school. Continuity through the courses is also important.

I. So there's a course in place that operates once a week. Are the teachers taking that course provided with materials?

R. Most of them taking the course developed their teaching themselves with consultation. If others have come in since, they feed into that. They either take what's been set up or work within or adapted it for themselves.

I. How do they maintain coherence and continuity in the course through Grade 7 to Grade 12?

R. It doesn't go through to Grades 11 and 12. That's my responsibility.

I. Do you meet regularly with the group?

R. Not with the whole group. But with people who teach. We've divided each year into four units and they are very discrete within the year group and there's one health unit within each year. There's very strong co-ordination for Years 7-10 through that stream. There's a Careers unit within Grade 9 and Grade 10, and there's very close consultation about what happens in each year. Some of the other units -- we have all got a copy of what the others are doing in broad terms and that's published in the Handbook so every-one is aware of what's being done but there isn't these days a lot of chatting to and fro. There was in the early days ... when two or three would get together and write a unit.

I. If I came new to the school and slotted into some-one's teaching load and that load included a health unit, how would I manage that in my first weeks of being here?

R. Well we wouldn't do that. We've had situations when some-one's been doing that and of course, for various reasons have moved on and because we want to

have people teaching within a comfortable knowledge of the kids and individually and of the course we'd normally adjust it (the time-table). Of course, when some-one's been here for a while, we might slot them in.

I. I'm always interested in people who have difficulty coming to terms with curriculum change of a pastoral kind . Can you remember the reasons people gave for not becoming involved? Can you recall people being resistant to the planning?

R. No. There really wasn't. People who chose not to be involved weren't vociferously against. They were just not interested in being involved.

I. Why do you think that was?

R. Because I think the reason for setting this up had arisen at staff meetings at which every-one had been present. It was agreed by most to do something about it and those who were interested did do something about trying to set up a new course so I just don't recall anyone speaking very strongly against it and I think because the school has a very strong commitment to the well being of the whole child to more than just the academic child, this was seen as being a natural thing to do

I. The reason I wondered and asked the question was that some people might have resented the loss of time to the programme.

R. That was a big discussion point but that was a functional problem, not a philosophical problem. We had to solve it. What happened was that there were negotiations with the PE staff who normally would have had a three-hour week line and now for part of that time they lose some groups of children to PSD. One of the PE staff teaches it anyway and sees strong links back into her other subject, so that was a big negotiation point but it wasn't philosophical. We did a bit of juggling too with Home Group time which we call Tutor time. Because it was only one hour a week (I would have liked more), it wasn't a big time. and all sorts of other things have been shunted around.. It was quite an opportune time to look at fitting something else in.

I. What about the students' perception of the course?

R. We set it up and talked to them at the end of the year (I think). We certainly talked to the parents and we sold it to the kids by saying, "There are all these things we think you'd enjoy, but we can't do them at the moment and we'd like to set up a new course". We also asked them to contribute ideas of what they would like to see in the course. Not surprisingly there was a strong correlation between what the staff had come up with and what they did. The kids wanted Sex education, Driver education, Drugs' education, more time to talk about things that matter. Those sorts of things were the things they listed. While we didn't take up all their suggestions, we certainly were very pleased to get that response. They were aware during the year of what was going on. But of course, there were problems of acceptance such as "What about marks? Are we going to do things or just talk?" and that sort of thing. But then, once we got through the first year, things really settled down.

I. How did you get over the fact that the course wasn't accredited? Your Year

Book suggests that your students are very much oriented towards achievement, marks etc. If I was a student too I might also resent the time given to the course.
R. Yes. There was a bit of buyer resistance, particularly from those sorts of kids. We didn't actually ignore it but I don't think there's anyone who would not get something from it. Students do see the relevance of much of it. They do see the relevance of the Careers' section. They all really enjoy the Drugs education and by the time they get to Grade 9 and 10 and were doing more stuff that's more explicit sexually, adolescents being what they are, they find that interesting. Some of the stuff earlier on -- there was a bit of buyer resistance.
I. Do you take any of the Sex education lessons in separate groups?
R. In Grade 7 we do. Later on, no. I've actually talked about that with the kids and asked them if they'd prefer some times for that to happen. The response has been "No", because they want to know what the others think. In grade 7, the girls want to know what the boys think and the girls want to know what the boys think and we have pretty frank discussions which is great. In Grade 7 though when they're much shyer and uncertain and there are also lots of questions that they want to ask,we give them all sorts of ways for doing that. There's the question box for anonymous questions and we split them up and we have girls' group stuff and a male teachers sits down and has a good chat with the boys and a female teacher sits down and talks to the girls. That's another thing I meant to mention earlier. We've been fairly careful to have a balance of male and female teachers teaching the subject so it's not seen to be some soppy stuff that the girls do and that only female teachers take. That was something else we had to work -- not hard for because the male teachers , generally speaking are pretty onside but there are more female than male teachers in the High school staff so that's been a bit difficult.
I. An interesting commentary in the whole matter of HE has come from David Aspin ...who, in a book edited by Crowley deals with the philosophical and ethical aspects of the HE programme. He is particularly interested in the issue of intervention where a message is put before children that, "This is the way you should go". Either directly or by intimation you are pushing a line in a sense of -
R. Not here.
I. ...what's good health and linking that up with the notion of productivity too. There's that connection between HE and TVEI. – You know, a healthy person is a productive person. He's very conscious of the ethical side of that role teachers have of putting before children what society generally accepts to be the image of good health, which in fact may not be the case.
R. Yes. You see the thing is again that's something that ... I'm not sure what Aspin's view is on this -- but Quakers don't push anything. It's the other philosophical point that this school's about. There are three steps. That's knowledge, which is what we aim to produce, personal choice which is an individual thing and responsibility for actions and that's the way we teach it. Now it's something we are careful to say, because it's not Quakerish to preach. Quakers don't talk about their faith, they don't proselytise, they don't try to

convert. It's not the way Quakers work. Quakers work from an inner sense of what's right -- a sense of inner conviction based on knowledge and careful thought; and then it's a personal choice and a personal responsibility. Different Quakers will react differently in certain situations. That will be respected as an individual choice. That's something that the school tries, though it's obviously very hard in a school situation when you have large groups of children, but it's the way we try. ... And discipline as well. I mean, if you're teaching in an area which is an ethical or moral choice area then ... you present a variety of points of view on matters, and offer kids access into why other people think different things and therefore might react differently; so you're looking at a much wider range than just their own personal or family experience or your particular conviction.

I. You're certainly right from that point of view. Aspin was cautioning people to establish the principles of responsibility and self-determination rather than maintaining a particular line that satisfies the status quo. (At this point the researcher recounts the incident of a woman engaging in unhealthy behaviour i.e. smoking, as her way of relaxation so that when she returns to her young children she will be relaxed by the experience and hence able to cope more easily with them. The anecdote highlights the distinctions in the ethical arguments surrounding the issue of what constitutes a healthy person).

R. I think this is why the Board gave us the imprimatur to be very open with the kids ... because we're not pushing a particular line. For example, we're not pushing a pro-abortion or contraception --

I. When the students ask you for your point of view –

R. I normally preface discussions by saying that one of the rules is that we don't ask each other personal questions. If a person wishes to volunteer something personal they're free to do so and others must respect that and sometimes I will. Sometimes I will say, "This is a personal opinion. I believe that ..." It takes a certain confidence I suppose. I often don't do it because in teaching you can be very easily seen as a role model and you can have a greater influence than you might realise on a child's mind and choices.

I. Who's responsible for seeing that the staff is kept up to date with the new units and materials?

R. Me. Most of the material comes to me and I channel it to a a particular area.

I. Budget?

R. Yes. We have a budget which allows us to buy materials and lets us go on excursions etc.

I. One of the pedagogical aspects of teaching PSD as distinct from other subjects is that of teaching styles. For example, teachers of Mathematics have a style that suits that teaching. In considering teachers for PSD, did you take their classroom management style into account?

R. Absolutely. It's one of the things we talked about a lot ... When we set the program up, when we said that the teaching should be non-didactic. It ought to be unstructured learning and practical and interactive as possible. A lot of the

people teaching in the course had experience in teaching Drama. Techniques such as role play and discussion work. I sometimes take discussions debates. All sorts of interactive child-centred learning went on. - Guest speakers, films ... as much as possible to make it as interesting and exciting as possible. The other thing was we saw it as a chance to build self confidence in the kids and we wanted to set up situations as much in small groups so they could contribute more than they would in a large group; and you could possibly nurture shy kids with role play experiences which for them could be quite special. They could have a one to one conversation in a non-threatening situation. It's healthy for them and it builds up their confidence because they're able to do that in front of a small group of kids. That's another one of the threads that was built into the course -- to give the kids self confidence and self esteem.

I. What about In-Service training for those teachers who opted to take the course?

R. There's been a bit. The teacher who takes the Drugs unit has had a lot of contact with Lions network. Some teachers during the holidays went off and did a two day course. The Careers teachers certainly go to all the In-Service stuff that the Commonwealth Government provided. I go to the HE seminars. I was asked to be on one of the state committees but didn't have time. We get an amazing amount of mail relating to this area and good journals that come into the school through the library. It keeps us in touch.

I. If you were starting again as a HE co-ordinator, is there anything you would do differently?

R. There are still things I want to do . I'd like to take it up to Years 11 and 12.

I. Why hasn't it gone to years 11 and 12?

R. Because these years are focused on the academic requirements of HSC.

I. What's happened to the notion of the "holistic" child?

R. Yes. This is a question that some of us are still asking. There are lots things that are done but it's timetabling, and teachers are anxious about getting through. There is time on Wednesday afternoons, but they tend to have sport as a option. They do have Home group teachers but some of us would like to push the course there within the next couple of years. We really had to succeed in High School.

I. What about the Junior school?

R. There are good programmes there but I'd like to do more liaison there than we are doing; but the big hole was in the High school. The other thing was that many students come into Grade 7 from elsewhere so we must start afresh in Grade 7 and presume vastly different backgrounds. Extending it from 7-12 is a good idea.

I. Have you been involved in any other major school changes?

R. Yes. I set up a Drama course in another school.

APPENDIX 3:

Observation Guide: for TVEI

In identifying changes to culture which are essential to the management of successful change, this guide complements the Interview Guide by seeking evidence in three major areas of study. These are the realising of the objectives of TVEI, the manner of disseminating information regarding TVEI and changes to pedagogy which can be attributed to the introduction of TVEI.

By using the LEA's consortium performance indicators which were prepared by the participant school, the researcher looked for evidence as follows:

- evidence of active promotion of the principles of equal opportunities
- evidence of access to and progression in Information Technology
- evidence of the development of programmes.of in-service for teachers
- evidence of continuity and coherence in the courses of study being offered
- evidence of changes to teaching styles and curriculum delivery modules -- teachers given material

APPENDIX 4

Ordering and Sorting Data:

#35 WG Taylor - Coordinator for three years - At Taylor for ten years - teacher in the MDT department. We spoke in the classroom with a group of students working under his supervision. - Not the easiest situation.

Notes transcribed from tapes;

Early days? Traditional segregated curriculum but the school was moving in such a way that TVEI gave it a kick along.

Early history - who was responsible? The previous head wanted more resources and improved status. The Local Authority asked the school to put in a bid.

The senior staff wanted to hold back. I had the task of negotiating the package although the Deputy was mainly responsible for doing the detailed work.

Early difficulties? The parents weren't keen on the inclusion of Business Studies and Design to the exclusion of the traditional subjects, so changes were made to keep a curriculum balance between the academic and the practical. The Humanities people were antagonistic and resented the way resource deployment was going. Everything was geared to practical education. In-Service was poorly organised and complicated by industrial action. A lot of bad feeling was caused because there were no covers for absent staff - there was no supply staff available - there was no adviser from the LEA - in fact there was no real LEA support and the TVEI centre had not been set up so we were without any external support in the early days.

Who was responsible for curriculum and materials? Each teacher prepared own materials.

Changes to timetable to accommodate TVEI? None

Changes to teaching styles? Not so much

What about the impact of TVEI on other aspects or areas of the curriculum? There was some evidence of it on other classes down the school - problem solving for example.

Aims of TVEI - Access to IT? Still not enough machines - CAD and CAM are still toys.

Equal Opportunities? No problem - never been a problem at this school - more girls are doing Communication and Design

What might you like to see done differently? Not move so quickly - It was too rushed - we really needed another twelve months.

Ordering and Sorting Data (2):

Curriculum and Assessment and Accreditation:

my perception of TVEI varies from what happens in this school. I always

assumed that TVEI was something that enhanced the curriculum. It was not a subject in itself which is what happened here (SC28)
I'm generally accepting of the principles of the programme but it was imposed. I also accept the "across-the-curriculum" model (C57)
empty course - no certification (SC18)
we're not strong on the knowledge base of the topics and different style of teaching - though enjoyable, we thought that we'd be better in our own subject area (Maths((F62)
in the early days attempts were made to find an exam board to accredit modules -- no luck (SC26)
the fact that there is no accreditation reflects the integrated expectations for the subject (SC28)
no accreditation freed us to enjoy the course(C39)
assessment can constrain and promote learning (C39)
even if the assessment component wasn't there, students would have gained something from the course (C47)

Change Agents - Roles and Responsibilities:

the Deputy was important - sold it to us then left (SC11)
Involvement in curriculum change means that people have to work and own the change - for some, the way of teaching may be a challenge. Pastoral programmes are active learning. But certain elements are threatening like a non-content based module which is pure process. Some teachers teach only those modules they're happy with. Others teach them all (SC32)
more women are involved in the teaching of HE because of their nature (C45)
they seemed to be changing the way people were being asked to teach(SC28)
enthusiastic teachers not necessarily senior staff
the Head of CDT can't cope with TVEI - so TVEI could fold(SC23)
not much input by senior staff. The project was kept within a close pocket (SC28)
Deputy and management were involved in early planning . Senior staff were not much involved unless they had a specific stake but even when Head of Design and Head of Science were meant to get together they couldn't because their views were polarised (T36b)
Senior staff are losing status. They won't be about in five years (C48)
Senor staff are powerful. Even the Principal can jump up and down on the spot, but really the teachers are following the SM's directions (C56)
the head has 95% power for change (T32)
she argued forcefully for its implementation (SC28b)
He said "We'll set our own agenda" (C44)
the Principal plays a very important part in the change process (H75)
a timorous Principal nearly ruined the programme (H78)
Principal behaved in a typical Principal way. If there's money to be had grab it and then find some-one else to do the job (SC21)
She argued forcefully for its implementation - had students in mind I seem to remember (SC33)

Professional Development:

badly organised (T35)
I attended two one-weekly sessions but only for a couple of days because of lack of supply and industrial difficulties (T35)
most definitely. I've stressed that fact that I don't feel confident to take on a course at present without training and I've been assured that that will happen (C40)
I attended a couple of seminars (C41)
Opportunities seemed O.K. but needed more follow up (C42)
always desirable but with so many people involved, it's always difficult (C43)
It's very important but it can create other problems because of what happens

when one is away (C53)
we need more (SC16)
we had a day off for discussion with the consortium (SC17)
there were opportunities offered for the use of computers (T32)
there was lots and lots. It was fairly demanding but coherent (T34)
it was very badly organised -- lots of bad feeling -- no supply staff (T35)
I had no training for HE -- missed a seminar because of the demands of Drama (C53)
keen to do more -- need more (F61)
maybe it should be trialled first -- it's still new and then take up professional development opportunities (H71)
many staff don't know what's going on because professional development is directed more towards individuals than to the whole staff (H81)
we need advice about different strategies (H80)
we need more staff discussion and involvement (T36)

Resources:

the preparation of materials by the coordinator seems to be a tacit expectation. I was responsible for the final collation of sheets and giving them out to people. Teachers haven't had to sit down before each lesson and wonder what they're going to do (C47)
teachers agreed to do it if resources were forthcoming (SC16)
most of it is print -- no good for the Bengalis (SC9)
I couldn't adapt it easily (SC9)
modules are accompanied by sheets passed out in the mornings (SC16)
materials need to be changed to suit the school. They are inappropriate for multi-cultural and mixed ability groups (SC16)
it (TVEI) enabled the purchase of computers which was useful for the library and enabled a library Aide to be employed (T31)
each teacher prepared own resources (T35)
one of the things I have to do in curriculum development is facilitate those who are actually developing it. I make it as easy as possible for those who have to do it (SC23)

Time-tabling and School Organisation:

three weeks into Term 1 I was asked to take on a class. I had some experience of Social Sciences and Life Skills and I had space on my timetable but I had no INSET backup (SC16)
I had positive images of TVEI. I couldn't be drafted last year because I was too busy on my timetable and couldn't spare a couple of hours. This year they reduced it from two hours to one hour (SC12)
we cut down from three to four lines to accommodate the "extras" (H86)
small groups are a luxury, but they're important (H94)
each group was to be doubled-staffed but that didn't happen (SC11)
it was the last lesson of an afternoon (SC13)
TVEI is bolted onto the curriculum (SC18)
it's fragmented (SC16)
it interferes with GCSE work (SC11)
it takes time from the Humanities and Maths (H79)
it's clear that there had been no major upheaval to accommodate the curriculum changes. By chance there was some time available after rationalising the timetable (F60)
there was no major change -- one lesson per cycle (H73)
the group I ended up with weren't in my house anyway (F62)

APPENDIX 5:
Interview Guide:

The structured interviews followed the approach recommended by Schein (1985), in an attempt to discover the key events in the organisation's history and to investigate the patterns of management the organisation developed to deal with those critical events.

1. Let's go back over the history of TVEI. Can you tell me when it began and describe the events that occurred at that time?

Who was involved? (Try to locate the important founding figures or leaders who might have been the real culture creators, and find out what their values, biases, assumptions and goals were).

What were the critical problems in getting started? (Try to find out what the survival issues were and how they were handled).

Were there specific goals that emerged? Ways of working? Key values that emerged early?

2. What was the next critical incident that occurred? (p.120)

Schein (1985) defines the "next critical incident" as causing some upheaval in the life of a programme which may affect the goals of the programme or involve personnel within the programme (p.120).

a. Tell me how people were feeling about what was happening. Were they anxious, delighted or angry or what?
b. What was done? Who did anything? ...
c. What was the meaning of the response? What goals, values and assumptions were implied or explicitly stated in the response?
d. What happened? Did the response work? How did people feel subsequently? Did the response continue? (The interviewer then asks about the next critical event around which the same series of questions would be asked again p.120).

Questioning also involved attention given specifically to the matters of the aims of TVEI as they were reflected in curriculum content and organisation, the processes of teaching and learning, approaches to management and the processes of disseminating details of the programme to teachers

Information regarding other aspects of the programme including perceptions of the role of school co-ordinator, head teacher and others emerged during informal conversations at the outset of interviewing.
The interview schedules, following the model provided by Black et al (1988), are as follows:

Who is responsible for ensuring that school staff are knowledgeable about TVEI
What has been done to help them understand its nature, background and purpose?
What personal qualities and experiences are likely to be valuable in the co-ordinator?
How do students view the programme?
Has the implementation of the courses of TVEI caused changes to the way in which people teach? In what way has your teaching style and general classroom practice changed in response to changes to the curriculum or courses of study which have been a consequence of TVEI?
In what way has the management of the school changed in response to TVEI? Is the INSET programme sufficient as support to staff involved in TVEI?

TO HEADS OF DEPARTMENTS*

Within your project, how are decisions made about what is to be disseminated? Who is to disseminate this information? When? To whom?

TO THE HEAD TEACHER AND DEPUTY;

What were your views on TVEI before the school became involved?
What is your role within TVEI?
What staffing changes have occurred as a result of TVEI?
How have the school's management structures changed since, to accommodate TVEI?
Are there any aspects of TVEI which you would wish to alter?
What would your advice be to a new co-ordinator of TVEI?
What are the major successes and failures of TVEI?
How have students (and parents) responded to the introduction of TVEI?

APPENDIX 6:
Rationale: HE and TVEI:

FOCUS STATEMENT

WHAT IS TVEI TRYING TO DO?

TVEI aims to ensure that the education of 14-18 year olds provides young people with learning opportunities which will equip them for the demands of working life in a rapidly changing society.

TVEI seeks to influence the Education of 14-16 year olds in 5 explicit ways:
(1) By making sure the curriculum uses every opportunity to relate education to the world of work, by using concrete/real examples if possible.

(2) By making sure that young people get the knowledge competencies and qualifications they need in a highly technological society which is itself part of Europe and the world economy.

(3) By making sure that young people themselves get direct opportunities to learn about the nature of the economy and the world of work - through work experience, workshadowing, projects in the community and so on.

(4) By making sure that young people learn how to be effective people, solve problems, work in teams, be enterprising and creative through the way they are taught.

(5) By making sure that young people have access to initial guidance and counselling, and then continuing education and training, and opportunities for progression throughout their lives.

FOCUS STATEMENT, HE.
The aims of the programme are divided into a general statement of intention and components that relate to students' acquisition of knowledge, values and attitudes and skills.

A health education programme should enable students:
* to understand the basic requirements of good health
* to understand their own health.

The objectives of the programme are:
* to develop a clear sense of their own worth and to develop respect for others;
* to develop a lifelong sense of responsibility for their own health;
* to take constructive action for their personal health, for the health needs of others and for health issues in the community

A health education programme should include:

KNOWLEDGE:
Students should gain an understanding of:
* the nature and physical development of the human body and the impact which various forms of behaviour may have on the body:
* the nature of health;
* the nature of the individual's health;
* the health of others; and
* the roles of the variety of health-related agencies, services and personnel in the community and how these can be utilised.

VALUES AND ATTITUDES:
Students should develop:

* an acceptance and a recognition of the value of good health;
* sensitivity to, and an acceptance of, the feelings and needs of other people;
* a willingness to become involved in group and community decision-making; and
* a responsibility for personal actions and an acceptance of the consequence of those actions.

SKILLS:
Students need to learn:

* to deal with health related problems;
* to make decisions about their own health;
* to communicate with others and function effectively in relationships with others;
* to engage in behaviour that will promote personal health, including the positive use of leisure;
* to promote and maintain the health of the families and communities in which they live
* to assess the effect of peer pressure and cope with the stresses of such pressure;
* to appreciate the power of social forces and institutions (including the media), to influence the development of an individual personality and choice of lifestyle, and to recognise those outside influences that may reinforce health-related behaviour;
* to analyse and justify personal values; and
* to make good use of community health services.

(Education Department of Tasmania, 1987, pp. 11, 12).

The aims, objectives and intention of the initiative reflect a view of health education which concentrates on changing attitudes, beliefs and behaviour by influencing individual behaviour by providing information leading to decision making involving responsible choice. A second intention of the programme is to change the "value atmosphere" of society. A third intention is to create a social climate which will be reflected in decisions made at a political level.

APPENDIX 7:
Workshop Notes:
GROUP ONE

Assisting Factors

Networking...(other LEAs)
Workshops, team meetings in school
Overview - parents, 16+, etc...widening out
Organising - filing system...
Relationships with staff - win their confidence
Borough Co-ordinator , Advisory teachers, strong, cohesive central team
Head Teacher and TVEI team in schools - reference group
Evaluator...
The Money! - well resourced re. time...staff involvement
Clear management structures
Support of key staff members
Previous experience e.g. CPVE, curriculum development, ROA
Personal credibility (incl. status in hierarchy)
T.A. to "blame" - to provide support and resources; to provide framework for
Development target setting; give credibility
The Apple! i.e. appropriate technology
Being acknowledged as part of mainstream institution. planning and development
Energy and enthusiasm based on belief in your job.

Constraints
Time
Too many changing priorities
Ignorance and prejudice -- staff, pupil, industry, parents...
Weak links -- quality of staff...
Physical restraints e.g. geographical layout of school, timetabling, option "choices"
National Curriculum unknowns
The local LEA/school state of development.

GROUP TWO
Support
Level gap in appointment of institutional co-ordinator
Support from Senior Management and relationship with TVEI climate for curriculum change/development
TVEI organised communication structure (with flexibility)
Management training for Senior Management
Course teams in schools and colleges

Collaborative working (in schools and across authorities
Having the money to develop curriculum and
The continuing collaborative working (in the LMS ethos)

Constraints
Undefined role of co-ordinator
Lack of clarity in role definitions of SMT
Conflict between internal/external 'loyalties'
Autonomy of departmental structures (particularly in colleges)
Degree of centralised decision/policy-making
Gross lack of management skills and training for S.M. Teams and skills of organisation e.g. timetabling
"Treasury rules" - -the games we have to play
Government push towards autonomy of institutions and competitiveness (LMS etc.)
Teaching for testing! National Curriculum

Coping Strategies
Negotiation
Self-abasement
Blaming the T.A. to the school/Blaming the school to the T.A.
Bargaining
Using 'patronage'
Using TVEI to draw initiatives together
i.e. institutional
staff
curriculum development

GROUP THREE
Supports
Senior Management support
INSET
Central project team
Status generated by TVEI -- member of management team
Access to resources
Local knowledge -- internal appointments/or previous experience v. empire building
LEA professional support
Supportive strategy
Institutional TVEI team...natural enthusiasts

Blockages
LEA procedures
Teething/start-up problems

Appointments and resources all late
TVEI contact Town hall
Lack of coherence from Senior Management team -- poor communication
External support (LEA)
INSET for managers
Staff misconception of TVEI -- training not teaching
Communication, dissemination, briefing
Ownership - resources
- initiatives
- students
Definition of role
Democracy or Enlightened Despotism
Clarification of aims
TVEI Co-ordinator's perception from within school/college

H F'S GROUP
Factors which are supportive

Supportive people in key roles and their relationships
- Network of support and contact with outside agencies
- By being able to offer something (e.g. INSET/£/IA) can expect something Back (e.g. curriculum change)
- Climate of change in Ed. and Ind.
- Collaborative working
- Material conditions/facilities e.g. (office, 'phone)
- Access to key people

Constraints
- View of TVEI as narrow and to meet other needs/aims
- Fear of contact with outside agencies/ideas/schools
- Really how to meet all needs (e.g. pupils' mixed ability)
- Lack of supportive structures and low level of awareness
- Lack of facilities and support staff and accommodation
- Not sharing information
- Really changing practice - staff
- Isolation
- Genuine pressures of time, etc. on all teachers in schools
- Serious shortage of 'other' funds (e.g. capitation)
- Poor contacts with FE
- Lack of co-ordination for INSET
- Poor organisational/leadership at LEA level

GROUP FOUR Support

Senior Management
Access to curriculum planning discussion
Time
INSET planning - input into
Staffing
Budgeting treated as central
Aware/accept consortium
Consortium Team
Central/LEA Advisors
Meetings regularly
Other LEA support e.g. DISCOs Inspectors etc.
Industrial support
Staff enthusiasm/interest
Head/senior management
Confident
School team
Governors
Money
T.A.

Constraints

Qualities and specialist areas of staff
Changes of
Blocks in middle management
Supply
Pace
Time
Subject boxes
Wheel and deal - PAY!
Retrain/2nd/new interests END

APPENDIX 8

MODEL OF LEA CONSORTIUM TVEI MANAGEMENT AND MEETING SCHEDULE

Headteachers and Consortium Co-ordinator -------> **Senior Management Meeting (Half Term)**

Curriculum Deputies, School and College Co-ordinators & Consortium Co-ordinator ----------> **Curriculum & Resource Management Group Meeting (Half Term)**

School and College Co-ordinators, IT Co-ord.---------> **Institutional Co-ord- (Weekly)**

TVEI Teachers, Department Heads, Advisory Teachers, IT Co-ordinators and Consortium Co-ordinator.----------> **Panel Meetings (Half Term)**

Heads of 4th Year and Consortium Co-ordinator ----> **Heads of 4th Year Meeting (Termly)**